GUIDE TO THE NO6 COMANCHE FILE

[The Comanche are a Shoshonean-speaking Amerind people now living jointly with the Kiowa and the Kiowa-Apache tribes in a Federal trust area in the state of Oklahoma. They probably originally lived in the northwestern Great Plains of the United States during the 16th and 17th centuries, but moved out into the western and southwestern Great Plains and into eastern New Mexico, western Texas and northern Mexico during the 18th and 19th centuries. They were a nomadic people, living principally on hunting the bison after the acquisition of the horse in the 18th century, but the diet included other game, berries, edible roots, and other foods. In a treaty signed in 1867, the Comanche, along with the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, were assigned a tract of land as a reservation in what is now Oklahoma and where they now live. As a result of this move, they had to give up their nomadic existence and during the ensuing years, a large part of their traditional culture has disappeared.

The social science bibliography on the Comanche consists of about 300 items, almost all of which were surveyed for this file (see 36: Murdock & O'Leary for an ethnographic bibliography of the Comanche). The quality of the descriptive information in this file is not particularly good, for the traditional culture of the group had broken down almost completely before trained descriptive observers took to the field. The emphasis in the file is on the traditional Comanche culture of the 19th century, with not a great deal of information being available on reservation life and the post-1900 period.

The Comanche file consists of 36 sources, all of which are in English. The basic sources are 1: Hoebel and 3: Wallace & Hoebel. 1: Hoebel is a descriptive study of Comanche law, using the case-study method, which is supplemented by 29: Hoebel. 3: Wallace & Hoebel is a reconstruction of Comanche culture as it was before it was radically changed by White contact. 20: Wallace, a sketch of Comanche life on the reservation, supplements this source. 7: Richardson, 22: Dacus, and 33: Mooney are summary sketches of Comanche culture. 35: United States is a précis of the present status of the tribe in Oklahoma.

Ethnographic descriptions and discussions are contained in a number of sources. 5: Carlson & Jones discusses Comanche ethnobotany, while 31: Jones contains a biography of a modern medicine woman and much information on medical botany. Descriptions of the 1873 and 1878 Ghost Dances are found in 6: Linton and 8: Hoebel. Social organization is briefly discussed in 9: Gladwin (on kin behavior) and 19: Lowie (on dances and societies). Material culture is touched on in 18: Jackson (describing a putative Comanche burial) and 34: Ewers, which analyzes a collection of artifacts gathered during the period 1828-1851. 27: St. Claire & Lowie gives English versions of a number of folktales. Human biological material is presented in two sources. 4: Goldstein gives some anthropometric data, while 26: Cummins & Goldstein discusses Comanche dermatoglyphics.

Ethnographic data are also given in a number of primary accounts by travelers, government officials, captives, and other observers during the period 1785-1910. 2: Lee and 10: Horn are accounts by captives of the Comanches, Horn during 1836-1837 and Lee during 1855-1858. A number of Spanish colonial officials wrote brief descriptions of the Comanche during the period 1785-1819. These are presented in 13: Simmons, 23: Cabello y Robles, and 28: Thomas. David Burnet wrote a series of letters describing Comanche life in 1818 and 1819 (21: Burnet).

Albert Gilles describes incidents of Comanche reservation life in Oklahoma during the first decade of the 20th century (32: Gilles).

Language and linguistics are presented in a number of sources. Phonology and phonemics are discussed in 14: Riggs, 16: Smalley, and 25: Canonge. Grammar is discussed in 15: Osborn & Smalley. Linguistic acculturation and baby language are discussed in 11: Casagrande and 17: Casagrande respectively. 12: Canonge presents a number of texts with English translation.

The Comanche file as a whole is not a particularly good one for purposes of comparative or area research, since the ethnographic material is decidedly skimpy in the bibliography as a whole. The emphasis of the file is on the pre-reservation period where possible. Ethnographic materials (apart from linguistic information) from the reservation period are sparse. The file has adequate information on law, history, the ethnosciences, and socio-political organization, but the data on social and psychological behavior, child-rearing, and reproduction are weak. The file does contain some information on most aspects of Comanche culture.]

Processed 1959-1978

The Comanches

manship, their terrible charge, the unequalled rapidity with which they load and discharge their fire-arms, and their insatiable hatred make the enmity of these Indians more dreadful than that of any other tribe of aborigines."[1]

These are the people of whom this book is written.

To themselves the Comanches are "The People." They call themselves *nɜmɜnɔ*, from the root *nɜm*, meaning "human beings." It is not that they failed to recognize other peoples as human, too (they had no racist dogmas), but other tribes were less than Comanches, and *they* were "The People."

The English language had no word for them originally, of course. Nor did the Spanish. But the Spaniards of New Mexico enjoyed first contact with the Comanches and gave the tribe the name by which they were later to be known by Spaniard and American alike.

Early French explorers and the few Americans who penetrated the Great Plains early in the eighteenth century knew the Comanches under their Siouan name, Padouca. But Lewis and Clark, in 1804, knew them only by hearsay and older records. They mentioned the great Padouca nation, "who occupied the country between the upper parts of the river Platte and the river Kanzas," and who "were visited by Bourgemont, in 1724, and then lived on the Kanzas river. The seats, which he describes as their residence, are now occupied by the Kanzas nation; and of the Padoucas there does not now exist even the name."[2] The Padouca had dropped out of existence for the Americans until they were met again as Comanches far to the south a generation later.

It was the Spaniard who taught us to know the Comanches as Comanches. For many years the meaning of the new tribal name was obscure; for it had no roots in the Spanish tongue. Then, nine years ago, Marvin K. Opler unlocked the door to the mystery with a simple key. "Comanche" means "enemy"—not in Spanish but in Ute. In Ute, the word is more exactly rendered *Koméntcia*, which in a fuller sense means "anyone who wants to fight me all the time." Generically the Utes applied this term to the Comanches, Arapahos, Cheyennes,

[1] J. T. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies (1839)* (vol. XXVIII of R. G. Thwaites [ed.], *Early Western Travels*), I, 149.

[2] M. Lewis and W. Clark, *A History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark*, I, 36–37.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Kiowas—all of whom they fought. After 1726, however, the Comanches became the special enemies of the Utes, who fixed the word *Komántcia* on them. The Spaniards picked up the word from the Utes, and the Americans from the Spaniards.[3] 101

In the sign language of the plains, the Comanches are known as the Snakes. The term is still in general use by older members of the tribe. The gesture is made by placing the right hand palm downward, with forearm across the front of the body, and moving it to the right with a wiggling motion. There are two known oral traditions purporting to explain the origin of this term. One, as reported by Quanah Parker, the last Comanche war chief to surrender to the Americans, attributes it to a band of Comanches who were migrating across the mountains to the northwest in search of better hunting grounds. After several days' journey a number of the people became dissatisfied, principally because of the colder climate. The leader called a council to calm their fear, but a part of the group could not be persuaded. In a fit of anger the leader compared his followers to a snake backing up in its tracks. From that day the universal sign language for Comanche has been "snake going backwards."[4]

The other version relates that when a wolf howled in front of a band of Comanches traveling south, part of the group considered it a warning to go no farther. They turned back. The rest selected a new leader and continued their southward migration. Afterwards the southern group referred to those who turned back as "Snakes," the term soon being broadened to include all who remained in the northland, Utes and Shoshones alike.[5]

[3] Equivalent spellings, frequently occurring in earlier literature, are *Comanta, Camanche, Cammanche,* and *Commanche*. For additional information pertaining to Comanche names, see M. K. Opler, "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. XLV (1943), 155–58; James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Bureau of American Ethnology (hereafter cited as B. A. E.) *Fourteenth Annual Report,* Part II, 1043; Robert S. Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* II, 126; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians,* 174; F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 30* (hereafter cited as Hodge, *Handbook*), Part I, 327, 594.

[4] Dick Banks to Bessie L. Thomas (investigator), March 29, 1938, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, University of Oklahoma Library), Vol. V, 61–62. Banks lived for a year with Chief Quanah Parker.

[5] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, University of Oklahoma Library), Vol. CX, 155.

[P.188]

[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

101 The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the extensive territory stretching from the northern [131] boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [484] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and 131 fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

128 * This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which 101 114 this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. 124 A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, 115 an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwhtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog 124 and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic tran- [126] scription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science 122 Research Council of Columbia University whose 114 financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

[p. 140-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 648 439 had been procured from the Spanish. Peaceful trading relations were begun by the Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural products. It seems probable that the French, 175 648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with firearms, also incited them to attack the [721] Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, [439] the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed. ● 101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio 439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-posts were established in 1834 and 1837 648 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

[p. 143-B]

175 726 Because of their courage in battle, the Comanches even won, with certain reservations, the grudging respect of the Anglo-American settlers in Texas. After a fight in 1859, Captain E. K. Smith wrote that "the Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."[1]

175 175 101 The general outlines of Comanche history are well known. Members of the tribe first appeared in the Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico soon after 1700. Prior to that time they seem to have dwelled in the plateau and basin country west of the Rockies in parts of present Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In those early years they apparently formed a single tribe with the Shoshones.

173 According to a native tradition, all the Shoshones were camped together along a river when the young son of a chief was accidentally killed during a kicking game. The incident stirred up bitter feelings, so that the camp broke into two factions. To avoid open hostilities, one group moved north, the Shoshones proper or Snakes, while the people who remained behind eventually drifted east and became the Comanches.

175 101 In the seventeenth century, the Comanches in their several bands probably inhabited the parks just back of the Front Range in Colorado and the country as far as the valley of the North Platte. James

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be re- [197]
garded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado,
and from this vantage point they maintained close
contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and
Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Co-
manches must have first learned of these peoples,
and from them too, they may have acquired their
first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to
shift their camps southward and eastward. No
doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtain-
ing mounts, but at the same time they may have
been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to
the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An
added attraction to the south and east were the
plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos
and Picurís. Thus were the rustics from the northern
wilderness introduced to the material refinements of
more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the cen- 721
tury and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 648
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest.

The first persons against whom the Comanches
displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches
who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos.
As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

the several Comanche bands which resided on the 175 648 728 the eastern limits of New Mexico.

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including 175 648 the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were 728 probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the 101 Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during 175 the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered 101 the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band).

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate 175 hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion 728 of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, 648 Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase [643] his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, [431]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document One

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN COMANCHES, October, 1785, from the report of Pedro de Nava Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, Chihuahua, July 23, 1799.

THE COMANCHES are divided in three branches or tribes known by the names Jupe, Yamparicas, and Cuchanec, or Cuchihantica. The first two inhabit the frontier of New Mexico, and the third, that of Texas. At almost the same time, peace was arranged in both Provinces with this numerous and warlike nation; and the terms settled upon in October of 1785 with the eastern tribe were the following:

175 101 175 648 728

1st That hostilities should cease on both sides, and that in whatever place Spaniards and Comanches might meet, they should treat each other as brothers and good friends.

2nd That the preceding condition is understood to apply not only to the inhabitants of Texas but to all the vassals of the King.

3rd That they should return our captives which they took for ransom, ceasing to engage in such acts against any nation.

4th That they should not admit into their camps any strangers, unless they suppose them to be traders who provide them with merchandise in exchange for hides.

14: Riggs L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 ALTERNATE PHONEMIC ANALYSES OF COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Consonants: Analysis A
2. Consonants: Analysis B
3. Discussion
4. Vowels
5. Stress

128 0. This paper presents two alternate phonemic analyses of the consonants of Comanche, a Uto-Aztecan language.[1] The 128 question involved is whether the sequence h 194 plus consonant should be regarded as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme in 128 this language.[2] In section 3 the relative advantages and disadvantages of each solution will be discussed without any attempt to favor either analysis. The writer, however, prefers analysis B.

128 1. Consonants: Analysis A. In this analy- 194 sis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a consonant cluster.

194 1.1. Stops and spirants generally occur in unique allophones, namely voiceless; h is assimilated to preceding vowels and following nasals.

Stops: p, t, c (an affricate, patterning as stop), kʷ, k, ʔ. Examples: paa *water*, picipə *milk*, taaʔ *son*, peetə *daughter*, caatə *good*, paciʔ *little sister*, kʷeeniʔ *pointed hill*,

[101] [115]

[1] The data on which this paper is based was gathered during the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants were Molly Weryavah, Emily Riddles, and Mrs. Joe Harry. I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin for suggestions in the presentation of the material.

[2] A third possible analysis, that of interpreting preconsonantal h as a voiceless vowel has not been considered due to the fact that Comanche voiceless vowels are contrastive as to quality, while the phoneme h is not. See section 1.1., Spirants.

[p. 229-A]

15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

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0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

193
128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[101] [115] [128]

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[194] [104]

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, kʷ, ʔ; c; s, z, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɨ, Ɨ, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /'/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

[p.93-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began when the child was old enough to under-
868 stand, at about one year according to inform-
856 ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowl-
124 edge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanó·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[101] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the
[122] Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

764 171 101 114

[p. 323-8]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NQ6 Comanche NQ6
Wind River NQ19
Ute NT19

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah. [101]

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

[p. 805]

[p. 806 is blank]

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:— 621 [535] 101

Yápairḕka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natḕka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairḕka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwi nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewṑku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatḕka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō[5]'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā̀r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself. 621 535

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast."[3] [726]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company. 701

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark. 355, 141.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

105 175 131 105 175

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

105

*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

113 177 128 101

[p. 3]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory 175
from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and 648
western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned 175
the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eigh- 101
teenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, 175
the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white 648
civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a [186]
reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche 114
society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2] 114

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] [101] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request [124] [126]

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 163. [113]

3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 122-3. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable
721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of reveriging real or imaginary injuries.

175
101 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called, are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion
101 of the country through which they have ranged time immemorial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the
171 identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(Ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are 175
located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are cer- 721
tainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted [181]
from their political importance, by their habitual indolence,
and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and
protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the pre- 175
sumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly 114
opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements,
they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has
obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The [101]
idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish [162]
from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary
prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their 114
numbers and general character as a close observation dur- 128
ing a residence among them for several months, has en- 175
abled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is- 101
divided into three great parties, each of which is distin- 175
guished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, 101
range through a section of country that is watered by the 133
Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits
both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence 175

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 101 133 of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is 648 721 175 this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio 175 721 701 162 Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 101 133 175 101 184 The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, *Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.*

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained. 161 101 131 101 101 197

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar. 101

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess themselves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 233 241 224 222 462

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

[423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy,
829 what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is
[224] killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1488-1496.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The-
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[657] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
618 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
657 between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came
657 and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference. C W 128 [124] [101]

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale. W 539 171 C 539 171 W 825

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive C W 539 171 [113]

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[101] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621]
[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[122]

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[113]

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

[113]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

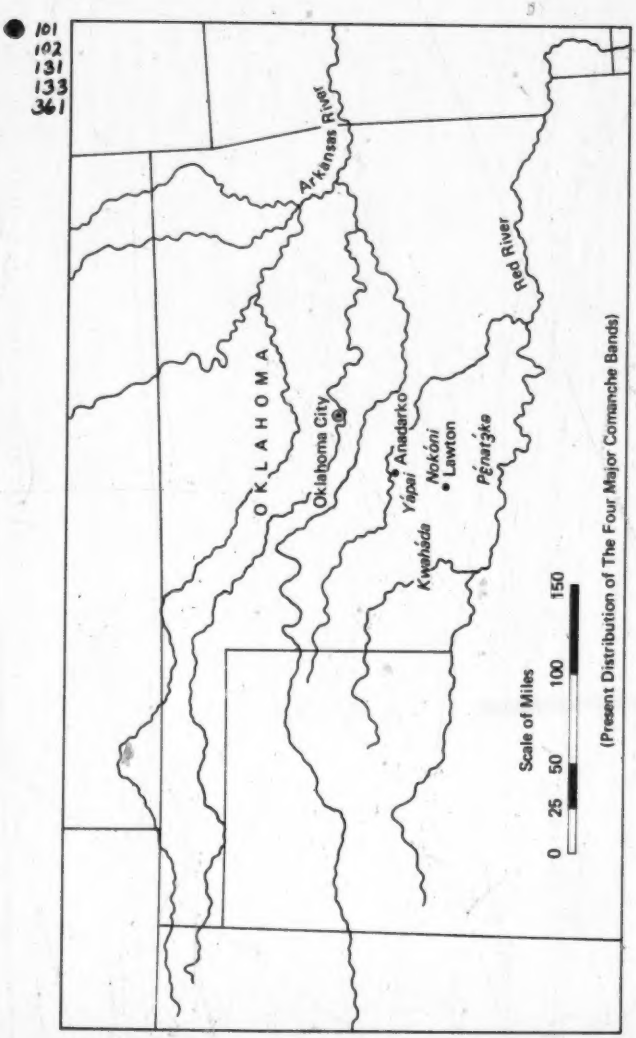
/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



[p. iv]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma.

Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society.

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

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1

The Comanches

Historical Background

THE WORD "COMANCHE" first appeared shortly after 1700 in the records of the colonial administration of the Spanish settlements in the vicinity of Santa Fe, New Mexico. For a long while the etymology of the word was not fully understood since no similar root appeared in the Spanish language. In 1943 some light was thrown on this problem by Marvin K. Opler, in his article "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," who reported that *komanticia* was a Ute word for "enemy." It was applied by the Utes to the Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa before 1726. After this period the Comanches became the major enemies of the Utes, and the word became specifically applied to them. The Comanches were first introduced to the Spanish in New Mexico by the Utes, and thus the word entered the Spanish language from which it was later borrowed into English as "Comanche." 101

The Comanches are speakers of the Uto-Aztecan language family in much the same sense as the English-speaking peoples are members of the Indo-European language family. The Uto-Aztecan group is divided into three major branches—Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean speakers are centered in the Great Basin regions of western North America. The Shoshonean branch can be further divided into Ute-Chemehuevi, Mano-Bannock, and Shoshone-Comanche. The northern Shoshone and Comanche languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest on slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. My Comanche informants noted that the Shoshone Indians speak "Comanche"; however, they speak it rapidly and cut vocalization of their words short. It is from the great similarity in the Comanche and Shoshone languages that the derivation of the Comanche from a Shoshonean parent stock is posited by most authors. 197

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another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them. 173

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes. 167 177 [231] 721

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken. 167 721 648 [177] [411]

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 177 101

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177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands. 177 [184]

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future. 619 621

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hənitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *pənatəkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *hənono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. [174]

The largest Comanche band was the *pənatəkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration. 619 621 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

619 621 657 177 101 The *penatɜkɔ* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

619 621 101 The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsuɛka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 69 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geographic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

101 619 621

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penaɜkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 101 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *penaɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penaɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes." 621 177 619 621 184

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penaɜkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *bɔnisaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma. 101 619 621 184

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 619 621 184 648 721 619 621 184 721 657

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
141 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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About the time we were wondering what we would do with ourselves 484
during the long day in front of us, the Indians began to arrive in their little canvas-covered wagons.

The first two or three dozen wagons used up all the hitchracks in the little town. By noon there must have been 150 of the little miniature prairie schooners parked around the group of buildings that was our town. When the hitchracks were filled, the later arrivals pulled up out on the grass, unhitched, and tied the horses to the rear wheels of the wagons.

These were not our Indians. These were Comanches from the west [101]
and north, along the south side of the Wichita Mountains. All of them were in at least the second day of their journey. They were on 484
their way to an ancient tribal gathering place, across the Red River 628
in Texas. Bands of Comanches had been using this gathering place since before there were white men in North Texas.

Apparently they had arranged to rendezvous at our little settlement, 439
the last trading place on their trail, and make the rest of their journey together. In a little over two miles they would enter the Pasture Reserve, and it would be two more days' journey to the river. The ancient gathering place was on land controlled by the Burnett Ranch. The Burnetts, who had a history of getting along with the Comanches, encouraged the Indians to continue gathering there for their tribal powwows.

Just as there had been a shortage of hitchracks, soon there was a shortage of floor space in the store. For hours the only unoccupied floor was behind the counters. Of course the focal point for everyone—men, squaws, and children—was the stove. After slightly more than sixty years, I still have no desire to describe the scent of all those damp bodies crowded together, mingled with the steam rising from the clothing of those fortunate enough to get within the radius of the stove's heat.

I never knew when our Indians, that is to say the Indians living in our trade territory, joined these strange Comanches. They may even have started the day before. During the several hours these Indians were in town, I saw but an occasional face I had seen before. They were laying in a food supply to last during the time of their gathering, and as a result, by the time we had their wants appeased, our staple groceries were exhausted.

Owing to the inclement weather, they likewise stripped us of

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

no one to compare him with, white or Indian. He was as unique as a new day dawning to the east of the slightly undulating prairie he loved.

He was born into the Comanche stone-age society, probably in 1861 or '62. Their great inland empire, Comanchería, was still intact. History testifies that it had been theirs for 150 years. But that was only the length of time the white man had known the Comanche. From 1700, their ownership stretches back into the dimness of conjecture. Some anthropologists tell us the Comanche had been a separate and distinct tribe for a thousand years when the white man first met him. In any case, in 1861 Comanchería, more than six hundred miles north and south and almost as wide in places, contained thousands of horses to be captured and claimed and millions of buffalo, deer, and antelope for the Comanche's food.

But when the Civil War ended in 1865, a great horde of restless men was released by both armies. Nearly all craved land. Each wanted a home of his own, a place to grow and expand. The Comanche, other plains tribes, and the buffalo were in their road. Comanchería and the horse buffalo culture came to an end.

Sometimes Wer-que-yah would talk a little of when the Comanche world ended for him. Somewhere, out on the Comanche prairie, in what the white man had labeled the Texas Panhandle, his group was overrun by the Army. The unwounded warriors escaped, but the wounded, the aged, and the women and children were captured and taken to Fort Sill.

The Comanche Family Record Book at Anadarko, Oklahoma, indicates that Wer-que-yah would have been fourteen, and the girl he afterward married, Peet-So, six years old at the time of their capture. This would have been in the last half of 1874 or the first half of '75.

Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, commander of the Army in the Middle West, was determined to bring the Indian wars to an end, once and for all. He secured President Grant's consent to place the Army of the Southwest on a twelve months a year, all-out war basis. Provisions for such an effort were assembled, including grain and forage for the horses and mules, and five columns were ordered into the field.

Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Davidson was ordered west out of Fort Sill. He commanded six troops of the 10th Cavalry, three companies of the 11th Infantry, two howitzers, and eighty-five newly recruited

A /Wer-que-yah--Analyst/

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains.
[174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication.
174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes
131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

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ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily
131 southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the x. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

221
224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living
181 in skin tipis. They were long noted as the finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-
142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
(115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Wasih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-a'a*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dálk'inago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camaraches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Dec., vi, 269, 1886. **Causouche.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainh.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Comanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comanoes.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanchos.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumanciss.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeshes.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Da'tsi-a'a.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p.328-A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

101

Ká-máa'-téi.—Dorsey, MS. Biloxi Dict., B. A. E., 1822 (Biloxi name). **Kamoinsh.**—Burton, City of Saints, 75, note, 1861. **Kamomeshes.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776 (probably the same). **Komantas.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 248, 1877. **Komóta.**—ten Kate, Reisen in N. Am., 326, 1885 (Ute form). **Ká-man-i-a-kwe.**—Cushing, Inf'n, 1891 (Zuñi form). **La Padds.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 64, 1806 (French name; cf. *La Playes*, below). **La Plais.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823 (French traders' name; perhaps corrupted from Tête Pelée). **La Play.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 17, 1806. **La Playes.**—Lewis and Clark, Trav., 177, 1809. **La'ri'kta.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Pawnee name). **Le Plays.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 17, 1806. **Los Mecos.**—Bollaert in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., ii, 265, 1850 (Mexican name). **Mahán.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Isleta name). **Mahaas.**—Ibid. (Taos name). **Mamoseos.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 29, 1806 (or *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Na'lani.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Navaho name: 'many aliens,' or 'many enemies'; collective term for plains tribes). **Na'sita.**—Ibid. (Kichai name). **Nar-a-tah.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, ii, 126, 1852 (Waco name). **Na'tás'.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Wichita name: 'snakes,' i. e. 'enemies' or 'dandies'). **Nátáá.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, ii, ix, 1852. **Na-u-al.**—Ibid., i, 518, 1851. **Nazanos.**—ten Kate, Reisen N. Am., 6, 1885 (Navaho name: 'rich ones'). **Nemausin.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d s., ii, 28, 1812 (see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Némo' sá.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (own name). **Nemissau.**—Brown, West. *Gaz.*, 213, 1817. **Nemosaia.**—Am. State Papers, iv, 716, 1832. **Nemoses.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 23, 1806. **Ne'-mo-sin.**—Ibid., 99 (given as their own name; note with Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, and others at heads of Platte and Cheyenne r.; apparently a misprint of Néme'nê or Nimênim, the Comanche name for the mænæves). **Nemousin.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 102, 1905. **Neum.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 166, 1859 (own name). **Ne'-uma.**—Buschmann (1859) quoted by Gatschet, Karankawa Inds., 53, 1891. **Ni'-uma.**—Ibid. **Niméénim.**—ten Kate, Reisen in N. Am., 382, 1885 (own name: 'people of people'). **Mi-mi-ou-nin.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 102, 1905. **Ni'-um.**—Hoffman in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., xxiii, 300, 1886 (own name). **Nianas.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vi, 34, 1857. **Nóta-oah.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Wichita name: 'snakes,' 'enemies'). **No-taw.**—Marcy, Explor. Red R., 273, 1854 (Wichita name). **Numa.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (own name: 'people'). **Padacua.**—Lewis and Clark, Trav., 89, 1807 (misprint). **Padáhka.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1878 (Omaha and Ponka name). **Padawa.**—Ferrin du Lac, Voy. La., 261, 1805. **Paducas.**—Pike, Trav., 347, 1811. **Padukas.**—Fabry (1741) in Margry, Déc., vi, 475, 1886. **Padoucas.**—Breckenridge, Views of La., 50, 1815. **Padoucas.**—Morse, N. Am., map, 1776. **Padoo.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 106, 1905 (Canadian French "nickname"). **Padoucaha.**—Hutchins (1764) quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, iii, 557, 1853. **Padoucas.**—De l'Isle, map, 1712 (Siouan name; perhaps a contraction of Penateka.—Mooney). **Padousses.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, iii, 82, 1854. **Padoucins.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 108, 1905. **Paduca.**—Clarke in Jour. Anthrop. Inst., iv, 132, 1875. **Paducaha.**—Kingsley, Stand. Nat. Hist., pt. 6, 186, 1883. **Paducas.**—Jefferys, Fr. Dom. Am., pt. 1, map, 1761. **Paduka.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1882 (Kansa name). **Paduka.**—Hervas, Idea dell' Univ., xvii, 99, 1784. **Pah-to-aaha.**—Butler in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 29th Cong., 2d sess., 6, 1847. **Panaloga.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, iii, 81, 1858. **Panloga.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 128, 1816. **Panouca.**—Cass in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, iii, 596, 1853. **Panologa.**—Dousy (1667) in Shea, Miss. Valley, 222, 1852 (probably the same; there are many misprints and derivatives of this word, all probably being traceable to this source). **Panologa.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 409, 1862. **Panoloua.**—Ibid., 346 (from Dousy, 1667; misprint). **Panotoca.**—Harris, Coll. Voy. and

[p. 328-B]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

●101 Trav., I, map, 666, 1799. **Panetonka.**—La Hontan, New Voy., I, 130, 1703. **Panouassa.**—Perkins and Peck, Ann. of West, 669, 1850. **Paoducas.**—Alcedo, Dicc. Geog., II, 630, 1787. **Par-too-ku.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852. **Pa-teo'-xa.**—David St Cyr, inf'n (Winnebago name). **Pa-teo'-xä-jä.**—Ibid. **Patonea.**—Barcia, Ensayo, 298, 1723. **Pa-thh-hä.**—Grayson, MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1885 (Creek name). **Pa'-tu-hä.**—Dorsey, Kwapa MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1891 (Quapaw name). **Paxuhä.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1893 (Osage name). **Paxuhke.**—Ibid., 1881 (Iowa, Oto, and Missouri name). **Peducas.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy., 225, 1805. **Pen loca.**—Shea, Pénaloca, 21, note, 1882. **Sänka.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (obsolete Kiowa name). **Sau'hto.**—Ibid. (Caddo name). **Sau'-tuy.**—ten Kate, Synonymie, 16, 1884 (Caddo name). **Selakampém.**—Gatschet, Comecrudo MS., B. A. E. (Comecrudo name for all warlike tribes, especially the Comanche). **Shishiniwotäitan.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 361, 1885 (Cheyenne name: 'snake people'). **Shishine'wits-itäniuw'.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Cheyenne name: 'snake people'). **Shi'shinéwits-hits'ato.**—Mooney, inf'n, 1906 (correct Cheyenne name). **Snake Indians.**—Brackenridge, Views of La., 80, 1815 (see also under *Utas*). **Sow-a-to.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852 (Caddo name). **Tête Pelée.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (French traders' name. "The identification is doubtful, as the Comanche cut their hair only when mourning"). **Têtes pelées.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy., 261, 1805. **Yampah.**—Stuart, Montana, 25, 1865 (Shoshoni name). **Yä'mpaini.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1045, 1896 (Shoshoni name: 'yampa people,' or 'yampa eaters'; cf. *Omamuash*, above). **Yämpairi'kani.**—Ibid.

[P·329-A]

[P·329-B not Processed]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1] 113 114

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche. 114 101 114

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the 177 178

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal
Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

657
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE
The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.
For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.
Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

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(657)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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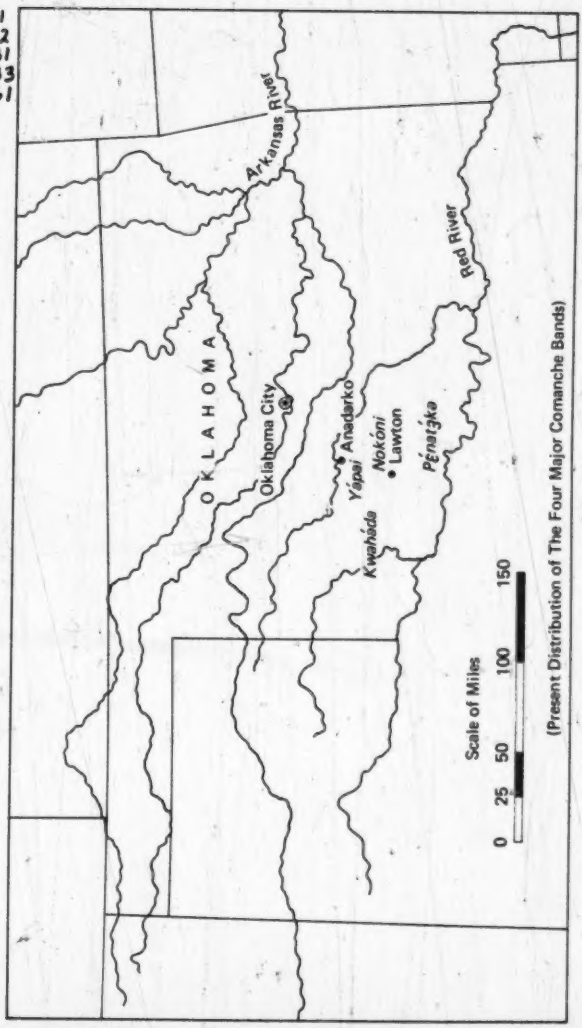

[p. iv]

turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

127 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded 535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is
representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa?
103 *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*

Place names from English:* ?ahpaſeI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksīn *Fazon;* posto·kĪ *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* teksīs *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sirafrī? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rīs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarīmī·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarīmī·? *Fletcher* (*sand town*); tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·- *many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre?
551 (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tihá·no? (tejano) *Texan;* tīrásas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *María*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahci·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Felix;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nī? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* menī·? *Minnie;* míru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 A list of tribal names might also be given
552 here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

* All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

[p. 230-B]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

APPENDIX C

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF INDIAN NAMES

(International Phonetics Association Symbols)

Comanches

A Big Fall By Tripping	piáɹɜpsima
Barking Buttocks	wítawɔwɔki
Bay Mare	óhapia
Bone	tsúnip
Been To See His Son	patuáwunikwai
Blow It Away	pɔ'aika
Breaks Something	tʃikova
Brother-in-law	ʈɜ:tɜ:
Brown Robe	ɔ'tiahɜ
Buffalo	ʈásiwɔ
Buffalo Robe	yóniakʌt
Bull Roarer	wɜ'kɜβuβi
Bull Elk	páɹuakum
Carrying Something Under Her Belt	saídja
Chew Up	kútskwip
Cliff	tɜ'panai
Cooks Dried Meat	kúkap
Coals In A Wood Fire	kútu
Crazy Bear	ísawɜɹa
Crowds Somebody	wútsuki
Dry Tipi	pákikani
Eagle Tail Feather	kwásia
Echo Of The Wolf's Howl	ísɛnanika
Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man	ʈénɛβɜkə
Grey Flat Lying Object	ésihaβit
Holding For Fun	ʈʌ'sʌtsai
Holding Her Sunshade (Carrying Her Sunshade)	hɜ'kiyani
Little	ʈɜ':tɜ
Little Medicine	tɜ'βowakʌt
Looking	púnita
Looking For Fun	ʈɜ'sɜtsaponi
Mangey Coat	tásiaβɔkuɹawa

551
104

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6
Northern Shoshone NR14

C
551
●104

Narrow Gut	kóhi
No Bed	kápewat
Pepper	tʃíeɹa
Red Young Man	ékawɔkani
Robe On His Back	kwáhiɜa
Rocky Creek	ʈɜ'piwnɜ
Salt Worn Out	ónawia
Short Dress	cítaɹa
She Invites Her Relatives (Gets Her Neighbors)	nɜ'mɜɹuiβɛts
Skinny and Wrinkled	ʈɛ'kwitʃi
That's It	ʈásuɹa
Thunder	pɔ'tsensuap
Touch With A Closed Fist	tɔ'kwia
Tongue	ékon
Traveller's Road	nɔ'βɔik

N *Shoshone*
551
104

Climber	tɛ'ndoi
Coyote Droppings	húgwidʌp
Dunking	tɔ'stagwa
Dry Head Of The Penis	pásakant
Knocking Over	ʈɔ'ani
Little Cottontail Rabbit	ʈáβutsi
Little Gulping As If Swallowing	kúnutsi
Little Old Man	wúwutsi
Lost	wáʃiki
Noseless	múβiwʌt
No Testicles	nɔ'yɔwʌt
Red Son	ɛ'ngaʈua
Red Round Object	ɛngaβɔ'nɛkɜ
Water Plant	paínaitɜ
Whispering Voice	sɔ'yɔkant
White Man's Son	taíβoandua

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Linguistic Note

●104 IN THIS BOOK the alphabet of the International Phonetics System has been utilized for Comanche words and names. This method may, at the outset, present a minor difficulty for the person not trained in reading the symbols conventionally used in the system. However, we feel certain that all readers will appreciate the more accurate pronunciation of Comanche that can be conveyed through a scientific linguistic system.

Conventional vowel symbols are pronounced in the continental manner (i.e., *a* = *ah*, *e* = *ay*, *i* = *ee*, *o* = *oh*, *u* = *u*, as in *you*). Variant Comanche vowels are written and pronounced in the following wise:

ɔ = *aw*, ɜ = *e*, as in *er* (pronounced very broad, without sounding the *r*), ɛ = *eh*, as in *get*, ə = *uh*, as in *alone*, ʌ = *u*, as in *shut*. A colon (:) after a vowel signifies that it is prolonged and drawn out. A single quotation mark (') represents a glottal stop.

All Comanche consonants are written and pronounced as in everyday English, except the following:

β = the bilabial fricative, i.e., like a *v* except that the lips are held closed together instead of putting the upper teeth over the lower lip. (Try it!)

ɾ = a "flapped" *r*, one in which the tongue is first placed against the roof of the mouth and quickly let drop while forming an *r*.

t̪ = a dental *t*, formed by placing the tongue against the upper teeth instead of the fore-palate.

[p. xviii is blank]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of 114
larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material 128
in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by 824
scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche 104
plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical 114
Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the 824
very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, 262
p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to I, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĬsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ĭe, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔĭvĭiʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapĬ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
● [104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[*] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [*] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297-301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

197 may be utilized; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[45] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[46]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of
192 function and symbolic meaning regardless of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[47] *# piaʔe·tĪ *gun* (*big bow*); *ta·vE *clock, time of day* (*sun* compare ta·venItĪ *day*); *# nava·kA *bullet, lead* (*its arrow*).

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĪ *4th of July* (*big puha day*); *puharaivo·ʔ *doctor, minister, Christian* (*puha white man*); puharavenItĪ *Sunday* (*puha day*); puharekĪraivo·ʔ *minister* (*puha talk white man*); puharivo·pĪ *Bible* (*puha book, writing*); *puhahuvia *hymn* (*puha song*); puhaknI[48]

[113] [45] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [46] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [47] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ʔ, a, e, i, I, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked # appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[48] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

[p. 219 A]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Explanatory Note

126 These texts were transcribed over a period of years up
115 to 1955 and the whole corpus happens to have come from one informant, a Comanche, Mrs. Emily Riddles, age 75, of Walters, Oklahoma. Materials were carefully corrected by her. After she suffered a severe stroke, further checking was accomplished through Mr. Joe Harry and Mr. Gilbert Coonwoap of Walters and Lawton respectively.

104 Symbols:

p t k s m n w y h i e a u o are conventional.

ʌ is ɨ, back unrounded vowel.

kw and ts are single phonemes of two segments.

b is ƀ, voiced bilabial fricative.

r is ɎY, alveolar flap.

Long vowels are written as ii ee aa uu oo II.

Underlining (_) indicates voiceless (whispered) vowels, e.g. i̲, e̲.

Stress (´) is written only when it does not occur on initial syllables.

Glottal (?) is not written when it occurs prevocalic in initial syllables.

[p.xiv is blank]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Items are listed according to the following alphabetical order: a e i o u ʌ h k kw m n p/b s t/r ts w y ?. Due to their interplay and close relationship with each other, the phonemes p and b are treated in the lists as though they were the same letter. This is also true of the phonemes t and r. 104

With verb forms, phonemes following the slant line indicate the verb form as used in certain dependent clauses best identified as such by the suffixes -tai and -ka. If the phoneme is h, it is added to the verb form. If the phoneme is a voiceless vowel, it replaces the final vowel of the stem.

All possible ramifications of those pronouns listed here are by no means included.

A sincere word of appreciation is given here to Mrs. Helen Seahmer for her extremely valuable help in compiling these lists.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A

aai-mi?a-/ã to lope, sing.
wahka-mi?a- pl.
aawø/awo a cup, a vessel.
ai- bad, evil.
ahi?bʌni-/ɨ to destroy, to plunder.
ahna under the arm or foreleg, the armpit
ahpʌ? father.
ahtakíi? a grasshopper, small.
ahtamúu? a grasshopper, large.
ahwe-/h do dig, to dig up.
ahwepʌ̨ anything dug up.
anáa ouch. For physical hurt, other than a burn.
anikwita-mi?a-/ã to roll, to roll along, as a ball.
animui a housefly.
ata-/atah-/atʌ̨- different, another, other.
atakwa?aʌ? roasted dried corn made into soup with meat or bones.
atakwa?aʌ?ai-/h to partially roast and dry corn.
atakwa?aʌ?aipʌ̨ partially roasted dried corn.
ata-ba-ro?i-/ɨ co come up easily, as water in a creek.
atabitsɨ a tribe or person other than Comanche.
ara? uncle.
arʌka? a deer.
arʌka?-rʌhkapʌ̨ deer meat.

E

estʌ̨/etʌ a bow, for shooting arrows.
ehka see sehka.
eka-/ekapɨ- red.
ekah-puhihwɨ gold, gold money.
eka-kuh-tabea-/h to give forth a red light as from fire.
ekʌ̨-sah-pana? a soldier. (red-chested, early uniforms had red sashes).
ebu see nebu.
esi-toyaabɨ/esi-toya- a grey mountain.
esi-taʌnʌ?i-/ɨ to appear grey.
etʌ see setʌ.
etʌ̨si-kawo?a-/ã to have a soiled or dirt-streaked face.
etʌ̨sipʌ̨ ashes.
e?kabápi? a buzzard. (red head).

I

i- see si-.
ihka see sihka.
ika-/h to go in, to enter, sing.
wekwi- pl.
ikɨ/ikʌ̨hu see sikɨ/sikʌ̨hu.
ina-/h to jerk meat.
i-nakwʌ̨ this direction, (near at hand).
inapʌ̨ jerked meat
ina-waatø/ina-wata poles erected for drying jerked meat.
ibu see sibu.
isa?ai-/h to lie, to tell a lie.
isʌ this, this one, (near at hand, definite).
itʌ see sitʌ.
itʌʌ see sitʌʌ.
itʌh/itʌkwʌ̨ see sitʌh/sitʌkwʌ̨.
itʌ̨hi see sitʌ̨hi.
iyaa?i-/ɨ to watch over, to guard.
i?a- see si?a-.

O

o that, (at a distance), with isa?.
comø/omo the leg, usually the whole leg.

104

oo?rʌ clothing, any type of apparel.
oha-/ohapi- yellow.
oha-?ahnakatʌ/ᵃ a coyote, (yellow under its foreleg).
ohnáa? a baby.
okᵒ/okᵃho see sokᵒ/sokᵃho.
okᵃhi see sokᵃhi.
okwe-/h to flow, of any liquid.
onaabi/ona- salt.
obo that way, over there, (at a distance).
oʌʌ that, that one, (at a distance, definite).
orʌ see sorʌ.
orʌʌ see sorʌʌ.
otʌ-kwasʌkʌ-/ᵃ to cook something brown.
otʌ-/otʌpi brown.
oyetᵃ all.
o?a- see so?a-.
o?yᵃʌʌ every time

U

u 3rd per. sing. (removed).
uih- one of a different kind.
uhka see suhka.
uhri see suhri.
uhtu-/uhu- to give one thing.
himi- to give several things.
ukᵒ/ukᵃhu see sukᵒ/sukᵃhu.
uma-/h to lead animals or people, pl. tsaka- sing.
una?- other side.
usúni always, forever.
uʌʌ that, that one, (removed, definite).
ura-/h to find something, sing.
u?ᵒruhku- to find several things, pl.
urii see surii.
urʌ see surʌ.
134

urʌʌ see surʌʌ.
urʌkwᵃ see surʌkwᵃ
u?3rd per. sing. subj. (removed).
u?a- see su?a-.
u?ahrʌ- anyone.
u?ᵒruhku-/ᵒ to find several things, pl. ura- to find something, sing.

ʌ

ʌ 2nd per. sing.
ʌhʌ a blanket.
ʌhkooi-/h to sleep, pl.
ʌhpʌi- sing.
ʌhpʌi-/h to sleep, sing.
ʌhkooi- pl.
ʌhtsuma-/ᵃ to close the eyes, sing. ʌhtsumi- pl.
ʌhtsumi-/h to close the eyes, pl. ʌhtsuma- sing.
ʌkihtsi? now.
ʌkanaa first.
ʌkʌ-niikwi-/i to be still saying, pl. ʌkʌ-yʌkwi- sing.
ʌkʌ-niwʌsʌ-/ᵃ to be still talking, pl. ʌkʌ-rekwa- sing.
ʌkᵃʌʌ still, yet.
ʌkʌ-rekwa-/h to be still talking, sing. ʌkʌ-niwʌnʌ- pl.
ʌkʌ-yʌkwi-/h to be still saying, sing. ʌkʌ-niikwi- pl.
ʌkwi-/h to smell something.
ʌma-/h to rain.
ʌmah-paa a pond or lake, (rain water).
ʌma-kᵃʌi (rain house), a shelter hung in the teepee to deflect rain coming through the teepee top.
ʌmi 2nd per. sing. obj.
ʌmʌ 2nd per. sing. pos.

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ʌʌʌ/ʌʌ̨ 2nd per. sing. subj.
ʌbia oh, exclamation of surprise by women only.
ʌʌuki-/l̨ to snore.

H

haa yes, affirmative.
haitsį friend, of a man only.
hahpa?ne- a level place between hills or below a hill.
hakai what, how.
hakahpu which way.
hakani what way, in some way.
hakanihku in what way.
hakani?yu- why is it.
hakarʌ who.
hak̨ where.
hani-/l̨ to do, to fix.
haniibį/hani- corn.
hanj̨ka- to be lying somewhere, of objects.
hani-kwaʌʌkʌ-/̨ to roast corn.
hanip̨ anything fixed or prepared.
habi-/h to lie down, sing. kwabi- pl.
habi-kono night cradle. (to lie down-cradle).
haya-rokwe- four.
ha?woka-/h to be hollow.
hima-/h to take several things, pl. yaa- to take one thing, sing.
himi-/h to give several things, pl. uhtu- to give one thing, sing.
hina what, what thing, something.
hini what, what thing, something, subj.
hipe? when.
hipe?aʌ at some time.
hibi-/h to drink.
hibikʌ-/̨ to water an animal.
hibip̨ one who has become intoxicated.
hip̨ a thing, most anything owned by someone.
hora-/h to dig a hole, well.
hua-bokóo? huckleberries.
huu-hima-/h to carry or have a stick, pl. huuh-yaa- sing.
huuhpį/huuh- a tree, stick, club, log, woods.
huuh-yaa-/h to carry or have a stick, sing. huu-hima- pl.
huu-ma-ʌʌap̨ a tree grown by someone.
huu-na-ro?i? a ladder.
huu-ba̧/huba coffee (tree-water).
huu-?awo̧/huu-?awo a mortar, a wooden vessel.
huhkup̨ dust.
huhku-waʌʌ-/̨ to stir up dust, to blow dust.
huhtsu̧u a bird.
hu-nakw̨ outside.
hunu?bį/hunu?- creek, stream, river.
hu-ba-?ai-/h to make coffee.
hubebi-/h to drink coffee. (huba (obj. form)andhibi- to drink, contracted).
haʌʌʌ a few times.
haka-/h to cool off.
haki- a shade, a brush arbor.

K

kaa-kwaku-/h to defeat someone by cheating.
kaa-behka/bek̨- to cheat, deceive.
kah-ku?e teepee-top opening.
kahni/-kʌni house, home, teepee.
kahni-ku?e house top, teepee opening.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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kahni-mi?a-/ṯ to visit. (house-to go).
kahni-tai- a room, a cave.
kahtʌ́i? a neighbor. (from kahni house and tʌi? a woman's friend).
kaku? grandmother. (the wife's mother).
kama-/△ to have a taste, to be tasteful.
kamʌ́uta? sweet potato.
kaną a wing.
kana-bipiku-/h to make fluttering or wing noises.
karʌ-/h to sit down, sing. yʌkwi- pl.
karʌkʌ-/△ to set up a teepee, sing. yʌkwikʌ- pl.
ka?wi-/l to get together.
ku/kee no, negative.
kehena nothing.
keha-wa-/h to be all gone, to no longer have.
kesua-/h to be mean, hard to get along with.
keeʌ before.
keta? don't.
kia expressing wonder, doubt, inquisitiveness, see 1.4.2; 3.14.3; 4.8.5; 5.4.4; 5.7.1; 5.9.1; 5.28.1; 5.35.2; 7.3.2; 7.12.3; 7.20.3; 7.27.2; 8.4.3; 8.30.13; 13.29.1; 14.23.4; 16.22.3; 20.21.5; 22.14.6; 23.19.3; 26.13.4; 28.19.3;
kima-/△ to come.
kooi-/h to die, pl. tʌyaai- sing.
koobą/kobe the face.
koo?i-/l to cut up something.
kohao/-kono a cradle.
kohtoo-/h to make a fire.

kohtoop△ a fire.
ko-noop△ a load of firewood.
kono-ho-nii-/h to fetch firewood, sing. kono-ho-yʌka- pl.
kono-ho-yʌka-/△ to fetch firewood, pl. kono-ho-nii- sing.
kotee-/h to wash.
koyama-/△ to return, to turn back, pl. ko?i- sing.
ko?i-/l to return, to turn back, sing. koyama- pl.
kuhiya-/△ to spy on someone.
kuhma male.
kuhma-bai-/h to have for a to have for a husband.
kuhma-ru-/ṯ to marry, of the woman.
kuh-pitsuni-/l to render, to try out fat.
kuhtsu? a cow, cattle.
kuk△me-?azwą/awo a skillet, used for parching corn.
kumahpʌ? a husband.
kuuną/kuna firewood.
ku-nakʌʌ?i-/l to bob up, to stick the head out, pl. ku-ro?i- sing.
kusi-/kusipi- grey.
kusip△ ashes.
kusi-wʌhpima-/△ to roast something buried in ashes.
ku-ro?i-/l to bob up, to stick the head out, sing. ku-nakʌʌ?i- pl.
kut△-hora-/h to dig a fireplace.
ku-tsitona-/△ to set something on fire, sing. ku-tsitowaka- pl.
ku-tsitowaka-/△ to set several things on fire, pl. ku-tsitona- sing.
ku-wekwakʌ-/△ to rope someone, pl. ku?-nika- sing.

104

ku-wo?nepΔ a burned-out hollow tree trunk.
kuya?a-/ə̲ to be frightened.
kuyunî? a turkey.
kuyúu?si? a quail.
ku?ə̲/ku?e roof, teepee opening, top of mountain.
ku-?ina-/Δ to roast jerked meat.
ku-?inapΔ roasted jerked meat.
ku?-nikakʌ-/Δ to rope someone, sing. ku-wekwakʌ- pl.
ku?si-múura? a grey mule.
ku?-tsi-hima-/h to roast something on a stick, pl.
ku?-tsi-yaa- sing.
ku?-tsi-yaa-/h to roast something on a stick, sing.
ku?-tsi-hima- pl.
ku?-wΔ-hora? a hoe, a mattock.
kʌa-/h to appear, to come out, to climb, to escape, pl.
to?i- sing.
kʌah-bitʌ-/Δ to come out at a certain place, pl.
to?i̲-bitʌ- sing.
kʌʌkə̲/kʌka an onion.
kʌh-ka?a-/ə̲ to bite off a piece of something.
kʌh-kupa-/Δ to bite to death, sing. kʌh-tokwe- pl.
kʌhtaa- tight, strong, hard.
kʌhtaa-nʌe-/h to storm, to blow hard.
kʌh-tokwe-/Δ to bite to death, pl. kʌh-kupa- sing.
kʌh-to?ipΔ leftover or excess food, (something from the mouth).
kʌh-tsia-/h to bite someone.
kʌma?- beside, along the edge of.
kʌsaa-/h to open the mouth.
kʌrʌ?aisi̲ a water lilly.
kʌ-yu?ne-/ə̲ to chew.
kʌ?rabúu? hackberry tree.

KW

kwahi the back, of a person or animal.
kwahi-noo-/h to carry on one's back.
kwaku-/h to defeat someone in a game or race, to win out.
kwabi-/h to lie down, pl. habi- sing.
kwasi̲/kwasi a tail.
kwasikΔ next time, last.
kwasi-naboo? a snake.
kwasu?u̲ a dress, coat, shirt, suit.
kwasu?u̲-tua-/h to get a coat, dress, shirt, suit.
kwasu?u̲-tʌmʌʌ-/h to buy a coat, dress, suit, shirt.
kwasʌ-/h to cook.
kwasʌkʌpΔ something cooked.
kwe?ya-/Δ to be tired, to get tired.
kwihne-/h to turn cold.
kwihne?-nakwΔ north.
kwinuma-/Δ to get dizzy.
kwisi-/h to braid something.
kwi?tanáai? a woman's name.
kwʌhʌ a wife.
kwʌhʌ-/h to catch, to capture.
kwʌhʌpΔ a captive.
kwʌhti-kwʌti̲- to shoot something once, sing. kwʌtiku- pl.
kwʌhti? one who is shot.
kwʌtiku-/h to shoot several times, pl. kwʌhti- sing.

M

ma 3rd per. sing. (near at hand) pos. obj.

maa- 3rd per. sing. (near at hand). with post- positions.

maa/maai 3rd per. sing. (near at hand) obj. of dep. cl.

mahi-ko?i-/1 to return from the warpath.

mahi-mi?a-/2 to go on the warpath.

mahka 3rd per. sing. (near at hand). obj. or with noun obj.

mahkʌ-/makʌ- to drive up animals.

mah-be-/h to drop something from the hand.

mahrl 3rd per. dual. (near at hand). obj. of main vb., subj. of dept. cl.

mahrʌ 3rd per. dual. (near at hand). pos., obj. of post-position.

maka-/h to feed, to give to eat.

maka?muki-/1 to prepare, to get ready.

makʌhu/makʌ/makʌhi here, to here, to it. (near at hand).

ma-kwinuma-/ʌ to make one dizzy, to make one drunk.

ma-kwitso?ai-/h to save someone.

manaa?-nakwʌ still farther off.

ma-nakʌa-/h to make something stick out, sg. **ma-nakʌʌ?i-** pl.

ma-nakʌʌ?i-/1 to make something stick out, pl. **ma-nakʌa-** sing.

ma-nakwʌ far, far off.

mana?koroomi-/1 to cover something over.

mani-/1 to cross over.

ma-nukikʌ-/ʌ to make someone run off.

ma-nʌʌ-sukaa-/h to make one feel (good or bad) in body or spirit.

ma-sukaa-/h to feel with the hand.

ma-saapʌ anything grown by someone.

marii 3rd per. pl. (near at hand). obj. of main vb., subj. or obj. of dep. cl.

ma-ropo?na-/ʌ to make round, to coil, sing. **ma-ropo?mi?i-** pl.

ma-ropo?ni?ipʌ anything made round or into balls.

ma-ropo?ni?i-/1 to make round, to coil, pl. **ma-ropo?na-** sing.

marʌʌ 3rd per. pl. (near at hand). pos., subj. of main vb.

marʌka-/ʌ to finish something.

ma-rʌki-/1 to touch, to put the hand on something.

ma-rʌki?ne-/2 to press down with the hand.

marʌni-/h to hurt someone.

ma-tsʌbaki-/1 to stick something to, to glue, sing.
ma-tsʌbaki?i- pl.

ma-tsʌbaki?i-/1 to stick something to, to glue, pl.
ma-tsʌbaki- sing.

ma? 3rd per. sing. (near at hand). subj. of main vb.

ma?ome-/2 to stir up a fire.

me indicating something spoken. used with verb to say.

meeku now.

meh particle indicating something spoken.

mia-/mi?a-/2 to go.

miakʌ-/ʌ to run after, to chase.

miihtsi?- near, soon, shortly.

mookʌ/moka a branch of a tree.

motsʌ/motso a beard.

motso-taiboo? a bearded white man.

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mo?o̲/mo?o the hand.
mo?obe?- five.
mo?o-tsaai-/h to hold hands.
muura? a mule.
muhne-/h to precede, to go ahead of someone.
muh-pa?arai- on one's face, face downwards.
muhpe? a hoe.
muhpóo?-wanapΔ mosquito netting.
muhyʌ a door, doorway.
muhyʌ-nakwΔ east.
mupi̲-habi-/h to be bent over, as a tree limb.
mubi-pó?roo? a pig.
mubi-pó?roo?-rʌhkapΔ pork, (pig-meat).
muhʌsi-/h to blow the nose.
musamia-/h to worry, to be concerned.
mutsipΔ anything sharp pointed.
mu-yake-/h to blow a horn or other wind instrument.
mʌa the moon.
mʌah-tabe-ba?i-/i̲ to have moonlight.
mʌi 2nd per. pl. obj. of main vb.
mʌhʌ 2nd per. dual. pos., obj. of post-position.
mʌkwΔ 2nd per. dual. subj. of main vb. sometimes mʌh.
mʌmi 2nd per. pl. obj. of dep. cl.
mʌmʌ 2nd per. pl. pos., obj. of post-position.
mʌni-/h to be unable to do something, to fail to do.
mʌnΔ/mʌnʌ 2nd per. pl. subj. of main vb.

N

naahka-/h to continue doing something, to continue to be.
naa-habi-/h to continue lying down, to become one lying down. sing.
naah-kwabi̲ka- pl.
naah-kwabi̲ka-/h to continue lying down, to become one lying down, pl.
naa-habi- sing.
naapg/napo lower leg, foot.
nai?bi a young woman.
nah just, expression of will, see 2.7.2; 2.19.2; 2.44.4; 5.14.5; 5.16.8; 5.28.1; 5.33.4; 6.6.3; 6.14.4; 6.19.4; 7.24.7; 8.30.13; 11.16.4; 11.23.6; 11.35.3; 13.4.1; 13.29.1; 18.22.9; 19.2.2; 19.24.4; 20.26.1; 21.26.5; 22.8.11; 23.4.5; 24.9.6; 26.30.5; 30.3.3; 30.35.3; 35.13.3; 35.25.5; 36.6.5.
nah- with each other, together.
naha-/h to happen, to become, to continue.
nahanii-/h to continue along, sing. nayʌkwi- pl.
naha-bitʌ-/Δ to happen to be somewhere, to come on to someone.
na-himi-/h to give several things to each other. na-?uhtu- sing.
nahubinii-/h to groan.
nahubiyaa-/h to sing a song for someone.
nahnapΔ the oldest child or a grown child.
nahnia a name.
nahnia-maka-/h to give a name to someone.

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nahbi?a- boys which are relatives.
nahwool-/h to cry, pl.
yake- sg.
naka-/△ to hear.
naki the ear.
nakw△sip△ prepared pumpkin.
nakw△si? pumpkin.
na-kw△sʌ-/h to kill each other.
na-kw△sʌka-/△ to make or cause several to be killed, pl.
na-behkakʌ- sing.
na-mah-towʌna-/△ to be leaning against something, sing.
na-mah-towʌni?i- pl.
na-mah-towʌni?i-/l to be leaning against something, pl.
na-mah-towʌna- sing.
na-maka?muki-/l to get one's self ready.
nama-nuhki-/nuki- to run off afraid, sing. nama-nuraa- pl.
nama-nuraa-/h to run off afraid, pl. nama-nuhki- sing.
nama-ro?i-/l to get rid of, to escape from.
nama-runehtsʌ-/-netsʌ- to run to something through fear.
na-mar△ni-/h to hurt one's self.
nam△si-kohtoo-/h to make a fire quickly.
nam△si-tʌhka-/tʌk△- to eat quickly.
nam△soa-/h to change clothes, to get dressed.
nam△soap△ clothing.
nam△soap△-ramʌʌ-/h to buy clothing.
nam△sohi-/h to hurry up.
nanahbiso?ai-/h to be slow in movement.
nanahtena- men relatives.

nanakw△hʌ a married couple.
nanamʌanoo-/h to stall, to delay.

nananʌʌ?mai-/h to tire one's self out, to get tired of something.
na-nih-kupa-/△ to laugh very hard, sing. na-nih-tokwe- pl.
na-nih-tokwe-/e to laugh very hard, pl. na-nih-kupa- sing.
nanisuyake-/e to be pretty, to be beautiful.
nanitsuwa-/h to argue with someone.
na-n△-su?uyaa-/h to be made a laughing-stock.
na-behkakʌ-/△ to cause one to be killed, sing. na-kw△sʌkʌ- pl.
na-bi-so?a-/h to stick one's self with something.
nabit△-buni-/h to look behind one's self.
na-bulhwʌnʌ-/△ to notice one's appearance, to examine one's person.
na-buni-/h to look at one's self, to appear (as to dress).
nap△ shoe, footprint, trail.
nap△-maka-/h to give moccasins away.
na-su-tama-/△ to remember.
na-su-tamʌka-/△ to remind someone.
na-su-tam△-habi-/h to lie down thinking of something.
na-su-waisi-/l to forget. (self-mind-to lose).
na-su-yake-/e to desire, to wish for. (self-mind-to cry).
na-rah-ka?wi-/l to congregate, to get together.

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na-rah-kupa-/△ to give up, to stop trying.

nararana-/△ to gamble over some kind of competition.

na-roh-tʌmʌ? a can, a lid.

na-roh-tsana-/h to be hanging up, sing. na-roh-tsani ?i- pl.

na-roh-tsani ?i-/1 to be hanging up, pl. na-roh-tsana- sing.

na-ropʌsa-/h to be beaded, sing. na-ropʌsi ?i- pl.

na-ropʌsi ?i-/1 to be beaded, pl. na-ropʌsa- sing.

na-rʌhka ? groceries.

na-rʌhka ?-rua-/h to get or receive groceries.

na-rʌhka ?-rʌmʌʌ-/h to buy groceries.

na-rʌhka ?-tsu ?ma-/△ to run out of groceries.

na-rʌki-/1 to be put or placed, sing. na-rʌni ?i- pl.

narami ? owner, master, Lord.

narʌmuhku/narʌmuhku reins.

naramu ?i-/1 to relate, to tell.

na-rʌmʌʌ ? a town, a store.

na-rʌni ?i-/1 to be put or placed, pl. na-rʌki- sing.

na-rʌroo ? a saddle.

na-rʌroo ?-rahni ?i-/1 to saddle up, pl. na-rʌroo ?-rʌki- sg.

na-rʌroo ?-roo ?i-/1 to unsaddle a horse, pl. na-rʌroo ?-ro ?ya- sing.

na-rʌroo ?-ro ?ya-/△ to unsaddle a horse, sing. na-rʌroo ?-roo ?i- pl.

na-rʌroo ?-rʌki-/1 to saddle up, sing. na-rʌroo ?-rahni ?i- pl.

narʌsu/narʌso a sack, a bag.

narʌ ?ʌya-△ to be dangerous, to be mean.

natsa- indicating remonstrance, accusation, complaint. See 2.42.4; 6.3.2; 9.4.3; 12.18.5; 17.23.4.

na-tsah-puni-/h something being tested.

natsamukwe ? grapes.

natsaʌhkʌ ? a saddle girth, a pack girth.

natsa ?ani ? a buggy.

nayʌkwi-/1 to continue along, pl. nahanii- sing.

na ?ani-/1 to roll over or around, sing. na ?ani ?i- pl.

na ?ani ?i-/1 to roll over or around, pl. na ?ani- sing.

na ?arua-/h to fight with each other (not of warfare).

na ?oomo/na ?omo wagon wheels.

na ?oki-/1 to rejoice.

na- ?uhtu-/na- ?utu- to give one thing to each other, sing. na-himi- pl.

na ?kʌhtaba ?i ? pecans.

na ?ʌʌmʌ/na ?ʌʌmʌ- a relative, a tribesman.

na ?nʌbe ?- divided evenly.

na ?'seeka ? persimmons.

na ?renahpʌ ? a man relative.

na ?tso ?me ? dried plums.

na ?wa ?ihpʌ ? a woman relative.

na ?yʌne-/h to laugh, pl. yahne- sing.

niikwi-/1 to say to someone, with the particle me.

niha-/h to name someone, to be called.

nimai-/h to call someone, to call out for someone.

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nimaihkana the one who is called.

ni-nʌ-su-tamakʌ-/ʌ̨ to be reminded by something someone says.

niwai-/h to ask for.

ni-wekwi-/h to invite in, pl.
ni-ʔika- sing.

niwʌʌʌ-/ʌ̨ to say, to talk, pl.
tekwa- sing., to talk. **yʌkwi-** sing. to say.

ni-yu-karʌ-/h to sit still and keep quiet.

niʔatsi-/į to give advice to.

ni-ʔika-/h to invite in, sing.
ni-wekwi- pl.

noo must, indicating definiteness. See 2.24.4; 3.10.3; 5.9.3; 5.16.9; 5.28.4; 5.35.2; 7.6.4; 7.22.4; 12.18.9; 14.20.1; 15.23.5; 19.35.1; 22.19.5; 30.35.4.

noo-/h to carry off, to haul.

nooh-pitʌ-/ʌ̨ to arrive carrying.

noo-mani-/į to carry across.

noopʌ̨ a load of anything.

nooʔbį/nooʔ- a hill, a knoll.

noha nearly.

nohi-/h to play.

nohi-nuraa-/h to run around and play.

nohi-tʌstʌ a doll, a playtoy.

nohiʔ any kind of playtoy.

nohiʔ very.

nohiʔ-waikinʌ̨ a play-wagon.

nohiʔ-wobi-puuku/puku a toy wagon. (to play-wood-horse).

nohko-/nokʌ̨- to bake biscuits.

nohko-ʔaswʌ̨/ʔawo a biscuit oven.

nokaʔi-/į to move off, to camp separately from the main group.

no-kima-/ʌ̨ to come moving.

no-miʔa-/ą to move away, of a camp or home.

nomohka-/nomokʌ̨- to put a bridle on a horse.

no-bitʌ-/ʌ̨ to arrive and camp.

no-bʌahrai-/h to move away leaving someone behind.

norʌ̨na-/h to make a bed.

norʌ̨napʌ̨ a made-up bed.

notsaʔkaʔ a sweetheart, with generally a bad connotation.

noʔi-/į to pluck, to pick a bird.

nuhki-/nuki- to run away, to run off, sing. **nuraa-** pl.

nanuruwʌ-/ʌ̨ to run off one by one rather than as a group.

nuraa-/h to run away, to run off, pl. **nuhki-** sing.

nʌ- 1st per. sing.

nʌ 1st per. sing. pos., obj. of main vb., obj. of post-position.

nʌʌ 1st per. sing. obj. of dep. cl.

nʌena a wind.

nʌepį/nʌa- a wind.

nʌstʌ 1st per. sing. obj. emphatic.

nʌʌh-kupa-/ʌ̨ to trip one's self, to fall down.

nʌʌh-kwitubi-/į something wrapped up.

nʌʌh-tʌmąʔ a fence.

nʌʌmʌ̨/nʌmʌ a Comanche, sometimes of any Indian.

nʌʌ-sukaa-/h to feel (good or bad) in body or spirit.

nʌʌ-taʌ̨kʌna-/ʌ̨ to be tied up.

nʌʌʔ/nʌʌ one or ones spoken to, usually imperative. see 1.7.3; 1.11.2; 3.6.4; 3.25.9; 5.18.3; 9.12.4; 16.26.5; 19.32.5; 22.3.12; 22.25.10; 26.9.8; 26.28.8; 28.11.5; 33.4.3.

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ʌʌʔ-kwipuna-/ʌ̨ to twist one's self around something.

ʌʌʔmai-/h to get tired of, to get lazy.

ʌhi 1st per. dual exclusive. obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl.

ʌhka-/ʌkʌ̨- to dance.

ʌhkana a dance, dancing.

ʌkwʌ̨ 1st per. dual exclusive subj. of main vb.

ʌmi 1st per. pl. exclusive. obj. of main vb., obj. or subj. of dep. cl.

ʌmi-/h to move about, to walk, sing. yʌka- pl.

ʌmʌ 1st per. pl. exclusive. pos., obj. of post-position.

ʌmʌ̨-hanĩ Indian corn, squaw corn.

ʌmʌ-kahni a teepee. (Indian-house)

ʌmʌ-kuhtsuʔ buffalo. (Indian-cattle).

ʌmʌ-naahka-/h to dwell, to live somewhere.

ʌmʌ-nahnia an Indian name.

ʌmʌ-narʌmʌʌʔ trading post, Indian store.

ʌmʌ-renahpʌʔ a Comanche man, sometimes any Indian man.

ʌmʌ-ruibihtsiʔ a Comanche brave, sometimes any Indian young man.

ʌmʌ-tsuhni Indian bones, bones of a human being.

ʌmʌ̨/ʌmʌ 1st per. pl. exclusive, subj. of main vb.

ʌmʌmʌnĩ-tʌhtsʌ very badly, very poorly.

ʌmʌ- yʌ́wiʔ an alligator. (people-swallows).

ʌʔ 1st per. sing. subj. of main vb.

P

paa water.

paakʌ/paka an arrow.

paapi/papi the head.

paa-rua-/h to come up, to rise, as water in a creek.

pa-habi-/l to swim, sing.
pa-kwabi- pl.

pahi-/h to fall, to be born, to attack (sing. only). sing.
yuma- pl.

pahi-bah three separate items.

pahoopi/pahopi hail.

paho-ʔʌma-/h to hail. (hail-to rain).

pahtsi-noʔi-/l to pluck, to pick a bird clean.

pa-kwabi-/l to swim, pl.
pa-habi- sing.

pa-mu-kwarʌʔrʌki-/l to make bubbles in the water.

pamutsaaʔ a bend in a creek.

pamʌ̨tsoʔno debris left when flood water recedes.

pabiʔ a brother older than yourself.

paaa-/h to dry something.

pasah-tah-niʔi-/l to set something out to dry, pl.
pasah-tahtʌki- sing.

pasah-tah-tʌki-/l to set something out to dry, sing.
pasah-tahniʔi- pl.

paaa-nua-/h to go down and begin to dry up, as a creek.

pasiwaapi/pasiwapi sand, fine gravel.

pasiwa-nooʔ a sand hill, a dune.

paraibooʔ chief, boss, agent.

paratsihkweʔe-/h to shine, as metal, animal's eyes, etc.

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pa-ro?i-/1 to come up, to rise, as water in a creek.
parúuku? a raccoon.
patu-tsani-/1 to get hung up along the water's edge, sing.
patu-tsania- pl.
patu-tsania-/h to get hung up along the water's edge, pl.
patu-tsani- sing.
paraΛkwihtsipΔ switches, new tree shoots.
paraΛtsohpe? a spring of water.
patsi? a sister older than yourself.
payaapø/payape a kind of potato-like root.
pa?a- long, high, tall.
pa?arai- to be on one's back, face upwards.
pa?ipoke-/ø to be wet, to be soaked.
pa?sahpu'nii? oak tree.
pehka-/pekΔ- to kill, sing.
waaΛ- pl.
pekwi-/h to swell up.
peti-/h to throw something down.
petih-tai-/h to throw something down in order to dispose of it.
petΛ? a daughter.
petaΛ-/h to invite, to take along someone.
pia-/piapΔ- big, large, loud.
pia particle used with ?aa (taa) to mean because.
pia? mother.
pihi/pihi the heart.
pi-hima-/h to carry behind one, as on a horse, pl.
pi-yaa- sing.
pihi-ni?apΔ a coward.
pihi?a- boys, pl.
tuinΛhpΛ? sing.
pihka-/pikΔ- to make a drumming or repetitive noise, sing.
pipiku- pl.
pihnáa? sugar.
pihná-kama-/Δ to taste sweet.
pika-namΔsoapΔ buckskin clothes.
pikapΔ buckskin.
pimo'roo? a cow.
pimo'roo?-taiboo? a cowboy.
pina emphatic locative, there! it is — see 2.27.1; 22.21.1; 24.12.1; 24.14.1.
pipiku-/h to make a drumming or repetitive noise, pl.
pihka- sing.
pisaa-/h to apply make-up, to put on war-paint.
pi-sikwanúu?i-/1 to slide in a sitting position.
pisΛΛki-/1 to pace, as a horse.
pituΛ back, (direction).
pitΛ-/h to arrive.
pitsipΔ milk.
pitsipΔ-bimo'roo? a milk cow.
pi-wokΔ-/Δ to drag someone or something.
pi-yaa-/h to carry behind one, as on a horse, sing.
pi-hima- pl.
pi?to?na?i bobtailed.
poo-/h to write, to design.
pohpi-/popi- to jump, sing.
pohbia- pl.
pohbia-/h to jump, pl.
pohpi- sing.
pokopi berries, fruits, nuts, goodies.
pomΔ-/Δ to pick fruit, berries, nuts.
pomana the process of picking berries, fruits, nuts.

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pomapΔ anything which has been picked, as berries, fruits, nuts.
po?a cover, bark, skin.
po?ayaa-/h to blow away, to be carried off by the wind.
po?sa-hapΔ anything done of a mischievous nature.
po?sa-bihi?a- mischievous boys.
po?sa? crazy, mischievous.
po?tse-/h to bounce, to jerk.
pui/puih the eye.
puih-wʌʌʌ-/Δ to examine, to look over.
pmuku/puku a horse, personal and specific.
puha/puha medicine, spiritual power.
puha-na-maka?mukipΔ paraphernalia for a ceremony, peyote meeting, prepared herbs, rattles, gourds, etc.
puha-rabeni Sunday.
puhipΔ/puhi- grass, leaves, weeds.
puhihwi money, occasionally any kind of metal.
puhihwi-kahni a bank building.
puhihwi-maka-/h to give money to.
puhihwi-paraiboo? a banker.
puhihwi-taa-/h to get money, to have money.
puhihwi-yaa-/h to receive money, sing.
puhihwΔ-hima- pl.
puhihwΔ-hima-/h to receive money, pl.
puhihwi-yaa- sing.
puhi-bihnáa? a watermelon (leaf-sugar).
puhitóo? a turkey. (grass-to grass).
puhwaai-/h to look for, with the eyes.
puku-tsaka-/Δ to lead a horse or another animal.
puni-/h to see, to look at.
putsiwaipΔ a dead, white, dried tree-trunk.
pu?e/pu?e road, trail, path.
pʌ 3rd per. sing. pos., with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.
pʌa-/h to leave, to forsake, to quit.
pʌah-tai-/h to forsake someone, to desert.
pʌehtapΔ an old person, an old-time Indian.
pʌeea already.
pʌetsΔku morning.
pʌetsΔkuʌ early morning.
pʌewatsi? wild.
pʌewatsi?-kʌʌka/kʌka a wild onion.
pʌi 3rd per. pl. obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.
pʌʌ 3rd per. pl. pos. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.
pʌhi 3rd per. dual, obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.
pʌhʌ hair, fuzz, certain types of vegetation.
pʌhʌ 3rd per. dual, pos. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.
pʌhʌ-tsahkwe?ya-/Δ to skin an animal.
pʌhʌ-wahtΔ/pʌhʌ-wahtʌ the prairie.
pʌhtsa-/pʌtsΔhah- to burst, to explode.
pʌkΔ/pʌkΔhu/pʌh- where, a place, (followed by a description).
pʌkwΔ 3rd per. dual in the imperative.

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pʌmi 3rd per. pl. obj. of dep. cl. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌmʌ 3rd per. pl. obj. of dep. cl. (-ha), obj. of post-position, with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌnʌ/pʌnʌ 3rd per. sing. intensive with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

bbb bbb bbb description of noise made by the bouncing skull.

S

saa-/h to boil something.

samokpʌ? a sibling, male or female.

sanahkena the sap of a tree.

sanah'koo? chewing gum.

sanah'koo?-kʌyu?ne-/g to chew chewing gum.

sapʌ̨ stomach.

saraa an item no longer recognized as meaningful.

sarii? a dog.

sehka/ehka those (scattered) obj. or with noun obj.

sekwi-kʌ̨ni a storm cellar, a sod or mud house.

sekwipʌ̨ mud.

seni- different ways, various ways.

senihtʌhtsi? one of an inferior kind.

sebu/ebu different ways, various directions.

setʌ/etʌ those (scattered), subj. or with noun subj.

si-/i- this (near at hand), obj. of post-position.

sihka/ihka this (near at hand) obj. or with noun obj.

sihwa-/ʌ̨ to tear something.

sikj/sikʌ̨hu/ikj/ikʌ̨hu here, to here. (near at hand).

sini like this, this way.

sibe-/h to shave off, to scrape off.

sibepʌ̨ anything scraped or shaved off, shavings.

sibe?nikiyu- from now on.

sibu/ibu this direction, this way, (near at hand).

sitʌ/itʌ this (near at hand). subj. or with noun subj.

sitʌʌ/itʌʌ these (near at hand). subj. or with noun subj.

sitʌ̨hi/itʌ̨hi these, dual. (near at hand). obj. or with noun obj.

sitʌh/sitʌkwʌ̨/itʌh/itʌkwʌ̨ these, dual (near at hand). subj. or with noun subj.

si?a-/i?a- somewhere, someplace, (near at hand).

soo- many, much.

soo-kʌ̨ni town, village.

soo-be?sʌ a long time ago.

soho-kʌa-/h to climb, pl.

soho-ro?i- to climb, sing.

sohobokóo? a mulberry tree.

soho-ro?i-/l to climb, sing.

soho-kʌa- pl.

sokoobj/sokobi ground, earth.

sokg/sokʌ̨ho/okg/okʌ̨ho there, to there (at a distance).

soko-kima-/ʌ̨ to come walking.

sokohna land, country.

soko-rʌisʌpʌ̨ a mile. (land-count).

sokʌ̨hi/okʌ̨hi there, to there (at a distance). in dep. cl.

sonipʌ̨/soni- grass.

soni-too-/h to graze on grass.

sorʌ/orʌ that, that one (at a distance), subj. or with noun subj.

sorʌʌ/orʌʌ these, those ones (at

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a distance), subj. or with noun subj.

so?a-/o?a- somewhere, someplace (at a distance).

sua-/h to think.

suabetai-/h to recognize, to know, to learn.

suurʌ see **surʌ**.

suhka/uhka that, (removed). obj. or with a noun obj.

suhri/uhri those, those ones, dual (removed). obj. or with a noun obj.

sukᵤ/sukᵤhu/ukᵤ/ukᵤhu there, to there (removed).

suni that way (method, not direction).

supana?i-/i to know of, to know about, to know someone.

sube?sʌ at that time.

sube?tʌ that is all, the end of it, as of a story.

sutaai-/h to bless someone.

surii/urii those, those ones (removed). obj. or with noun obj.

surʌ/urʌ that, that one (removed). subj. or with noun subj.

surʌʌ/urʌʌ those, those ones (removed). subj. or with noun subj.

surʌkwᵤ/urʌkwᵤ those, those ones, dual (removed). subj. or with noun subj.

suwani-/h to want, to desire.

su?a-/u?a- somewhere, someplace, (removed).

su?urn-/ᵤ to think of something, to have an idea.

su?uyaa-/h to laugh at someone or something.

sʌz-/h to grow.

sʌʌ together, of a group.

sʌʌhpe?sʌ all at once, all at the same time.

sʌʌh-po?tse-/g to kick a thing over, away, off.

sʌkweebi/sʌkwebi/sʌkwe- half, the end of a row.

sʌ-me referring to something particular that was said.

sʌmᵤ-/sʌmʌ-/sʌmʌh- with verbs, indicating something done completely, thoroughly.

sʌmʌ-ku-tsiitona-/ᵤ to set completely on fire, sing.

sʌmʌ-ku-tsiitowaka- pl.

sʌmʌ-ku-tsiitowaka-/ᵤ to set completely on fire, pl.

sʌmʌ-ku-tsiitona- sing.

sʌmʌ-kwʌsʌ-/h to cook everything, to complete cooking.

sʌmʌ-na?ane-/h to be alike or similar in some sort of succession.

sʌmʌ-na?ani-/i to roll around thoroughly.

sʌmʌ-noo-/h to haul off completely.

sʌmʌ-no-kima-/ᵤ to come moving the whole camp or everybody.

sʌmʌ-no-mi?a-/a to move away the whole camp or everybody.

sʌmʌ-sihwa-/ᵤ to be torn completely.

sʌmʌ-soko-raisapᵤ one mile.

sʌmᵤsʌ once.

sʌmʌ-rayu?se-/g to pound something completely or thoroughly.

sʌmʌ-rahka-/rakᵤ- to eat up completely, to devour.

sʌmʌ? one, someone.

sʌmʌ-?okwe-?h to float everything completely away.

sʌmʌ-?oyeiᵤ everyone.

sʌmʌ-?ahtsumi-/h to close the eyes tightly, without exception.

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ʌʌʌmʌ? some.
ʌʌʌ?ana sometimes.

T

ta see taa.
taa- to be morning, to become day.
taa 1st per. pl. inclusive, pos.
taama/tama a tooth.
taa-maka-/h to make breakfast for.
taabe/tabe the sun.
taa-rʌhka-/rʌkʌ- to eat breakfast.
taa-yori-/h to get out of bed in the morning, to arise, pl.
taa-yʌtsʌ- sing.
taa-yʌtsʌ-/h to get out of bed in the morning, to arise, sing.
taa-yori- pl.
tai 1st per. pl. inclusive, obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl.
tai-/taina a hole, a cave, a room.
taiboo? a white man.
taiboo?-ekʌ-sah-pana? a white soldier.
taiboo?-bihnʌ́? cantaloupes.
tah see takwʌ.
tahi 1st per. dual inclusive, obj. of main vb., obj. or subj. of dep. cl.
tahiba-/tahibah- anything flat, of objects.
tah-koba-/ʌ to break or snap off with the foot.
tah-kʌa-/h to drive something out, pl. ta-?ika- sing.
tah-kwe?ya-/ʌ to take off the shoes, sing. tah-kwe?yu?i- pl.
tah-kwe?yu?i-/l to take off the shoes, pl. tah-kwe?ya- sing.
tah-ni?i-/l to put something away, pl. tah-tʌki- sing.
tah-too-/h to put on shoes.
tah-tʌki-/l to put something away, sing. tah-ni?i- pl.
tah-tʌma-/ʌ to close, to shut, sing. tah-tʌmi?i- pl.
tah-tʌmi?i-/l to close, to shut, pl. tah-tʌma- sing.
takwʌ 1st per. dual inclusive, subj. of main vb.
tahʌ 1st per. dual inclusive, pos., obj. of post-position.
tabú?kina? a rabbit.
tami? a brother younger than yourself.
tamih-tsi?-benihtʌh-tsi? dear little brothers, a term of endearment.
tamutʌso?l-humu?bl/l briar creek.
tamutʌso?i? briars.
tamʌ 1st per. pl. inclusive, pos., obj. of post-position., subj. obj. of -ha cl.
tanʌ/tanʌ 1st per. pl. inclusive, subj. of main vb.
ta-ʌʌ?yʌki-/h to make a sound of footsteps, to make a running noise.
tabeenl/l morning, day.
tabe-tahka-/tʌkʌ- to eat dinner.
tabe-?ika-/h to go down (of the sun), to be sunset.
ta-pʌhe-/h to remove, to take off, to drop, (involving foot or claw), sing, ta-yumi?i- pl.
tasʌkʌ-puni-/h to squint, to look through slitted eyes.
ta-wiʌ-/h to wear out shoes.
ta-wʌna-/ʌ to stake down, to nail down, sing. ta-wʌni?i- pl.
ta-wʌni?i-/l to stake down, to nail down, pl. ta-wʌna- sing.
ta-yaa-/h to carry something in the claws.

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104 tayaahkana something carried in the claws.
ta-yumi?i-/i to remove, to take off, to drop (involving foot or claw), pl. ta-pʌhe- sing.
ta-yu?ne-/g to pound with a pestle, to crush.
ta-?ika-/h to drive something out, sing.
tah-kaa- pl.
ta?oo? dried pounded meat.
ta?oo?-hima-/h to get or receive pounded meat, pl.
ta?oo?-yaa- sing.
ta?oo?-yaa-/h to get or receive pounded meat, sing.
ta?oo?-hima- pl.
ta?ura-/ʌ to meet someone.
ta?kwʌbai-/h to shoot a gun, pl.
ta?wo?i- sing.
ta?siwóo? a buffalo.
ta?siwóo?-rʌhkapʌ buffalo meat.
ta?siwóo?-wana-?ʌhʌ a buffalo skin blanket.
ta?wo?i-/i to shoot a gun, sing.
ta?kwʌbai- pl.
ta?wo?i? a gun.
takwa-/ʌ to speak, to talk, sing.
niwʌnʌ- pl.
takwʌ-ni-/h to announce, to make a public proclamation.
tenahpʌ? a man.
too-/h to graze (as cattle).
too-nii-/h to graze from place to place, sing.
too-yʌhka- pl.
too-yʌhka-/yʌkʌ- to graze from place to place, pl.
too-nii- sing.
too?i-/i to whitch a horse, pl.
to?ya- sing.
to-hima-/h to lift up, to carry in arms, pl. to?-yaa- sing.
tohoobg/e the hindquarter of an animal.
toh-kaa-/h to help one mount, to go out forcibly, pl.
toh-to?i- sing.
toh-poroa-/h to scatter by force.
toh-to?i-/i to help one mount, to go out forcibly, sing.
toh-kaa- pl.
toh-tʌma-/ʌ to stop up, to can something, sing.
toh-tʌmi?i- pl.
toh-tʌmi?i-/i to stop up, to can something up, pl.
toh-tʌma- sing.
toh-tsana-/h to hang something up, sing. toh-tsani?i- pl.
toh-tsani?i-/i to hang something up, pl. toh-tsana- sing.
tokwe- exact.
to-kwite-/h to peep into something.
tomo-/tomo- to be winter, a year.
tomoa-/h to cloud up.
toponiweki- round, spherical, in a circle.
tobo?i-/i to stand, pl.
wʌnʌ- sing.
tosa-/tosapi- white, silver.
tosah-puhihwi/i silver money.
tosa-na-buni-/h to appear white, to look white in color.
toyaabi/tuya- a mountain.
toyopʌ the neck.
to?i-/i to appear, to come out, to climb, to escape, sing.
kaa- pl.
to?i-bitʌ-/ʌ to come out at a certain place, sing.
kaah-bitʌ- pl.

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to?-kwΔria-/h to spill out, to pour on.

to?-nika-/Δ to load something (wagon, gun, sack). to put something into something else, sing. tʌbaki- pl.

to?-wʌ?weni-/l to empty something.

to?ya-/Δ to unhitch a horse, sing. too?i- pl.

to?-yaa-/h to lift up, to carry in arms, sing. to-hima- pl.

tua-/h to have a child.

tua? a son.

tuinʌhpʌ? a boy, sing. pihi?a- pl.

tuibihtsi? a young man, a brave.

tuu-/h to get or fetch water.

tuu-hu-nii-/h to fetch water, sing. tuu-hu-yʌka- pl.

tuu-hu-yʌka-/Δ to fetch water, pl. tuu-hu-nii- sing.

tuu-kʌ-mi?a-/a to go get water for someone.

tuupΔ water being carried.

tu-hani- something black.

tuhu/tuhu bone marrow.

tuhupi-/tuuh- black.

tuhubʌhka-/tuhubʌkΔ- to get angry.

tuhu-rʌhka-/rʌkΔ- to eat bone marrow.

tu-hʌkia-/h to have deep or dark shade.

tuhkanáai? Wichita Indians.

tuhkanáai?-bihi?a- Wichita Indian boys, pl.

tuhkanáai?-tenahpʌ? Wichita Indian man.

tuhkanáai?-niwʌʌʌ-/Δ to speak Wichita, pl.

tuhkanáai?-rekwa- sing.

tuhkanáai?-rekwa-/h to speak Wichita, sing.

tuhkanáai?-niwʌʌʌ- pl.

tuhku/tuhku human flesh.

tuhpokóo? tree-grown black berries with a hard seed. (not choke-cherries).

tuhpokóo?-huuhpi/l a tree bearing black berries with a hard seed.

tuhtsaiwai- to be clean, to be pure.

tukani-/l to become night, to get dark.

tukani/tukaani night.

tunehtsʌ-/tunetsΔ- to run, to run to something.

tusi-/h to spit.

tʌʌ/rʌʌ 'it is said'. complete meaning is still dubious. see the second item of each new text and 4.10.1; 5.7.1; 9.3.3; 15.23.4; 16.1.3.

tʌʌʌʌ also, again, and.

tʌe- little, small.

tʌeh-puha-rabeni Saturday. (little-Sunday).

tʌe?tʌ a little one, a child.

tʌi? a woman's friend.

tʌʌh-ka?a-/a to chop with an axe, sing. tʌʌh-pomi?i- pl.

tʌʌh-ka?a? an axe.

tʌʌh-pomi?i-/l to chop with an axe, pl. tʌʌh-ka?a- sing.

tʌʌhtsohpe? rendered bone marrow.

tʌʌpe/tʌpe the mouth, the lips.

tʌʌpi/tʌpi a stone, a rock.

tʌ-hani-/l to butcher.

tʌ-ha?woka-/Δ to be hollow.

tʌ-hima-/Δ to get or receive rations.

tʌ-himaʌʌ rations.

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tʌ-himʌ̨-rabeni ration day.
tʌboi-/h to go hunting.
tʌhʌʌyʌ/tʌhʌya a horse (general term). see puukʌ.
tʌhʌya-karʌ-/h to ride horseback, sing. tʌhʌya-yʌkwi- pl.
tʌhʌya-kʌa-/h to mount on horseback, pl. tʌhʌya-ro?i- sing.
tʌhʌya-ro?i-/i̧ to mount on horseback, sing. tʌhʌya-kʌa- pl.
tʌhʌya-yʌkwi-/h to ride horseback, pl. tʌhʌya-karʌ- sing.
tʌhka-/tʌkʌ̨- to eat.
tʌhka-nʌmi-/h to move about eating, sing. tʌhka-yʌka- pl.
tʌhkapʌ̨ meat.
tʌhkapʌ̨-rua-/h to get meat, to receive meat.
tʌhka-yʌka-/ʌ̨ to move about eating, pl. tʌhka-nʌmi- sing.
tʌhpe?- full.
tʌhpe?-kʌa-/h to fill up something.
tʌh-tʌki-/i̧ to plant one thing.
tʌrʌ̨ni?i- pl.
tʌke-/h to hunt several days away from the main camp.
tʌki-/h to put something away, sing. tʌhni?i- pl.
tʌkʌ̨-hima-/h to take to eat, pl. tʌkʌ-yʌa- sing.
tʌkʌh-mani-/i̧ to prepare a meal.
tʌkʌh-manipʌ̨ something prepared to eat.
tʌkʌh-pehka-/pekʌ̨- to kill something to eat, sing. tʌkʌ-wasʌ- pl.
tʌkʌh-tʌmʌʌpʌ̨ something purchased to eat.
tʌkʌ-noo-/h to carry along food.
tʌkʌ̨-soma-/ʌ̨ to spread a cloth on which to place food to eat.
tʌkʌ-wasʌ-/h to kill things to eat, pl. tʌkʌh-pehka- sing.
tʌkʌ-yʌa-/h to take to eat, sing. tʌkʌ̨-hima- pl.
tʌkʌ-?ahwe-/h to dig up something to eat.
tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌkʌ-/h to kill for meat, to butcher, pl. tʌ-behka- sing.
tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌkʌ-/ʌ̨ to roast something over coals.
tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌkʌpʌ̨ roasted meat.
tʌ-mah-kupa? a panther.
tʌ-maka-/ʌ̨ to pay someone.
tʌ-ma-kotse-/h to wash dishes.
tʌmarʌʌmoa- much, many, a lot.
tʌmeh-/tʌme- to gamble.
tʌmʌʌ-/h to buy, to trade.
tʌ-mʌ̨-sʌapʌ̨ crops.
tʌnahyaa-/h to trail something (of dogs).
tʌnaki- quiet, calm, soundless.
tʌnikwʌ-/ʌ̨ to sing.
tʌ-nookʌ-/ʌ̨ to load an animal, etc.
ʌ-noopʌ̨ a pack, for an animal.
tʌ-noo-wapi̧ a pack animal.
tʌbaki-/i̧ to load something (wagon, gun, sack). to put something into something else, pl. to?-nikʌ- sing.
tʌpana the bank of a creek, an incline.
tʌ-behka-/tʌ-bekʌ̨- to kill for meat, to butcher, sg. tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌ- pl.
tʌ-behkapʌ̨ something killed for food.
tʌbinaa?wekʌ̨- one-half, divided in half, in the middle of.
tʌbitsi̧-/tʌbitsi-/tʌbitsʌ̨- really, surely, very.
tʌbitsi-basa-/h to become very dry.

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tʌ-soonā/tʌ-sonā a large pan, a dish pan.
tʌsu?naa-/h to become quiet, to calm down.
tʌtaa- to be small, to be poor, to be pitied.
tʌrahya-/h to mix sugar and pounded meat together.
tʌrahyapʌ̨ pounded meat mixed with sugar and suet.
tʌ-rayu?nə? a pestle.
tʌrʌhka-/tʌrʌkʌ̨- to steal.
tʌrʌkʌ̨-raiboo? a robber, a thief.
tʌ-rʌni?i-/i̲ to plant several things, pl. tʌh-tʌki- sing.
tʌ-tsih-ka?a-/ą̲ to cut off, to cut up, sing. tʌ-tsih-pomi?i- pl.
tʌ-tsih-pomi?i-/i̲ to cut off, to cut up, pl. tʌ-tsih-ka?a- sing.
tʌtsʌ-/h to count.
tʌ-woo-/h to go hunting, involving movement of the whole camp.
tʌyaai-/h to die, sing.
kooi- pl.
tʌ?ąwe-/h to tell.
tʌ?eka-/ʌ̨ to paint.
tʌ?ʌyā-/ʌ̨ to be afraid of something.
tʌ?rikūu? a prairie dog.

TS

tsaa-/tsaah- good, fine, well.
tsaai-/h to take hold of something.
tsaah-tʌhka-/tʌkʌ̨- to eat well.
tsa-hani-/i̲ to drive a car or team, to do or fix something by hand.
tsa-hima-/h to carry something in the hand, pl. tsa-yaa- sing.
tsah-karʌkʌ-/ʌ̨ to set something upright, sing.
tsa-yʌkwikʌ- pl.
tsah-ka?a-/ą̲ to snap, to break off with the hand, to cut.
tsah-koba-/ʌ̨ to break something with the hands, sing.
tsah-kobi?i- pl.
tsah-kobi?i-/i̲ to break something with the hands, pl.
tsah-koba- sing.
tsah-kʌa-/h to make go up, to pull up, pl. tsah-to?i- sing.
tsah-kwe?ya-/ʌ̨ to take off clothing, to pull off or up, sing.
tsah-kwe?yu?i- pl.
tsah-kwe?yu?i-/i̲ to take off clothing, to pull off or up, pl.
tsah-kwe?ya- sing.
tsah-poma-/ʌ̨ to break up, to shell, to pick off grapes, sing.
tsah-pomi?i- pl.
tsah-pomi?i-/i̲ to break up, to shell, to pick off grapes, pl.
tsah-poma- sing.
tsah-po?tsa-/h to jerk someone.
tsah-puni-/h to show someone something, to test something.
tsah-tahni?i-/i̲ to set something down, pl. tsah-tʌki- sing.
tsah-to?i-/i̲ to make go up, to pull up, sing. tsah-kʌa- pl.
to pull out, to take out, sing. tsa-pʌye- pl.
tsah-tunehtsʌ-/tunetsʌ̨- to stretch something, to stretch a bow.
tsah-tʌki-/i̲ to set something down, sing. tsah-tahni?i- pl.
tsah-tʌma-/ʌ̨ to close, to shut, sing. tsah-tʌmi?i- pl.
tsah-tʌmi?i-/i̲ to close, to shut, pl. tsah-tʌma- sing.

104 tsah-tʌwa?i-/ʟ to open a box, trunk, jar, to take down a tespee, tsa-tʌwa- sing. pl.

tsah-tsu?ma-/△ to finish up something involving the hands.

tsakwi-/h to open, to turn over something.

tsaka-/△ to lead by the hand, or reins, sing. uma- pl.

tsak^-hu-nii-/h to lead up a horse, sing. tsak^-hu-yʌka- pl.

tsak^-hu-yʌka-/△ to lead up horses, pl. tsak^-hu-nii- sing.

tsani-/h to get hung or snagged on something, sing. tsania- pl.

tsania-/h to get hung or snagged on something, pl. tsani- sing.

tsa-p^he-/h to take down from, to take off of, sing.
tsa-yumi?i- pl.

tsa-p^he-suwai-/h to want or try to throw something off.

tsa-p^tsa-/h to rip open with the hand or claws.

tsa-p^ye-/h to pull out, to take out, pl. tsah-to?i- sing.

tsahwa-/h to open a box, trunk, jar, to take down a tespee, sing.
tsah-tʌwa?i- pl.

tsa-wee-/h to haul a person.

tsa-wekwi-/h to enter carrying several things, pl.
tsa-?ika- sing.

tsa-wo?ne-/g to scratch.

tsa-wana-/△ to set out, as food on a table, sing.
tsa-wani?i- pl.

tsa-wani?i-/ʟ to set out, as food on a table, pl.
tsa-wana- sing.

tsa-yaa-/h to carry something in the hand, sing. tsa-hima- pl.

tsa-yuma-/△ to make someone fall, to make something fall.

tsa-yumi?i-/ʟ to take down from, to take off of, pl.
tsa-p^he- sing.

tsa-yʌkwika-/△ to set something upright, pl. tsah-karʌka- sing.

tsa-?ika-/h to enter carrying something, sg. tsa-wekwi- pl.

tsiha-kooi-/h to be hungry, to starve, pl.
tsiha-rʌyaai- sing.

tsiha-kwitso?ai-/h to save from starvation.

tsiha-nabeni-/ʟ with negative particle ke, to become hungry, to be without food.

tsiha-rʌyaai-/h to be hungry, to starve, sing. tsiha-kooi- pl.

tsi-hima-/h to carry on a stick, pl. tsi-yaa- sing.

tsih-ka?a-/g to cut something with a knife.

tsih-poma-/△ to cut up into pieces, sing. tsih-pomi?i- pl.

tsih-pomi?i-/ʟ to cut up into pieces, pl. tsih-poma- sing.

tsimiakʌ-/△ to miss out on something.

tsipe-/h to unhorse with a spear or lance.

tsi-waai-/h to feel around with something sharp.

tsi-yaa-/h to carry on a stick, sing. tsi-hima- pl.

tsi?-nika-/△ to put something pointed into, to stick into.

tsoap△ the shoulder.

tso-wekwa-/h to put on a hat, pl.
tso?-nika- sing.

tso-wekwa? hats, pl.
tso?-nika? sing.
tso?me-/ṯ to gather up.
tso?mepΔ anything gathered up.
tso?-nika-/Δ to put on a hat, sing. tso-wekwa- pl.
tso?-nika? a hat, sing.
tso-wekwa? pl.
tsuhni-/tsuhnipΔ a bone.
tsuhni-tekwa-/h to talk mean, to talk rough, to curse, sing.
tsuhni-niwʌʌʌ- pl.
tsuhni-niwʌʌʌ-/Δ to talk mean, to talk rough, to curse, pl.
tsuhni-tekwa- sing.
tsu?ma-/Δ to disappear, to be used up, to cease to be.
tsʌhki-/tsʌki- to be crowded.
tsʌ?ni-/l̥ to stay a while.

W

waa-hima- to take a cedar tree, to celebrate Christmas.
waah-kusi-?okwe? grey flowing cedar creek.
waahpl̥/waah-/waa- cedar, cedar tree.
waatṯ/wata a pole, a teepee pole.
waa-waatṯ/wata cedar teepee poles.
waa?aki-/l̥ to yell, to wahoo.
waikinΔ a wagon.
waja-/wahah- two.
waha-bah- two separate items.
wahabi-sua-/h to become suspicious of, to suspect.
wahka-mi?a-/ṯ to lope, pl.
aai-mi?a- sing.
wakaré?ee? a turtle.
wana-kotse? soap.
wana-buhihwl̥/l paper money.
wanapΔ cloth.
wana-roh-peti-/h to gamble. (to throw down yard goods).
wana-?Δhʌ a cloth blanket.
wana-?Δhʌ-maka-/h to give away a blanket.
wasáasi? an Osage Indian.
wasáasi?-tenahpʌ? an Osage Indian man.
wasápe? a bear.
wasʌ-/h to kill, pl.
pehka- sing.
wasapΔ a number of persons or animals killed.
warʌ?i-/l̥ to miss someone, to fail to make connections.
watsih-puni-/h to watch from hiding, to spy on.
watsih-tah-ni?i-/l̥ to put away secretly, pl.
watsih-tah-tʌki- sing.
watsih-tah-tʌki-/l̥ to put away secretly, sing.
watsih-tah-ni?i- pl.
watsikʌ-/Δ to lose something.
wa?ihpʌ? a woman.
wa?wah- two apiece.
wee-/h to go down, to get off.
wehki-/weki- to look for, to search for.
wekwi-/h to go in, pl.
ika- sing.
wemunukl̥- swinging back and forth.

we?kwiyang- to flash, to shine, (jewels, reflected sunlight).
wihl̥/wihi a sword.
wihi-/h to throw at a distance.
wih-kama-/Δ to taste oily.
wihnu then.
wihte-/witṯ- to peep.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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wihtua a bucket.
-witsa ought, should. see 2.20.1; 6.17.3; 6.19.3; 21.13.2; 23.4.4; 32.5.1; 35.4.2.
woinŋ a bugle, a horn.
woobi/wobi a board, wood.
wohya- a row, in a row.
wokweebi/wokwebi peyote.
wokwe-kahni a peyote teepee.
wokwe-tʌhka-/tʌkʌ- to eat peyote, to have a peyote ceremony.
wobi-kʌni a wood or frame house.
wobi-puuku/puku a wagon.
wobi-wihtua a drum.
wobi-ʔaawo/ʔawo a trunk.
wosa/wosa a box, a suitcase.
wosa-ʔáaʔraʔ the largest of the grasshoppers. (suitcase-uncle).
woʔaabi/woʔabi/woʔa- a worm.
woʔa-rʌhkapʌ rice. (worm-meat).
wʌhabi-/i to march off in formation, to parade.
wʌh-kaʔa-/a to cut, to chop down, sing. wʌh-pomiʔi- pl.
wʌhki-/wʌki- to shoot a gun, bow, etc.
wʌhki-tsuʔtsuʔi-/i to rattle (of a snake), to make a rattling noise.
wʌhki-tsuʔtsuʔi? a snake's rattles, a rattle.
wʌh-koba-/ʌ to break or snap something, to break a leg.
wʌh-kupa-/ʌ to kill with a club or weapon, sing.
wʌh-tokwa- pl.
wʌh-para-/ʌ to spread a cloth over something, sing.
wʌh-parʌʔi- pl.
wʌh-parʌʔi-/i to spread a cloth over something, pl.
wʌh-para- sing.
wʌh-paʔi-/i to beat, to hit something several times.
wʌh-tʌkwa- hit once.
wʌh-pitʌ-/ʌ to reach a destination.
wʌh-piwoka-/ʌ to drag something by force.
wʌh-pomiʔi-/i to cut, to chop down, pl. wʌh-kaʔa- sg.
wʌhtakami-/i to dry something partially.
wʌhtaráa? a camp bed made of a scaffold of branches, a travois.
wʌh-tokwa-/ʌ to kill with a club or weapon, pl.
wʌh-kupa- sing.
wʌh-tokwa? those which are clubbed to death.
wʌhtui-/h to wait for someone or something.
wʌh-tʌkwa-/ʌ to hit something once. wʌh-paʔi- hit several times.
wʌh-tsito?a-/h to peel with a knife.
wʌ-sua-/h to sweep.
wʌsʌ-/ʌ to stand, sing.
tobo?i- pl.
wʌ-sʌʌh-kupa-/ʌ to be knocked down by force, to be thrown down.
wʌ-sʌʔyʌʔi-/i to make a heavy noise, to thud, to bump.
wʌ-pʌhe-/h to frail, to knock off with a stick, sing.
wʌ-yumiʔi- pl.
wʌ-sibo?a-/h to shave off, to scrape with an instrument.
wʌ-sukaa-/h to feel (good or bad) in body or soul about something.
wʌ-su-warʌki-/i to miss someone, to be lonesome for, to be concerned over someone's absence.

wʌ-tsʌ̰kʌnʌ-/ʌ̰ to tie something.
wʌ-yumiʔi-/i̱ to frail, to knock off with a stick, pl.
wʌ-pʌ̰he- sing.
wʌʔ-kwipuna-/ʌ̰ to twist something violently.
wʌʔ-yʌrʌhki-/i̱ to scare or frighten with something.

Y

yaa-/h to take something, sing.
hima- pl.
yaa expression of surprise or derision, by women only.
yaa-hu-nii-/h to fetch, to scrounge for, sing.
yaa-hu-yʌka- pl.
yaa-hu-yʌka-/ʌ̰ to fetch, to scrounge for, pl.
yaa-hu-nii- sing.
yaapʌ̰ anything which has been taken.
yahne-/h to laugh, sing.
naʔyʌ̰ne- pl.
yake-/h to cry, sing.
nahwooi- pl.
yee expression of surprise or derision, by men only.
yori-/h to fly, pl.
yʌtsʌ- sing.
yuu-karʌ-/h to sit still.
yuupʌ̰ anything fat.
yuhu/yuhu/yuhu- fat, grease, lard.
yuhu-nohko-/nokʌ̰- to make fried bread.
yuhu-wehkipʌ̰ one looked for that is fattest.
yumʌ-/ʌ̰ to fall, (to be born, to attack, sing. only), pl.
pahi- sing.
yuʔa-/yuʔah- to be warm (of the weather).
yuʔa-namʌ̰soa-/h to have on warm clothing.
yʌi-/h to be night, to be evening.
yʌih-tʌhka-/tʌkʌ̰- to eat supper.
yʌka-/h to move about, to walk, pl.
nʌmi- sing.
vʌkwi-/h to say, intransitive, with particle me, sing.
niwʌnʌ- pl.
yʌkwi-/h to sit down, pl.
karʌ- sing.
yʌkwikʌ-/ʌ̰ to set up teepees, pl.
karʌkʌ- sing.
yʌrʌhki-/yʌrʌki- to frighten, to scare.
yʌtsʌ-/h to fly, sing.
yori- pl.
yʌwi-/h to swallow something, to go out of sight.
yʌyʌmuhku-/yʌyʌmukʌ̰- to move or to have movement.
yʌʔyʌka- soft.

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15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

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0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

193
128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[101] [115] [128]

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[194] [104]

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, kʷ, ʔ; c; s, s, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɨ, Ɨ, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /ˈ/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

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affixes in Comanche. Some classes of affixes are not exhaustive (e.g. derivational affixes, class 100, which includes many more morphemes), but the pertinent classes for stem and word formation are represented.

Classification of affixes by centuries is as follows: 100 derivational, 200 verbal inflectional, 300 nominal inflectional. Classification by decades is generally on the basis of relative order. However, morphemes 201, 253, 254, 323 have been classified otherwise for convenience of description since their relative order is not as pertinent as their identity with the group in which they are placed. Decimal numbers indicate mor-

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[104
[128

logical juncture where clitic stems are bound to other stems or words (see 3.1.3., 3.1.4., 3.3.).

The recurrent morphophonemic changes are as follows: (1) Single morpheme-final vowels generally become voiceless in utterance-final position. 'kahninII *houses* > 'kahnI *house*.

(2) In certain combinations morpheme-final vowels reduce to open transition of neutral vowel quality. In certain combinations morphemes reduce medially by the loss of one or more morae. Compare 'tĩhka *eat* in the following: 'tĩhkaru?i-nI? *I will eat*, 'tĩknInitu?i-nI? *I will always be eating* (['tĩkʰsInitu?i-nI?] in which [kʰ] is approximately [kI] but without vowel mora); 'puukU *horse* + 'kahnI *house* > 'pukuknI ['pukukʰNI] *barn*.

(3) t interchanges with r; and p interchanges with m, utterance medially at morpheme boundaries under conditions not always phonologically determined. 'pasi? *older brother*, nI-'sasi? *my older brother*; 'tIsoorI-ma? *he is writing*, 'caa-nI? 'rIsoorI *I write well*. After pause the p and t always occur: 'tenahpI?a 'rInikʷIri-nI? 'suni? *I see the man singing*, but 'tenahpI?a / 'tInikʷIri-nI? / 'puni? (in which / indicates tentative pause). t (but not p) always occurs after i. '?itI *this one* < ?i 3rd person close + -tI nominalizer; '?orI *that one* < ?o 3rd person distant + -tI; 'piniapIrII *large ones* <'piapI *big*.

(4) ? + ? = ?. 'sarii? *dog* + -?a genitive > 'sarii?a *dog's*.

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193 pheme alternants. Distribution classes of
128 stems and affixes are defined below.

Reference to affix classes is made in even century and/or decade numbers (e.g. reference to tense is made by 20C). Reference to specific morphemes is made by the list number (e.g. reference to -tuʔi future, is made by 261). The distribution of alternants in respect to each other is indicated in the list.

193 Class 100: 110, 120 1st and 2nd order derivational prefixes respectively; 130 derivational suffixes.

111. caʔ-[5] *with an upward movement of the hand*
112. maʔ- *pertaining to the hand*
113. roʔ- *with a violent movement of the hand*
114. coʔ- *with the head*
115. kiʔ- *with the elbow*
116. huʔ- *with the back*
117. taʔ- *with the leg or foot*
118. kīʔ- *with the mouth or scissors*
119. ciʔ- *with something sharp*

121. na- reflexive

131. -pī nominalizer
132. -ʔ nominalizer
133. -pI[6] classificatory affix
134. -pIʔ classificatory affix
135. -BI classificatory affix
136. -ciʔ classificatory affix

Class 200: 201 infix; 210–250 verbal suffixes in relative order by decades.

201. -V-[5] imperative → (distribution restricted to an arbitrary class)

[5] Morphemic alternation of affixes in class 110 is not completely analyzed. Each affix in this class has an alternant with final h instead of final ʔ.

[6] Classificatory affixes here listed do not make any determinable difference to the root. That they are derivational affixes, however, is shown by the fact that they are generally lost from R in the formula R + S = S.

[5] V is used here and in morpheme 321.1 as a morphophonemic symbol for a lengthening of a single vowel to two morae.

[104]

[p. 94-A]

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322.1	-k^{w}I	dual → (fluctuates freely with 322.2 except as defined in alternants below)
322.2	-h	dual → (occurs in objective forms (plus 331); otherwise fluctuates freely with 322.1 except as in 322.3)
322.3	-hĭ	dual → (occurs on proclitic S^{w})
323.	C_1V_1-	non-singular (for alternants and patterns of reduplication see 3.1.1.).
331.1	-ha	objective → (generally with singular S^{a} ending in 131 or 132; reduction occurs: -ʔ + -ha > -ʔa)
331.2	-hta	objective → (with a group of S^{a} ending in a bilabial consonant + I)
331.3	-i	objective → (with a group of S^{a} ending in -tO and -cO without assimilation and reduction; occurs with S^{a} other than all above, and after 311, 321, or 322, with assimilation and reduction)[4]

2. Stem formation. Comanche stems are derived according to the formulae below. Patterns of stem formation do not coincide with stem classes. In these formulae a root (R) is a morpheme, free or bound, to which

[104]

[194]

[4] Final back vowels become voiced front vowels on the same level. The resulting vowel cluster is reduced by loss of the second member. 'yuhhu *grease* > *'yuhhii > 'yuhhi *grease* (object); 'wihtua *bucket* > *'wihtuei > 'wihtue *bucket* (object). When following 311 and 321 or 322, the assimilation applies to both morphemes. 'sonipĪnII *grass* (plural) > *'sonipĪnIII > 'sonipĪnii *grass* (plural object); 'husiyanĩh *songs* (dual) > *'husiyanĩhi > 'husiyanihi *songs* (dual object).

Examples of alternants 331.1 and 331.2: 'waʔooʔ *cat* > 'waʔooʔa *cat* (object); 'pĩhisikĩ *peach* > 'pĩhisikĩha *peach* (object); 'toeahwI *silver* > 'toeahwihta *silver* (object); 'toeiitO *hoof* > 'toeiitoi *hoof* (object).

A stem which does not fit the pattern: 'yĩhnI *porcupine* > 'yĩhne *porcupine* (object).

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193 derivational affixes may be attached, or with
104 which other roots may be compounded. R_1 is a free root. A stem (S) is a root, with or without derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes may be attached, or which functions as an uninflected particle.

193 Stems contain only one stress, generally on
194 the first syllable, or none at all in the case of clitic stems. Examples: 'puhihwĪ *money*, 'to?Ī *pipe*, 'tĩrĩ?ai *work*, wa'sape *bear*, nĩ-'nia? *my mother*.

193 Formulae for stem formation cover observed formations, but do not imply that any root may occur in all possible formational combinations.

R_1 = S. 'pui? *eye*, 'wa?oo? *eat*, '?ara? *cross uncle*, 'tĩhka *eat*, 'mi?a *go*, 'haa *yes*.

110 + R = S. 'tahpaana *sole of foot* < 117 + -paana *palm*; tahto'koo *big toe* < 117 + -to'koo *first digit*; mahto'koo *thumb* < 112 + -to'koo *first digit*; tah'tua *little toe*; 'co?nika? *hat* < 114 + -nika? *push into*; 'soko-kĩ ma-'ci?nikatĩ-nĩ? *I am sticking it into the ground* < 119 + -nika? *push into*; ma'cihorarĩ-nĩ? *I am digging it (with a stick or spade)* < 111 + hora *dig*; ?u-'hu?kʷĪri-?a?i-nĩ? *I spilled it with my back* < 116 + kʷĪri?a *spill*.

120 + R ± 130 = S. 'nasoopĪ *picture* < 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; 'narĩhka *groceries* < 121 + 'tĩhka *eat*.

120 + (110 + R)[1] = S. 'narohtĩkʷa?i-?inĪ *you hit yourself (with hand)* < 121 + (113 + tĩkʷa *hit*).

R + 130 = S. 'tĩhka? *table* < 'tĩhka *eat* + 132; 'piapĪ *big* < 'pia- *big* + 131; 'tĩhkapĪ *meat*; 'poopĪ *drawing* < 'poo *draw* + 131; 'huupĪ *tree* < 'huu- *wood, log, tree* + 133; 'paapĪ *head* < 'paa- *head* + 133; 'tenahpĪ? *man* < 'tenah- *man* + 134.

R + S = S (in which the S preceding the equation sign may be any stem including the resultant of this formula; however, the maxi-

[1] Immediate constituents are divided in this way because *120 + 110 (without R) never occurs. 110 + R = S above, but S cannot be substituted for 110 + R here because S resulting from other formulae do not occur with 120.

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193 ally used in tales), 'surī-kĪ-se' 'wihnu 'rīya-ainU *he then died*; -ha interrogative particle, 'surĪ-ha pin'haa?a 'caa 'kīsuka *does he like sugar?*

4. Word formation. Stems and affixes may be combined into words according to formulae presented below. Words generally contain only one major stress. A second stress may occur late in a long word. 'tīkkahni-'ku-ma? 'mi?arĪ *he is going to the dining hall.* Words of each class are mutually substitutable in the syntactic positions defined for each class. Inflected words are partially identifiable by the class of the final affix with which they occur. If the final affix is of class 300 the word is a noun (N) or verbal noun (VN). If the final affix is one of class 200 the word is a verb (V). Words which consist of uninflectable S^p are particles (P).

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193 Although clitic S^p and S^{pr} enter into word formation they are not included in formulae for word classes. S^p and proclitic S^{pr} do not change the class of the word in which they are bound and are therefore non-pertinent to the formulae. Enclitic S^{pr}, always subject, are not generally in the same immediate constituent with the word in which they are bound. It is syntactically convenient to define word classes without the limitations which enclitic S^{pr} place on them. 'po?ro?a-ma? 'ruhinIti 'suwaitī *he wants the black pig* [N (object) -S^{pr} (subject), N (object), VN]; 'kanaihci?-ma? *he is slender* [N-S^{pr} (subject)].

4.1. Verbs (V) may take subject or object; they may not be subject or object.

$S^v \pm 200 = V$. nī-'rī-ca? 'narīmī-kU 'kahnimi?a?I *my friend went visiting in town* < $S^{pr} + S^a$ ('rī *friend*) + S^p = N (subject), S^a ('narīmī *town*) + S^v (-kU *in*) = N (object), S^v ('kahnimi?a *go visiting*) + 252 = V; 'mahitenahpī?-ca? pī-'pake nī-'nahu-ma 'wīsaka?I *the warrior split his arrow with his knife* < S^a ('mahitenahpī? *warrior*) + S^p = N (subject), $S^{pr} + S^a$ ('pake *arrow*) + 331 =

[p.98-A]

194 an adequate description of the phonology
[121] must include phonemic rhythm. The prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by
[104] such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /ı/. ˌtenahıpIʔıcaʔ ˌpisiaınakIıkatI ˌpuⁿ-etu ˌmiʔaarI *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* ˌnameıwahısikʷIıtII ˌpisiakahnınII *eight big houses.*

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[113] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley,
[104] Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /,/ anticipation pause, /.// non-anticipation pause, /ˈ/ emphatic stress, /ı/ rhythm marker, and /ıı/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [I], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

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194 Rhythm units in sequence tend to have perceptually the same timing, with some fluctuation and variation. So important is this timing that rhythm units of one, two, or even three syllables are sometimes perceptually alike in duration. In the following example the rhythm unit ˌʔa (because of the accompanying pause) is perceptually of the same length as such sequences as ˌˈparĩno. ˌˈʔikní ˌˈkahnikĩ ˌˈʔikahˌciʔ, ˌˈtĩnooˈʔa, ˌˈtĩnooˌpha, ˌˈtĩhkaˌʔa, ˌˈnakarĩˌʔa, ˌˈtĩasĩ, ˌˈparĩnooˌʔa, ˌˈpuniʔ *As I come into the room I see the pencil, the paper, the table, the chair, and the pen.* In sentence (21) of the text[6a] (6.1) there is some variation in timing due to the disparity of number of syllables in the units, but there is a tendency toward perceptual equalization wherever possible.

This perceptual regularity of rhythm unit timing is accomplished by several devices including pause (as in the example of the paragraph above) and the non-phonemic lengthening of a consonant to keep a phonemically short vowel relatively so and yet preserve the perceptual length of rhythm unit time.[7] ˌˈpiaroˌsasĩˌtʃ[·]ĩ nĩˌˈkahnicaʔ ˌˈkuhcuʔ ˌmaʔĩ *My big white house burned down.* ˌˈsĩˌmanoˌwĩmĩˌnaˌtʃ[·]ĩ ˌˈteˌnaˌnĩ *nine men.* In sentence (9) of the text there occurs the example ˌˈtĩmaˌrĩˌm[·]naku ˌnai *lots of water*; in sentence (18): ˌsuniˌˈnah[·]ˌkatĩ *staying as he was.* In cases of irregularity of number of syllables in the rhythm group there may occasionally be no timing compensation, and irregular timing may occur. See text (20): ʔuˌˈtĩrieʔˌtĩhˌciʔˌnĩ *his dear little children*, where there is no adequate compensation for the disparity between the

[6a] Section 6, Illustrative text will appear in a later issue of IJAL.

[104] [7] In the otherwise phonemic transcriptions of data in this paragraph the non-phonemic length is enclosed in brackets [·]. In the first example the consonant length is necessitated by the fact that voiceless vowels occur shorter than voiced vowels.

[p.298-B]

194 number of syllables in the respective rhythm units.

Rhythmic structural contrasts exist within utterances and between utterances, and the rhythm pattern of a given morpheme or sequence of morphemes is not always the same. In the following examples the sequence of morphemes ˈnɪ-mɪ-kuhcu? *buffalo* occurs with different rhythm patterns. ˌˈnɪmɪˌkuhˌcu?a ˌˈkumaˌɪ̃ˌca? ˌˈpiaˌnɪhɪ̃ˌkʷahˌtɪ̃tu ˌˈtooˌyɪ̃kaˌrɪ̃ *The buffalo bulls are grazing out on the prairie.* ˌˈsooˌtɪ̃ˌca? ˌˈpueˌkʷaciˌnɪmɪˌkuhcu? ˌnɪmɪˌˈpiaˌnɪhɪ̃ˌkʷahˌtɪ̃tu ˌˈtooˌyɪ̃kaˌrɪ̃ *Those wild buffalo are grazing out on the prairie.* Compare also the morpheme ˈ?ahpɪ? *father* in text sentences (17) and (20), ˈtɪ̃asɪ *also* in (4) and (8), ˈmekɪ *said* in (2) and (6), ˈsurɪkse? in (4) and (8).

Rhythm stress generally coincides with lexical stress where it occurs (see 2), but in some utterances lexical stress may be suppressed by rhythm. In such a case the high pitch feature of lexical stress is left to mark the point of its placement (see 4). In the following examples wherever rhythm stress does not coincide with lexical stress /ˌˈ/, but lexical stress occurs without rhythm /ˈ/, the lexical stress should be read with high pitch but no stress. nɪˌˈrua ˈrɪ̃ˌtaatɪ ˌˈyuupɪ̃ˌca? nɪˌˈnɪasɪˌmapɪ̃ru ˌˈnɪmiitɪ̃ *My fat little son is in the yard.* ˌˈsurɪkˌse? ˌˈsuˀaˌna ˈ?uˌrɪ̃ɪkɪ̃ ˌnɪhˌtɪn *He took it out of the water.* Other examples may be found in text sentences (6), (11), (12), (14), (15), (19), and (20).

[104]

The rhythm units between pauses (/ˌ/ or /./[a]) comprise a rhythm group. There are more likely to be differences of timing between rhythm groups than between rhythm units of the same group. In text sentence (1), for example, the rhythm group ˌˈpekʷi ˌnɪˌˈtɪrɪˌe?ˌtɪ̃ˌmaˌ?ai *a fish with his children* occurs with even timing but different timing from the rhythm groups preceding or following. There is also a marked change of timing between the final rhythm group and those

[a] See 4.

194 preceding it in (15). So far as has been ascertained at present, such differences are fluctuant and not meaningful.

194 The only association between rhythm and meaning differences so far detected is in 196 situations demanding attention ('attentative') as in imperative constructions and the drawing of exaggerated attention to words or specific parts of utterances. This rhythm pattern consists of a deliberate, slow rhythm with few syllables to the rhythm unit and marked extra lengthening. It may optionally correlate with emphatic stress. In the following illustrations attentative rhythm (symbolized /‖/ for each rhythm unit with which it occurs) should be read with each modified syllable long, and such rhythm units containing vowel clusters with exaggerated length. ‖ˈʔorii ‖ˈnīmI‖kuh‖cuʔ‖nii ‖ˈpuuni *Look at those buffalo!* ‖ˈpia‖rīkī‖-kīpI ‖ˈkima ‖ˈʔɪʀU‖ni‖tU *Beefsteak*, (nickname of a person) *come here!* Text examples may be found in sentences (5), (7), (8).

[104]

194 2. The contrastive placing of lexical stress may be seen in the following words: ˈtosahwI *silver*, waˈsape *bear*, mahtoˈkoo *thumb*, kuyuˈ-niʔnII *turkeys*, nīmIˈkuhcuʔ *our* (pl.) *cow*, ˈnīmīkuhcuʔ *buffalo*.

Emphatic stress, which occurs occasionally for affective purposes, always coincides in point of placement with lexical stress. (See text sentences (9), (13), (14), (18).) Emphatic stress is used to give extra intensity to a situation, and not as in English to emphasize one word as against another. It may occur on a single point of lexical stress or at several such points in sequence. The distribution of lexical stress is most prevalent on one of the first three syllables of a word[9] and most often on the first syllable of a root or compound.

3. Interpretation of vowel length. Contrastive length of vowel may be seen in

[104]

[9] The word is defined by implication as an intra-potential in Formulae pp. 98, 99. It is written bounded by spaces.

[p. 299-B]

194 cause a vowel of one group may be non-phonemically longer than a sequence of another group. In text sentence (21), ˌtʃhtʃˌtaayuˌtuʔiˌnɪɪ *ones who will be little* at least three perceptible phonetic vowel lengths occur. taa is phonemically long but phonetically shorter than nɪɪ because the latter occurs alone in a rhythm group and the former does not. taa is shown to be phonemically long by its contrast with several short vowels in the same rhythm group.

4. The importance of rhythm (as limited as its affective meanings seem to be) is accentuated by the complete conditioning of pitch contours. In Comanche all utterances occur with the same relative intonational pitch contour. That contour may be described roughly as high pitch on lexically stressed syllables and regular pitch elsewhere, but there are other modifying factors which must be described.

194 Three basic phonetic pitch differences
104 have been distinguished on voiced vowels:[11] pitch level[1] (high) occurs on lexically stressed syllables, sometimes with a slight drop on the end of a VV sequence. The height of pitch is correlative with the contrast between lexical and emphatic stress, extra height being sometimes associated with emphatic stress. Pitch level[3] (mid) occurs elsewhere except for optional[2] (low) before /./.

Variations of these pitches are: [1] > [1a] (high-falling glide) on stressed syllables which contain an identical VV cluster if the syllable is the last voiced syllable of the word (i.e., if the following syllable contains no voiced segments). [3] > [3a] (slightly higher than [3]) optionally preceding lexical stress within a word. [3] > [3a] (mid falling

[11] The superscript numbers, assigned to pitch differences which have been heard, have no significance except that of labels for phonetic phenomena. Examples in this section will be transcribed phonemically except for the pitch symbol in brackets with each syllable.

[p. 300-B]

194 to low) optionally on unstressed syllables
containing a VV sequence before /./.
[104] ˈʔa[1]ˈnaa[1a]. (exclamation); ʔo[2a]ˈnoo[1a].
(exclamation); ˌˈʔɪ[1]ˌbia[2]ro[2]ˌko[2]ʔI. (ex-
clamation); ˌˈʔɪ[1a], ˌˈsɪ[1]ma[2]nu[2]ʔ[2], ˌˈwa[1]-
na[2]ˌwi[2]ˌwih[2]ˌta[2], ˌˈsɪ[1]ma[2]ˌnai[2]ˌku[2]
ˈna[1]ˌno[2]ri[2] ˌˈʔu[1]ra[1]ʔI *Oh, I found a dollar bill!*; ˌˈʔu[2]gɪ[1a] ˌˈha[1]kaa[2]ri[2] *Who's that?*; nɪ[1a]ˌˈha[1]kai[2], ˌˈyɪ[1a]kʷI *What shall I say?*; ˌˈkee[1a] nɪ[2]ˌˈrɪ[1]noo[2]ˌma[2] *No, that's my pencil!*

194 A check of texts, both narrative and
128 conversational, made on tape recording, and
observation of Comanche speech in other
situations than informant ones, revealed
that this one pattern with its variants
occurs on all utterances.

[104] The distinction made here between /,/
anticipatory pause, and /./ non-anticipatory
pause, is as follows. Non-anticipatory pause
is a pause preceded or followed by a modifi-
cation of pitch or rhythm. It may be
preceded by a drop of intonation to [1] or
[1a]. It may be preceded by a dropping of the
general height of voice through the utterance
and followed by a sudden raising of voice
height at the beginning of the next utterance.
It may be followed by a quickened tempo of
rhythm in the beginning of the next rhythm
group. Anticipatory pause, on the other
hand, is a pause without any modification
of the pitch or rhythm of preceding or
following utterances.

194 /./ may coincide with grammatical sen-
tence units or may group several such
grammatical units. In the text compare (1),
[104] (2), (3), etc., where the non-anticipatory
pause coincides with grammatical units,
and the latter parts of the text where
fewer such pauses occur. /,/ anticipatory
pause, may occur at any potential (sym-
bolized here by space).

[p. 301-A]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Pronunciation Guide

The following is a key to the pronunciation of Comanche words appearing in 104
the text.

ə Pronounced like *e* in over, under.
ɔ Pronounced like *o* in horn, fork.
ɜ Pronounced like *u* in fur, turn.
ɛ Pronounced like *a* in bare, care.
β This sound can be approximated by compressing the lips for the pronunciation of a *b* sound and proceeding to pronounce a *v* sound.
: Indicates the lengthening of the preceding vowel sound.

[p. XIV is blank]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

224 The hunt was orderly and cooperative. By custom each person was expected to follow the rules of the game, and no marshals or soldier-police governed the procedure or exercised any administrative control whatever. Just how leadership of the hunt was managed was not uncovered. That there was a leader is certain. Presumably, one of the war leaders with special hunting skill was the man who directed the manoeuvering of the band and supervised the scouts. Whether he was appointed to the directing position or merely assumed it by common consent cannot be said.

First the herd was located by scouts. Then the entire band of hunters stalked it, coming up against the wind. When within striking distance all the men lined up "to get an even start," and then all charged the animals. The main function of the simultaneous charge was to prevent the scattering of the herds by a few individuals, but equally important was the need to kill as many buffalo as quickly as possible so that they would not get overheated in longrunning. Their meat would then spoil before it could be cured.

Each buffalo was butchered by the women of the man who had slain it and belonged to the man who killed it, identification being made by means of characteristic markings on the arrows.

105 The Comanches cultivated no plants but obtained a certain amount of corn and most of their tobacco in trade with the Mexicans of the Southwest. The tacit non-interference of these same colonial Spaniards in New Mexico made it possible for the Comanche, with the Kiowa, to obtain quantities of these goods and other articles as booty in raids upon the Mexican settlements further south. From the Kiowa and Wichita, also, corn was obtained. Seeds and berries were also utilized.

The material culture of the Comanches was relatively meagre and was of the general Plains type. Families lived in buffalo hide tipis of the twenty-two pole variety laid upon a four-pole foundation, but they were also accustomed to build small brush arbors as wind and sun screens. Somewhat enlarged, these arbors serve as customary summer homes for practically all Comanche families at the present time. Various tools of stone and bone were used in their industries and as weapons of war. The war club, spear and bow and arrow served as offensive armament, while defensive armor for the horse was made of tough raw-hide plates covered with pitch-cemented sand.[15] Many warriors carried the round buffalo-hide medicine shield as well as quivers and bow coverings. Saddles, a modified Spanish type, were made by men for their own use, though in later times Mexican captives

[15] From the traditional Ponca account of the first meeting and early fights with the Comanche from whom the Ponca obtained their first horses. Cf., Fletcher and LaFleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 27, 1906), pp. 79–80.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

specialized in this trade. There was no pottery or weaving known to them. 105
Clothes were of finely tanned and smoked hides. The clothing of the men was mostly confined to thigh-length leggings and moccasins, both of which are distinguished for their long fringes, although buckskin shirts were also made for winter use. The women wore typical Plains Indian buckskin dresses.[19]

Decorated raw-hide boxes were used for storing the cured and pounded dried meat (pemmican), which was prepared in large quantities at the time of the fall hunt.[20] A similar box was used for storing ceremonial clothes.

Dogs were numerous in the Comanche camps. Though used as burden 231
bearers in more ancient times, the horse had displaced them in this function, so that they had lost their sole economic excuse for a place in Comanche life. Yet they held a position which mere economic utility would never have granted. Like the horse, the dog was esteemed for non-utilitarian ends. Dogs were protected because of their affinity to Coyote, that lovable and annoying rascal of Comanche folkloristic belief. No Comanche will kill a dog or coyote, because of the fear of misfortune. The thought of eating dog meat is nauseating to them. Dogs, however, were maintained as household pets, taking a very personal place in the family. In childless lodges they were petted and indulged, even to the point of being privileged to ride horse-back when the household was on the move.

The crude economic picture of the Comanches in the last century is one 105
of a tribe with a simple culture adapted to high mobility, which, in a setting of buffalo plenty and prosperity of booty derived from enterprising raiding and trading in the Spanish territories, freed the Comanches from problems of economic want. Much of the Comanche male's energy was directed toward individual aggrandizement in war and coup-counting and the maintenance of prestige within the tribe. The law picture is largely a reflection of this.

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[19] Clark Wissler, *Indians of the Plains* (American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 1, 1934), pp. 50–54.

[20] Leslie Spier, *An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 1, 1925), pp. 89–112, for a comprehensive treatment of the rawhide box and its decoration.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 15) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the 105
southern Great Plains. They came down from the north 175
shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had 131
established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half 105
these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts 175
of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and 105
raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1948.

[113] [177] [128] [101]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

618 These factors brought the United States government and
657 the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Okla-
[13] homa. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

177 ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied 101 the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from [177] the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

105 The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in 105 the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. 177 With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

72 It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

178 [113]

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin–Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938). [119]

261
853
155
181
106
862
863

Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

1: Hoebel, E. Adamson. The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Number 54. Menasha, 1940.

Pp. 149

HRAF copy

/This is a descriptive study of law of the Comanche Indians of the Southern Plains. Since the Comanche had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules, Hoebel used the case-history method to delineate the legal norms, unformalized by the Comanche. As a basis for comparison he uses the definition: "A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is met by the application, in threat or in fact, of the absolute coercive force /violence/ by a social unit possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting." In giving a background for his study, Hoebel discusses tribal organization and its economic base, the peace chief, war and war leadership, and associations and their governmental role, In the actual cases, he discusses adultery and wife stealing, homicide, criminal offenses, ritual and evidence, abnormal conduct (e.g., rape and suicide), and property, inheritance and contract. In an appendix, he provides comparative notes on Shoshonean law-ways. Bibliographical references are given in

1: Hoebel, E. Adamson.

footnotes throughout. Hoebel is now Professor of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota."--Analyst/

Field date: 1933
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1958

2: Lee, Nelson. Three Years Among the Comanches. With an Introduction by Walter Prescott Webb. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1957.

Pp. xvi, 179

Yale: C64 130F

/Only pp. vii-x and 88-179 dealing with Lee's captivity by the Comanches have been processed for the Files./

/This is the personal narrative of Nelson Lee, an ex-Texas Ranger, who spent three years as a captive of the Comanches in 1855-1858. The book was put into its present form by an unknown editor, since Lee could not write. Much of the book deals with Lee's personal experiences illustrating the Comanche methods of dealing with war captives. Prominent in the account are his impressions of ceremonial, diet, settlement pattern, and methods of settling quarrels. The book is invaluable for its information on how the Comanches lived before they were affected by any large degree of acculturation. --Analyst/

Field date: 1855-1858
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Traveler - 5
Processed in 1958

3: Wallace, Ernest and E. Adamson Hoebel. The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.

Pp. xviii, 381; 16 plates; 1 map

Harvard: US 10310 50. 10

[This source is a thorough study of Comanche culture by Wallace, an ethnohistorian, and Hoebel, an anthropologist. Much of the data has been taken from the literature, but a considerable amount was gathered from informants alive at the time the study was done. The book is written in the past tense, and constitutes a reconstruction of Comanche culture as it existed before the influence of white culture changed it radically. Included are sections on the environment and history of the group, the latter section covering relations with the whites and the move to a reservation. Data are given on material culture, the life cycle, social structure, law and government, religion, curing, leisure activities, and warfare. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933, 1945 Evaluation: Ethnologists - 4, 5
Analyst: James R. Leary Processed in 1958

4: Goldstein, Marcus S. Anthropometry of the Comanches. American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Vol. 19, pp. 289-319. Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1934.

3 plates.

Yale: Nk10 Am41 v.19

[This is an anthropometrical study of 35 full-blood male, 25 full-blood female and 25 mixed-blood Comanches. The sample was small as Goldstein tried to obtain data only from full-bloods. His findings were compared with those of Boas, and with other reports on Shoshonean and Southwestern groups. He comes to the conclusion that the Comanche appear essentially to be related to the Apache. Goldstein was with the Division of Physical Anthropology of the U.S. National Museum at the time of the study. --Analyst]

Field date: circa 1930
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1959

5: Carlson, Gustav G. and Volney H. Jones. Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science Arts and Letters. Vol. 25, pp. 517-542. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939.

1 table.

Yale: A53m 381 25

[This is a study of plant material collected by Carlson during the summer of 1933 while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico. The findings are summarized in a long table, while the text elucidates the table and gives comparisons with other Indian groups in North America. The basic uses of the plants were for food and medicine. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Carlson, Ethnologist-5
Jones, Ethnobotanist-4

Processed in 1959

6: Linton, Ralph. The Comanche Sun Dance. American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, pp. 420-428. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1935.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 37

[This source is an account of the Sun Dance, last held in 1878, based essentially on second hand evidence, since only one informant had actually witnessed the dance and his memory was vague. The dance was held at irregular intervals from 1860 on, usually with only part of the tribe participating. Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, and partly to improve the well-being of the whole group, especially their physical health. The Comanche probably did not have the Sun Dance long enough to completely integrate it with the rest of their religion. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1959

7: Richardson, Rupert Norval. The Culture of the Comanche Indians. Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society, Vol. 1, pp. 58-73. Abilene: 1929.

Yale: C52.173 1

[This source is a summary sketch of Comanche culture derived from a study of published material. There is little information on material culture, most of the data being on war, religion, political organization, and the horse in Comanche culture. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Physician-4
Processed in 1959

8: Hoebel, Edward Adamson. The Comanche Sun Dance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873. American Anthropologist, Vol. 43, pp. 301-303. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1941.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 43

[This brief article calls to the attention of anthropologists data on the Comanche Messianic outbreak of 1873 contained in a book by R. N. Richardson. The outbreak was abortive and Hoebel feels this conditioned the Comanche against following the example of other Plains tribes in accepting the Ghost Dance in 1890. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1959

9: Gladwin, Thomas. Comanche Kin Behavior. American Anthropologist, Vol. 50, pp. 73-94. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1948.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 50

[This source lists Comanche kin terms and forms of address and discusses the associated behavior patterns. Included in the discussion are the relations between siblings, husband and wife, siblings-in-law, parents-in-law, grandparents and grandchildren, and "friends," the last relating to those persons who cannot otherwise be fitted into the Comanche kinship pattern. The author is a well-known cultural anthropologist. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

10:Horn, Sarah Ann. A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Comanche Indians. In, Carl Coke Rister, Comanche Bondage, pp. 188-198. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1955.

Yale: C64 33

/The author of this source, Sarah Ann Horn, was captured by the Comanche Indians in the early part of the 19th century, and had to endure many hardships before being ransomed by New Mexican traders. During her period of capture the author observed many aspects of native life. These observations, in addition to the remainder of her narrative, were dictated to a publisher after her release and form part of the book entitled Comanche Bondage. Only that section relevant to Comanche ethnography has been reproduced here. Data contained in this source pertain to: religious life, marriage, family relations (husband and wife), status of women, hair styles, medical care, burial, mourning, childbirth, menstruation, personal hygiene, and diet. As to be expected these data show in some cases a strong bias on the part of the author, which seems to be a reflection of her own traumatic experiences with the Comanche. --Analyst/

Field date: 1836-1837 Evaluation: Traveler-3

Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1964

11: Casagrande, Joseph Bartholomew. Comanche linguistic acculturation. International Journal of American Linguistics, 20 (1954): 140-151, 217-237; 21 (1955): 8-25. Baltimore, Indiana University, 1954-1955.

Yale: Fzal In8 20-21.

[Pages 8-25 of volume 21 repaginated as pp. 238-256-B by HRAF.]

[Based on linguistic fieldwork done in 1940, Casagrande's article is primarily concerned with describing the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, particularly the vocabulary. A final section is devoted to a summary set of propositions concerning processes of language acculturation and the utility of linguistic data for making inferences about history and change.]

Field date: 1940 (summer)
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Ethnographer, Linguist-5
Processed in 1978

12: Canonge, Elliott. Comanche texts. Illustrated by Katherine Voigtlander; introduction by Morris Swadesh; edited by Benjamin Elso. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Linguistics Series, 1. Norman, University of Oklahoma, Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1958.

13, 156.; illus.

Yale: F15 Ok43 1.

[This source is a collection of texts of tales gathered from an elderly Comanche woman in Oklahoma. The tales are given in the Comanche language with English translations. A vocabulary is also included. The tales included are Coyote stories, fairy tales and fables, stories about humor in ridicule, manners and morals, adventure, and obtaining and preparing food. For people interested in "folk-themes," brief summaries are included and will be found in Category 116, pp. ix-xii.]

Field dates: ca. 1950-1955
Analyst: Marlene Martin

Evaluation: Linguist--5
Processed in 1978

13: Simmons, Marc. Border Comanches; seven Spanish colonial documents 1785-1819. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by Marc Simmons. Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press, 1967.

41 p.

Yale: E99 C85 S5 (LC). DLC: E99.C85S5. DLC card no.: 67-29468.

[This source contains the translations of 7 documents written by Spanish colonial authorities between 1785-1819. Most of the information concerns diplomatic relationships between the Spanish and the Comanche. In addition, there are bits of information about hostile relationships amongst the Comanche and other Indian tribes in New Mexico. In marking this source, Category 643 was used when the discussion concerned the "chief" or "General of the Comanche Nation" who negotiated with the Spanish.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1977-1978

14: Riggs, Venda. Alternate phonemic analysis of Comanche. International Journal of American Linguistics, 15 (1949): 229-231. New York, Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1965.

Yale: Fzal In8 15.

[This is a short, descriptive linguistics study of Comanche phonemes. The author presents two phoneme systems varying according to whether one treats the sequence "h plus consonant" as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme.]

Field date: 1948 (summer)
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1978

15: Osborn, Henry. Formulae for Comanche stem and word formation. By Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley. International Journal of American Linguistics, 15 (1949): 93-99. New York, Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1965.

Yale: Fzal In8 15.

[This source is concerned with presenting formulae for the formation of common stems and words in Comanche. The authors begin with a classificatory system for affixes and proceed to a discussion of the formulae for the formation of stems and words utilizing the affixes presented in their classification.]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Linguists-5
Processed in 1978

16: Smalley, William A. Phonemic rhythm in Comanche. International Journal of American Linguistics, 19 (1953): 297-301. New York, Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1965.

Yale: Fzal In8 19.

[This source is concerned with a description and analysis of stress, rhythm, pitch, and vowel length in Comanche.]

Field date: 1949 (summer)
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1978

17: Casagrande, Joseph Bartholomew. Comanche baby language. International Journal of American Linguistics, 14 (1948): 11-14. New York, Kraus Reprint Corporation. 1965.

Yale: Fzal In8 14.

[This source contains descriptive linguistics materials on Comanche baby talk. Included are a list of words, kinship terms, and a discussion of phonetics and reduplication in baby word formation. Because English has replaced Comanche as a first language, the words were collected from older adults. Casagrande concludes the article with a brief discussion of universals in baby languages and some suggestions about the importance of the study of language acquisition.]

Field date: 1940
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Ethnographer, Linguist-5
Processed in 1978

18: Jackson, J. Brantley. The Jared Site: a Comanche burial at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Plains Anthropologist, 17 (1972): 316-325. Topeka, Kansas, Plains Anthropologist Corporation, 1972.

Yale: E78 W5 P56 17 (LC).

[This source contains the report of an archaeological excavation of a single grave. Included are a discussion of grave goods and the results of anthropometric analysis of the skeleton. The author claims that the site is of interest in that it offers the first archaeological validation of the historically reported custom of ravine burials. Jackson uses historical documents to back his argument that the burial is probably attributable to the Comanche and probably dates to the 19th century. The researcher should take seriously Jackson's warnings about the speculative nature of the report and the paucity of data on which it is based.]

Field date: 1969
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Archaelogist-4,5
Processed in 1978

19: Lowie, Robert Harry. Dances and societies of the Plains Shoshone. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, 11, part 10. New York, Published by order of the Trustees, 1915.

801-835 p.

Yale: Nk10 Am45e 11.

[This source is a survey of the military societies, dances, and ceremonies of the Comanche, Wind River Shoshone, and Ute. The data were gathered in field work undertaken in 1912 and 1914. The author cautions that the Comanche were "...poor, and in part very unwilling, informants" (p. 805) so the data may be somewhat unreliable. The data on the Wind River Shoshone were marked for the NQ19 Wind River file and the data for the Ute were marked for the NT19 Ute file.]

Field dates: 1912
Analysts: Marlene Martin, marker
Eleanor Swanson, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1978-1979

20: Wallace, Ernest. The Comanche on the White Man's road. West Texas Historical Association, Yearbook, 29 (1953): 3-32. Abilene, West Texas Historical Association, 1953.

Yale: F381 W48 29 (LC).

["This article, taking up where the book [1: Wallace & Hoebel, The Comanches] leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation" (p. 3n). It covers treaties, relations with Whites, especially cattlemen who leased their land, farming and stock-raising, other sources of income, education, missionary activity, and health care, and the persistence of pre-reservation personality traits. The emphasis throughout is on how the Comanche have dealt with the rapid changes in their lives. The article is based on field work, historical research and interviews with government administrators.]

Field date: summer of 1945
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
Eleanor C. Swanson, checker

Evaluation: Historian-4,5
Processed in 1979

21: Burnet, David Gouverneur. David G. Burnet's letters describing the Comanche Indians with an introduction by Ernest Wallace. West Texas Historical Association. Yearbook, 30 (1954): 115-140. Abilene. West Texas Historical Association, 1954.

Yale: F381 W48 30 (LC).

[This source contains letters written by a traveller who was in contact with the Comanche of Texas in 1818-1819. The letters cover a variety of topics including band locations, religion, polygamy, warfare, general observations on standard of living, and a brief word list. The coverage of any one topic is sketchy at best, but the source is of interest because it contains an eyewitness account dating to the early 19th century.]

Field date: 1818-1819
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Traveller-5
Processed in 1978

22: Dacus, Joseph A. The Comanches: an ethnological sketch. Missouri Historical Society, Bulletin, 16 (1959/1960): 333-341. St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1960.

Yale: F461 M575 16 (LC).

[This source contains a brief, popular account of the Comanche and was originally published in 1875. The major topics discussed are the economy, the status of women, courtship and marriage, law, leadership, and story telling. Topical coverage is superficial and the researcher will easily detect the author's ethnocentric biases throughout.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Humanist-3
Processed in 1978

23: Cabello y Robles, Domingo. A description of the Comanche Indians in 1786 by the governor of Texas. Translated and edited by Odie B. Faulk. West Texas Historical Association, Yearbook, 37 (1961): 177-182. Abilene, West Texas Historical Association, 1961.

Yale: F381 W48 37 (LC).

[This source contains a few brief observations about the Eastern Comanche, written in 1786 by the Spanish governor of Texas. Cabello y Robles includes a few remarks about general customs, but most of the information is concerned with the location, military strength, and leadership of the Comanche. While the document has some historical interest, the coverage is extremely superficial.]

Field date: 1778-1786
Analysts: Eleanor C. Swanson, marker
Martin Malone, checker

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1978-1979

24: Richardson, Rupert Norval. The Comanche Reservation in Texas. West Texas Historical Association, Yearbook, 5 (1929): 43-65. Abilene, West Texas Historical Association, 1929.

Yale: F381 W48 5 (LC).

[This source contains the history of the Comanche Reservation in Texas which lasted from 1855-1859. A part of the Southern Comanche were involved in this early reservation experiment. The reservation was abandoned partly as a result of hostility between Texans and the Indians and partly as a result of Comanche preference for their own cultural style. Most of this article, based on historical documents and letters, deals with interethnic relations and U.S. government policies rather than the reservation life of the Comanche.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor S. Swanson

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1978

25: Canonge, Elliot D. Voiceless vowels in Comanche. International Journal of American Linguistics, 23 (1957): 63-67. Baltimore, Indiana University, 1957.

Yale: Fzal In8 23.

[This article is concerned with Comanche phonemes. Most of the article is devoted to supporting the author's argument that "...voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic (p. 63)." In addition, Canonge discusses Riggs' (see 14: Riggs) phonemic analyses of Comanche. In contrast to Riggs, Canonge prefers to treat the sequence h plus consonant as a consonant cluster rather than as a unit phoneme.]

Field date: 1948
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1978

Comanche N06

26: Cummins, Harold. Dermatoglyphics in Comanche Indians. By Harold Cummins and Marcus S. Goldstein. American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 17 (1932): 229-235. Philadelphia, Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1932.

Yale: Nk10 Am41 v.17.

[This source contains a descriptive analysis of palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints. The data were collected from a sample of 79 Oklahoma Comanches. Although the authors make brief mention of similar studies among other groups, it is not their intention to provide a comparative analysis.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologists-5
Processed in 1978

27: St. Claire, H. H., 2d, collector. Shoshone and Comanche tales. Edited by Robert H. Lowie. Journal of American Folk-Lore, 22 (1909): 265-282. Boston and New York, Published for the American Folk-Lore Society by Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

Yale: Periodical Room GR1 J68 22 (LC).

[This source contains a small selection of tales recorded among the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. The texts are preceded by a brief introduction comparing the tales with similar tales from other Amerind groups. Most of the tales feature Coyote as a main character.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Unknown, Ethnologist-4,5
Processed in 1978

28: Thomas, Alfred Barnaby. An eighteenth century Comanche document. American Anthropologist, new series, 31 (1929): 289-298. New York, Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1962.

Yale: Periodical Room GN1 A2 II.31.

[This source contains a tally sheet sent by Spanish authorities to the Comanche leader Equeracapa. The tally sheet is of interest both as an example of Comanche pictographic writing and as a source of some data concerning Comanche military organization. The author has included a reproduction of the portion of the document containing pictographs and a translation of the tally and related documents. Included is a list of leaders, translations of their names, the names of their groups, and estimates of the number of tents in their groups.]

Field date: no date
Analysts: Eleanor C. Swanson, marker
Marlene Martin, checker

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1978

29: Hoebel, Edward Adamson. Plains Indian law in development: the Comanche. In Donald Ray Cressey and David A. Ward, editors. Delinquency, Crime, and Social Process. New York, Harper and Row, 1969: 67-78.

Yale: Cross Campus Library: HV6028 C74 (LC).

[This source is a brief description of Comanche legal customs regarding adultery and wife-stealing, murder, and sorcery. The source appears to be memory ethnography and is based on the collection of case histories (p. 71).]

Field date: 1933
Analysts: Marlene Martin, marker
Martin Malone, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4,5
Processed in 1978-1979

30: Levy, Jerrold E. Kiowa and Comanche: report from the field. Anthropology Tomorrow, 6, no. 2 (1958): 30-44. Chicago, Anthropology Club of the University of Chicago, 1958.

Yale: Nk10 +An888 6:2 [HRAF MS: 25 ℓ.]

[This source is a report of fieldwork among the Kiowa and Comanche whose theme seems to be the tension between traditionalists versus assimilationists. The subjects discussed in relation to this theme are contact and rapport, factionalism, and peyote. The reliability is unclear as the report is badly written. The report was retyped by HRAF because of the illegibility of the original.]

Field date: (ca. 1957)
Analyst: Marlene Martin

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1978

31: Jones, David E. Sanapia, Comanche medicine woman. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

18, 107 p. photographs; map.

HRAF copy. DLC card no.: 73-179548.

[This book is an "ethnographic portrait" of a Comanche Eagle doctor, or medicine woman. The book "attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society" (p. ix). The book includes a brief history of the Comanche, a short biography of Sanapia, emphasizing her training, the contents of her medical kit and the collection and preparation of the botanical items, ghosts and ghost sickness, witchcraft and the conceptualization of illness, and a conclusion discussing her role in a changing Comanche society. Jones' discussion of ghost sickness and its relation to acculturation and Comanche identity problems is especially interesting.]

Field Date: 1967-1970
Analyst: Martin Malone

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1979

32: Gilles, Albert S., Sr. Comanche days. Bicentennial Series in American Studies, 3. Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1974.

18, 126 p.

Yale: Cross Campus Library E99 C85 G54 (LC). DLC card no.: 74-77543.

[Only pp. i-viii, and 16-126 have been processed for this File.]

[This source is a memoir by a man who grew up in Oklahoma's Comanche territory around the turn of the Twentieth Century. He worked in his father's general store where many of their customers were Comanche. He learned to speak Comanche and counted many Comanche as good friends. The source is his defense and explanation of the Comanche for a White audience. He discusses Comanche-White relations, Comanche polygamy, drinking, and the education of Comanche young people in government schools. Although it is not the account of a professionally trained observer, it is the product of years of friendship by a sympathetic and intelligent outsider. It provides much information on daily life and Indian-White relations during the early part of this century not found in any other sources.]

Field date: 1902-ca.1910
Analysts: Martin Malone, marker
Eleanor C. Swanson, checker

Evaluation: Lawyer, Businessman-3
Processed in 1979

33: Mooney, James. Comanche. In Frederick Webb Hodge, editor. Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Part 1. U.S., Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin, 30, part 1. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1907: 327-329.

HRAF copy.

[This very brief article is concerned with identifying the Comanche as a cultural unit. The author's concern is, therefore, almost exclusively with the historical changes in the location of the Comanche and with the numerous alternate names by which they have been known.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Ethnographer-3,4
Processed in 1978-1979

34: Ewers, John C. Artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indian tribes of Texas. In Jean Louis Berlandier. The Indians of Texas in 1830. Edited and introduced by John C. Ewers. Translated by Patricia Reading Leclerq. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969: 167-200.

Yale: E78 T4 B47 (LC).

[Some 20 artifacts collected in Texas between 1828 and 1851 by the naturalist Berlandier are the subject of this source. 18 of the artifacts are attributed to the Comanche. These include: painted shields and covers, quivers, pouches, articles of clothing, a war whistle, a powder horn, and a skin scraper. Each item is illustrated in a photograph and described in the text.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Eleanor C. Swanson

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1979

35: United States. Department of Commerce. Comanche tribe. In its Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce, 1974: 450-451.

HRAF copy.

[This source presents a very brief and somewhat superficial sketch of land status, history and culture, government and vital statistics (population, labor force and education) of the present day Comanche tribe living in Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita counties, Oklahoma. Scant as the ethnographic information is in the source, it does represent the contemporary Comanche situation.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Organizational document--4
Processed in 1979

36: Murdock, George Peter and Timothy J. O'Leary. 09-07 Comanche. In their Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. 4th Edition. Volume 5: Plains and Southwest. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files Press, 1975: 70-77.

HRAF copy.

[This source is a fairly extensive ethnographic bibliography on the Comanche covering the literature through 1972.]

Field date: not applicable
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologists--4
Processed in 1979

Hoebel, E. Adamson. Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 41, pp. 440-457. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1939.

1 folding table; 1 map.

HRAF copy.

[This is a comparison and discussion of Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone kin terminology and kin relationships. Since fuller material is contained in 9: Gladwin, this file, this source has not been processed for the Comanche file.--Analyst]

Kardiner, Abram. The Comanche, Compiled from Information Supplied by Ralph Linton. In, Abram Kardiner: The Psychological Frontiers of Society, pp. 47-80. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

Yale: Nm80 945k

[This source is a summary, synthetic sketch of Comanche culture. The material is not given in depth, and most of it is incorporated in other sources in this file. It has not therefore been processed for the Comanche file. --Analyst]

Richardson, Rupert Norval. The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement: A Century and a Half of Savage Resistance to the Advancing White Frontier. Glendale, Cal.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1933.

Pp. 424; 12 plates; bibliography; index.

University of Pennsylvania: 978 R395

[This excellent source is an extensive study of the relations between the Comanche and the Whites from the time of earliest contact until 1875. Since most of the book is concerned with historical matters and the cultural data found here are also found in other sources processed for the Comanche file, particularly 7: Richardson, this source has not been processed for the Comanche file. --Analyst]

Tilghman, Zoe A. Quanah, the Eagle of the Comanches. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1938.

Pp. x, 196; 10 plates; endpaper map

Yale: C59 658

[This source is a romanticized reconstruction of the life of Quanah Parker, the last of the great Comanche chiefs. Since much of the material is secondary and fictionalized, this source has not been processed for the Comanche file. --Analyst]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Linton, Ralph. Communication to E. A. Hoebel, September 26, 1951.

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●113 McCown, W. B. (superintendent of Kiowa-Comanche Agency). Communication, oral and written, to Ernest Wallace, 1945, 1948.

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

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668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in loco*.

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Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced 663 the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of 171 the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill [535] this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr 000 Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 113 Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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602 behavior and of course affect which is associated with the calling of any individual by a relationship term, and which arises directly from the use of the term, even where the behavior pattern has no functional validation. In some very unusual cases this association may be completely eliminated by some conflicting factor, but more frequently the conflict is resolved by the substitution of some other term whose behavioral concomitants are more suitable. The opportunity for such manipulation of the terminology is dependent to some degree upon how distantly related in the classificatory category the individual in question is from the person who stands in the focal relationship to the speaker. To be effective, these substituted terms must be used reciprocally and consistently by all parties involved. The use of kinship terms for the Comanche is never a one-way affair; the relationship which the application of a term signalizes always demands that the person addressed reciprocate with the appropriate complementary term, and generally also with the behavior thus implied. Otherwise the initial usage is meaningless.

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[pp 95- end not processed]

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[2] as part of a broader process of cultural change.[1]

The linguistic concomitants of acculturation have been treated by most linguists in their general texts and in articles under the rubrics of loanwords or borrowing.[2] For the most part their concern has been with the classical languages or those having a written tradition. Anthropological linguists have given the subject somewhat more attention in their general writings on ethnolinguistics,[3] have mentioned it in passing in specialized papers on linguistics,[4] and have contributed a number of articles on loanwords in various unwritten languages.[5] Studies of the wider aspects of linguistic acculturation have recently appeared,[6] and

[113] [1] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.337 (1948).

[113] [2] Leonard Bloomfield, Language (1933); William Graff, Language and Languages (1932); Edward Sapir, Language (1921), and Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); and E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917).

[113] [3] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24. (1948) and The Relation of Language to Culture. Anthropology Today (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554–73; Edward Sapir, Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); Ismael Silva-Fuenzalida, Ethnolinguistics and the Study of Culture, AA 51.446–56 (1949); C. F. Voegelin and Z. S. Harris, Linguistics in Ethnology, SJA 1 no. 4 (1945), and The Scope of Linguistics, AA 49.588–600 (1947). See also Joseph H. Greenberg, Linguistics and Ethnology, SJA 4.140–47 (1948); and A. L. Kroeber, Some Relations of Linguistics and Ethnology, Lg. 17.287–91 (1941).

[113] [4] For example, Leonard Bloomfield, p. 106; Trager, p. 217; Swadesh, p. 312ff; and Whorf, p. 302, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6 (New York, 1946).

[5] See references listed in the section on Loanwords.

[113] [6] Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–7 (1951); George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941); Jean B.

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121 Weinreich has published an excellent study of bilingualism in contact situations.[6a] However, cultural anthropologists interested in acculturation have evinced little concern with the topic. Linton makes no mention of the role of language in his writings on acculturation.[7] Herskovits' survey[8] treats the matter in a programmatic fashion and stresses the need for research on pidgin and creole dialects and other substandard forms of speech.[8a] Sapir's richly loded discussion of the significance of linguistic evidence for the student of culture history and culture contact[9] has to date been left unmined, even unassayed.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it will examine the effects of a long career of culture contact and change on the Comanche language. Second, it will attempt to show what light this linguistic evidence throws on the nature and history of that contact. As a study in ethnolinguistics it hopes to demonstrate the value of linguistic materials as an adjunct to other forms of investigation. It thus purports to be both

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[113] Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45.427-34 (1943); D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu.' Acculturation, AA 45. 435-40 (1943); Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3.130-46 (1947); Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA, 45.410-26 (1943); Zdeněk Salzmann, Contrastive Field Experience with Language and Values of the Arapaho, IJAL 17.98-101 (1951); Paul L. Garvin, Kutenai Lexical Innovation, Word 4.120-26 (1948); and William Bright, Linguistic Innovations in Karok, IJAL 18.53-62 (1952).

[113] [6a] Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, (New York, 1953). The book contains an extensive bibliography.

[113] [7] Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (New York, 1940).

[113] [8] M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation, (Augustin, New York, 1938); p. 107 ff. and p. 128.

[113] [8a] Hall's work on Haitian creole has done much to remedy this deficiency. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, Memoirs AAA 74 (1953).

[113] [9] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada, 1916).

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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession
178 from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10]
175 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1896); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[16]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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[113] [175] [178] Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[16] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776–1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

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175 648 This dark picture of conflict is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the [439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38:157–76 (1935).

[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

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175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 products. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
[721] firearms, also incited them to attack the Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

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648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and
[177] interspersed with White farms, the develop-
[621] ment of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[32] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[113] [32] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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197 has linked Uto-Aztecan with Tanoan-Kiowa in an Aztec-Tanoan group,[27] and Whorf and Trager have presented evidence for a relationship between Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan.[28] The Voegelins have more recently designated twelve Uto-Aztecan languages, many comprising several mutually intelligible dialects, as spoken in what is now the United States.[29] Mexico claims a considerable number more, including Nahuatl.[30] These are all by no means equally distinct languages, and the actual degree of relationship among them remains to be worked out;[31] however the affinity between Comanche and Shoshone was recognized at least as early as 1862.[32] The vocabularies collected by Steward[33] for a number of Shoshone dialects show a pronounced similarity both among themselves and to Comanche. The two are essentially dialects of the same language, a fact recognized by their native speakers. As one informant put it, "The Shoshone speak as the Comanche spoke long, long ago". In

[113] [26] Benjamin L. Whorf, The Comparative Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan, AA 37.600-08 (1935).

[113] [27] Edward Sapir, Central and North American Languages, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed., 5.138-41 (London and New York, 1929).

[113] [28] Benjamin L. Whorf and G. L. Trager, The Relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, AA 39.609-24 (1937).

[113] [29] C. F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages, Publ. of the American Ethnological Society, Publ. 20 (n.d.).

[113] [30] A. L. Kroeber, Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8, (Berkeley, Calif., 1934); and J. Alden Mason, The Classification of the Sonóran Languages (with an Appendix by B. L. Whorf), Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber, (Berkeley, Calif., 1936).

[113] [31] C. F. Voegelin, North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and their Genetic Relationships, Language, Culture, and Personality, pp. 15-40 (p. 21) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113] [32] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology, p. 473 (London, 1862).

[33] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, pp. 272 ff. (1938).

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197 another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (?, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ḫ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ? and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced [197] other phonemes (? or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[113] [14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100:445-502, p. 478 (1940).

[113] [15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14:11-4 (1948).

[113] [16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15:229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

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194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^y and g^w commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^w respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[17]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tīvo·pĪ *paper*—nīrīvo·pĪ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often laxily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final Ī in such a word as tīhkapĪ *food*, is often heard as simple aspira-
[192] tion. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] [17] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175–88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

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194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĭsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ĭe, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔĭvĭiʔ *mole*; haicĭ *friend*; coapĭ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[*] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [*] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297-301 (1953).

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193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransi-
tivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[39] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[40] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [39] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197] [40] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113]

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193 **3.4. Infixation,** if indeed it may be so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
193 lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĬ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive form of affixation. Derivational suffixes
[196] include the nominalizers, -pĬ and -?, which make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
193 highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tihka *eat* plus -? gives tihka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĬ gives nohkopĬ *bread, baked goods*.
[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĬ gives piapĬ *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĬ) gives ?ekavItĬ *red one*; yĭva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĭva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93–9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203–12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[46] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 There are four principal means by which
197 a language may enlarge its vocabulary to
accommodate new objects and ideas. These
192 neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[46] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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197 may be utilised; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[53] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[54]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of function and symbolic meaning regardless
192 of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[55] *§ pia?e·tĪ *gun* (*big bow*); *ta·vE *clock, time of day* (*sun* compare ta·venItĪ *day*); *§ nava·kA *bullet, lead* (*its arrow*).

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĪ *4th of July* (*big puha day*); *puharaivo·? *doctor, minister, Christian* (*puha white man*); puharavenItĪ *Sunday* (*puha day*); puharekĪraivo·? *minister* (*puha talk white man*); puharĪvo·pĪ *Bible* (*puha book, writing*); *puhahuvia *hymn* (*puha song*); puhaknI[56]

[113] [53] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [54] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [55] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ?, a, e, i, I, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked § appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[56] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

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192 *pihna·? *sugar, candy (sweet)*;[42] *pihcī?nīa? *straight pin* (related to pihcinīarA *a person with wide, fat buttocks*. Pin so called because of butt end); ✱pisapĬ *paint, rouge, powder, compact* (*paint*, chiefly ochres); pisipĬ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, any pussy infection, rotten flesh*); pima?nika? *menstrual napkin* (*push into the buttocks with the hand* [formerly used old buffalo robes]); pokopI *candy, nuts, berries, fruit*, etc. (*edible part of plant*); *✱pu·kU *horse* (singular only) (*pet*);[43] *pu?E *road* (*trail, path*); *puhiwI *money, dollar, iron, metal* (*metal, ore*); *tahka?mi·cA *cucumber, "blueballs", a venereal disease* (*gland* [at groin]); tanesi? *king* (*playing cards*), *fetlock*, also a decoration hanging from knee on dress leggings; *tĭrani? *hammer, sledge* (*hammer* [ta·nI *conquer!*, imperative]); tĭciwai? *ramrod* (*a probe* [especially for marrow]); *tĭ·hka?a? *hatchet, axe* (*hatchet*); *tĭmuhkU *cord, rope; reins* (cording [narĭmuhkU *harness, reins, its rope*]); tĭ·wai? *solitaire* (card game) (*to drive game* [as from bushes with a stick]); ✱to?I *tobacco pipe* (*pipe*); *tu?re? *rubber, elastic* (*leech*); kahpE *bed* (*bed*); kĭ·kA *onion* (*wild onion*); kĭmina- *break* (*a limb*) with machinery or automobile; also, as formerly, to break with the teeth; korohkO *scarf, cravat, yoke, collar* (*neckpiece*); kohca·pĬ *pudding, mush, gravy, fruit jam*, etc. (esp., mesquite bean mush [kohca· *to stir*]); kohinehkI *belt* (*sash with long tassel*); kupIta? *electric light, flashlight* (kupIta- *light the fire*); kwasu? *shirt, dress* (*dress of deer or antelope skins*); kwitacI *sausage* (*big intestine*); kwinumapĬ *drunk* (*dizzy*); cahani- *drive* (horse or automobile); *straigh-*

[113] [42] Marcy gives melon as the meaning in 1851. The same word, written pŋi-n-hH', appearing in Kiowa is translated as "honey, sugar, anything sweet"; John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE-B 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928). Possibly both are loanwords from panocha, a coarse Mexican sugar.

[113] [43] Also in Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), written, bunko.

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192 193 197 and nïmï- *Indians'* or *ours*, are often prefixed to a word whose meaning has been extended.[47] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts: 192

ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nïmïʔaʔahká·ʔ *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔa· *horn*, katĬ *got*). ʔamawó·ʔ *apple*; nïmïʔamawó·ʔ *red-haw* (tïrïe- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nïmï-). *tïsaaI *perfume*; nïmïrïsaaI *a native perfume made from a plant*. *kahnI *house;* *nïmïkahnI[48] *tipi*. konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nïmïkonO *cradle-board*. *kuhcU[49] *cattle* (*pimoro·ʔ, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [47] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivo·-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391–403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, p. 436 (1943).

[48] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[49] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotao for bison.

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192 sources of the latter type in English."
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?n·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[n] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the forma-
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[n] pacahto?i? *pump (raise water forcefully with the hands)* [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn (turned inside out by heat)* [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle (make one's self go with the feet)* [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [n] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[n] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [n] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

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192 mental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; papicihtūpka? *hairpin* (*fasten hair with something pointed*) but papivĪ *head hair*; pavoko?a·wO *tumbler, glass* (*clear or transparent cup*); pavoko?awovici? *nursing bottle* (*glass breast*); patīwiarī·pI *turquoise* (*algae-colored rock*) [pa *water* + tī-, intransitivizer + wia *wear out*, + tī·pI *stone, rock*]; pa·kīco?nika? *beaver fur hat* (*beaver hat*); pahorapĪ *well* [pa *water* + hora *dig* + -pĪ, nominalizer]; pahte?e·? *whip* (*customarily cracks*); pa?muci? *old style saddle* [pa?- *long* + muci- *sharp* + -?, nominalizer]; pawovivu·kU[11] *boat* (*water board horse*); pekwinarohtīman *canned salmon, or sardines* (*fish canned*); pia?ohapItī·? *grapefruit* (*big orange*); piakwAsu? *coat* (*big shirt*); piahuhcu?raivo·? *Republican* (*eagle White man*); ko·korá?a·raivo·? *Democrat* (*rooster White man*) [The eagle and the rooster were early party emblems]. pikakUsA *chaps* (*leather leggings*); pikwsi·? *single buggy* This was translated as *nothing behind*. [pi- *buttocks*; and kwasI *tail*; also pikwsinakwĪ *back end*]; pici?wihpara? *brassiere* (*spread over breasts*); *picohkO *trousers* (*buttocks covered*); *pisayune? *tin, tin can, canned goods* (*paint falls off*) (pisapĪ *paint* + yuman *fall off* (?). Another informant thought this referred to a soft noise from tin rolled up and strung and put on moccasins]. pizimaroko·rī·pI *opal* (*rainbow, sore thumb, stone*) [Belief that if one pointed to the rainbow, one's finger would rot and fall off]; *piso·nA· *cushion, rug* (*buttock pad*); pihivoa *type of modern dress; petticoat* (*spread out from the buttocks fan-wise*); ~~*~~ *pimoró·? *cattle* (*graze backwards* (?)); pimoró·?sari·? *collie* (*cattle dog*); *pihnárohtiya? *cake, sweet roll* (sweet bread); pihná·nohkopĪ *cake, cookies* (sweet baked); pieriyalmuya?ke? *radio* (ghost music); piesīnahanipĪ *ready made* (*clothes*) [pie- *old*,

[821]

[113]

[11] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes wo-we-poke (wovivu·kU *wooden or board horse*) for boat.

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192 konO *coffin (dead person's cradle)*; tï·yUsike? *harrow* [tï- + yusiketĬ *fine, granular*]; tokĬnE *thresh by having horses trample grain covered with a cloth; shell corn* [to- *with the fist or hoof* + kĬne]; tosakïma? *blanket with white edges, or cut in two and sewn together to get stripe down the center (white edge)*; *tosaknI *tent, canvas (white tipi, house)*; *tosahketuka? candle *(white lamp, doesn't go out)*; tosahnarsO *flour sack (white sack)*; tosawanahĬ *sheet, bedspread (white blanket)*; tosoyoki? *powder (shake out with the fist)*; tu?rekwasu? *sweater (rubber-shirt)*; tu?recinarsO *condom (rubber foreskin)*; tu?renapĬ *rubbers, overshoes (rubber shoes)*; tuivihciwaikin *passenger-car (young men's wagon)* [JC said people dress up like young men to board them]; *tu·pa· *coffee (black water)*; *tu·pihna·? *molasses, chocolate (black sweet)*; tu·pu?E *asphalt road (black road)*; *tu·taivo· *Negro (black White man)*; *tuka?[75] *lamp* [see tu·kA *put out;* possibly shortened from ketuka? *doesn't go out*]; tu·ku·nA *coal (black fire)*; tumarï·kI *to fingerprint a check, document or record (make a black mark)*; tu·naivihna·?[76] *molasses (viscous sweet)*; tu·wihtua? *iron kettle (black bucket)*.

kahni?aitaivo· *carpenter (house make White man)*; kahnivusi?A *bedbug (house louse)*; kahnituka?e·tĬ *fire extinguisher (house customarily puts out fire)*; kahnisi?yuna? *shingles (house flat pieces piled up)*; kahnihavinA *street (houses stretched along)*; kahninahï·kI *porch (house shade)*; kahniwo?nokanA *street (house canyon)*; *ketuka?anáva· *kerosene (lamp's water)*; kwsakhnI *jail (mean, bad house)*; kïhtavicipĬ *cheese (hard milk)*; kïhtawanapĬ *denim (hard cloth)*; ko?avicipĬ *cheese (groin milk)*; kb?akawana? *cheese (groin smell)*; *kovetïvo·pĬ *portrait (face paper, picture)*; koveca?nika? *mask*

[113]

[75] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ka to kah nots ah yah knt, ketukanacayakatĬ, (ketuka- *lamp* + na-, reflexive + ca- + ya *carry* + -katĬ *possessor of; lantern*).

[76] ibid, gives saw ny pee nah, so·naivihna·? *very sticky sweet.*

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192 words.[52] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[53]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[54] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[55]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[56] and they

[52] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [53] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[54] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[55] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [56] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into
197 the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke
197 a Southern American dialect. Thus, the
194 r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekiʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
ḃ	o	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ǵ	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdes, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–44 (1937).

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197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ï, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, especially those of an earlier vintage and in
197 general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.A Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
192 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavirí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·nitïn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]

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197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĪ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* ciksó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* sosoni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

[113]

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192 197 [60] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĬ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĬ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĬ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matïma? tĭmī· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nīrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nīhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

[113]

[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĬ, for *corn*.

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted*, for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

[p. 231-B]

192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kIt̄ihkapİ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tİ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s [191] [563] noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. [563] At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tĩe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[113] [108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

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192 synonyms for English loans. Moreover,
197 several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century.

000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arizona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·ʔ *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[113] [114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 68–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nihW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nï· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĬ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasïmihtĬ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sïmihtĬ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usíkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tïmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sïmïrímanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sïmïyú·tïmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetïmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sïmïnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sïmï- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokorící·pĬ *mile* (*one land count*); sihï?-awotíhpetĬ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kï? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kï, causative + -?); sïmïnáraya·kï? *pound* (*one scaled*); sïmïrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pïpekuma?ïrï?ï·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mïarïvo·pĬ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sïmïvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĬ[131] *Sunday* (see **4.1**); tapúharai/hapíeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sihï?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old
561 people over 60 speak little or no English, while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway be-
191 tween the old culture and the new. A few Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is
[191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
[177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[188a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [188a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
191 of acculturation. It may be noted that in
124 speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[138b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
[177] of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma·. J pronounced jello, jero·, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[138b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

(113) [140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 13: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

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191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
195 there has been a direct extension of English
[177] word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na·ʔroʔipĭ (na-, reflexive + toʔi *come out*, + -pĭ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĭ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kĭhtavicipĭ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of koʔavicipĭ *groin*
[551] *milk*, or koʔakwanaʔ *groin smell*. Similarly, the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

(113) [142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

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551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
[434] money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[113]

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551 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from tītarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wiká·? *crow*, and pihī-mahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The [128] accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[147] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[147] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

[113]

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55 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[148]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItĭ *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113] [171]

[148] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 18% of the total, including double names 23%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

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192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[130] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[131] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[132] At
743 the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
197

[130] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[131] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[132] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[113] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[114]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[115]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153-64 (1926).

[114] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335-45 (1948).

[115] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

[113]

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121 language through linguistic borrowing or indirectly through modifications in the native language introduced by bilingual speakers; internally, due to extensions of meaning, additions to the vocabulary, or other linguistic adjustments which may in turn initiate a whole series of compensatory phonetic or grammatical shifts following new analogy patterns.[156]

8. Semantic changes are accomplished by extending or modifying meaning or by adding to the vocabulary.

9. Vocabulary is increased by: coining new words; incorporating loanwords; translation-borrowing.[157]

10. No knowledge of the language of an impinging culture is required for meaning extensions or new coinages and only native linguistic materials are used. This is designated PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. A minimum knowledge of a donor language is necessary for linguistic borrowing in the form of either loanwords or loan-translations. Such linguistic borrowing is termed SECONDARY ACCOMMODATION.

11. The extent to which any given language uses primary or secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language.

7.3. The twenty numbered propositions which comprise the final section of this paper should be viewed as essentially hypotheses rather than conclusions. While some have face validity and others are sup-

[113] [156] Ways in which linguistic changes may be effected are discussed by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles E. Osgood, and Sol Saporta in their section on Language Change in Psycholinguistics, Charles E. Osgood and Thomas E. Sebeok, Editors, Memoir 10 of IJAL (1954).

[113] [157] While these three devices appear to the writer to constitute the principal ways of adding to the vocabulary, they may of course be broken down into various sub-types. See, for example, Einar Haugen, The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing, Lg. 26.210–31 (1950).

[p.253-B]

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat, cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mĭ (nï·mĭ *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu-' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

[113]
[113]
[113]

[p. 255-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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121 The caveat that meanings do
825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[162] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ?evikuyú·si? *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·? *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[163]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[162] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [163] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

[p. 256-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

wihnu$_2$ urii$_3$ nʌkʌ̲rʌkii̲ka$_4$. surʌ$_5$ piahuuhpihta$_6$ yaar̲ʌ$_7$. 539
sʌkwenaisʌ$_8$ urii$_9$ wʌhtókwʌ̲kina$_{10}$. 13. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$
urʌʌmatʌ$_2$ tasʌkʌpunihtsi$_3$. oha?ahnakati$_4$ buninu̲$_5$.
14. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$. --tunehtsʌʌka$_2$ 15. tai$_1$ wʌhtokwʌ̲kitʌ$_2$
ma?$_3$ -- 16. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_3$ turunehtsʌnu̲$_4$.
17. pʌʌ$_1$ muhyi$_2$ urii$_3$ mʌnihkakusʌ$_4$ surʌ$_5$ oha?ahnaka-
tʌ$_6$ sooti$_7$ wʌhtókwenu̲$_8$ 18. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ piakoh-
toohtsi$_3$. surii$_4$ tʌ?rikúu?nii$_5$ kusíwʌhpimanu̲$_6$ 19. pʌ$_1$
wʌhtokwe?nii$_2$ suurʌ$_3$ sukʌ̲hu$_4$ tsaahtʌhkanu̲$_5$.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

12. Then$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ began to dance$_4$, that one$_1$, takes$_7$ a big club$_6$, from one end$_8$ /that one$_5$/ came[1] clubbing$_{10}$ them$_9$. 13. One$_1$ of them$_2$ peeping$_3$ saw$_5$ the coyote$_4$. 14. That one$_1$ (said), --Everyone run$_2$. 15. He$_3$ is coming clubbing$_2$ us$_1$.-- 16. Those ones$_1$ ran$_4$ to$_3$ their$_2$ houses$_3$. 17. As$_4$ they$_3$ are still unable$_4$ (to open) their$_1$ door$_2$, that$_5$ coyote$_6$ clubbed$_8$ many$_7$. 18. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ making a big fire$_3$, roasted in ashes$_6$ those$_4$ prairie dogs$_5$. 19. There$_4$ that one$_3$ ate good of$_5$ his$_1$ clubbings$_2$.

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[1]In the article, Voiceless Vowels in Comanche, Canonge, IJAL, Vol. 23, No. 2, April, 1957, under 1, Contrast in Identical Environment, the last sentence should be amended to say that the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing has the semantic implication of 'stem meaning resulting in or occurring simultaneously with action indicated by the following morpheme'. In the article, wʌhtókwʌ̲kina would have been translated 'clubbed and came qn'. Actually, a translation 'came clubbing'or 'clubbing as he came' is entirely legitimate. [119]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

[Document I]. Writers, in lauding the accomplishment of Governor Anza in bringing the Western Comanches to terms, have often neglected the fact that a similar peace was also made with the Orientales. 175

The treaty translated below was included in a general report on Indian affairs made by Pedro de Nava, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces (1792-1800) to the Viceroy of New Spain, Miguel Joseph de Azanza. As Nava notes, harmony between Spanish citizens and the Comanches had been maintained up to the time of his writing (1799) with a few minor exceptions. [648]

Originals of Documents I and II rest in the Provincias Internas section of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City. Photocopies of these are available in the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library. The remaining five documents are found in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. 113

—Marc Simmons

[p. 18 is blank]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Notes

113

[1] Senate Executive Document, no. 2, 36 Congress, 1st Session, vol. II, p. 370.

[2] "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (1928), vol. LXXX, no. 7, p. 13.

[3] The words in the original document at this point read *ambas Navajos*. This would seem to be a slip of the pen, as the remainder of the sentence obviously requires *ambas Naciones*.

Documents

Document One: Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City; Provincias Internas, volume 12.

Document Two: AGN, Provincias Internas, vol. 64, part 3.

Document Three: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe; no. 1234.

Document Four: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 1247.

Document Five: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 1272 (2).

Document Six: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 1925 (30).

Document Seven: Spanish Archives of New Mexico, no. 2819.

[p. 40 is blank]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Suggested Reading

113

Chaves, Amado. "The Defeat of the Comanches in 1716." No. 8 of the *Publications of the Historical Society of New Mexico.*

Hyde, George E. *Indians of the High Plains, From the Prehistoric Period to the Coming of the Europeans.* Norman 1959.

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———. *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777-1778.* Norman, 1932.

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Wallace, Earnest and E. Adamson Hoebel. *The Comanches, Lords of the South Plains.* Norman, 1952.

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194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight*, where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual
121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long*, paˈpaʔatə *long(redup.)*. In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem təˈka-), təkənəninəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem tạkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely
197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of
197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106-109 (1949).

[113]

[p. 230-B]

197 pirate consonants, while consonant clusters are not at all rare in the Uto-Aztecan lan-
197 guage family. Comanche preaspirates may
197 correspond to simple consonants in cognate languages. cf. So. Paiute yəŋə, Com. yə'nə? *porcupine*; Tübatulabal tək-, So. Paiute təq.a, Com. tə'ka- *to eat*; So. Paiute qan.i-, Tübatulabal hani, Com. ka'nI *house*; So. Paiute ap.ɔi-, Com. ?a'pəi- *to sleep (sing.)*; So. Paiute aq.ɔi-, Com. ?ə'ko?i- *to sleep (pl.)*.

194 4. Vowels. Only one analysis is presented for the vowels; these are voiced and voiceless.

Voiced: i, e, a, o, u, ə. Vowel ə is a high, unrounded vowel varying from central to back position. Vowels i, e, o, u vary from close to open varieties; a varies to [ʌ] in unstressed position. Examples: piapə *big*, tena'pə? *man*, papI *hair*, sonipə *grass*, hununI *creek*, wənə-nə? *I stop*.

Voiceless: I, E, A, O, U, ə. These are of the same quality as their corresponding voiced vowels. In normal speech, utterance medial ə appears somewhat shorter than other voiceless vowels.[4] Examples: ?ekaɹItə

[4] This fact has given rise to still another interpretation of Comanche phonemes: namely that of considering voiceless, when occurring in medial position, as aspiration of the preceding consonant. See Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93-99 (1949), where the form təkəbənitu-?i-nə? *I will always be eating*, is transcribed [tikʰ-bīnitu?i-nI?]. This interpretation admits of a

[113]

[p. 231-A]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[114] [122] [124] [126] [128]

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

[113]

121 194 emphatic stress and attentative rhythm[3] (and by particles), but pitch contour is conditioned by other factors.

121 A minimum of intonational contrast has previously been reported for Oto,[4] another Indian language of Oklahoma, but languages with little or no contrastive pitch system have not generally been described. In Oto intonational contrast occurs only on exclamations. Comanche however has not even that minimum of pitch contrast. [194]

In discussing the nature of intonation, Bolinger has declared that it is 'both conventional and instinctive', that the physiological tension which is the basis of intonation can be 'trained out' (which, he feels, accounts for lexical pitch systems), and that English intonation is not an arbitrary structure because we do not 'occasionally deliberate about our choice of contours'.[5]

On the other hand, without denying the physiological basis of any part of speech or denying the close physiological association of GRADIENT differences of pitch, or of intensity of stress, this paper would lend weight to an understanding of the 'arbitrariness' of intonational SYSTEMS where they occur. Languages range from the complicated and contrastive system structure of English intonation to the lack of any such contrastive structure in Comanche. 121 194

The data presented here will show that in Comanche length, stress, and rhythm are interconnected in their distribution and mutual conditioning, patterning together in the total phonological structure,[6] and that

[3] A distinctive rhythm pattern with meaning 'attention here' (see 2).

[4] Kenneth L. Pike, The Intonation of American English, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 21. [113]

[5] Dwight E. Bolinger, Comments on Pike's American English Intonation, SIL 5.69–70 (1947). [113]

[6] For a tentative list of other Comanche Pho- [113]

[p. 297-B]

194 an adequate description of the phonology
[121] must include phonemic rhythm. The prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by
[104] such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /ˌ/. ˌˈtenahˌpɪʔˌcaʔ ˌˈpɪsiaˌnakɪˌkatɪ ˌˈpuʔ-etu ˌˈmiʔaarɪ̈ *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* ˌˈnameˌwahˌsɪkʷɪˌtɪ̈ ˌˈpɪsiaˌkahniˌnɪ̈ *eight big houses.*

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[113] [104] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /.ˌ/ anticipation pause, /.ˈ/ non-anticipation pause, /ˈˈ/ emphatic stress, /ˌ/ rhythm marker, and /ˌˌ/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [ɪ̈], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

[p. 298-A]

601 195 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form; **námi?** reference form].

taká·? *sibling* [!ákA address form; **táka?** reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pávI address form; pávi? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; káku? reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kīnú·? *father's father* [kînU address form; kînu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first used for all grandparents. This suggests [591] matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned. 195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -eI and the related 193 -sI to words; e.g., haicí·? for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[2] as might be inferred

[2] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child. [113]

[p. 12-B]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

[12] Language development poses several problems for the genetic psychologist and anthropologist as well as the linguist. Some baby words are to be found in all languages, written and unwritten,[3] though not commonly as formalized and in such abundance as in Comanche. In all these baby words two facts claim attention: the universality of reduplication, and the use of simple phonemes, especially the labials p, b, m, the stops t, d, k, g, and cardinal vowels. The use of simpler phonemes is probably explained in terms of the baby's limited ability to manipulate his speech organs, since learning to speak even one's native tongue involves the induction of an intricate set of motor habits and is a maturational process comparable to acquiring such other skills as walking or skipping. But the problem of reduplication is not so easy of solution. Jespersen has this to say, "It is simpler and more natural to refer these reduplications to the pleasure always felt in repeating the same muscular action until one is tired."[4] But this seems an oversimple explanation. A natural tendency to reduplicate may perhaps be granted and seems to be supported by the oft-made observation of the infant's babbling repetition of the same sound. This proclivity seems to have been tacitly recognized by adults and conventionalized by them in reduplicated baby words.[5]

[113] [3] The following references list baby words: Wayne Dennis, The Hopi Child, 1940, p. 35; also words from Shungopavi, Zuni, and Cochiti (personal correspondence); A. F. Chamberlain, Notes on Indian Child-Language, AA, o. s., 3.237–41 (1890), 6.321–2 (1893); Edward Sapir, Nootka Baby Words, IJAL 5.118–9; Leo J. Frachtenberg, Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute, IJAL, 1.295–9; A. L. Kroeber, op. cit.; Otto Jespersen, Language, Book II, The Child, pp. 103–88 (1923).

[4] Jespersen, op. cit., p. 100.

[113] [5] Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, p. 36 ff., discusses the child's speech education in Manus, and mentions the endless repetition back and forth between adult and baby of the same monosyllable. She says, "This random affection for repetitiousness makes an excellent atmosphere in which the child acquires facility in speech". p. 37.

[p. 13-B]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

[2] As the growth of speech facility parallels to a marked degree the maturation of the child's intellectual capacities, one might ask how comparative speech phenomena reflect this. Does it take longer for a primitive child who has to learn a highly complex language, such as many North American Indian languages, to gain control of his language than, say, a Chinese or American child?[6] At what age is the primitive child capable of making the subtle analogical formations[7] that many primitive languages require?

Some knowledge of children's speech development and baby words seems essential for the anthropologist or psychologist interested in problems of personality development and character structure. From the vocabulary itself one can form some idea of the child's world in a given culture; what objects [863] and affects impinge upon it. Discipline and attitudes are reflected, as in Comanche where

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, who has made extensive observations on Navaho children, feels that the Navaho child, as compared with the English-speaking child of the same age, is somewhat retarded in acquiring equal facility with his extremely difficult language.

[113] [7] See Leonard Bloomfield, Language, pp. 275 ff. (1933), and Chapter X of Edgar H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (1947).

[p. 14-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[858] [171]

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940).

[113]

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction.

[113]

[p. 14-B]

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a
764 Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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[p.324-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

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Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

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omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (8 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

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648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them
[421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for
an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com-
648 723 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres,
and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to
white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed
in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of
white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the
"Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and
in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown
open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had
been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres
648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain
statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally
proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine
Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has
been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money
from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was
enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to
permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for
[427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of
three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal
lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of indi-
vidual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt,
177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves
427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reserva-
tion. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over
the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds
of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets.
The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-
Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western
Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

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were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality, and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 346.

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177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
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But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1888, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

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After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid an- [421]
nually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be 427
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all [423]
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [435]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important
factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 230. [113]
8. Ibid.
9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

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money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1940 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1940.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCowan, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 28 pp., memo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

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Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more 427
readily than they would have otherwise. 423
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The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided 427
revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, produc- 423
tion and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields 423
were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the chan- 423
nel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the de- 657
cision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in 427
dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and 434
the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-316. [113]

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427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken
427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians
434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with
465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income.
464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut
465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the
434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

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The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 302. [113]

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657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 355. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 4, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 60.

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population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Bertin, op. cit, sec. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1936 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

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men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McOwen, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 14-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1872, 230.

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In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Boston, 1875), 28-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 186.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year
[874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94
657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 83.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 189; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 304. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.58; St. Patrick's, $1.34; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.48.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanches NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Co- 797
manches were groping for new behavior patterns. They 178
cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency 657
supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both 743
remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a 657
unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health ser- 744
vice. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's 743
was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive im- 657
provement in the health and in health standards of the Co- 177
manches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and pre- 178
ventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural [164]
significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

51. Buntin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

114 "A series of letters originally addressed to Col. John Jamison, deceased, late Indian agent at Natchitoches." The first letter is headed "Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818." This was almost two years before Stephen Long crossed *Comancheria*, and more than two years were yet to elapse before Moses Austin sought permission of the Spanish authorities at San Antonio to settle Anglo-American colonists in Texas. The fifth letter was a reply to criticism of the article by the world-renowned naturalist and professor at Transylvania University, C. S. Rafinesque. Ranfinesque wrote in the June 19, 1824, issue of the *Literary Gazette*: "I have been much pleased with the accounts of the Comanches and Nabijos, . . . but regret that the writers have totally neglected to notice the languages of those nations, although this ought to claim the first attention in any account of Indian nations, being often the only clue to trace their origin and history. It is also wrong to give anonymous details of historical facts, while so much depends upon personal authority." Most of the reply to the criticism is of no significance; but one section is herein reproduced, since it is "A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language." The author of the account—David Gouverneur Burnet of Cincinnati, later to serve as the first president of the Republic of Texas—wrote from personal experiences of more than a year's residence among the Comanche Indians in Texas.

David Gouverneur Burnet was born on April 4, 1788, in Newark, New Jersey. The Burnet family was quite prominent. David's father was a noted physician and a member of the Continental Congress. One of his half-brothers was aide-de-camp to Washington and a close friend of Lafayette; another served as a member of the United States Senate, as an Ohio State Supreme Court Judge, and was elected a member of the French Academy of Science. His brother, Isaac, for twelve years was mayor of Cincinnati.[1]

Left an orphan at the age of three, David grew up under the guidance of his brothers, who saw that he received

1. Dorothy Louise Fields, "David Gouverneur Burnet," in The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLIX (October, 1945), pp. 218-232.

[113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2] 114

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] [101] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request [124] [126]

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169. [113]
3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 132-3. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and
126 other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 229.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prea de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Come Gral de las Yntera le hase en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre varias circumstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). [113]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
133 from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
Taboayazes [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but 657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains. 121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113] 1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 98.

Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

[423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancestors roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy,
829 what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is
[224] killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1495-1496.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date 1929 NO6 Com che NO6
(1854-1859) Te s

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 578 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties [162] of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about 648 two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- 648 thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 562.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

648 On the very day that the chief received this message he had been out with an army officer and a citizen in an effort to help them locate some horses which the Indians were accused of stealing. Whatever may have been his sins of the past the chief was then trying to preserve peace and control his people. But when this message came the Indian did not wait to investigate. The savage in him asserted itself. The information had come from a friend and, the fact is, it contained a great measure of truth! Orders for such a campaign had actually been received at Fort Chadburne and a few weeks later the expedition left under the command of Captain Calhoun. The orders called for a campaign against all Comanches, Northern and Southern alike, wherever they might be found. It is true that the officer did not propose actually to go on the reservation and attack the Indians there, but all Comanches met with outside of that vicinity were to be chastised.[7] The whole affair illustrates perfectly the lamentable lack of cooperation between the military and Indian forces so often in evidence along the frontier. It was unfortunate indeed that of all the times the army might have sent an expedition to punish the savages they chose to go at this critical time. News on the frontier was carried with the swiftness of a breeze and this report set the Indians wild. Sanaco fled with several hundred of his people and the sensible Ka-tem-e-see found it difficult to hold his own followers and prevent their joining in the stampede.

As soon as a measure of quiet was restored runners were sent to induce the renegades to return; but the band had scattered and only a few of these Comanches were ever reached and persuaded
657 to return. Because of this confusion the Comanches were first located on the Brazos reservation, but they were taken to their home on the Clear Fork about the first of May, 1855. By June 10, they numbered 249 with others reported to be coming in.[8]

Rivalry of the Chiefs; the Wild Bands

Thus the Comanche reservation was inaugurated by a stam-

[113] 7. Hill to Neighbors, January 11, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. The affair produced quite a tilt between the army officers and the Indian agents. The army men never did deny the broad scope of the order they were to act under, but they did contend that the troops were not the cause of the run-away since the Indians fled long before the troops arrived in their vicinity.

[113] 8. Neighbors to Manypenny, June 10, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, ones Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
648 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[65] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the go-
ing and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence
at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they
might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their es-
cape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
657 the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the
wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858,
Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near
him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of
the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the
wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the
troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came
657 and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin
on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging
accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered
this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but
they informed him that they were resting from their arduous
journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 8, 1858, Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date , 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

[65] [609] ience. When this was reported to Agent Leeper he called on the detail of troops stationed at Camp Cooper (only twenty men) to come at once. The lieutenant, Van Camp, came at once and surrounded the building. But to his chagrin and alarm, fifty or sixty warriors, armed with bows and guns, together with about thirty women and boys, armed with sticks and clubs, closed in around the cabin and took the side of the visitors so positively that Van Camp saw that a fight was ahead if he forced the issue. He ordered his men to prepare for action and a battle would have followed but for the fact that he discovered that his men had but one round of ammunition. They had used up nearly all their ammunition the day before in target practice. Thus, since it was impossible to apply force, all that was left for the lieutenant to do was to use persuasion. An agreement was patched up whereby the intruders were permitted to leave and this they did at once.

On the following day the Indians who had taken an active part in protecting the visitors came to Leeper and explained that they had offered resistance to the troops because they thought when they saw the soldiers approaching that all Indians on the reservation were going to be attacked and slain and they were determined to die fighting. Obviously they thought no such thing. Their bad faith in the whole matter was made more in evidence by their telling Leeper that they expected him to say that their "talk" was "good." In case he should not assent and say that their "talk" was "good" they would kill him and his family and leave the reservation.[13]

[609] Naturally the army officers and the Indian agents as well were sorely vexed with the Indians because of this affair. About all that can be said in defense of the savages is that they regarded the intruders as visitors and felt that to abandon them to the soldiers while they were guests at the reservation would be treachery. Some of the older men and women tearfully begged Ka-tem-e-see not to force the issue, just let the man escape and he would not bother them any more.

Inadequate Protection

The lack of proper protection by the troops was largely the

[113] 13. Leeper to Neighbors, August 31, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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67 cause of the fear and uncertainty that clouded the lives of the reservation wards. During most of the year 1855 there were no troops closer than Fort Belknap, about fifty miles away, and none but infantry there. However, early in January, 1856, Camp Cooper was established on the reservation and for a time the Indians enjoyed a sense of security.[14] But after a few months, ill feeling developed between the army officers and the Indian agents, each side charging that the other would not cooperate. Both the army and the Indian records are well supplied with documents containing charges, denials and counter charges, but it would not be expedient or profitable to follow the quarrel in detail. No doubt the agents were prone to do much complaining and fault finding while the army men responded with a patronizing attitude and cynical remarks about the "beef eating" policy of the Indian department. Once Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper took it upon himself to count the Indians or to attempt to count them and, according to the agent, almost caused a panic by proceeding without the assent and knowledge of the agents. The Indians were ever shy in the presence of soldiers and army officers. Naturally Leeper and Nighbors regarded Stoneman's conduct as an insult for it implied that their reports were not correct and that supplies were being fraudently drawn. Most of the army officers naturally sided with their fellow officer and the breach widened.[15]

In the spring of 1858, the army forces decided to remove Camp Cooper from its old location near the agency and Indian camps to a point some six or eight miles away from the agency. Leeper intimated that this was for the purpose of locating the post near a ranch owned by Captain Givens of the Second Dragoons.[16] However, it seems more plausible to conclude that the change was made as an act of spite and in retaliation against the charges made by the agents that the soldiers were not properly disciplined and were spending too much time among the Indians. When the agent protested at this move, complaining that he and his wards were left in a defenseless condition, the department commander of the

113 14. Baylor's report, September 12, 1854, Thirty-fourth Congress, Third Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 125. See also, George F. Price, *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry*, (New York, 1883), p. 4.

113 15. George Stoneman, Captain Second Cavalry, Camp Cooper, to Neighbors, September 6, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, December 8, 1857, Ibid.

113 16. Leeper to Neighbors, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
[627] tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
[683] might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and
[627] her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

[113] 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 18. Neighbers to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 634.
[113] 19. Baylor to Neighbers, June 8, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

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do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-Fifth Congress, First Session. Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1856, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, ibid.

24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source
648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Meighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 524.

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648 but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, how-
657 ever tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic.
[166] When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

[113] 26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 8, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

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657 . . . We will attack the reserve with a sufficient force to *break it up*
648 regardless of consequences.[27]

657 In January, 1858, a select committee of the state senate criticized severely the United States Indian policy in the state, referring to the fact that only a fraction of the Comanche Indians were located on the reservation and that friendly Indians were in the habit of passing and repassing into the settlements. Thus, they contended, wild Indians were mistaken for friendly ones and the white people were thus placed at the mercy of marauding bands. In addition to their recommendations for better military protection the committee stated that the agents should not permit the Indians to leave the reservations.[28]

[648] If these charges should be accepted at their face value they would represent within themselves rather convincing proof against the reservation Indians, but the records show that the whole issue was so completely shot through with bias and personal animosity that one is unable to know what to accept or reject. Reference has already been made to the ill feeling that pervailed between Robert S. Neighbors, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, and some of the army officers. Furthermore, John R. Baylor, who seems to have been dismissed from the Indian service through Neighbor's influence, led in much of the agitation.

657 But regardless of the merits or injustice of the charges brought
648 against the reservation Indians feeling against them became so widespread and bitter that in February, 1858, Neighbors asked that special instructions be given the military to protect the reserve Indians from attacks by citizens. In May he made a trip to Washington to place the matter before the officials there, alleging that the soldiers could not be depended upon to protect the Indians because of the indifference of their officers.[29] In October, the sheriff of Young county, armed with a writ issued by the county court, set forth from Belknap with a posse of about forty citizens to arrest

[113] 27. W. G. Preston and others to M. Leeper, February 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. John R. Baylor, Comanche agent until he was dismissed in May, 1857, is among the signers of this letter to Leeper.

[113] 28. "Report of Select Committee on Indian Affairs," State Gazette, Austin, March 27, 1858. George B. Erath, Henry E. McCulloch, Forbes Brittin, J. W. Throckmorton, and E. B. Scarborough composed the committee.

[113] 29. Neighbors to Mix, written at Washington, D. C., May 18, 1858. Neighbors complained that Major Paul, at Fort Belknap, Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper, and Captain Givens, who owned a ranch about six miles from the reservation, had opposed him all along and had tried to incite the citizens against the Indians.

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657 a reservation Indian charged with committing an attack on a young
648 man named Johnson some months before. On hearing of the approach of the party Neighbors called on Captain Palmer at Camp Cooper for an escort, advanced with the escort and met the sheriff's party some distance from the reservation and finally persuaded the party to give up their purpose. Whether the sheriff desisted because of the law in the case or by fear of the United States soldiers was a matter of doubt in the minds of observers.[30]

657 The complaints against the agents and the reservation Indians led to the sending of a special agent to investigate the administration of affairs. This agent, Thomas T. Hawkins, stayed at Camp Cooper for five weeks and every opportunity was given the complaintants to make their appearance and testify as to their charges; but few of them did so and nothing of consequence was submitted. Hawkins' report commended the agents and the administration of both reservations very highly. The critics alleged that the investigation was *ex parte* and that it was intended from the beginning to "whitewash" the record of the Indian administration in Texas; but we should have more sympathy with them if they had gone through with their part of the program and submitted whatever evidence they had.

Perhaps the strongest testimony in favor of the Comanches is
657 that of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson of the Ranger forces. They
648 came with their command to the vicinity of the reservation in the spring of 1858 when they and their officers were practically unanimous in the belief that the reservation Indians were committing depredations. These men were seasoned frontiersmen, had the frontiersmen's natural hatred and distrust of all Indians and were determined to secure evidence against the savages that could not be refuted. However, although they stayed for some time and sent out many scouts they found nothing whatever to confirm their suspicions. Ford states in his affidavit that when they found that
657 they could not secure any evidence against the Indians Captain Allison Nelson, one of the foremost critics of Neighbors, suggested to him that it would be very easy to make a trail leading into the reservation, but Ford would not hear to this. Nelson reported that the people in the vicinity of the reservation did not want it broken up and it was decided to abandon the idea. Ford quoted Nelson as

[113] 30. See the letter of a correspondent to the New York Herald, November 16, 1858.

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657 stating that Neighbors had always escaped from the attacks of his enemies, but that men were after him "now" who were going to get his job.[31]

648 Naturally so much excitement and ill will inspired cruelty. In
657 May, 1858, an inoffensive old Comanche was slain by a party of white men who wanted to get his horses and took advantage of the fact that he was away from the reservation without an escort or
000 pass.[32] Late in December, a little party of friendly Indians from the Brazos reservation, known as Choctaw Tom's party, were attacked in their camp at night near Palo Pinto, whither they had gone by the consent of their agent and where they were regarded by the people of the immediate community as friendly and dependable. In fact, Choctaw Tom, the leader of the party, had returned to the reservation, but some of his people had remained near Palo Pinto in order to accept an invitation of some citizens of the community to stay a little longer and hunt bear with them.[33] The party that attacked the Indians was composed of citizens of Erath and neighboring counties further down the Brazos valley. They alleged that these Indians had been committing depredations but there is very little foundation for this contention.

The killing of these Indians created general excitement along the frontier because of the fear that their tribesmen would retaliate. The men who made the unwarranted attack on Choctaw Tom's party were never arrested although the governor by special proclamation called for their arrest. The grand jury of Palo Pinto county refused to indict the men but instead, indicted Jose Maria, the Anadarko chief, for horse stealing and in their report stated that the reservations were nuisances and that the people ought to take up arms
648 against the Indians.[34] "Gatherings" of frontiersmen began to take place and many white men who had up to this time maintained a neutral or indifferent attitude began to join in the clamor against the savages. No doubt many of these men felt that the party from

[113] 31. Affidavit of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson, November 22, 1858. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 32. Shirley to Barnard, May 6, 1858; Evans to Leeper, May 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 33. J. J. Sturm, farmer at the Brazos agency, to Ross, December 28, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, Vol. I, p. 588. See also, the statement of Daniel Thornton, Peter Garland and others who attacked the Indians, made at Palo Pinto, January 4, 1859, Ibid, p. 606.

[113] 34. A copy of the report of the Grand Jury may be found in the Runnels Papers, Texas State Archives.

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648 Erath county had made a mistake in attacking the peaceful Indians, but they believed that the kinsmen of these Indians as well as the Comanches would retaliate and that there could be no peace on the frontier until both reservations were broken up. The agitators took advantage of this state of mind and never lost an opportunity to appeal to the fears and prejudices of the frontier people. It must not be understood that these men were "the very worst frontier characters" as the Indians agents sometimes charged. Among their leaders were John R. Baylor, former Indian agent; Peter Garland, of Erath county; R. W. Pollard, of Palo Pinto county; J. B. (Buck) Barry, of Bosque county, all prominent citizens in their communities and highly regarded by most of their neighbors. The years of bitter struggle with the Indians had hardened the hearts of the frontier people. As one of the more conservative of them has written in his memoirs, the frontier people were "always crazed at the sight of Indians and determined to kill,"[35] and when the safety of their families was involved they were wont to act first and investigate afterwards.

[657] However, notwithstanding these "gatherings" of frontiersmen with all their fear and frenzy no drastic action was taken during the winter of 1858-1859, which is to be accounted for in part, at least, by the firm attitude maintained by the army officers who were guarding the reservations. The immediate objective of these threatening movements had been the "lower" or Brazos reservation. This was not because the white men regarded these Indians as the more culpable but rather because they felt that both the Brazos and Comanche reservations must be broken up and the Brazos Indians being the more numerous and powerful were regarded as the chief obstacle to be overcome.

657 Long before this crisis came the agents had felt that the Indians should be moved from Texas and as early as the summer of 1857 Neighbors had recommended that they be taken to the Indian Territory.[36] But the authorities in Washington did not give any consideration to the proposal and it was dropped for the time. Then came the demonstrations against the Indians during the winter and spring of 1859, and Neighbors again insisted that if the Indians

[113] 35. "Memoirs of George B. Erath," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 18.
[113] 36. Neighbors to Mix, August 5, 1857. Ms University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 were not removed they would be driven away by the mad settlers. The government at Washington was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the agents became frantic in their effort to secure authority to do what they knew was essential to save their wards from destruction. Finally, on March 30, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the Indians would be moved in the fall or winter following. But this announcement did not satisfy the white people and Neighbors continued his efforts to secure authority to remove his wards at once.[37] Neighbors said that he and his associates had "stood their ground" so far, but that they wanted their superiors to share with them the responsibility for determining what should be done when the next crisis came, as it certainly would come. A little later came a resolution signed by a hundred and fifty men demanding that Neighbors and the resident agents, Ross and Leeper, resign.[38]

648 The situation was already critical enough when an army officer by an imprudent act provoked a disturbance that removed the last ray of hope for peace on the frontier until the Indians were removed. A Brazos reservation Indian named Fox, had been killed by a party of Jack county rangers in brutal fashion. This officer led a party of reservation Indians in search of Fox's slayers and caused great consternation by escorting them into the town of Jacksboro one night. This incident gave the radical party an excellent torch and they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement.[39] The citizens at once organized themselves into "ranger companies" and surrounded both reservations, threatening the Indians and their agents day and night and preventing the savages from gathering up
000 their stock.[40] On May 23, John R. Baylor at the head of about 250 men came onto the Brazos reservation; but the soldiers stood their ground and the citizens withdrew, not however, until they had picked a fight with some of the Indians. The Indians pursued them for some distance and considerable fighting took place.[41]
648 The settlers declared that they would raise a thousand men and take

[113] 37. Mix to Neighbors, March 30, 1859. Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 2, p. 431. Neighbors to Mix, April 11, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 38. "Resolutions," April 25, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 39. J. R. Worrall of Jacksboro, June 1, 1859, to the Editor, The Dallas Herald, June 18, 1859.
[113] 40. Neighbors to Mix, May 12, 1859, and Ross to Neighbors, May 12, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.
[113] 41. Report of Captain J. B. Plummer, of the United States Army. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.

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648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

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42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 645-671.

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43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

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44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him
657 before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning
000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made successful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and
657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The ex-
171 perience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 116.

46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 701. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

[113]

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Co he NO6
Okl ma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

ELLIOTT D. CANONGE
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

194
121

0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113]

[1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114]

My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[115]

Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113]

[2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

128 121 121 128 121

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects. [122]

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931. [114] [113]

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
N06 Comanche N06
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 [124] [101]

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

W 539 171

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ä'pö ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

C [539] [171]

W [825]

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

C W 539 171 [113]

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593–1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540–1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599–1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

[See facing p. 294--Analyst.]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[101] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621]

[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.
[122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[113] [4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.)

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico
[113] (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who rangéd as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104-6-23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[13] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
554 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
701 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

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(1786)

175 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures
701 represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinc-
554 tion, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21]

175 Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent
212 in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General
701 Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs
[648] the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;

a five horses he encountered and recaptured

B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

[113] [21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand.
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

1 Plains Indian Law in Development: The Comanche

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

Men have occupied the Great Plains of the West for a good ten thousand years or more. They came in, apparently, when the last ice sheet was in its northward retreat, and their archaeological culture seems to have been fairly stable over long periods of time. But the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting, tipi-dwelling culture of the eighteenth-century Plains Indian was something quite new in its development. 174

Before the coming of Columbus the Indians of the Plains were largely riverbound and not overly inclined to venture afar into the vast, poorly watered stretches of open grasslands. They had to go afoot.

The coming of the European altered the situation with drastic effect. The Spaniard to the south introduced the horse and thereby provided the means for extensive penetration of the Plains by native populations, for which the thick herds of buffalo and fleet antelope were an enticing lure. On the eastern frontier the French and British were working to cause a far-reaching displacement of the Woodland tribes. White settlements forced some tribes to move westward at an early date. And out beyond the frontier, other displacements were accelerated ahead of the line of settlement by the imperialistic rivalry of the fur trade. 177

The fur trading tribes sought ever to enlarge their trapping and hunt-

Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author from E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1954, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, pp. 127–142. [113]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

30: Levy	E-5	(ca. 1957)	1958	NO6 Comanche	NO6
				Oklahoma	
				Kiowa	NQ15

/page 44 continued/

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1]

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche.

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

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 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–25 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A--Analyst.]

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this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13]

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red.

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14]

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian.

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 57-78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History.

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201-02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

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PREFACE

THE study of comparative jurisprudence is a branch of American anthropology which holds great promise for future development. A field which, for a variety of reasons, has for long remained but slightly tilled, there still is much of significance to be extracted from its fertile soil. In this day, when questions as to the nature and function of governmental and legal institutions are of plaguing importance, anything that anthropology can offer in the way of factual enlightenment should be of value. This study of Comanche Law-ways is one offering to that end. 121

The investigation of the Comanches upon which this study rests had its inception in 1933 when the Ethnology Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, directed by Professor Ralph Linton, put in an intensive summer's work with the Comanches of Oklahoma. I am deeply grateful to the Laboratory, which made such an invaluable experience possible. The introduction to field work under Professor Linton's guidance opened the door to an understanding of the skill and art which successful field work requires. For that, above all, but also for permission to utilize all the materials of the group which are pertinent to this monograph, I am in debt to Professor Linton. Companions in the field whose contributions are in part incorporated in this memoir were Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett and Waldo R. Wedel. To them thanks not only for the anthropology which is theirs, but also for the good fellowship of that summer. F. Gore Hoebel participated in the field work and has been with this study from start to finish. I salute her! Karl N. Llewellyn, Betts Professor of Jurisprudence, Columbia Law School, has had an incalculable influence in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Three days before departure for the Comanche field I received a simple note. "I understand you are interested in American Indian Law," it read. "So am I. Could I talk to you?" Out of that has grown a stimulating association of the sort that is one of life's rare pleasures. 000 [114]

Dr. Jeannette Mirsky pursued an independent field study of the Comanche in the summer of 1935. She has graciously allowed me to draw from her notes. 114

The results of the Comanche study encouraged us to seek further information on the development of Comanche institutions among the related Shoshones. This was done with the aid of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. They financed a field investigation of the Ft. Hall Shoshones in Idaho during the following summer. This work was undertaken by F. Gore Hoebel and myself. The purpose was to investi-

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imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal.

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism.

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation.

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

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Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]
>
> In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

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121 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike
701 other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior
114 societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the
701 fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

114 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century
175 presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a
619 Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

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chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed. 114 175 619

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches 114 701

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu- 756

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

INTRODUCTION

By Walter Prescott Webb

114 This small book contains the account of the most exciting and adventurous years of Nelson Lee. It was published in 1859, when Sam Houston was governor of Texas, just before Lincoln was elected, when practically the whole American West was still the abode of what Richard Irving Dodge so appropriately called "Our Wild Indians." The adventures which justified Lee in writing the book began when he arrived in Texas in 1840 and ended eighteen years later when he escaped from the Comanche Indians and returned by way of Texas and Havana to his native state of New York, where he arrived on November 10, 1858.

His recollections of this eighteen-year period must have been hot in his memory. He began to tell his tale, and the tale he told convinced his hearers that he was speaking the truth. The world then, as now, had in it those vicarious adventurers who are willing to collect, edit, and publish accounts of hazardous living which they lack the daring to risk. Nelson Lee could talk, but he could not write. The unknown editor says: "The narrative has been recorded, as received from his lips, from day to day, not precisely in his own words, inasmuch as he is not an educated, though an intelligent man, but his history is told substantially as he relates it." Two reasons are given for the literary ven-

[p. vi has no textual material]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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● 114 ture: Nelson Lee had returned in poverty, "stripped of all he possessed"; and many white people, mainly women, remained in Indian captivity, from which Lee had just escaped. The publicity might at one stroke recoup Nelson Lee's finances and lead to the ransom of the captives. Behind these good reasons was the real one, the simple fact that this scarred-up mariner of the western plains had a story to tell.

The remarkable speed with which the story was put in print intrigues us. Lee says he "arrived in the United States" on November 10, 1858. The preface by the unknown editor bears the date January 1, 1859, the year of the copyright date. This means that the manuscript was completed within less than sixty days after the wanderer landed.

The story falls into two parts. The first part covers the period from 1840 to 1855, the fifteen years that Lee spent in Texas. This long span is treated in eight chapters—really in seven, because the first chapter deals with his early life and gets him to Texas in 1840, at the age of thirty-three. His life there would have justified a book in itself because this man hunted out the places of excitement and put himself in the midst of it repeatedly. He claims to have joined the Texas Rangers under Ewen Cameron, to have been with Ben McCulloch to warn the settlers after the Comanche raid on Linnville in 1840, and to have been present at the Battle of Plum Creek where the Comanches were defeated and the plunder from Linnville was recovered. He went on the Mier Expedition, but fled when the Texans surrendered, swam the Río Grande, and made his way back to San Antonio. In connection with this fiasco, he made his only political comment. He thought President Sam Houston designed the failure of the Mier Expedition and shows himself to have been anti-Houston.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Introduction

There is little doubt that he served with Ben McCulloch, Jack Hays, and Samuel H. Walker, all famous Texas Rangers. He joined up for the Santa Fé Expedition, but had to give that up on account of illness. He served in Hays' regiment of Texas Rangers for the duration of the Mexican War. In the quiet periods he engaged in Indian fighting and became a trader in horses and cattle.

There is no better description of the life of the Texas Rangers than that given by Nelson Lee. He is sparing of dates and shy of first names of commanders and persons with whom he was not closely associated, but in most instances he convinces the reader that he was there.

The second part of the story is told in seven chapters. It covers a period of three years, from March, 1855, to November, 1858. Lee and six other men formed a "joint company" to drive a herd of horses to California. They hired sixteen American drovers and three Mexican horse breakers, gathered a herd of 395 horses, and set out from San Patricio for California by way of El Paso. Lee gives the full names of each of these men, of whom he was the only survivor. The party crossed the Río Grande, "passing to the left of the river towns." On April 2, the Comanches attacked in the night and killed or captured the entire party. Later they killed all the captives except Nelson Lee, who saved himself by the use of an alarm watch which fascinated the superstitious Indians, particularly the chief. Lee, along with the watch, was subsequently traded to two other chiefs for fabulous quantities of horses and buffalo hides.

It is his account of life among the Indians that makes this book of unique value. The story he tells is absorbing, but the information he conveys about how the Comanches lived before they were affected by the white man is in-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

valuable. As an example, he tells how the Indians made a captive safe for the night. They made him lie down on his back with arms and legs outstretched. Each arm and leg was tied with buffalo thongs to stakes so that none could be moved. Two stakes were driven in the ground on either side of his neck, and these were connected with a thong that fit tight across the throat.

Lee finally managed to escape, and, after incredible hardship, made his way into the Mexican settlements and finally back to his own people. It is probable, though not certain, that he spent the years of his captivity in the western part of Mexico.

The little book of 224 pages is now extremely scarce, much sought after by libraries and collectors. Its reprint in the Western Frontier Library will be welcomed by all lovers of such characters as Cabeza de Vaca, Huckleberry Finn, and the Ancient Mariner. They all had this in common: Each made a hard journey and returned home to tell about it.

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3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Preface

114 THE Comanches were one of the great tribes of the American West. For a century and a half they successfully defended the High Plains and prairie country south of the Arkansas River against all intruders, both red and white. Their superb nomadic horsemanship, their dauntless military prowess, enabled them to guard well the vast, semiarid land they had won and claimed as their own. They made life unsafe for their enemies who dared to live near the periphery of the Comanchería.

Throughout the Southwest their name has become a synonym for wildness, fierceness, and savagery. They stopped the Spanish expansion from south and west. They blocked French plans for trade and held up the Anglo-American advance for half a century. The effect of the Comanche conflict upon the life and history of the Southwest was significant and dramatic.

Yet, for a variety of reasons, the story of the Comanches and their way of life has remained unwritten. No attempt at a comprehensive anthropological study of this people was made until they were visited by the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology. Subsequently, they were further studied by Miss Jeannette Mirsky in 1935 and again in 1940 by a group of linguistic specialists from the Department of Anthropology under the direction of Professor George Herzog.

In the notes and records of nineteenth-century military men, government agents, travelers and captive whites are many scattered pieces of information on the Comanches, yet they have not been previously drawn together.

Professor R. N. Richardson has published an excellent account of the historical relations of the Comanches in their conflicts with the whites throughout the nineteenth century in his book, *The Comanche*

The Comanches

•114 *Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

121 The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

114 Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of [186] our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and their ways should be true and adequate. They want their children 114 ●
and grandchildren to be able to read this book when they are gone. 186
The memories of the old ways are to survive in print.

The chief informants used by Mr. Wallace were Wiley Yellow- 115
fish, *Pakawa* (Kills Something), John *Padoponi* (See How Deep the Water Is), *Pohawe* (Medicine Woman), and *Tawaka*. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data in question were recorded from them by him in the summer of 1945.

The chief informants used by the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group were Post Oak Jim, *Nayia* (Slope), *Tasuta* (That's It), *Quasia* (Eagle Tail Feather), *Tɛnəβəkə* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), Frank *Chikoβa* (Breaks Something), *Nəmərui*βɛtsə (She Invites Her Relatives), *Həkiyani* (Carrying Her Sunshade), George *Kəwino*, and Howard White Wolf. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data were recorded from them by Mr. Hoebel or by other members of the Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933.

The Reverend Robert Chaat served as interpreter and informant for Mr. Wallace in his work. Mr. Herman *Asenap* (Greyfoot) and Mr. Norton *Tekwitchi* (Skinny and Wrinkled) were the indispensable interpreters and go-betweens for the Laboratory field party.

We are also indebted to many other persons who aided one or 000
the other of the authors in their work. Among these are Professors Walter Prescott Webb and J. G. McAllister of the University of Texas, Mr. Martin Taylor and Mr. Max Penrod, educators to the Comanches, Professor R. N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Holden, Mr. O. A. Kinchen, and Mrs. Ida Vernon of Texas Technological College, and Mrs. Ernesteen Barton. A fond salute is given to the members of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology Comanche field party: Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett, Waldo R. Wedel, and F. Gore Hoebel (an ex-officio member). Mr. Joseph Casagrande generously made the manuscript of his unpublished dissertation on "Linguistic Accommodation to Acculturation in Comanche" available to us.

Illustrations and materials to be used in illustration for this book were kindly provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the University of Texas Anthropological Museum, and Texas Technological

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

144 one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

619 631 The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more important being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

● 114 Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

speaks of the 'Comances' as "in stature rather low, and in 114 person often approaching to corpulency." Richardson (1829, p. 61) quotes Marcy's description of the Comanches in 1854 as men "about medium stature, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline nose, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard." Finally, Boas (1895) reports stature for seventy-four and cephalic index for twenty-nine Comanche males measured by his students at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. Except for additional casual statements about their appearance, nothing else on the physical status of the Comanches, to the writer's knowledge, has appeared in print.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study comprises thirty-five full- and probably 124 full-blood males, twenty-five full-blood females, and twenty-five mixed bloods. The numbers are regrettably small, but mixture of blood is so prevalent that little better was possible under the circumstances. Virtually every town and surrounding environs where Comanches lived—Lawton, Cache, Fletcher, Walters, Mt. Scott—was visited in the search for full-bloods. By full-blood the writer means a person with no other blood than that of his tribe as far back as he can remember, and as far as other, older, members of the tribe recall; this criterion must agree with the physical diagnosis based on character of hair, color of eyes and hair, Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, general appearance, etc. All reasonable precautions were taken in the present study to insure accuracy of judgment.

The number of virtually certain full-bloods, nineteen males 128 and twenty-five females, although small, is believed to be a 124 typical group. Data are therefore given in some detail, more so since the full-blood is rapidly becoming totally eliminated and other information is meager.

A number of the subjects examined appeared full-blood, yet for one reason or another, the diagnosis could not be as certain as desirable. These subjects were designated as 'prob-

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

SOME NOTES ON USES OF PLANTS BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

GUSTAV G. CARLSON
University of Cincinnati
and
VOLNEY H. JONES
University of Michigan

●114 THE notes on which this paper is based were gathered chiefly by Mr. Carlson during the summer of 1933, while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and a member of a field group of that institution led by Dr. Ralph Linton. The research was made on the Comanche Indian Reservation near Indiahoma, Comanche County, Oklahoma, as a small part of a general ethnographic study of the Comanche. The briefness of the expedition and the broadness of the general investigation did not permit much time to be spent on ethnobotany. It is realized that this paper does not by any means exhaust the subject of Comanche plant uses, and it was hoped that further field work might be done. As this has not been possible and as the publication of the bulk of the report of the expedition may be delayed, it seems advisable to publish these notes at this time.[1]

[115] 124 An educated Comanche informant-interpreter, Herman Asenap, assisted materially in contacting the older non-English-speaking members of the tribe and was of invaluable aid in acquiring and interpreting information. Whenever possible a specimen of the plant to be identified was gathered in the presence of the informant, but when this was not practical as complete a description as possible was obtained. Suggestions concerning the identity of a number of these plants have been made with some assurance from descriptions, common names, and manner of use. The specimens which were

[1] Thanks are here expressed to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, to Dr. Linton, and to members of the party for permission to publish these data.

[pp 1-516 not processed]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of 114 larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material 128 in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by 824 scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche 104 plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical [114] Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the 824 very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, 262 p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

they stressed the fact that the Comanche did not use a Sun Dance image while the Kiowa did.

The material on which the preceding report is based was collected by the Ethnological Field Party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico, while working with the Comanche during the summer of 1933.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

[pp 429-end, not processed]

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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113 [1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp. 1-300 not processed]

10: Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

so grossly sunk in the darkness of heathenism, as is the one of which the account is here closed, should be so exact in the observation of customs so strikingly analogous to the letter of the Mosaic ritual? Are these strange people some of the posterity of fathers who once worshipped at the Jewish altar? and when shall the light of the Gospel illuminate the pathway of their return? Saviour of the human race, hasten the blessed day!

HERMITAGE, GREENE COUNTY, ILL.
JUNE, 1839

NOTICE [40]

Since the notice of the forthcoming of the above publication appeared in the city papers, it has been suggested by some, that it may have been gotten up from sinister motives, and that it is not founded on facts, and with reference to which, the writer would say, that Mrs. Horn was brought from Santa Fé under the immediate care of Messrs. Workman and Rowland, who, it is presumed, are well known to respectable merchants in this city, and elsewhere, as Santa Fé traders. Mrs. Horn was placed by Mr. Workman in the family of his brother, in New Franklin when she first came to the States, as her book says, and she still remains there. Many other names might be given, but those referred to are above suspicion.

[40] This "notice" appeared on the upper half of the rear wrapper of the original edition.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of elitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

128 * This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which
101 this paper is based were collected among the Co-
114 manche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University.
124 A vocabulary of about 2500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Coman-
115 che equivalents for English terms. James Che'ah-tah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic in-
124 formant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog
[126] and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science
122 Research Council of Columbia University whose
114 financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

[p. 140-A]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128

ABSTRACT

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett, Director of Research at the Institute, provided all equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

122 114 114

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p.316-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

THE SITE

172 The Jared Site (34CM221) is located in the
131 bottom of a deep ravine about one-half mile west-northwest of the summit of Medicine Bluff Number Four at 98° 25′ 31″ west and 34° 41′
172 18″ north (Fig. 1). The ravine is a branch of a small unnamed intermittent stream that empties into Medicine Creek. Erosion has cut through clay soils into fine conglomerate bedrock, leaving many boulders and gravel in the bed and sides of the ravine. The area is a highly dissected upland now covered with oaks, cacti, and short grasses.

The grave was located in the bed of the ravine against the south bank in a triangular area framed by three large boulders. The body was covered with large flat stones, probably gathered from the immediate area. When we first saw the burial, soil that had long ago slumped from the bank was covering most of the stones. Immediately above the skeleton and among the stones was soil
[114] that had been deposited by the stream. Erosion had recently exposed a portion of the skull, leading to its discovery by an alert zoology student, Jon Nickles.

126 Before excavating, we set up a mapping
172 station and two datum points in an east-west line on the south bank. All finds were triangulated from these points. We then exposed and mapped the stones covering the grave (Fig. 2). The stones were removed, and the area was troweled and brushed. Everything was left *in situ* until the entire site was open to view (Fig. 3).

172 With the possible excention of the removal of large stones, there had been no preparation of the grave site. A black rubber-coated cloth, probably part of a poncho or light tarpaulin, had been spread out and the body laid upon it with the right side down, head to the west, facing south. The hands had been placed in front of the

[p. 316-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different - the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is [114] rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

> The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although 764 171 a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine 114 (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

[p. 323-B]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory 175
from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and 648
western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned 175
the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the 101
northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, 175
the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white 648
civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a
reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever ex- [186]
isted between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche 114
society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche : 06
Texas

114 "A series of letters originally addressed to Col. John Jamison, deceased, late Indian agent at Natchitoches." The first letter is headed "Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818." This was almost two years before Stephen Long crossed *Comancheria,* and more than two years were yet to elapse before Moses Austin sought permission of the Spanish authorities at San Antonio to settle Anglo-American colonists in Texas. The fifth letter was a reply to criticism of the article by the world-renowned naturalist and professor at Transylvania University, C. S. Rafinesque. Ranfinesque wrote in the June 19, 1824, issue of the *Literary Gazette*: "I have been much pleased with the accounts of the Comanches and Nabijos, . . . but regret that the writers have totally neglected to notice the languages of those nations, although this ought to claim the first attention in any account of Indian nations, being often the only clue to trace their origin and history. It is also wrong to give anonymous detaiis of historical facts, while so much depends upon personal authority." Most of the reply to the criticism is of no significance; but one section is herein reproduced, since it is "A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language." The author of the account—David Gouverneur Burnet of Cincinnati, later to serve as the first president of the Republic of Texas—wrote from personal experiences of more than a year's residence among the Comanche Indians in Texas.

David Gouverneur Burnet was born on April 4, 1788, in Newark, New Jersey. The Burnet family was quite prominent. David's father was a noted physician and a member of the Continental Congress. One of his half-brothers was aide-de-camp to Washington and a close friend of Lafayette; another served as a member of the United States Senate, as an Ohio State Supreme Court Judge, and was elected a member of the French Academy of Science. His brother, Isaac, for twelve years was mayor of Cincinnati.[1]

Left an orphan at the age of three, David grew up under the guidance of his brothers, who saw that he received

[113] 1. Dorothy I. [illegible]ise Fields, "David Gouverneur Burnet," in The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LIX (October, 1945), pp. 218-232.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2] 114

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] [101] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request [124] [126]

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169. [113]
3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 129; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 132-3. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and
126 other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 229.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchèes are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

ELLIOTT D. CANONGE
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

194
121

0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113] [1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114] My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. [115] Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113] [2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

194 wahcI *this is my rib* versus 'ʔicaʔnī'nakI *this is my ear.*

It may be noted here, furthermore, that there is frequently morpho-phonemic alternation between a pre-consonantal /h/ and a post-consonantal voiceless vowel preceding certain suffixes. Compare the stem alternants 'pohpi- and 'popI- before the suffix -tuʔI *future tense* and -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* in the illustrations 'pohpituʔInīʔ *I am going to jump* and 'popIcinīʔ'miaruʔI *having jumped, I will go.*

The contrast /a/, /A/ is extremely rare due to the low frequency of occurrence of /A/ and its frequent morpho-phonemic alternation with /Ī/. Whereas the analogies 'pohpi-, 'popI-; 'coʔme-, 'coʔmE-; 'ʔuhtu-, 'ʔutU- preceding -ki, -kʷa and other morphemes are common, the analogy 'tīhka-, *'tīkA- would be erroneous. Rather, the second form would be 'tīkĪ-. However, preceding -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* and ci, a syllable in the stem 'niʔaci- *to advise*, a valid contrast can be observed, e.g. 'miʔAcinīʔ'tīhkaruʔI *having gone, I will eat* versus ʔu'niʔaciki'uʔ *he came to advise him.*

128 The preceding illustrations have given crucial contrastive data for each of the six vowel pairs. The following miscellaneous sets of forms supplement those given above and the phonemicization postulated in reference to them.

194 In the first set of examples, the contrast between /ī/, /I/ occurs following stops and preceding the identical morpheme -nīī *plural*, e.g. 'papinīī *heads*, 'nakInīī *ears*, 194 'tīʁoowapInīī *teachers*, 'toʔInīī *pipes*. Note that it was a pair of this type which Jakob- 114 son used for his spectrographic analysis: 'tīriʔaiwapInīī *hired hands* and 'tīpinīī 114 *stones*. At the time the tape was sent to him, the minimal pairs quoted above had not been discovered and none occur in the data of Riggs and Smalley. Nevertheless, the earlier data of contrast in analogous (non-conditioning) environment appeared to all

[p.65-A]

114 of us conclusive even before the newer minimal pairs had been discovered and which have been included above.

194 In a specialized verb compound composed of noun plus verb, /ï/, /I/ contrast preceding juncture in the set 'papiwïnĬkatïnï? *I have a headache* compared with 'nakIwïnĬkatïnï? *I have an earache.*

As the first syllable of a two syllable stem, the contrast /ï/, /I/ may occur in stem syllables *not* contiguous to another morpheme following, as in the set 'tïkᵛïɨukitï?u? *he is whipping* (*something*) compared with ?u'kïkᵛIya?etï?u? *he habitually tastes it.* Here, the stem in the second instance is -kᵛIya- so that the unvoicing is not a product in this instance of a change at morpheme boundaries. Possible conditioning by the morpheme kï- *use of mouth or teeth* preceding, can be discounted by 'kï?okᵛetï?-u? *he is slobbering*, in which the vowel in the syllable following kï- is voiced, i.e. /o/.

Though the morphemes -kï *benefactive* and -ki *movement toward* differ morphologically, in the following set they present a phonologically nonconditioning environment in which to contrast /e/, /E/, e.g. ?u'-wïhtokᵛekïtï?u? *he is killing for her* versus ?urii'wïhtokᵛEkitï?u? *he is killing them and coming on.*

The next sets of illustrations show contrast between /ï/ and /Ĭ/. They can be observed, for example, preceding -ka *stative* and -?e *habitual* in ?u'karïkï?etï?u? *she habitually cooks it* compared with ?u'karïkĬ-katï?u? *she is cooking it.* Note also the occurrence of voiced /ï/ preceding -ru?I *future tense* compared with the voiceless phoneme /Ĭ/ within a complex verb stem, as in the constructions 'pitïru?I?u? *he will arrive* and 'patĬrïyaai?u? *he drowned.* Preceding the dependent clause clitic -ku *dependent action being performed by secondary subject* and -ka, a like clitic denoting *completed dependent action*, a similar contrast is noted, e.g. '?uhka?u'karïkïkuma?'mi?a?I *as she was boiling that, he went* versus '?uhka?u'karïkĬkama?'mi?a?I *when he boiled that, he went.*

[p. 65-B]

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukĬni *a stable*, 'nanUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /I/ of 'puhakĬni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The
195 mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.

194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her Analysis B in which consonant clusters
114 resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant
121 are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hn and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

[p.67-A]

194 sonants for ?s, ?m, ?y, etc., which would reduce the number of consonant clusters to
114 zero but would produce thirteen more new
121 phonemes. All possible combinations of ? followed by a consonant occur except ??.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ?c and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ^{h}'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ^{h}'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p. 67-B]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

128 121 121 128 121

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects. [122]

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931. [114] [113]

[p. 229]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175
551
701
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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[37]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[38] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[39] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange[40] of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[37] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[38] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[39] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[40] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NOo Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/30/

KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT
FROM THE FIELD

Jerrold E. Levy*
University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 123 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true K 124 535 even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that

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C K 114 *Mr. Levy has been a student at the University of Chicago for four years. He has an M.A. in Oriental Languages (Hebrew and Old Testament) and an M.A. in Anthropology.

/page 40 continued/

296 Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same
758 way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger gen-
177 eration could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering
771 down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of
795 disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

795 If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Pey-
771 ote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

795 The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly
from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical
114 points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

795 The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both
771 within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual
177 Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Foreword

About the Series

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These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

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David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma. [101] [126]

Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

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As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society.

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Introduction

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC IMMORTALITY of the Comanches rests almost exclusively on the data obtained and published by the members of the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology. Several members of this group, notably Ralph Linton and E. Adamson Hoebel, have produced valuable contributions to the knowledge and understanding of Comanche culture. The institution of the Comanche traditional doctor, however, was only superficially recorded by the members of the Santa Fe group and even less satisfactorily recorded in earlier and less rigorous accounts of the Comanches. It is because of the paucity of material in this area and because of a unique set of circumstances which enabled me to achieve an unusually close rapport with the only traditional Medicine woman now functioning in Comanche society that I attempted to fill some of the aforementioned void with an intensive study of this doctor.

This study will be an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche Medicine woman. The attempt will be made to describe every possible aspect and facet of her role as Medicine woman and to consider her social position and cultural meaning in the context of contemporary Comanche society. It is hoped that the method of presentation employed in this book will enable the reader not only to understand how a Comanche Medicine woman performs the prescribed behavior and ritual of her role, her attitudes toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society but also to gain insight into the personality and character of the woman who is the last surviving Comanche eagle doctor.

Supernaturalism is often an extremely difficult area of culture for the ethnographer to approach with any degree of depth or intimacy. This situation becomes exaggerated, as in the case of the Comanches, when certain supernaturalistic institutions are considered by the members of the culture as final bulwarks of traditional values, or last vestiges of a "golden era." When these institutions are of a kind to elicit negative responses from the dominant culture in a situation of

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came 121
from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her.

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, 123
besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia.

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia, [562]
[114]
[115]
[142]

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information
114 with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography
121 is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is
756 that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there
124 is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce
[756] them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

UNCLE SIM'S TRADING STORE

114 SINCE THE PEOPLE WHO SETTLED in the trade area where my father established his trading store came from just about every state and territory, their tastes and needs were as varied as their background. He located in old Faxon, that had started out as Slogan, in Comanche County, Oklahoma Territory. This was about two miles northwest of the present town of Faxon. The time was March, 1902, following the opening of the country the fall before.

000 Dad had no previous experience in the mercantile business. He had enjoyed several prosperous years on our farm in Marshall County, Kansas. But now he had sold his farm at an unheard-of price and was seeking two things: cheap land that would grow in value, and an easier way than farming for an old man to make a living.

We hauled the lumber for the store building from Lawton, about twenty miles to the northeast. The building's dimensions were about twenty by sixty feet, and it was of box-type construction. It was sealed, had a shingle roof, and sat on stone piers at four-foot intervals. I think the best recommendation for our construction is that these many years later it is still in use. We later moved it five miles overland to the town of Chattanooga. It stands on the main street, the oldest building in the town. I confess that it is showing its age.

Having no preconceived idea about what he should stock or ex-

/Pp. 1-15 not processed--Analyst/

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE LOST ONES

WHEN WE WENT into the Comanche country in the spring of 1902, 114
it was not only a new country but a new way of life to me, a fourteen-year-old Kansas farm boy. The people I met, homesteaders or home-seekers, came from nearly every state in the Union, as well as from the Indian Nations. Ringed about us were Comanche families, camped rather than living on their allotments.

It was the Comanches, of course, who made the greatest impression on me. Almost as soon as Dad got his trading store opened, we started having an Indian trade. It just seemed to happen. We made no conscious effort to attract the Indians and wouldn't have known how had we wanted to try.

Mother bought our opening stock of dry goods, and she continued to do the buying as long as we ran the store. A few bolts of bright 443
colors, in both calico and gingham, together with matching cotton 177
braid, possibly proved an attraction to the Indian women at the start. Then too, Dad and Mother had the theory that we should treat everyone with the same degree of courtesy. These two things were the only concessions, if they were concessions, you could say we made.

Another thing that probably helped was that a missionary who 443
ran a mission back to the northeast on Blue Beaver Creek made a 177
check, unbeknownst to us, of the prices we charged to the white and 797

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1878, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

POLYGAMY IN COMANCHE COUNTRY

000 MY CURIOSITY concerning polygamy had been thoroughly honed for some two years before I learned that our family was going to the Comanche country. For lack of other reading material, I was reading the newspapers from front to back at a very early age. The *Kansas City Star* published a weekly *Star* and a weekly *Journal*. (The R.F.D. was still a couple of years away, and living in the country as we did there was no object in our taking a daily newspaper.)

It seemed that a man had been elected to the U.S. Senate who because of his religious connections was suspected of having more than one wife. Both the *Star* and the *Journal* gave a great deal of space to the possibility that we had an actual practicing polygamist in the Senate. Likewise both papers carried a column or two, each issue, of comments by the readers. Polygamy was entirely new to me, and I read every word of the articles and the comments from readers. The slant of both articles and letters was strictly antipolygamy. They uniformly drew a picture of something that was seen as soul-destroying and reprehensible.

114 This storm had scarcely run its course before the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche country caught my interest, as my parents planned to move there. Now I was searching the papers for every mention of the Indian country. Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue. 643 [114]

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area. 595 643 177

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law. 643 595 657

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[14] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
492 411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 492 224 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1] 113 114

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the succeeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche. 114 101 114

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the 177 178

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the exter- 177
mination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. 178
Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Co- 114
manche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de [648]
Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander [178]
of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the
bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn),
and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3,
1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Coman-
che.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer Ameri-
can explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache
quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a
variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3]
Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier [127]
artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this
country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after
1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base
for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche
Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the 114
ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and con- 531
tainers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal 177
hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted
designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And
they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass
tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle 714
defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made 237
from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was [415]
furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not
in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention [789]
of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the
shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has frag-
ments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan [113]
Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered
in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4,
1804–October 1842 in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows
were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navahc NT13
Comanche NO6

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

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The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

[p. 352]
[pp 1-351 not processed]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

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stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd. C 233 721

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California. N 233 C 233

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire. N C ● 114 ●

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information N C 286 [526] N C [386] C N 124 N C 126 386

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

APPENDIX B

115

A. *Comanche* INFORMANTS

1. Herman Bluefoot, ésənap. Born of a captive Mexican father and a full-blood Comanche mother, Herman served as our chief interpreter and go-between. Highly respected for his leadership abilities he was ideal in his role, for he never obtruded his personality upon the informant, but served always as a skilfull transmitter of ideas between Comanches and ourselves. Age 50.[1]
2. Eagle Tail Feather, qwásia. A member of the Those Who Move Often Band. Quiet, responsible and respected, one of the most reliable of Comanche informants, inclined however to resist rapport with whites. Age 56.
3. Slope, náyia. Easy going, genial, a Comanche who sees all life in its humorous aspects. Generously helpful with the information he possesses (except the nature of his secret herbs), with his interest in people and things he was capable of providing much anecdotal material. Of the Those Who Turn Back From Raids band. Age 57.
4. Rhoda Bluefoot. Wife of Herman Bluefoot, daughter of a well-known medicine man and warrier. Too young to have had a great deal of experience in the old culture, most of her information was secondary. Her services were as interpreter when working with woman informants. Age 45 (?).
5. Post Oak Jim, (?). An active, unusually extraverted Comanche with a colorful and notorious history, now a famous Peyote leader and singer. A willing and self-regarding informant, but not too reliable in all respects. Of the Those Who Turn Back From Raids band. Age 64.
6. Kowíno, (?). A Yép Eater. Now deacon of the Mennonite Mission Church, only slightly useful as an informant.
7. Breaks Something, tʃíkoβa. His information centered mostly about his own personal experiences as a medicine man and in damage settlements. A most conscientious informant who provided valuable material. A member of the Antelope band. Age (?).
8. That's It, tasúɹa. One of the finest of all possible informants, unassuming, intelligent and versed with an astounding knowledge of Comanche ways and events. Entirely cooperative and appreciative of the purpose of the study. One of the few surviving members of the Water Horse band. Age 79.

[1] Age is given as of 1933.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

115

9. Skinny and Wrinkled, tekwítʃi. Interpreter. A Carlyle graduate. Age 45.
10. Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man, ténɛβɜkə. An obstinate and tantalizing informant, he is the "greatest" of the living Comanches, for he is the sole surviving member of the band of five warriors who stole all the 121 horses from the U. S. Cavalry at Ft. Sill in 1871. Buffalo Eater band. Age 89.
11. Get Your Neighbor, nə́mɜɹuiβɛtsi. An effective woman informant from the Swift Stingers band, she gave much comprehensive information. Age (?). Her name is also translated as Visits Her Relatives.
12. Holding Her Sunshade, hɜkiyáni. Captured as a seven year old child in a Comanche raid upon her schoolhouse in old Mexico, she has lived through a fantastic life history and at the age of 90 survives with her very active 75 year old daughter, born of a Comanche chief. A capable informant.

A number of other informants were consulted incidentally in the course of the investigation. Those listed above include the persons whose informamation was pertinent to the preparation of this memoir. (Informants used by Dr Mirsky are not included in the above given list.)

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and their ways should be true and adequate. They want their children 114
and grandchildren to be able to read this book when they are gone. 186
The memories of the old ways are to survive in print.

The chief informants used by Mr. Wallace were Wiley Yellow- 115
fish, *Pakawa* (Kills Something), John *Padoponi* (See How Deep the Water Is), *Pohawe* (Medicine Woman), and *Tawaka*. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data in question were recorded from them by him in the summer of 1945.

The chief informants used by the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group were Post Oak Jim, *Nayia* (Slope), *Tasura* (That's It), *Quasia* (Eagle Tail Feather), *Tɛnəβəkə* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), Frank *Chikoβa* (Breaks Something), *Nəmərui*β*ɛtsə* (She Invites Her Relatives), *Həkiyani* (Carrying Her Sunshade), George *Kəwino*, and Howard White Wolf. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data were recorded from them by Mr. Hoebel or by other members of the Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933.

The Reverend Robert Chaat served as interpreter and informant for Mr. Wallace in his work. Mr. Herman *Asenap* (Greyfoot) and Mr. Norton *Tekwitchi* (Skinny and Wrinkled) were the indispensable interpreters and go-betweens for the Laboratory field party.

We are also indebted to many other persons who aided one or 000
the other of the authors in their work. Among these are Professors Walter Prescott Webb and J. G. McAllister of the University of Texas, Mr. Martin Taylor and Mr. Max Penrod, educators to the Comanches, Professor R. N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Holden, Mr. O. A. Kinchen, and Mrs. Ida Vernon of Texas Technological College, and Mrs. Ernesteen Barton. A fond salute is given to the members of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology Comanche field party: Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett, Waldo R. Wedel, and F. Gore Hoebel (an ex-officio member). Mr. Joseph Casagrande generously made the manuscript of his unpublished dissertation on "Linguistic Accommodation to Acculturation in Comanche" available to us.

Illustrations and materials to be used in illustration for this book were kindly provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the University of Texas Anthropological Museum, and Texas Technological

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

SOME NOTES ON USES OF PLANTS BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

GUSTAV G. CARLSON
University of Cincinnati
and
VOLNEY H. JONES
University of Michigan

114 THE notes on which this paper is based were gathered chiefly by Mr. Carlson during the summer of 1933, while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and a member of a field group of that institution led by Dr. Ralph Linton. The research was made on the Comanche Indian Reservation near Indiahoma, Comanche County, Oklahoma, as a small part of a general ethnographic study of the Comanche. The briefness of the expedition and the broadness of the general investigation did not permit much time to be spent on ethnobotany. It is realized that this paper does not by any means exhaust the subject of Comanche plant uses, and it was hoped that further field work might be done. As this has not been possible and as the publication of the bulk of the report of the expedition may be delayed, it seems advisable to publish these notes at this time.[1]

[115] 124 An educated Comanche informant-interpreter, Herman Asenap, assisted materially in contacting the older non-English-speaking members of the tribe and was of invaluable aid in acquiring and interpreting information. Whenever possible a specimen of the plant to be identified was gathered in the presence of the informant, but when this was not practical as complete a description as possible was obtained. Suggestions concerning the identity of a number of these plants have been made with some assurance from descriptions, 000 common names, and manner of use. The specimens which were

[1] Thanks are here expressed to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, to Dr. Linton, and to members of the party for permission to publish these data.

[pp 1-516 not processed]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

128 * This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was
101 prepared as a single long paper. The data on which
114 this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University.
124 A vocabulary of about 2500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebah-
115 tah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwfhtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic in-
124 formant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog
[126] and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

122 I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose
114 financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

[p. 140-A]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115

[p. iv]

knowledge instead of having to unravel basic concepts. All this means that the anthropologist can now manage without using the native language if he so wishes. 121

However, something else is happening nowadays, namely that science is advancing its standards of accuracy and penetration. And this must imply a return, sooner or later, to the use of native texts and linguistic techniques. Perhaps it will be another generation or two before the full realization of this need is felt, and by that time many of the languages will be gone beyond recall. Timely, therefore, is such a work as the present collection, recorded by Elliott Canonge from Mrs. Emily Riddles of Walters, Oklahoma. A warning that this type of text collection should be done without delay is born home by the fact that Mrs. Riddles, a very old woman born around 1885, suffered a stroke in 1955, before Canonge had finished his work with her, and she was unable to continue. 126 115

Canonge has worked in the best traditions of Boas' day by recording these texts in the native tongue at the direct dictation of a person wise in the ways of her people, but the tradition itself has developed and advanced. Canonge writes Comanche in a "phonemic" alphabet, both simpler and more accurate than the recordings of the same language made 50 years ago, basing himself on the advances in linguistic science produced in this period. A "phoneme" is a fundamental unit of speech-sound in the phonetic system of a given language; always it includes a play of variations occurring under scientifically definable conditions and within a determinable range. English has such variations, and so does Comanche. The reason that the old records of Comanche look so complicated is that the variations in their language and in English do not jibe; so, in the pre-phonemic days, many imaginary or exaggeratedly interpreted variations were recorded, even though they are hardly significant in the native language, and other phonetic differences, important in Comanche, were overlooked. Canonge's record, based on the the scientific insight derived from the earnest but necessarily stumbling efforts of our predecessors in Amerindian work, gives Comanche in a form that is as simple as it is possible to make it, and which at the same time is fully accurate. The reduction to this scientific shape was not achieved without effort, but required a long and careful study, involving listening hundreds of times to individual words and to pairs of words to determine what differences were automatic and which represented a fundamental contrast in the speech of the natives. 126

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Explanatory Note

126 These texts were transcribed over a period of years up
115 to 1955 and the whole corpus happens to have come from one informant, a Comanche, Mrs. Emily Riddles, age 75, of Walters, Oklahoma. Materials were carefully corrected by her. After she suffered a severe stroke, further checking was accomplished through Mr. Joe Harry and Mr. Gilbert Coonwoap of Walters and Lawton respectively.

104 Symbols:

p t k s m n w y h i e a u o are conventional.

ʌ is ɨ, back unrounded vowel.

kw and ts are single phonemes of two segments.

b is ƀ, voiced bilabial fricative.

r is ɾ, alveolar flap.

Long vowels are written as ii ee aa uu oo ɨɨ.

Underlining (_) indicates voiceless (whispered) vowels, e.g. i̲, e̲.

Stress (´) is written only when it does not occur on initial syllables.

Glottal (ʔ) is not written when it occurs prevocalic in initial syllables.

[p. xiv is blank]

14: Riggs L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 ALTERNATE PHONEMIC ANALYSES OF COMANCHE

VENDA RIGGS
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

0. Introduction
1. Consonants: Analysis A
2. Consonants: Analysis B
3. Discussion
4. Vowels
5. Stress

128 0. This paper presents two alternate phonemic analyses of the consonants of Comanche, a Uto-Aztecan language.[1] The 128 question involved is whether the sequence h 194 plus consonant should be regarded as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme in this language.[2] In 128 section 3 the relative advantages and disadvantages of each solution will be discussed without any attempt to favor either analysis. The writer, however, prefers analysis B.

128 1. Consonants: Analysis A. In this analy- 194 sis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a consonant cluster.

194 1.1. Stops and spirants generally occur in unique allophones, namely voiceless; h is assimilated to preceding vowels and following nasals.

Stops: p, t, c (an affricate, patterning as stop), kʷ, k, ʔ. Examples: paa *water*, picipə *milk*, toa? *son*, peetə *daughter*, caatə *good*, paci? *little sister*, kʷeeni? *pointed hill*,

[101] [1] The data on which this paper is based was gathered during the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of [115] Oklahoma. Comanche informants were Molly Weryavah, Emily Riddles, and Mrs. Joe Harry. I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin for suggestions in the presentation of the material.

[2] A third possible analysis, that of interpreting preconsonantal h as a voiceless vowel has not been considered due to the fact that Comanche voiceless vowels are contrastive as to quality, while the phoneme h is not. See section 1.1., Spirants.

[p. 229-A]

15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

HENRY OSBORN AND WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

193 128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[101] [115] [128]

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, kʷ, ʔ; c; s, s, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɪ, I, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /ˈ/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

[194] [104]

[p.93-A]

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

ELLIOTT D. CANONGE
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

194
121

0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i̥/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113]

[1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114]

My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[115]

[113]

[2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Acknowledgments and Comments

Transcriptions of tape-recorded interviews in English enabled me to present extensive verbatim material from Sanapia and my other informants. In order to sustain the tone and manner of the original response, I attempted no editing of these passages. All quoted material, unless otherwise designated, is after Sanapia (pseudonym). Also, no attempt has been made to touch up the old photographs of Sanapia and her family. 126

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. William E. Bittle of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma for his valuable advice, criticism, and support during the development of this study; to Dr. Morris E. Opler of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma for his encouragement and aid toward the publication of this book; and to Dr. George J. Goodman of the Department of Botany of the University of Oklahoma for his enthusiastic assistance in the identification of the medicinal plants discussed in Chapter 3. My most profound respect and appreciation must go to Sanapia, who gave me her trust and active intelligent assistance throughout the period of my fieldwork among the Comanche people of southwestern Oklahoma. It is her wish that this be the book of her "medicine way," and I hope that I have succeeded. 122 115

DAVID E. JONES

Norman, Oklahoma

[p. xii is blank]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her. 121

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect-distance from Sanapia. 123

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia, [562] [114] [115] [142]

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

619 Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
621 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
184 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
795 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

619 Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
621 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
184 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
115 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
[755] institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Sanapia, 1895–1968

Early Childhood

SANAPIA WAS BORN at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in the spring of 1895 in a tepee encampment of *yapai* Comanches who had traveled to Fort Sill for rations from the vicinity of Medicine Park, Oklahoma. As with most Comanche women her age, Sanapia only knows that she was born in the spring and has therefore arbitrarily set her birth date at May twentieth.

Her father was Comanche and her mother Comanche-Arapaho. Sanapia was the sixth in a family of eleven siblings, having five older brothers, three younger brothers, and two younger sisters. As is still the custom among the more traditionally oriented Comanches, the maternal grandmother is very instrumental in rearing her daughter's children. Both Sanapia's mother and her mother's older brother were eagle doctors.

> Yeah, my mother doctored . . . she could do anything. One time it was her playmate . . . one time they were playing and she died. They put her buckskin dress on her, and you know in them days when anybody died they put red paint all over their face and their arms and their feet and then they put them away. They fix her up like that. My mother was playing with the rest of the kids. She was just a little bitty girl. She said, "I'm going to my tent and go to sleep. After awhile I play some more." Later these kids came to her and said, "They want you over there. Go to doctor." And she was just about ten years old that time. She went down there and she said, "No, no, she not going to go. I don't want her to die. I'll fix her up." She told all those people that, "You all get out. I'll fix her up." And she was sitting in that tent making all kinds of racket and pretty soon that little girl get up. She came back to life and lived many years. My mother died before her.

Sanapia's maternal uncle was also very active among Comanche peyotists, leading peyote meetings throughout southern Oklahoma. Sanapia also counts among her relatives a paternal grandfather who was an important *yapai* leader in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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115 159 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 159 797 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches, 115 159 797 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society. Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her 177 593 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

[18]

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 159 797 177 593

man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo-
159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapid's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

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115 159 603 855 [765] people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

115 159 604 756 755 Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

115 159 771 Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

115 159 771 755 You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

115 159 177 797 872 [212] They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it. All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer. 115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My 159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on 241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's 159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but 593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to 756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to 868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother 824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities 159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her 756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to 868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com- [871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers [582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

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be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle-doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband. 115 159 756 868 582

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

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115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, 115 159 Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 593 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

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Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945. 115 159 756

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming. 115 159 484

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk about us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society. 115 159 756 562 559

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last 115 159 756

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115 159 756 [824] [278] year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 159 756 177 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the significance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be somewhat counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

115 159 756 [761] Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut* and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

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A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing. 115 159 756

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine. 115 159 756 465 [431]

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping 756 773

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756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 164

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 603 115 159 756 775

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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of
[778] her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[826] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

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After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life. 115 159 756 789

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating. 115 159 756 784 262 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures. 115 159 756

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

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115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar,
[789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's
[825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
159 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
756 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
784 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
262 potential dangers to the *pubakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the pubakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

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she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an individual for some object or assistance.

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans. The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kardiner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia, through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevitable struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is transmitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill

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to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[886] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
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> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote-hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit-man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 776 772 177

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 778

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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115 159 756 593 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

115 159 756 778 Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 844 115 159 756 [753]

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
156
756 I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had
755 cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

noon and told us that L——— was dying. The doctor gave up. I told my husband, "Let's go see her." And we beat it down there and it was about five o'clock, late that afternoon. It was cold. When we got there she was just lying on her back like that . . . nobody was in the house except her. Her husband was gone and her children were all gone. She was white as a sheet. Her face was just white and her lips were blue. She didn't even notice me come in. I wake her up and said, "Are you sleeping? What's the matter with you?" She said, "I'm dying . . . going to die tonight. That's what the doctor told me. They dismissed me from the hospital. I'm going to die either tonight or tomorrow . . . just any day. Could you help me?" That's what she said. And I told J———, "You go get your brothers. I'll get her out of it . . . that's nothing. That cancer ain't nothing to me." And he beat it down there to his brothers and they come in right after dark. That night we soaked that deer hide . . . soaked it in water till it could get soft and they put it on the drum. And right there in the middle of town . . . she got a home in the middle of town and a lot of white people living all around her house. So I said, "Let's have this peyote meeting for her tonight . . . drum all night. Let me fix her up. She be alright." And so that night we had a drumming right there in the middle of town. And she was worse the next morning. I said, "This is too noisy. I don't like to doctor anybody in noisy place. Let's take her home." So we load her up and brought her down here to our place. That night we had another peyote meeting inside of the house and it was just pouring down rain and we had the meeting for her. Took that peyote and said, "Our fathers, way back in years . . . our grandfathers took this medicine, and they said that whenever anybody sick like that you just take this and chew it and then put it in your hands and let her swallow it . . . give her four at the start." And I done that. I prayed and I talked to that peyote just like I'm talking to you. I said, "If you don't get her well, I don't want you. If you not nothing, if you ain't got power, I don't want to use you anymore." God made me in this world and he gave me this power just like when he was here on land. Jesus went around blessing people and healing the sick and everything like that and I believe that I got the power in my hands. I believe I could get her well. So that night we had a peyote meeting and the second night we had another one and the fourth night . . . the fourth night she died. She just went out. She was blue . . . fingernails were blue and her lips turn blue. I told them, "Take that drum hide out." And they took it, rinse it out, squeeze it, and I said, "Give it to me." And I put it on her head. I rub her face with it, and four times I done that to her and then I sing my Medicine song. When anybodys dying and I doctor them that's the only time I sing that special song I got. So I said, "You all carry her and put her on my bed," and they carried her. I said, "You all stay out there in the front room." And they all stayed out there and it was still pouring rain. Everybody get out. It was raining out there and the wind was howling around. I sing this song and I fan her and I doctor her . . . give her that medicine. I don't know how many times I give her that. And after awhile she open her eyes and said, "I'm sure thirsty." And after that she got alright.

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Sanapia considers herself a slightly outmoded necessity in Comanche society. She knows that she represents an extremely ancient Comanche institution, and it is in that knowledge that her feeling of uniqueness rests; at the same time she can foresee the final end of her tradition. Many times, as we sat watching automobiles moving along a highway or observed the skyscrapers in Oklahoma City and Wichita, she would speak of the incongruity of herself and the twentieth-century world in which she lives.

115 159 156 756

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 156 I just can't think how it came this way. Look at them cars. I remember when I never seen them before. And all those white peoples walking along, and those big buildings all around here. I don't like it here. My grandmother said this way would come and now here I am and she died long time back in years. Maybe I should be with her now because my way is getting no good up to today. Maybe I should be dead too. Even my own kids growing up like white peoples, and they think I'm just a funny old woman. I know they do! But I ain't got too many more years to go yet. And here, you, a white person, asking me all those old ways and my kids go around here and there and don't even talk to me about those things. It sure is funny, ain't it?

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material 756
which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares 755
of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is 278
traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief.

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among 756
the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was 292
instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color [822]
of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer [775]
is not afraid of their powers.

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to 756
cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia 755
sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness.

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

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32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 77
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

About fifteen of the old soldiers were sitting on the east veranda or gallery of a huge, three-story, unpainted firetrap. I knew by their doleful expressions that they were all in a bad humor, and shortly I found out why. On holidays and Sundays they got only two meals. After breakfast the help would all leave, and they would return only in time to cook supper. Furthermore, the help carefully locked all kitchen and dining room doors before leaving.

I stopped at the foot of the steps leading up to the porch, and grinned as I looked from one glum face to another, but I never got the slightest ripple in return. Then I tried another tack. "As sour as you all look," I said, "I don't believe it's safe for the son of a First Vermont Cavalryman to come up on the porch for a visit."

That broke the ice, and a half-dozen of the old fellows, some charging and some hobbling, came down the steps and bade me welcome. When they found I was from Oklahoma, the full thaw set in. Nearly all of them had relatives: a son, daughter, niece, some kin they wanted to tell me about, that had gone to Oklahoma. My law practice had taken me to practically every county in the state, and I was familiar with nearly every town they mentioned. I could tell them a little about the town and the surrounding country.

One old chap had never moved or said a word. He was an Indian. His broad frame indicated that he had been a powerful man in his time. His high-heeled boots, the worse for wear, were hooked over the lower round of a straight-backed, cane-bottomed chair. The chair was propped back against the side of the building, and he had pulled his large gray hat down over his eyes until it rested on his nose. His long arms were folded across his chest.

The rest of the old fellows had been visiting with me for perhaps an hour, when the Indian, without moving his body or lifting his hat, spoke. "Did you ever know anyone in Oklahoma by the name of Emmet Cox?" he asked.

"Yes sir," I replied promptly. "I know two men by the name of Emmet Cox. One is a farmer living near Faxon in southwest Oklahoma, and the other is a Comanche squaw man. He married one of Quanah—"

That was as far as I got. The Indian's chair banged down on to all four legs, he jumped up, snatched off his large hat, and slapped his leg with it. "By God, boys," he exclaimed, "he is from Oklahoma!"

Shortened down, this is the story he told us. He was a Mississippi

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked
613 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses
[231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young
643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on
593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting
584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle,
593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning.
584 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she
177 was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her
643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white
593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.
585 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife
177

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"STRANGER HE COME"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
437

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
552 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for
177 word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on. "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221 The Comanche were nomad buffalo
224 hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-
142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
(115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Temawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Bo'dälk'inago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1013, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., vi, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainsh.**—Gelsow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanches.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximillian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 34, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Rep., v, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-as.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ke.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Inda.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

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THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LAW-WAYS OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS

BY

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

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PREFACE

THE study of comparative jurisprudence is a branch of American anthropology which holds great promise for future development. A field which, for a variety of reasons, has for long remained but slightly tilled, there still is much of significance to be extracted from its fertile soil. In this day, when questions as to the nature and function of governmental and legal institutions are of plaguing importance, anything that anthropology can offer in the way of factual enlightenment should be of value. This study of Comanche Law-ways is one offering to that end. 121

The investigation of the Comanches upon which this study rests had its inception in 1933 when the Ethnology Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, directed by Professor Ralph Linton, put in an intensive summer's work with the Comanches of Oklahoma. I am deeply grateful to the Laboratory, which made such an invaluable experience possible. The introduction to field work under Professor Linton's guidance opened the door to an understanding of the skill and art which successful field work requires. For that, above all, but also for permission to utilize all the materials of the group which are pertinent to this monograph, I am in debt to Professor Linton. Companions in the field whose contributions are in part incorporated in this memoir were Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett and Waldo R. Wedel. To them thanks not only for the anthropology which is theirs, but also for the good fellowship of that summer. F. Gore Hoebel participated in the field work and has been with this study from start to finish. I salute her! Karl N. Llewellyn, Betts Professor of Jurisprudence, Columbia Law School, has had an incalculable influence in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Three days before departure for the Comanche field I received a simple note. "I understand you are interested in American Indian Law," it read. "So am I. Could I talk to you?" Out of that has grown a stimulating association of the sort that is one of life's rare pleasures. 000 [114]

Dr. Jeannette Mirsky pursued an independent field study of the Comanche in the summer of 1935. She has graciously allowed me to draw from her notes. 114

The results of the Comanche study encouraged us to seek further information on the development of Comanche institutions among the related Shoshones. This was done with the aid of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. They financed a field investigation of the Ft. Hall Shoshones in Idaho during the following summer. This work was undertaken by F. Gore Hoebel and myself. The purpose was to investi-

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gate the general cultural background of the Shoshones and to determine, if possible, the basic legal patterns of the Shoshones for comparative reference to those revealed by the Comanches. The comparative results and inferences may be found in Appendix A of this memoir.

With the enlisted interest of the American Council of Learned Societies resulting from the findings in Comanche and Shoshone culture, the Committee on Law History set up a project on American Indian law. In 1935 and 1936 the Committee projected a study of Cheyenne political and legal institutions which was carried out by the present author in collaboration with Karl Llewellyn. Cheyenne institutions reveal much in common with those found in Comanche society, for the economic base of both cultures is similar. Cheyenne culture is more sophisticated than Comanche; less adolescent, one might say. Comparatively, Cheyenne behavior represents a higher level of institutionalization, thus providing to a degree an extension of Comanche trends. The Cheyenne materials are being prepared for separate publication.

121 671 153 128 In studying Comanche legal institutions one must proceed by means of case histories. The Comanches underformalized their conception of their own behavior. To them legal action was merely an individual response to a threatening circumstance. It was not the playing of a role in a set legal institution. Thus the Comanches had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules. So, when the Comanche informant is asked such a question as this, "What was the rule when one man ran off with another's wife?", the answer comes in this form, "Well, I don't know about that. But I can tell you what happened when my uncle stole Horned Toad's wife." The Comanche and the case-trained American lawman proceed in like manner. What holds perforce for the Comanche should hold for the study of all primitive law. Legal behavior is *behavior* and should be treated as such. Malinowski has long since laid down the canon that behavior-in-fact is by no means in accord with the verbalized ideal to which a society may may give lip-service. The verbalized ideal is an important cultural fact when such ideal exists, but the actual conduct of a people is of more fundamental court. The verbalized ideal of the Comanche is the supremacy and free action of the individual. Case histories, when piled up, show that there were limiting legal mechanisms at work, however. The liberal use of case histories in the text is not for the purpose of providing interesting anecdote. The histories hold within themselves the juice of life-situations, revealing the sway and counter-play of emotion and motive, demonstrating the broad range of variability in conduct in given situations. Case histories give the native's coloring to the report, transmitting to the reader the impenderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

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It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal. 114 121

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism. 124

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation. 114 124

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they 186 124

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186 were generally willing to cooperate to the best of their knowledge. Again
124 and again they expressed the wistful wish that the recordings taken by the Laboratory group may find their way into the hands of their children and grandchildren. "When we are gone, and there is no one to tell them, we want them to be able to read it in the book," they said. We, the investigators, were often subjected to impromptu quizzes by the informant when we came to the end of a particularly difficult problem, so that the Indian could satisfy himself that what had been written was written correctly. The Comanches revealed a genuine desire for completeness and accuracy in the production of their ethnology.

000 Finally, the reader must keep in mind that this memoir is not a complete Comanche ethnography. I have tried to keep the treatment of all phases of political and legal problems in their proper cultural context. Even so, it is possible that a magnified picture of Comanche law may result. The reader is warned to make his own corrections for distortion by doing his best to keep the broader cultural background of Comanche society constantly in mind.

122 The contribution of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology towards the publication of this memoir has been made possible by a grant extended by the Southwest Society. The author's sincerest appreciation is extended to these two organizations and to the American Anthropological Association for their generous interest and aid in making publication possible.

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THE BASIS OF COMANCHE SOCIETY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONTACTS

The Comanches in the nineteenth century roved the entire southern plains as hunters following the buffalo and as warriors whose raiding parties reached down through the pueblo country deep into Mexico. But the place the Comanche called his was the territory extending from the Wichita Mountains across the plains and streams to the Red River in Texas. There was no strictly defined tribal territory, however; some Comanche camps could be found scattered among the Kiowa villages on the north side of the Wichitas. 175 [131]

Previous centuries had seen the Comanche in a more northerly location. The earliest white travelers on the northern plains in the eighteenth century had found the Comanches in great numbers on the upper Platte River and its environs. Within three generations, they appear to have vanished from this country, for their whereabouts are reported as unknown to the Americans of the times.[1]

In the southwest during this same period the Comanches had been becoming increasingly frequent visitors to the Spanish territories. In company with the Utes they committed repeated depredations on the Spanish frontier, raiding and destroying Apache haciendas, slaying and capturing Apache men, women and children. Irritated Spaniards with Apache guides marched about the country in fruitless punitive expeditions against the raiders from the north and east. By 1786, however, the Comanches were familiar enough to the Spaniards to be enlisted by the latter as allies in a campaign against the then obstrepterous Apaches.[2]

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their extension southward. We read that,

Ruxton speaks of a tradition that the Comanche and Shoshoni separated on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo (Colorado) in the edge of the mountains. Pike, Lalande, Pursely, Chouteau and De Mun, James, and other early sources, all mention the Comanche and "Snakes" as using trails in the edge of the mountains or among the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Arkansas to the Platte. One of the very early mentions of the Comanches out in the plains is in Bandalier where it is

[1] Lewis and Clark, *A History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (Philadelphia, 1878), vol. I, pp. 36–37.

[2] A. B. Thomas, *After Coronado* (Norman, Okla., 1932), p. 67; A. Chaves, *The Defeat of the Comanche Indians in 1717* (Historical Society of New Mexico, No. 8, 1906).

A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, 1928), pp. 289–295.

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175 stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

197 The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Shoshonean* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the pres-
173 ence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation.
174 The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

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[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271–287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5–6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304–305.

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by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit. 174

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches. 619 [578]

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9] 621

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

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[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162-165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235). [161]

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440-457.

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621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with- 882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

591 But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. 166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre- 157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328-329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130-131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

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phonetic transcription as published by their authors. The first four bands listed are the largest and most important of all Comanche band units.

1. nɔ'yɛka*† (Those Who Move Often); sometimes called dɜ'tsanɔ'yɛka*† (Moving About Camping In Bad Places); also nɔ'koni*†‡ (Those Who Turn Back).
2. kwɜháɪɛnɜ*† (Antelope); sometimes called kwáhihɜkɛnɜ*† (Carrying A Sunshade On Their Backs).
3. yápainɜ*† (Eater Of yɛp, a potato-like root); also yamparika†, ditsakana†, widyu†.
4. pénanɜ:*† (Wasp, or Quick-Stinger, i.e., raider); also called pɛ'natɜka* (Honey Eater) and penande†; ho-is‡ (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived deepest to the south in the Texas country.
5. ʈásipɛnanɜ* The ʈási were an Apache band which joined with a group from the pénanɜ: to form a separate "Comanche" band.
6. ɔtéta'o* (Burnt-Meat), so-called because they habitually prepared more pemmican than they could consume in a winter; the surplus they threw out in the sping; other Indians seeing their dumps of dried, black meat dubbed them with this name.
7. páhuɪaix* (Water Horse), a band with reputedly taller and slimmer physique than most Comanches. "fast runners who always won at La Crosse." par-kee-na-um‡ (Water People), always camped near water.
8. ku'tsuɛka*†‡ (Meat Eaters), always had plenty of buffalo meat; also noted as a band always out on raids.
9. mu'tsanɜ*† (Undercut Bank), from location under an overhanging cliff.
10. wi'a'nɜ* (Hill Wearing Away), from location of main camp between a large hill and a small one which was rapidly eroding.
11. wɔ'ai* (Lots Of Maggots On The Penis), also námasɜne* (Something Together), from reputed incestuous practice.
12. pánaixtɜ* (Those Who Live Higher), located on the high side of a creek.
13. tɜ'sakɜnanɜ* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving), manufactured parfleches on the march.

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621 Each local group, whatever its size, had at least one permanent leader. In the small groups of a few lodges he was an outstanding person of ability and influence to whom lesser relatives and friends looked for guidance. He was the focal point of organization in their lives. The organization of such groups, so far as can be determined, was markedly similar to that which was characteristic for the aboriginal groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact, as summarized by Dr. Julian Steward.[15] In the larger bands the identity of the "extended family group" was submerged in the more embracing organization of the band, but not wholly lost. "Relatives tended to camp together." Whenever the band camp was moved, the same grouping of relatives tended to find its position in the new camp by establishing its location in relation to other "groups of relatives," so that the pattern of spacing within the camp retained a certain regularity. The large bands camped and functioned as units only during the summer season of dances and communal buffalo hunts. For a portion of the year the band was scattered and subdivided. Our data are not absolutely clear on this point, but the implication is that the break-up of the band was into the smaller "groups of relatives," including, of course, the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group. The family headmen, of which there was one for each camp-group, were the *ῥαιβο*, or peace chiefs (to distinguish them from the war leaders) of the band. When the compound band was camping [623] and moving together as a unit it then contained several peace chiefs. On these occasions the peace chiefs appointed one of their number as leader for the season, with the remainder of the chiefs functioning as an advisory council for the group as a whole and at the same time maintaining their positions as family headmen to their own groups of followers.

THE ECONOMIC BASE[16]

233 It is usual to speak of the Comanches as a tribe of hunters. Insofar as they depended primarily on game for sustenance, this is true. But it is equally true, and usually overlooked, that they were just as definitely a pastoral people. Great herds of horses were accumulated. The most notable form of [422] wealth was in this form of chattel: horses were individually owned by both men and women.

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case

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[15] Julian Steward. *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16] The description of the material culture of the Comanches is a subject for separate treatment. This section is intended to serve merely as an orientation to Comanche subsistence methods.

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Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

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224 The hunt was orderly and cooperative. By custom each person was expected to follow the rules of the game, and no marshals or soldier-police governed the procedure or exercised any administrative control whatever. Just how leadership of the hunt was managed was not uncovered. That there was a leader is certain. Presumably, one of the war leaders with special hunting skill was the man who directed the manoeuvering of the band and supervised the scouts. Whether he was appointed to the directing position or merely assumed it by common consent cannot be said.

First the herd was located by scouts. Then the entire band of hunters stalked it, coming up against the wind. When within striking distance all the men lined up "to get an even start," and then all charged the animals. The main function of the simultaneous charge was to prevent the scattering of the herds by a few individuals, but equally important was the need to kill as many buffalo as quickly as possible so that they would not get overheated in longrunning. Their meat would then spoil before it could be cured.

Each buffalo was butchered by the women of the man who had slain it and belonged to the man who killed it, identification being made by means of characteristic markings on the arrows.

105 The Comanches cultivated no plants but obtained a certain amount of corn and most of their tobacco in trade with the Mexicans of the Southwest. The tacit non-interference of these same colonial Spaniards in New Mexico made it possible for the Comanche, with the Kiowa, to obtain quantities of these goods and other articles as booty in raids upon the Mexican settlements further south. From the Kiowa and Wichita, also, corn was obtained. Seeds and berries were also utilized.

The material culture of the Comanches was relatively meagre and was of the general Plains type. Families lived in buffalo hide tipis of the twenty-two pole variety laid upon a four-pole foundation, but they were also accustomed to build small brush arbors as wind and sun screens. Somewhat enlarged, these arbors serve as customary summer homes for practically all Comanche families at the present time. Various tools of stone and bone were used in their industries and as weapons of war. The war club, spear and bow and arrow served as offensive armament, while defensive armor for the horse was made of tough raw-hide plates covered with pitch-cemented sand.[15] Many warriors carried the round buffalo-hide medicine shield as well as quivers and bow coverings. Saddles, a modified Spanish type, were made by men for their own use, though in later times Mexican captives

[15] From the traditional Ponca account of the first meeting and early fights with the Comanche from whom the Ponca obtained their first horses. Cf., Fletcher and LaFleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 27, 1906), pp. 79–80.

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specialized in this trade. There was no pottery or weaving known to them. 105
Clothes were of finely tanned and smoked hides. The clothing of the men was mostly confined to thigh-length leggings and moccasins, both of which are distinguished for their long fringes, although buckskin shirts were also made for winter use. The women wore typical Plains Indian buckskin dresses.[19]

Decorated raw-hide boxes were used for storing the cured and pounded dried meat (pemmican), which was prepared in large quantities at the time of the fall hunt.[20] A similar box was used for storing ceremonial clothes.

Dogs were numerous in the Comanche camps. Though used as burden 231
bearers in more ancient times, the horse had displaced them in this function, so that they had lost their sole economic excuse for a place in Comanche life. Yet they held a position which mere economic utility would never have granted. Like the horse, the dog was esteemed for non-utilitarian ends. Dogs were protected because of their affinity to Coyote, that lovable and annoying rascal of Comanche folkloristic belief. No Comanche will kill a dog or coyote, because of the fear of misfortune. The thought of eating dog meat is nauseating to them. Dogs, however, were maintained as household pets, taking a very personal place in the family. In childless lodges they were petted and indulged, even to the point of being privileged to ride horse-back when the household was on the move.

The crude economic picture of the Comanches in the last century is one 105
of a tribe with a simple culture adapted to high mobility, which, in a setting of buffalo plenty and prosperity of booty derived from enterprising raiding and trading in the Spanish territories, freed the Comanches from problems of economic want. Much of the Comanche male's energy was directed toward individual aggrandizement in war and coup-counting and the maintenance of prestige within the tribe. The law picture is largely a reflection of this.

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[19] Clark Wissler, *Indians of the Plains* (American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 1, 1934), pp. 50–54.

[20] Leslie Spier, *An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 1, 1925), pp. 89–112, for a comprehensive treatment of the rawhide box and its decoration.

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THE PEACE CHIEF

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I hardly know how to tell about them; they never
had much to do except to hold the band together.—That's It.

No words can better convey an impression of the position of the peace chief in Comanche society than those of That's It. The peace chief was called pá:naiβo, a term without generic significance in the Comanche tongue. Literally the title reads pa (water), plus ṭaiβo (alien, or white man), and means, therefore, "water white man." The northern Shoshone, on the other hand, know the peace chief only as ṭégwɔni, which given its full meaning reads, "good talk thrown out to the people," a title rich in significance. Nor could the Shoshone throw light on the derivation of the Comanche pá:naiβo, until one day one of them triumphantly remembered that such was the Indian appellation for the government irrigation supervisor! But the Comanches have no irrigation.

Comanche informants were all quite familiar with the person of the pá:naiβo, but were stumped when it came to making explicit the things he did. This is because he was no more than an older man in whom the people had trust and confidence, to whose daily advice they listened, but to whom they gave just one single definite power: that of deciding the time and place of camp moving.

The outstanding qualities of the peace chief were kindness, generosity, and wisdom. He was not of necessity a brave man; some peace chiefs had hardly ever gone to war in their youth; it was enough that he was wise and good. When a man emerged as peace chief he had become a kind of revered patriarch. To all of the band he was "father"; he in turn addressed them each as "son."

There is no way of saying how a man became peace chief. To the informants it seemed a silly question. The answer is that no one "made" him such. "He just got that way." There were no elections, no appointments to the office; elevation was by common recognition. The man the people naturally looked to for wisdom and kindly help was the man whom, less by assent than by unnoticed practice, they came to hold as their peace chief.

Trusted and revered, he was the functioning balance wheel in band life. From all accounts, he was never officious. He knew how to be absent when he was not wanted, but there were times when his judicious words in a minor dispute could bring both parties to satisfaction. Judge he was not, but arbiter at times he seems to have been. In none of the litigational procedures recorded is his presence noted, but those will be seen to be almost without exception cases in which the rule of conduct was clear. It was

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rather in situations where the problem was a question of what *ought* to be done that the peace chief was important. Because of his qualifications he was reputed to have the finest sense of social fitness. From this he derived a certain authority as counsellor-to-the-people-at-large. In some divorce situations he seems to have acted as arbiter and advisor. "Most likely some old man came in as advisor," though he was seldom active in this capacity. More typically, in the disposal of the huge herd of horses of the deceased Big Fall By Tripping the chief is said to have told the widow what to do.[1] That she followed his words means no more than that his ideas appealed to her as right and proper. It means no more than that his words, tailored in wisdom to the situation, appealed to her as they would likely have appealed to anyone. Under no circumstances had a peace chief the power to *order* an adjustment to be made. 624

It was not unusual for a "big" peace chief to have his personal herald, or announcer. In such an event, this individual served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news and comments of the chief. Among the Comanches the chief's announcer was called ṭékwɔnit, which is the equivalent of the Northern Shoshone ṭégwɔni, peace chief. The Shoshone title for the chief's announcer is ṭégwɔniwʌp, meaning "he who specializes in speaking." "Anything the chief says, he tells them."

According to one of Dr. Mirsky's informants, a peace chief always had two young men to serve him as aides-de-camp. "They go with him because the right kind of a chief is loved by all." These young men protected their chief at all hazards; they would give their lives to take his body from the the enemy, and it was a thing to boast of to have been chosen as body guard to a peace chief.[2]

The influence of the peace chief was limited to internal and civil matters only. No peace chief could stop a war party from taking the trail. Peace-making was the prerogative of war leaders. Though peace chiefs were usually too old to participate in active combat, they were subject to the leadership of the war chiefs in case of attack upon the band. [728]

While it was not necessary for a man to have a war record to become a peace chief, it was not uncommon for a war leader to achieve that rank in his later years. Such was the Comanche, Red Sleeve, "a *real* war leader, also a peace chief." Of the two sons of Red Sleeve, That's It spoke with tender sentiment of Two Mountains, peace chief of the Water Horse band, "a fine, gentle fellow never looking for trouble; whatever they did, he was the

[1] See p. 124.

[2] Jeannette Mirsky, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

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624 leader of all." But it was of Two Mountain's brother, Cold, that That's It waxed enthusiastic, for Cold was a famous war chief. Of his exploits one could talk for hours. According to our information, a peace chief was a man whose raiding days were over. Dr. Mirsky was informed that some peace chiefs did take to the war path, and when they did so, established an interesting rule by proxy through the chief's wife aided by the chief's formal [608] friend in the "brotherhood bond." The reputed words of the peace chief to his announcer and to his *haits* (formal friend) would be these, "Look here, my friends, here is my wife. Pitch your tents close to hers, so that you may tell the rest of the people what you intend to do. She has full instructions. I have left all my plans with her. I want you to help her carry them out. She knows everything I want done and how I want it done—and she will tell you."[3] Such a practice would have been of most unusual occurrence. Aside from its not having been recorded in the investigations of the Santa Fe Laboratory Field Group, it does not fit comfortably into the Comanche [608] setting. It may be noted, in this respect, that *haits* were reputedly always together when one of them took to the war path.

Some tendency to hereditary succession is found in the Comanche lines of leadership. Sons of chiefs became chiefs with more than average frequency. This is not due to any established rule of hereditary succession, but results from the fact that sons of chiefs, by virute of the training and examples set by their fathers and expectancy of high standards within their families (biological factors cannot be determined), attained the qualities of the chieftain. Competition was open. Chiefship was granted on performance solely. Chiefly excellence appears to have run to some degree in paternal family lines.

The observation made on the Comanches nearly a hundred years ago by Josiah Gregg is essentially correct, "When a chief becomes old and careworn, he exercises but the 'civil authority' of his clan (sic); while his son, if deemed worthy, otherwise some distinguished brave, assumes by 'common consent' the functions of war chief."[4]

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[3] Mirsky, *Field Notes*.

[4] Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 343; in G. R. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (vol. 20, pt. 2).

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WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

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128 727 555 primitive legal thinking, the fact and its legal recognition tend to fuse, and either is spoken of as the whole; the modern layman, e.g., still speaks of "my money in the bank" to describe what is neither his money, nor any money, nor in the bank, but a debt the bank owes him. So with this matter of the coup. The exploit is in strictness no coup, but the new material for 727 one. If unrecognized, the exploit becomes a matter of individual memory, 555 perhaps of individual grievance. *Only recognition in due "legal" form turns deed into coup.*[2] But as soon as recognized, the recognition aspect fades from thought, and the deed that was its reason and justification *seems* to stand alone. As in all cases where legal rights are accurately tailored to the facts, it is enough to deal with the facts. But that does not mean that the legal phases can be overlooked. The minute they are lacking, or are in dispute, they will become important, and may become crucial.[3] This is the case with an exploit accomplished, unwitnessed, and not believed, or of one claimed by each of two or several as his own.

The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not nearly so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines, or drawing blood from an enemy in hand to hand combat.

The Comanche honored two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. This arrangement was an efficient way of providing sufficient coups to meet the cultural demands of the society—an inflation of the currency of war prestige. The first man to reach the body of a fallen enemy struck it with his weapon and uttered the cry, "*aké*" ("I claim it"), gaining thereby equal honor with the man who had done the killing. But if a bow or gun had been used to bring down the enemy, this second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.

182 The problem of adjustment of institution to social end is interesting. 727 Superficially, skill at long-distance killing would seem of more immediate 555 social value to a fighting people. But the stress on hand-to-hand valor or dangerously close approach to the enemy is more than shallow glorification of wolf over fox. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed. Grinnell, on the other hand, sees in it merely a cultural survival of the traditional days when the Cheyenne, for instance, fought perforce with sticks and stones because they had no bows or guns.[4]

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[2] Note the ritual formula for the transference of a recognized coup by its owner-performer when the coup is given to a friend as a gift. See p. 29.

[3] Cf. Ritual Evidence, pp. 103–106.

[4] George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1924), vol. 2, p. 36.

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Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. "Obviously," he writes of the Crow, "the idea was not primarily to reduce a hostile force but to execute a 'stunt'; to play a game according to whimsical rules."[8] 727 555

In addition to the standardized honors any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by a Shoshone or Comanche.

WAR INITIATIVE

The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party. There was no chief or power which could say him nay. Were the individual not, however, a man of proved reputation or the possessor of potent medicine, his raid would remain strictly personal and private. He would simply be unable to muster a following. Nevertheless, no one would object to his going out alone. It was quite a different matter, on the other hand, if a man whose qualities had been attested in combat let his intention to take the war path be known. All fighters who wished to do so came to signify their desire to join his party. Dreams about a successful raid were not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, but in most cases such dreams were the effective stimulus. 721 [787]

There were two primary motivations for organizing a war party. The first was an entirely personal matter, depending simply upon desire for action, honors, or horses. Merely to feel the urge was to be at liberty to muster such men as would volunteer to go. On the other hand, a war party instigator might bind himself to avenge the death of a fellow tribesman by enemy hands. A slain man's father carried a heavy weight upon his heart while his dead son remained unavenged. "His conscience is not clear." There was but one thing for him to do. He must seek out the lodge of a brave warrior who had compassion for his suffering and whom people would trust and follow. Carrying his sacred pipe, the father or relative of the dead man offered smoke. The warrior knew what was wanted. If he accepted the pipe, smoking with the emissary, he bound himself in contract to take out a party which would not return until it had taken an enemy scalp. (We were unable to discover a single instance in which the pledge was unfulfilled.)

The warrior made known to the camp that he was going forth. He was to avenge the death of "their" slain friend. He exhorted. He said the young men would join him; he told the people that braves did not care, though it meant death. The Vengeance Dance was held before departure. The dancers were those who were going to join the war party. This sort of war party

[8] R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

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721 never looked for horses; its object was to scalp; it turned back as soon as a single scalp was taken. The Scalp Dance was held upon the return.

Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a party drummed and sang war songs in his tipi. Those who wished to go came and joined him in the singing there. A war dance was held the night before departure. During the afternoon the entire party rode at a lope through the camp. They rode in a single file behind the organizer. The last horse carried two men, one of whom had performed the honorable deed of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle-danger. No onlooker could forget this ever-present obligation, nor the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it. The ceremony is known as the Pony Dance.

In the War Dance only braves leaving on the raid could participate; each was helped by a young girl partner. Others were onlookers.

A rendezvous outside the village had been set by the leader. During the night the warriors stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way.

POWERS OF THE WAR LEADER

701 624 The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all of the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be looked for. The invariable conviction of the Comanche is that a man never failed to do what the leader asked. It was always said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. Each did what he was told. Not a single instance of the use of force or other punishment as sanctions in the hands of the war leader could be uncovered. If a man did not trust in the ability and wisdom of the war leader he did not join the party. Once in, he was in, so long as he stayed.

So long as he stayed. Some Comanche raiding parties were gone for an entire year or more. Disaffection could and did set in in such a period of time. The solution of such difficulties was simple. The party split. The disgruntled fighter and those who sided with him withdrew to go their own way.[6] This, be it noted, is also the procedure followed when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. A man followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; he obeyed that leader to the utmost; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere of influence.

The powers of the chief were (a) to determine the objective of the raid,

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[6] Cf., Case 14, pp. 68–69, below.

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(b) to delegate the scouts, (c) to determine the camping places and periods of rest, (d) to appoint the cook and water carriers, (e) to lay the general strategy of attack, (f) to divide the booty, (g) to make a truce with the enemies, and (h) to order turning back of the expedition.

In battle, though the leader set an example of courage and daring, each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his medicine and his personal inclinations. After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear guard actions.

When raiders had put two to three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. Rest was needed. There were spoils to divide. The leader's eyes had been open to industry and willingness. He had noted or been told of the actions of his followers while in engagement. To the man who excelled, he allowed first choice of the horses. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his service as determined by the chief. The leader took his pick *of what remained*. Then the succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. If there was an acute shortage of horses, the cook was always taken care of. A nice adjustment, this: the cook had been burdened with the meat supply. If there were too few horses, only the bravest got any return. The leader, no matter what his deeds, got nothing at all if there were not enough horses to go around; in this, as in civil prosecutions, reputation and prestige-obligation counted for more than their visible badge: horses. (It is interesting to speculate on whether this would have persisted, had a *large* herd of horses had a productive economic use as well as a prestige value.)

A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Some men say that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, did not do this; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses himself. Their fathers refused to go on raids with him.

If a man on a raid was killed before the horses were divided, he was counted out. This is in curious contrast to the strong revenge feeling and the treatment of the cook. There can be no question of any principle akin to "out of sight, out of mind." And there would normally be heirs at home. However, if the horses had already been divided and he had claimed some as his own, then, were he killed, those horses went to his heirs.[7]

[7] The generalized principles included in the preceding paragraphs were not only given as statements by informants but were confirmed by the text of the war histories collected from the Comanches.

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WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tékniwap.* A man joined the tékniwap class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1. The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

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[197] * The word tékniwap, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tégwoni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called naßedink tégwoni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pánaiço, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

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"When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him. 624

"A couple of nights later they set a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zig-zagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hill-top. 624 726

"The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, '*ahé*.' The others came and took the scalps.

"It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a scalp dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses. 624 727

"The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other. 624 726

"Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

" 'Now,' said the youth to one of his followers, 'you do as I have just done.' Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while when the Comanches got tired they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

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624 727 "The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a [126] raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

624 "The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'

"Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two [554] rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, 'This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends.'

"The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

"Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him."[9]

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[9] One has more than a sneaking suspicion that this story has been embellished with its portion of heroic ornament. But it was told to illustrate how a war bonnet was obtained, and that it does very well.

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Post Oak Jim described the details of the process as he remembered it in his band, the Antelope, in slightly different terms. The novice collected his own feathers—one for each coup claimed and one for each successful raid participated in. After his first four notable deeds had drawn the attention of the ţékniwʌp class, he was nominated for ceremonial distinction. The special tipi was raised and the warriors sat as before. The candidate was invited to come to the meeting by the announcer. He sat beside the chief and was told the duties and dangers of a war leader. Then he smoked before the chief gave him four feathers from the tail of the eagle. "From that point on his rank is raised." But he did not yet wear his feathers; they were carefully hoarded until by forty-eight coups he had stripped the tails of four eagles. The feathers were then made into a war bonnet. In a second and more important ceremony it was conferred upon the fighter. He was thereafter considered ţékniwʌp, a true war chief. 624 554

Friends could help a comrade along by transferring to him war honors which were theirs by right. Nothing could more clearly attest both the legal and the property aspects of accorded honor-claims. The gracious act was not unusual. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be there. At the end of a dance the host called for a halt. Then he walked to the center of the dance ring. There, in the presence of all people, he swore before the Sun and the Earth, who had witnessed the killing of the enemy, that the deed was his. He concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ————————." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness ye that it is mine. *I* killed this man." The drum was struck a resounding blow. Turning to the people, he then called upon them to recognize his coup, and the transfer was complete. 624 425

But the transfer of war honors had a wise limitation. They could be neither sold nor inherited. They might be bestowed only as a gift, in the above manner. They were given only to brave men to help them towards the war leader status, or to a peace chief who had no war honors.[10]

Even in bands in which formal installation was established, there was also a much less official alternative open for attaining a war bonnet, though of a lower order. This was the buffalo scalp hat, which could be worn by a 624 554

[10] Professor Ralph Linton suggests that this practice may have emerged only since the advent of reservation days, when the restrictions upon fighting, imposed by the whites, made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanche devised the technique here described. We are unable to pass upon the question of the specific antiquity of the custom.

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624 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with
554 a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave
431 who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ṭékniwʌp. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen, so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ṭékniwʌp. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimud-
701 ya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

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except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem under the tutelage of a man who possessed one. They put a tassel on their left shoulder and one in their hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. There were never many such—two to four fighters in each generation. Men of two distinct backgrounds took this road of life. There were those who had the family tradition, and those who had no surviving family. For the latter the career of the Tassel-wearer was the road to death or tribal prestige. They had little to lose and much to gain. For the former it was the means of keeping high a family reputation.[12] It was the peak of all men's war activities.

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The few Crow Tassel Wearers formed an intimate association. They ran in their own lonely pack. By their way of life they could not spend more than one night at any time in the camp with their people. "They were gone and gone and gone—so long that Red Young Man, who had been a young man when he first went, was now middle-aged." War was their business. If they were approaching camp ay any time, should they meet a war party on the out-path, they turned their steps—again to the enemy.

An excellent history of a group of Crow Tassel Wearers among the Comanches was given to Dr. Mirsky. Part of it follows:

Case 2. History of Crow Tassel Wearers
Informant: Talker

"While they (the Crow Tassel Wearers) had been gone all these years Red Young Man's father had died. His mother and grandmother (kaku) were living. None of the party was married. As they came to the camp look-out, this man told Red Young Man that his father had died not a year since. Because of this the men cancelled their plans to parade; they entered the camp quietly—without fanfare or pomp.

"That night his friends, the Tassel Wearers, came to see him in his tipi. They mourned and wailed with him for his father. When they had ceased crying, his mother spoke, 'Now that I can see you, it makes my heart heavy that you have taken up this role. I have not seen you for many years. You were young; now you are a grown man. And I hope you will agree to what I propose.' Therewith, she begged him no longer to wear his emblem of the Crow Feather Tassel. Would he honor her wishes? 'You have put in time enough to have had your fill of it,' the mother urged.

Our informants spoke vaguely of certain men who went continuously to war, who were a "stage beyond the war bonnet." We found no one who could give us facts, however.

[12] It reminds one of those American lineages who glory in a record of participation in every war of our country's history.

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554 701 "Red Young Man turned to his friends and said, 'You have heard the request of my mother. To it I now agree. After you eat—all of you—bring your fathers here.'

"They did as he asked; they brought their fathers to his tipi. Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'You are all familiar with what we have been doing—you know our rules. Look upon us all! My father did not live to see me. I missed him. I have called you here because I have something to say to you. I entered this order when I was young, when I was without ties. These friends joined me under the same circumstances.'

"A father said, 'You speak truly.'

"In this group of young men was Red Young Man's nephew (aza), whose father was Red Young Man's brother-in-law (tets). The brother-in-law said, 'My wife's brother, you have been in this from your youth; now you are of middle-age. Even so is your nephew, my son. I speak as your mother spoke. I wish both of you would discontinue this. This is my opinion and desire.'

"The father of one of the others agreed with the mother and the brother-in-law. The father of the youngest put in his word for it, too—'because we are so happy to have you back after so many years.'

"Then Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'Today, at this very instant you finish with us, we will take off our tassels. We will disband forever. Before we come to that I wish that you well-seasoned men of wise counsel would give us your advice and blessing. That is all. Let us fill our pipe.'

[188] "They filled the pipe to bless the dissolving of the band. There was silence as the pipe was lit. The brother-in-law took the pipe; he presented it to Sun, the Father and to Earth, the Mother. 'Accept this, Father,' he said, 'today in a few moments these young men shall be broken asunder.' He passed the pipe to the next father who did the same and said the same. Then to the third father. He finished the prayer with these words, 'They have devoted their whole youth to this cause. Now that they are middle-aged they are going to lead a quiet, stay-at-home life.' They did not pass the pipe to the mother—but she spoke and voiced her happiness at the outcome of the decision.

"Red Young Man spoke again, 'We have come to dissolve.' He spread out a black kerchief. 'We are going to take the tassels from our shoulder and our head.' He prayed. He prayed, saying how in his youth he had followed the dictates of his heart—a Crow Feather Tassel Wearer. He had lived alone without regard to family ties. The Great Power Which Pervades All Things be his witness! By taking off the emblem he was now ready to devote himself to family obligations.

"He then called his nephew. 'We started out with only one thought, you and I: that we would be killed together. I, who put this emblem on you, now take it off.'

"Then he called the older friend to do the same with him. At last he called the younger one. 'Behold our younger brother (támi), who tirelessly performed all the duties we placed on him! You be witness that I take from him his emblem.' All the tassels were laid on the kerchief.

"When night came the obligations were done. Then Red Young Man tied up the kerchief. He said to the father, 'Tomorrow we do what we have not yet done

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with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children." [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[13] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

[13] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

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701 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to
158 the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ʈénapa).
[555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special in-
554 signia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to
726 retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ʈékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ʈékniwʌp to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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to be the way it was done, though no case describing such a situation was collected. 558

A war chief whose nerve failed him in a dangerous position *could* retreat—by giving up his right to wear the bonnet. He could cast it off and flee for his life. But he was a man without status thenceforth, for he could never again regain the bonnet and its rank. Life certainly would have been miserable from that point onward. Men hailed him as "elder sister."[15]

But what a chance this disaster opened for an ambitious brave to gain the war leader's status in one stride! He could dash into the danger spot to pick up the abandoned hat with his spear or bow. Turning his horse, he would bring it back and put it on a pole behind his lines. If the fight still continued when the sun was about to set, he then went to the pole and put on the hat. Thus arrayed he charged the enemy four times and struck an adversary on each foray. If he was successful in this and came through alive, the hat was his with all the privileges, honors, obligations and dangerous duties which went with it. This was the practice in the Those Who Move Often and Antelope bands. The lower rank war bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto. For it, the use of the bow or spear was not necessary, according to Becomes A Middle-Aged Man.[16] 555 726

PEACEMAKING

The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a prerogative only in the hands of the war chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own raiding party on his own authority. Such a peace, however, had no binding effect upon other members of the band and not at all upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon unanimous consent of the warrior class, i.e., the meeting of the tɛ́kniwʌpnə. The historical making of peace with the Kiowas has been noted on page 12. All Comanche bands agreed to this with the result that it has remained unbroken since 1790. A permanent peace with the Cheyenne was effected in 1840.[17] 728 624

Relations with other tribes were more in the nature of truces than peace,

[15] According to a generalized observation by Neighbors (*The Comanches*, p. 130): "He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a single defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe." It is not so much that he was deprived of his office, as that he no longer could gain a following.

[16] The above rules are formulated principles for which no histories in action were obtainable.

[17] The Comanche version of the details of this occasion is lost. Its setting in the Cheyenne picture will be included in the author's forthcoming study of Cheyenne Law-ways.

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728 however. A good example at once of the role of intermarriage and of the
624 power of the war leaders is found in the story of a Ute-Comanche peace which was engineered by a woman.

Case 3. Peacemaking With the Utes
Informant: That's It

"A Ute woman who had been captured by the Comanches was with a band who were fighting the Utes. Her son was a Comanche brave and she feared for his life. Finally she rode out between the fighters and held up her hand calling for them to stop. She said she was on both sides; she a Ute, her son a Comanche; it was not good for them to fight.

"A Ute chief rode up. The woman wanted to shake hands, but he said, 'No, not until I know if your chiefs sent you.' At this time her son rode up. He was a Comanche war chief. He said he was willing for peace, and he got the others to agree.

"They stopped fighting, and the Utes camped on one side of a hill and the Comanches on the other side. That day some Comanche hunters were coming back to camp and they didn't know about the truce. On the way they killed and scalped a Ute and felt pretty good about it. They were expecting the Comanche camp to be at that hill so they rode into the Ute camp by mistake, singing the Victory Song and swinging the scalp. But the chief of the Utes wasn't mad. He said, 'That's all right. We are at peace and you did not know it. We do not get mad.' Then the Comanches went over the hill and found their own camp.

"That night the leader of the Comanches went over to the Ute camp. He told them that since a Comanche was killed in the first attack, things were even and there shouldn't be any trouble.

"After that a council of ten Ute chiefs called at the Comanche camp to visit the Ute woman. They discovered that she was the sister of one of the ten chiefs. They made her a special honor: they took her back to the main Ute camp where her father and mother were still living. They gave her a tipi with an antelope skin tied to the top of a pole for a special sign.

"Later on there was trouble again and they had more fighting with the Utes."

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

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Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]
>
> In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

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121 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike
701 other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

114 Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior
701 societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

114 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century
175 presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a
619 Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

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chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed. 114 175 619

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches. 114 701

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu- 756

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

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756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

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pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door. 887 575 782 276

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne. 575 887 521

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The [554]

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

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575 887 521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

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[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

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The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke. 575 887 522

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents. [689]

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

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522 575 887 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

575 887 182 One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

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IS THERE LAW? AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

We are now ready to address that most vital problem related to social conduct: What are the techniques for adjudicating grievances and conflicts of interests? The practical absence of a recognized authority makes the machinery relied upon by the Comanches just that much more significant for the student of jurisprudence and social control. Here we are confronted with legal patterns which are more than mere custom, with norms as to which there is no binding force of hypertrophied reciprocal obligations as in Melanesia, norms which exist without the sustaining force of courts, or police, or other expression of state sovereignty. Since sibs were lacking and associations nearly so, there were no permanent organizations which functioned as equivalents of what we know as government.

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No prevailing concept of the nature of law as given in current definitions will fit the facts as we find them in Comanche society. The ideology of orthodox political science and jurisprudence, expressed in terms of "commands of the sovereign," "rules of the state," "an obligation imposed by the law-maker" have no meaning here, nor in the data pertaining to most primitive societies. Not even so sociologically oriented a definition of the law as that advanced by the late Justice Cardozo serves to fit the needs of an anthropological approach to jurisprudence. For when he writes that a principle or rule of law is "a principle or rule of conduct so established as to justify a prediction with reasonable certainty that it will be enforced by the courts if its authority is challenged,"[1] we must conclude: "no courts; no laws."

Professor Malinowski's "anthropological definition of law," to wit, "civil law, the primitive law governing all the phases of tribal life, consists of a body of binding obligations, regarded as a right by one party and acknowledged as a duty by the other, and kept in force by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity inherent in the structure of their society," is really so meaningless from a legal point of view as to be useless in the development of a comparative jurisprudence.[2]

In Comanche society reciprocity is not developed to an exaggerated

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[1] Benjamin Cardozo, *The Growth of the Law* (New York, 1924), p. 52. Compare also MacIver's "Law is the body of rules which are recognized, interpreted and applied to particular situations by the courts of the state." R. I. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York, 1932), p. 272.

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), p. 58. For the debunking of Malinowski's *Crime and Custom* see William Seagle, *Primitive Law and Professor Malinowski* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 275–290.

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671 degree, so that Malinowski's approach is even less applicable here than it
121 might be elsewhere.

Without courts and without strongly developed obligations of reciprocity to serve as criteria of law, what then is there in Comanche practice that can be identified with what can reasonably be considered "law"? Professor Radcliffe-Brown and Professor Malinowski are at one in agreeing that rules of law are distinguishable from rules of custom as such. The point of distinction is their point of departure. The road taken by Radcliffe-Brown is the road which points us on the way to our working hypothesis. Brown's essential point is that customs (of various types) and laws are both social norms, distinguishable not on the basis of content, but in accordance with the type of sanction which is attached to the norm. However, the tripartate categories (with their subdivisions) of social sanctions developed by Radcliffe-Brown did not prove to be useful in this study.[3]

121 The identification of the legal sanction is the moot problem in the discovery of a working hypothesis for law in society. Interestingly enough, it is in a one-time conceptualization of law formulated by Professor Malinowski that the idea to be developed in this study was found. The hypothesis arrived at by the present author is a development and refinement of a principle since discarded (or forgotten?) by him. In Malinowski's first work he wrote, "A given social norm or rule is legal if it is enforced by a direct, organized, and definite social sanction."[4] This was in 1912. "Direct," "organized," and "definite" do not definitely clarify the nature of the sanctions Malinowski had in mind, but the attributes of the legal sanctions are indicated in these words.

Customs do have sanctions of different kind and degree, and since what we know as law consists in some perceptible external pressure restraining men or coercing them to conform to certain prescribed standards of conduct, then if such coercive sanctions exist in primitive societies, we are confronted

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[3] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Sanctions* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 13, 1935), pp. 531–534. Also *Primitive Law* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1935), pp. 202–206. The author is also directly indebted to Dr. Brown for stimulating his thinking on the role of sanctions with a lucid discussion of his (Radcliffe-Brown's) concepts in personal conversation in the summer of 1932.

The limitations of the categorical approach of Professor Radcliffe-Brown are clearly shown when it is applied to a specific problem as has been done by Dr. John H. Provinse in his study of *The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture* (*Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed., Fred Eggan, Chicago, 1937), pp. 341–374.

[4] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Family Life of the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1912), p. 115.

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by legal phenomena. As MacIver writes on the use of force in the social situation, 121

> Wherever men act, or refrain from acting, in a manner different from that which they themselves have chosen or would choose in a given situation, because others deliberately limit the range of their choice either directly, through present control over it, or indirectly, through the threat of consequences, they may be said to be under coercion.[5]

Of the many forms of coercion possible, the exercise of physical force to control or prevent action is the absolute form of compulsion. As far as we have gone in examination of primitive and modern data, it would seem that the characteristic feature of law, as distinct from mere force, is the recognized privilege of a person or social group (either the society as a whole or any of the units which form its parts) to apply the absolute form of coercion to a transgressor when conduct deemed improper may occur. On this basis the following tentative definition of law has been formulated for use in comparative jurisprudence: *A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is met by the application, in threat or in fact, of the absolute coercive force by a social unit possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting.*

The term "social unit" means, of course, any individual, sub-group, or the society in its entirety. The sub-group may be a group of kinsmen, or friends, or any association within the society. "Socially recognized privilege" means that the action taken is generally looked upon as justifiable and acceptable by the majority of persons in the society concerned. Acceptance by the majority is by no means a clear cut picture in many situations. Law is a thing of growth and conflict. The substance of an old rule may be under challenge. The formulation of a new rule may be meeting with stiff resistance. A point of friction may have existed in a society for generations without an effective legal solution having been attained. Feud is a case in point. A murder done may be punished by death at the hands of the murdered man's kin in accordance with prevailing custom. But the privilege of a revenge killing is not recognized (again in accordance with custom) by the kin of the murderer. They strike back, and the siphoning of blood is on.

"In threat, or in fact"; this, because compensatory and restitutive damages, as well as punitive fines (confiscation of property) are ofttimes substituted for coercive force. But the defaulter in damages and fines finds that force has been merely veiled.

It may be observed that under this hypothesis, the action of a parent in "tanning" his child for misconduct, when not objected to by others in the

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[5] R. I. MacIver, *Society*, p. 35.

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121 society, is a legal sanction. The same would apply to similar actions of any group within the society toward members of the group, even when the sanction is applied for the violation of rules which are peculiar to the particular class of persons belonging to the punishing group.

121 The Comanche materials which are to follow serve to demonstrate (as one example) that in primitive society the application of law is not limited 671 to the "political state," whatever that may be, nor even to government. When this fact is realized it will also be seen that "law" in our own society is somewhat more than has ordinarily been allowed. "Primitive law" is the henchman of Legal Realism.[6]

[6] See, Roscoe Pound, *The Call for a Realistic Jurisprudence* (Harvard Law Review, vol. 44, 1930), pp. 697–711. And, K. N. Llewellyn, *A Realistic Jurisprudence—The Next Step* (Columbia Law Review, vol. 30, 1930), pp. 431–461.

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LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1] 684 183 671

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law. 562 671 581

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed. 581 578 183

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

183 The Comanche populace greatly enjoyed the spectacle of wife-stealing.
684 The culture enhanced the procedure by providing for group cooperation in the absconding act. It is clearly discernible in this, that though the Comanches "believed" arranged marriages between an older man and younger woman were the best, their sympathies were with the young couple who tried to get together in spite of the formal pattern. Absconding took place when war parties were leaving the camp. The would-be absconder made himself a member of the raiding group and arranged for the woman to join him in the group at the first-night rendezvous. So the couple rode off on the foray with the gang of warriors.

171 Absconding with a war party is apparently unique among the Comanches, their own invention. The practice did not exist among the Shoshoneans from whom the Comanches stem. Among the Cheyennes such conduct was absolutely forbidden.[3]

PROCEDURE IN ADULTERY AND WIFE ABSCONDING

684 A Comanche male who had suffered a legal wrong was under social
626 obligation to take action against the offender. For a man not to do so was not looked upon as an act of social grace; indeed, such behavior was a social disgrace. A man so acting was stamped not as magnanimous, but as lily-livered. Adultery and taking another's wife were direct attacks upon the prestige of the wife's husband. Both acts were unmistakable challenges which could not be ignored by the man who would maintain enough face to make life livable.

Naturally, the aggrieved party was not always inclined to act, nor was the reason always cowardice. If the wrong were not made public, it is obvious that public opinion could not drive a man to institute prosecution. Ridicule was the weapon used by society to cause a man to proceed after the cause for action had become public.

This is clearly brought out in the account of an adulterous youth as told by That's It.

Case 4. Adultery: Husband Slays Boy's Pony; Also That of Boy's Grandfather
Informant: That's It

"An old man had a handsome grandson. Being very proud of the boy, the old man liked to boast of him in public.

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[3] An enterprising warrior tried it once. The leader of the party immediately convened his followers in council to determine the action to be followed. The man and the woman were sent back to camp, but the warriors all promised gifts to be given to the aggrieved husband. On their return from the raid the promises were handsomely fulfilled. But they also effected a formulation of the rule that no man should ever take the wife of another on a raiding party. No subsequent violations of the rule ever occurred. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*

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"One day the boy sat in a tipi playing the stick game. There were many people present. The grandfather came in and squatted beside the boy as he was playing. The old man looked around and saw a good-looking woman there. He nudged his grandson in the ribs. 684 626

"With a sly look he whispered, 'That looks like the woman you had last night.'

"The boy looked up and told his grandpa to go away. Then the old man was hurt and said he said nothing wrong. He said it looked like her; no harm in that, is there? Then he was quiet for a few minutes.

"But the old man just couldn't keep still. He kept repeating his observation, how that good-looking woman looked like the one the boy had had the other night. He wouldn't shut up.

"The woman's husband was also there. Pretty soon he spoke up, saying, 'Yes, that's the fellow.'

"The old man left the tipi.

"Pretty soon the game broke up, and all the people went home. The woman's husband just got on his pony and rode over and shot the red mare which was the old man's favorite horse. The he went and killed the boy's pony. He had been letting the matter ride until that old grandpa talked about it in public.

"The boy was real sad and he said, 'Grandpa, you sure done wrong. Look what you got us into.'

"The old man couldn't say anything. He just went off and wept."

The Comanches in this respect were like Malinowski's Trobriand Islanders[3] and many another society. An act may be known by the public and winked at, but when the act is publicly labelled, self-conscious public indignation flares up and blasts the culprit with its hot breath.

Since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. Each case was met by the parties concerned as it arose, and the location was limited only by the necessity of carrying the action to wherever the offender could be found. At home, this was usually at the doorway of his tipi. If the offender was with a raiding party, the aggrieved could await the return of the absconder, or could pursue him. In prosecution, the aggrieved (a) accosted the defendant himself, stating the offense and the extent of damages which would satisfy him. This he might do if he were brave enough. Or, (b) he sent others to prosecute for him, signifying that he considered the matter not worthy of his personal attention, and at the same time minimizing the chance of violent outbreak. An extreme 627x

[3] Concerning incest among the Trobrianders: "If the affair is carried on *sub rosa* with a certain amount of decorum, and if no one in particular stirs up trouble—'public opinion' will gossip, but not demand any hard punishment. If on the contrary, scandal breaks out—every one turns against the guilty pair and by ostracism and insults one or the other may be driven to suicide." (Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 80.)

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×627 instance of this method of procedure was to send the unfaithful wife herself on the onerous task of demanding damages from her lover.[4]

If the aggrieved deemed it wise to form a party to act in the prosecution of the case, he (c) took his group and sat aloofly astride his horse while his confreres laid the charge and negotiated. But he sometimes got impatient with the progress of the action and interceded himself. This led to violence. At every step, strong individual reactions threatened the proceedings.[5] It was not unusual, however, for the aggrieved to (d) send his group to carry out the whole procedure, refraining from appearing upon the scene himself. The situation is not the same as in (b) above.

Another alternative relied upon by men without war honors, lacking in

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×627 684 [4] *Case 5. Adultery: Husband collects damages through wife*
Informant: Visits Her Relatives

"A woman used to go regularly to a hill to get power. Claiming to be a medicine woman, she induced her parents to build her a special tipi in which she could go to rest when she had returned from her pilgrimage for power. This went on for some time, when her husband began to suspect that her movements were not in the interest of medicine, as she claimed. He followed her one day and found her horse down by the creek. Turning back, he went by the tipi of a young man and heard his wife's voice inside. Looking in stealthily, he saw the pair lying together.

"Feeling very wrathful, the husband went home and asked his mother-in-law to take down his wife's special tipi. She refused. He then told his sister to do it, and she could not refuse him, so she removed it.

"When the woman came home and went to rest in her tipi, she found it gone. She went to her husband to ask where her tipi was. He invited her to come into his tipi and sit beside him. When she had done so, he pulled out his knife and cut her hair off close to the scalp, then cut her skirt short. In this bedraggled state he drove her through the camp with his whip. When they came by her lover's tipi the husband bade his wife call to him to come and see her. She called, but her lover did not appear.

"Her husband then sent her to collect damages from him. He demanded six horses, a saddle, bridle, and war costume. When she appeared before the young man in her sad state he was sorry for her and said, 'You look so pitiful; you may have anything you want that I have!'

"His mother loaded his horse with all his portable belongings, and the wife led it publicly through the camp to her husband. This satisfied him, so he kept her as a wife."

×627 684 682 [5] *Case 6. Adultery, Homicide: Procedure breaks down*
Informant: Post Oak Jim

While one of the bands was out on the warpath, a man learned that his wife had committed adultery. He decided to let the matter ride until they were back in safer territory. When again out of danger the aggrieved husband went with two friends to the culprit to ask for damages.

Negotiations were proceeding amiably when the husband became impatient with the procedure and shouted, "That's no way to talk. Why don't you beat him up or kill him!"

This made his adversary so angry that he stabbed the husband dead. At that the two friends of the slain man killed the offender.

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self confidence, and who were unable to muster a party for themselves, was (e) to entreat a war chief to act for the plaintiff in the matter. The tékniwap undertook to see the matter to its close, whatever the consequences, once he agreed to open proceedings on behalf of the aggrieved. An aberrant form of the same type which completely reversed the principle involved was (f) the sending of an old woman to "prosecute" in a situation where the aggrieved feared the defendant, hoping through presenting his cause pitiably to touch the compassion of the offender and so gain larger damages than he himself would dare demand.[6] 627x

The crux of the procedure was bargaining. There was no question of evidence—except in sorcery. In the damage-seeking cases the evidence was obtained before action was brought. In wife-absconding cases the presence of the woman with the absconder was *prima facie* evidence which need go no further. In all our cases but one the bargaining was begun with guilt accepted by both parties. In cases of adultery, beyond *in flagrante delicto*, evidence came from witnesses or by confession of the wife. However it may be, except for cases of sorcery, there was no technique for obtaining evidence from the defendant. Nor was the defendant usually confronted with witnesses. The aggrieved had to ascertain to his own satisfaction who the guilty party might be. After this had been done the defendant could then be confronted.

And what if guilt was denied? Usually it was not. When the defendant refused to own up, the procedure apparently came to an impasse. The aggrieved might be angry enough to take illegal steps (violence), or he might possibly kill some of the accused's horses to satisfy his desire for damages. The latter course would be likely to lead to retaliation, however, for the defendant, in denying guilt, denied cause for damages and such peremptory taking of damages was to him illegal. The reaction of the defendant if the first recourse were taken by his accuser is problematical; it would depend pretty much on his temperament and guilt in fact. Denial 627x 681

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[6] *Case 7. Wife-Absconding: Husband sends old woman to collect*
Informant: Rhoda Bluefoot 627x 684

A woman deserted her husband by joining a raiding party led by a noted warrior, who took her as wife. On their return to the main camp her husband did nothing to get her back because he was afraid of the warrior and his three brothers. So he sent an old woman to plead for her. Since the warrior wished to keep her, he sent back a gift of horses and goods to the husband in place of the woman.

This gift the husband had to accept, and he dropped proceedings.

Later the warrior was killed in a battle, and one of his younger brothers inherited the woman as wife. [587]

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x627 [681] of guilt by an accused (except in sorcery) was so uncommon that there are not cases enough to draw sound conclusions.

Cases were opened with formal politeness and smooth words; the man who had come to prosecute addressed the one he was about to accuse as "brother."[7] While the defendant listened, he was told why the accuser had come as prosecutor and informed what must be given in damages to satisfy his visitor. Inasmuch as the defendant usually knew what had called forth the visit, the prosecutor was not invited into the tipi to take the seat of the guest of honor opposite the door. Ordinarily the defendant was sitting beside the door of his tipi as the prosecuting party arrived, and the negotiations took place before the tipi.

The aggrieved usually stated his demand for damages specifically, but the damages rendered were those which the defendant agreed to give and the aggrieved was willing to accept. "Willingness," with either or both, could of course be anything but willing. There was no judge to determine what should be paid in composition for the wrong, nor was there any specific customary code regulating payments in accordance with degree of wrong. Consequently, only by agreement could the case be settled. Without the aid of an arbitrator, the sole way to agreement was bargain.

x627 577 The factors which operated in the process of settlement were manifold and delicate, each factor having many shades and facets. Who can say what the forces shaping the attitudes which determine the actions of any individual in any special circumstance may be? It is clear, however, that the will to push or resist was of greatest moment. Sometimes the defendant acquiesced only too willingly to the first demands made upon him. Sometimes the prosecutor placed a timid request for compensation, which he accepted with a sign of relief, glad that the thing was done. It is in this very will to push or to resist that the personal factor entered and resists reduction to written words. Nevertheless, personal courage and aggressiveness were the potent traits which counted in the Comanche male. Each party mentally weighed the other and decided accordingly, most of this being done before any action recounted in a story could occur. The one outstanding factor around which the settlement of a dispute turned was not the question of the right or wrong of the situation, but rather the relative bravery in warfare of the two parties involved. A reputation as a doughty slayer of enemies was a handy thing. The real point was that in Comanche law, as in all law, the ultimate power was resort to force. But

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[608] [7] In Shoshone and Comanche theory, men who had shared a woman sexually were supposed to be brothers. For a discussion of the brother terminology and its relation to Shoshone-Comanche marriage practices, see E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and H3handika Shoshone Relationship Systems*, pp. 448–449.

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the right to use—or threaten with—force was not reserved to the government. It was a privilege reserved to the interested parties in case the adjudicative process broke down. In other words, there existed a situation exactly comparable to that observed among nations which recognize certain practices of international law, but which reserve to themselves the sovereign right to resort to force if things don't suit them. Then, in the words of Post Oak Jim, "Lots of trouble, lots of people hurt."

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It is very clear, however, that the Comanches tended to attribute moral rightness to the braver man. This is revealed, for instance, in the settlement of a land-rights squabble in the early days on the reservation:

Case 8. Land Dispute
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

When land allotments were made by the government, two neighbors quarrelled over a quarter section of land which both wanted. One of them succeeded in establishing his claim on the disputed land. The other protested the action and contested the claim. Feeling ran higher and higher over the matter until each was threatening to kill the other.

Quanah Parker, who was chief of the band at the time, was called upon to settle the dispute. He asked two warriors to testify as to the past war record of the disputants. Since one of the warriors was late in coming to report, Parker sent Eagle Tail Feather, then chief of the Indian police, to find him to hear what he had to say. Eagle Tail Feather took another warrior with him as witness. The first disputant also went in the party, thinking to gain an advantage by confronting the witness personally.

When the four men were assembled at the warrior-witness's house, this disputant spoke up, saying, "Which is better, I or this other fellow?"

"All right," said the warrior, "now that you've asked me, I'll speak out plain. That other one (the opponent in the case) is the better man. I was in a battle where I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade from the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed; you'd better look out or he'll whip you, or kill you."

These words silenced the claimant. He knew that he would lose the land unless he could speak up and tell of a braver deed which he had performed. This he could not do, so he remained speechless while the others waited for his words. When they were satisfied that his adversary was the braver man, Eagle Tail Feather and his aide returned to Quanah and told him what had ensued at the meeting.

Quanah decreed that the disputed quarter section should belong to the warrior who had made the rescue. The other released his claim to it without further word.[8]

[8] This is, of course, an atypical case, involving as it does, land rights which are not a part of the aboriginal culture. However, it *does* show the carry-over of old attitudes to new procedures.

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X627 556 The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

X627 231 Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

X627 231 554 The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

X627 684 Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impinging attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

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They were Mangey Coat and Atsaçi. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her. 627x 684

"They answered, 'We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched With A Closed Fist and this woman is his wife.'

"I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

" 'No,' she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

"I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

"They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.[9]

"I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

"Atsaçi answered, 'We want that horse or none.'

"I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, 'All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough.' I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaçi I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

" 'What?' he said.

"I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my 'daughters' (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. 'If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love.' [595] [602]

"Then Mangey Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaçi wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

"That was what I wanted. Atsaçi was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

"He mumbled, 'Well, it's up to Mangey Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say.'

"Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a grey mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that grey horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money." [541]

Here is one of the few cases in which the *danger* of sending intermediaries appears. But ill-advised choice of counsel is a risk, even with us. Note also that a breach even of the levirate bites, though the brother-tie be purely classificatory; and that rights of the wife's "father," though but of the "father"-group, are available after marriage. 627x 602

[9] In strict form it was customary to ask for four different articles in damages.

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x627 595 Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."[10]

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff
Informant: That's It

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

887 558 It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

x627 684 *Case 11. Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior*
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

[10] Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131–132.

and broke its neck. They all stood around looking at it. Then one of my brothers spoke up for my nephew, 'Well!' he said to the husband, 'We intended to do right by you. Now there is nothing left but to offer to let you whip him.' 684 627x

"The boy took off his shirt to get ready.

"Then a man spoke up for the other side, and said, 'We see that your intentions are good. He's a young and fine man; we won't hurt him if he promises to be good in the future.

"The boy was glad to promise, and the case was settled right there."

Could anything bring out more strongly (a) the social approval behind the justified plaintiff; (b) the extent to which the aggrieved might want vindication rather than reward—and was under *pressure* to be magnanimous?

In a case of wife-stealing it was not incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. It was sufficient if he demanded the return of his wife, making the demand good. It also served if he slaughtered his wife for her act of desertion. Thus, in two of the twenty-two specific cases of wife-stealing of which we have record, the wife was slain outright by the husband without negotiation for her return or for damages. In slightly less than half of these cases the husband negotiated for the return of his wife and got her. In most of these instances no damages were paid. In an equal proportion of the absconding cases, the husband sued for damages, received a satisfactory settlement, and released his claim on his wife, thus permitting (or acknowledging) her change of marital status.

The unfaithful wife was in any event subject to severe chastisement, unless her husband feared her lover or absconder. Unless her lover's protection was adequate, her husband almost certainly whipped her, gashed the soles of her feet, or more commonly, cut off her nose. Though thus disfigured for life, there was no marked social stigma in noselessness. Pity, rather, was felt for the unfortunate woman, for the Comanches placed a high value on good looks. [832]

INTERMEDIARIES AND THE CHAMPION-AT-LAW

Women who were deserting their husbands rather consistently chose brave men as partners in absconding. Or, if the absconder was doubtful as to his own fighting ability, he placed himself and his runaway woman under the temporary protection of a war party leader. It is also said (no cases) that a would-be absconder sometimes induced a war party leader to steal the desired woman, then to release her for the lover after the settlement had been made. Consequently, the husband was more frequently than not the weaker party in the bargain situation. He was impelled to 627x 684

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take action by the force of social opinion; yet he had small chance of succeeding.

It is true that his kin would avenge his death if he were killed in carrying out his social obligation to prosecute. Small comfort in that. What he sought was not death but an adjustment in accordance with his legal rights. Where the balance of prowess lies normally on the side of the wrong-doer in an individualistic system, the process of law will be checked. This is because the ultimate legal sanction is force, the very power in which the prosecutor may find himself shorthanded. If this prevails generally, then the foundation is sapped from under the structure of legal order. But if the power of the wronged party equals that of the transgressor, a different situation exists. A settlement can be effected through bargaining. Here the sociological principles of compromise are clearly operative: an avoidance of force to effect exchanges in terms of mutual concessions. John R. Commons writes, "Arbitration is never accepted until each party to a dispute is equally afraid of the other, and when they have reached that point, they can adopt something better than arbitration, namely, negotiation."[11]

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Unconsciously operating on this principle, a Comanche prosecuted by himself only if sure of his own courage in relation to that of the defendant. But Comanche society took an important step forward in effecting an equalization of powers when the aggrieved was not strong enough to prosecute by himself. The aggrieved was allowed the privilege, apparently not customarily granted the defendant, of marshalling his kin and friends to aid him in seeking restitution. In many instances these partisans took over the complete responsibility of negotiations. In other cases, the aggrieved accompanied them on their mission, but refrained from entering the bargaining activities. In no single specific case did the defendant take recourse to similar reinforcements. It does not seem to have been his privilege. Consequently, the collectivization of the bravery of blood relatives and friends by the prosecutor may be viewed as a social mechanism whose function was to give added protection to the rights of the husband.[12]

This practice often allowed for such a show a force on the side of the aggrieved that the defendant could actually be cowed. Though this might seem unfair, there is more justice and stronger check to illegal action if it is

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[11] J. R. Commons, *A New Way of Settling Labor Disputes* (American Review of Reviews, Vol. 23), p. 328. Commons' truth is an overstatement. Not "equally afraid," but "enough to make battle highly inconvenient," is more accurate.

[12] The only contradictory evidence to this is the statement by Post Oak Jim that once there was trouble over damages between a couple of groups fighting with rifles, "so I didn't get close enough to see much." The fact of rifles indicates that it is a late case.

the defendant and not the wronged party who is thus intimidated. Accordingly, this occasional overbalancing of forces on the prosecuting side does not so much defeat the aim of law as would the alternative condition, and is socially more defensible. Nevertheless, as we shall see, abuse by the plaintiff could lead to repercussions. Defendants, too, were within the protection of the law. 627* 602

A number of conditions entered into the matter of group aid in such endeavors. The "rightness" of the aggrieved party's case was a strong operative factor when it came to gathering his group. To participate in such a group if petitioned was a kinship responsibility, though not an obligation. It was rather reciprocity, in this case, which made the responsibility a reality. Theoretically any man could refuse to help a relative, but it was the better part of wisdom to go along with him. Who knew but what the day might come when each man in turn would need the help of the others? And there was material gain to be had by participation.

Brothers and friends who were called "brother" were those obligated to act for the aggrieved, if he called upon them. This obligation was fortified by a right to a share in the damages collected; the participants' right to a cut in the compensation took precedence over the aggrieved's. The ludicrous result was that sometimes a man's "lawyer" brothers got all, while he was left to contemplate the satisfaction of having seen the law through.[13] This is a stated principle, but does not appear in our case material. To be accurate, however, these "brothers" had more than a lawyer's interest, and a closer responsibility than that of other relatives was theirs. Through the institution of levirate they had a partial claim on the aggrieved husband's wife. They too were wronged. This claim could in itself give rise directly to occasional legal action. Hence their share in the damages was more than pay for helping in the procedure. It was a share in composition for a wrong mutually suffered. But why did the "brothers'" rights to the goods take precedence over the husband's? A hazarded explanation would be that it served as an inducement to reinforce the obligation the brothers held. [587]

Or is it possible that a broader force was in operation here? The practice may be associated with prestige compulsions. It was more grandiose wantonly to kill a horse than to take one. It was more noble to reward one's helpers than to grab the take for oneself. The principal was under social compulsion to be noble. Is it a parallel to the rule of the raiding party that the leader should be the last to share?

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[13] Bobby Burns, 'tis said, ruefully declared, "The Lawyers get the a' of it."

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X627 The Comanches showed a sense of justice at work and an awareness of the function of legal institutions in their society when they accorded the aggrieved party a customary massing of subsidiary force which was apparently denied to the aggressor. The dynamic quality of Comanche culture and the mark of creative genius is to be seen in the way in which this principle of equalization was refined and fitted to meet the needs of the person who had no group of "brothers" to back him in need. Comanche juridical processes were more than a mere phase of the status struggle among males. Men whose status was so low that on the personal and kinship basis they were, in effect, without status were still guaranteed protection under the Comanche law. This was done by harnessing the status drive in the society to the needs of the weak and aggrieved. There was the institution of *champion-at-law*.[14]

The functioning champion-at-law is best revealed in action through cases.

Case 12. Wife-stealing: Red Crooked Nose vs. a young warrior
Informant: Visits Her Relatives

X627 684 581 "The wife of Red Crooked Nose absconded with a young, good-looking warrior. In the raiding party were four other men and another woman. For two years the pair remained away, and no one in the main camp knew where they were living. But one day some hunters found their camp and reported it to Red Crooked Nose. He was determined to get his wife back, but he had few war deeds to his credit. So he asked a brave, well-known warrior to go with him. The warrior consented to go.

"When they reached the absconder's camp, the woman saw them coming and ran to her young husband, saying that she wanted to stay with him. But when the young man saw Red Crooked Nose's champion he said, 'Against such a man I have no chance to keep you.'

"So they met outside the tipi. Red Crooked Nose picked up a quiver of arrows belonging to the young man, but his wife told him, 'Put them down. You can't do any better with them than their owner can.'

"Food was offered the newcomers, and they stated their mission. They said that they would accept no damages in place of the woman, that Red Crooked Nose needed her to care for their young child. So the young man ordered her horse brought, upon which was a good saddle, a silver-braided bridle, and good blankets. He told the woman to dress up. He told her, 'Take everything nice that belongs to you. This old man can't get things like these for you.'

"She gathered all her belongings, including fifteen horses. She was ready to

[14] There is no special word in the Comanche lexicon for this personage. A man acting as champion-at-law was simply referred to as tékniwap (war leader). Only men who were war leaders were sought to act as champions. Their legal activity on behalf of others was merely an incidental function of their status as ranking braves in the tribe.

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start back with them, but she cried pitifully to have to leave her young lover. After they had started, she lagged behind sullenly. 627x

"They had gone. The young absconder broke camp. He mounted and rode on past them. As his horses ran by, Red Crooked Nose killed one of them and called upon his party to take the meat he had shot for them. Then the owner of the dead horse scorned him, 'My feelings aren't hurt. *I* can get plenty of horses—like the grass, so many!' And he rode on.[15] 684 581

"He knew that Red Crooked Nose would not have dared to kill his horse without the warrior as protector.

"While stopping one night they heard that enemies were coming. The women were sent on. The men prepared for war. Before the battle started, the young man donned his best war paraphernalia. With his feathers flying he rode past the camp of Red Crooked Nose. He fought conspicuously and was killed.

"The champion saw him go down.

"He called to Red Crooked Nose, saying, 'It was we who caused him to be killed. I know you are a coward, but you have to go and walk in front of the enemy to protect us while I carry off his body.'

"Thus they took the young man off the field, and put his body on a horse. When the woman saw his body brought back, she tore her dress apart, slashed her body all over with her knife, and cut her hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

"Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way."

Though it is the activities of the intermediary which we must here examine, the fine devices of sarcasm and ridicule which make this history so rich in intrinsic sanctions deserve attention. The woman mocks her husband. The lover mocks. These are expressions of rage, or attempts to egg him into overreaching his position. The latter occurs. Again the lover mocks. But the combination of grief and shame works in him as his mockery seems to have worked in the husband. He seizes the occasion for a protest-sacrifice equivalent to suicide, save that it serves his tribe. The champion turns upon the championed. Red Crooked Nose's mourning is a penance. And one may be certain that his later repute suffered. The people told *her* to keep her jewelry in remembrance of a "wrong-doer," who, over-penalized, had made himself a hero. 627x 558

[15] No empty boast for the young man. And it cut two ways. In itself this killing of a horse, over and above taking back the woman, is wholly proper. The overdoing lies in these points: the woman had brought double a heavy indemnity, the adjustment was over, and the strength of the husband was not equal to the deed he was performing. He was over-reaching and the young man's disdainful ignoring of his act showed him up in just that way.

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The institutionalized champion we see as a purely social device. None of the ordinary inducements used to lead a person to assume a difficult obligation or responsibility were operative for him. Unlike kin or friends, he received no material compensation for his pains. This is borne out both by the word of the informants and by the evidence of the cases. Nor did the principle of reciprocity of services operate for him. Men chosen to act as champion were always warriors of great renown. They could look to themselves; they had no need to ask for return of favors. It was a sense of *noblesse oblige* and self-esteem which forced the champion into the legal lists on behalf of weaker persons to whom he had no personal ties. A war leader who refused to accept the request for aid in prosecution was to be deemed unworthy of his rank, for it was imputed that he feared the defendant. No war leader could admit fear. The institutional capitalization of these factors for the legal protection of the weak is an amazing piece of social engineering.[16]

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[16] One has only to contrast the Roman *patronus* and early medieval infeudation of free land. Those "muscle men" exacted pay for protection as does a modern gangster. No matter that it was not with money. For favorable comparison to the Comanche consider the Ifugao *monkalun*, or Icelandic *lawman*.

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Each of these functionaries was reponsible to both parties in dispute, though the *monkalun* was evoked by the plaintiff. He (the *monkalun*) was at most a distant relative to the litigants. He was a *kadangyang* (man of wealth belonging to the first rank of society) and a man with a head-hunting reputation, as well as a successful settler of disputes. His method was suasion, threat, wheedling, scolding, according to the arts of fine diplomacy. He worked between the disputants (they keeping rigidly from each other's sight) until he could bring them to stand on a plank of settlement acceptable to both. For his pains he received payment in pigs or other commodity from the plaintiff. This was compensation for his efforts, but as Barton tells us, the main drive which spurred him to work for a peaceful settlement was the desire to build his reputation as a mediator. As in Comanche society the true reward was prestige. The *monkalun*, like the Comanche intermediary, was ready to fall back on force if need be. But he did not stand so ready with knife in hand. When he felt that he had exhausted his ability to bring the parties to a settlement, he declared a truce of a month's duration. Whichever party broke the truce by an act of violence had the *monkalun* and his family to reckon with in addition to his adversary. Thus the *monkalun* fell on either side if process degenerated to force, while the Comanche mediator always stood by his protege. R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, 1919), pp. 97 ff.

The Icelandic *lawman* presents a similar comparison. A plaintiff lodged suit by airing his grievance before all men on the Hill of Laws at the Thing, or in-gathering of citizens. The attempt was made to bring both parties to agree to accept whatever judgment might be given by a selected *lawman* or a council of his ilk. The alternative (legally) was wager of battle on the *Isle*. Outside of these legal paths were strife and murder. The *lawmen* derived honor and prestige for their efforts and seem also to have been feed in a modest way.

("After that men went away, and all thought things looked like the greatest tangle . . .

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In action the champion was not an arbitrator. It was not his purpose to serve as a go-between. He went to demand damages. The bare fact is that he confronted the defendant as a "tough guy" who could take as well as give it. He was ready, if need be, to close the matter, not with damage settlements, but with physical combat. 627 × 624 554

It is in the champion that we can see most clearly the social policy of balancing the opposing forces so as to clear the way for a bargain settlement. This phase of the Comanche legal system is therefore to be viewed as a not so badly balanced mechanism, which operated without the organization of government. Making certain that action was taken when an offense was made publicly known, it made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

There were no officials in the picture. The peace chief could not act in damage suits, because he had no social authority to do so. As an old and gentle man he lacked the physical prowess to enter an affair in a personal capacity. The champions who participated in actions, because they were the bravest men, were also war chiefs. But the role of champion which they played was a function of their bravery, not of their rank as a chief.

It is possible that if the evolution of Comanche society had continued under aboriginal conditions, the war chief would have taken on the police functions for the society, and have become, thereby, the administrator of justice.

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but Hall went to Thorgier, the priest of Lightwater, who was the old Speaker of the Law, and gave him three marks of silver to utter what the law should be." . . . "This was no bribe, but his lawful fee.") 171

But Eyolf Bolverk's son was sued to be condemned to lesser outlawry for having received a gold armlet to press Flosi's defense before the Althing. Flosi was given the same sentence for giving the trinket as an inducement. G. W. Dasant, *The Story of Burnt Njal* (A translation from the Icelandic Njal Sagen, New York, 1911), pp. 184 and 283.

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HOMICIDE

MURDER AND RETALIATION

x627 The description of proceedings thus far set forth reveals clearly enough that the native law made little effort to conceal the importance of coercion and force in its functioning. The Comanches, particularly, were a fighting people who did not fear violent action. To them *ability* to possess was "nine points of the law." Even so, it has been shown how far they had gone in modifying the primitiveness of this principle by setting up a legal mechanism of adjudication and compromise for certain offenses.

For murder, however, there was no adjudication or compromise in 682 Comanche society. In the event of murder the *lex talionis* was invoked. The case was not closed until the kin of the dead man had taken the life of the murderer. There was no acceptance of composition as was the case with some other tribes of the plains.[1] Nor was there intervention and banishment pronounced by the chiefs as among the Cheyenne or the Omaha.[2]

602 682 Among the Comanches, where kin organization was weak, the principle of kinship liability was not potent enough to result in feud. In principle a simple retaliation was all that was required; the murderer must be the victim. There was no ruthless taking of life of whomsoever happened to be related to the murderer. The kin feeling was strong enough, however, to induce the kin of a murderer to do their best to protect him for some time. As long as vigilance was maintained, unless the murder led to hot-blooded vengeance on the spot, no attempt at attack seems to have been made. The avengers simply waited until time wore down the watchfulness of the protectors; then the avenging thrust was made.

There is but one case known to us in which the kin groups met in open clash. And that was a strange mix-up.

Case 13. Murder: Cooks Dried Meat vs. Pitsku
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Cooks Dried Meat had a wife. Early one morning he told her, 'We're going hunting.' After they had gone quite a way, Cooks Dried Meat told his wife to dismount. She did so. Then he took her to a tree and tressed her to it. He faced her and said accusingly, 'You and your uncle (a classificatory brother of her mother) are intimate.' The woman denied it. But he persisted, 'I saw you helping him fix his hair. You were looking for lice on his scalp.' With that he whipped her hard and then took her home.

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[1] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 403.

[2] A. Fletcher and F. LaFleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 27, 1906), p. 215.

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"That evening just before dark the wife left his lodge and went to the tipi of her uncle. She arrived just as he and his wife were finishing eating. When they had finished their supper, they asked what might be on her mind. 'I have come to carry tales,' she said. 'Go on,' he replied. 'Well, your son-in-law, Cooks Dried Meat, accused me of being intimate with you, and he whipped me badly.' Her uncle was indignant. 'The brute, the bad thing, the devil—you shall not go back to him.' His mother and father were living in the same tipi, so he asked the woman to stay there. 682 602

"A little later there was the sound of something outside, and a voice said, 'I have come for the person who is visiting you.' 'Go home!' the uncle shouted back, 'she is staying here.' It was fall and cool enough to have a fire and eat indoors. They went to bed.

"The uncle's tipi was at one end of the encampment; the husband's was at the other. Just at white dawn a voice shouted out from the tipi of Cooks Dried Meat. 'Get ready Pítsku (the uncle). Prepare yourself!'

"It stirred a terrible commotion. Everybody woke up and asked what was going to happen and angry voices were heard. Cooks Dried Meat strode forth accompanied by his father, the aged peace chief, Tongue, and a young man. They went towards the tipi. 602 682 579

"Close to that tipi was one of an old man who lived with his grandson. He stuck his head out and received an arrow full in the throat. As his relatives pulled loose the shaft they cried, 'We shall wipe Cooks Dried Meat out. We shall join Pítsku to do this. Then they fired and killed Tongue. The fight was on. Pítsku got badly wounded in the rump. Hard by was my mother-in-law's tipi—a big one. Into this Pítsku scurried for shelter. Next the son of Cooks Dried Meat was killed, making two men shot on each side. Cooks Dried Meat came to my mother-in-law's tipi to get Pítsku, but the old woman warned him away. 'You don't kill him in my tent,' she threatened. 'If you do, it will not be well for you. The man of this house is a great warrior and a strong medicine man. It will go ill with you if you shed blood in his tipi.'

"By that time a group of men had intervened. 'Stop it,' they ordered. 'It is enough that two men have been killed on either side. Stop.'

"Cooks Dried Meat then fled from the camp. He was chased by the grandson of the old man he had shot in the throat, but he escaped and never came back to the band. He moved away from it.

"Pítsku died of blood-poisoning. Tongue was the peace chief. If he had not taken his son's side, it would have been his duty to have stopped the fighting."

Other acts which to the Comanches were so heinous as to warrant lethal retaliation on the aggressor were the slaying of a favorite horse, and insulting conduct which was insufferable to the aggrieved. These factors appear severally in different cases, but are combined into one single complication in a famous Comanche case known to many informants. There are slight variations in the telling, but the main points of action remain the same. 685

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685 One version has it that the two groups involved were members of a single war party which was returning from a long raid and split because of disagreement over how fast they should travel. Another has it that two small Comanche war parties happened to meet, and thus the action occurred. The facts as reconstructed from several accounts produce running history as follows.

Case 14. Horse Slaying and Murder: Pepper vs. Múβa
Informants: That's It, Talker

Pepper, a Comanche of the Those Who Move Often band, was returning from a successful raid with his captive friend. They were bringing home a bunch of good horses and had reached the Comanche country when they met and camped with two men of the Antelope band, Múβa and his captive friend. In the morning four more Comanches, Man's Forehead, Breaks Something, Harness and Tsiwiwta rode up. They all talked awhile before Pepper and his captive made ready to leave. They rounded up their horses, except one, which was left behind either because it was lame, or had gotten into the herds of the others.

The warriors who had stayed behind were hungry and were considering what to eat. Múβa settled it by ordering his captive to kill the horse their friend had left behind. Some say he chose it because it was better to kill a lame horse; others, because it was nice and fat. They said they would give Pepper the choice of horses when they saw him. But the meeting with Pepper came sooner than was looked for, for he began to repent having left his horse behind. He turned back to see what had become of it. He rode up on the feasting group.

"You have butchered my filly. If you wanted to butcher, why didn't you kill your own horse?"

"Yes, we have done that," Múβa agreed. "But look here, my friend, there are our horses and pack mules over there. Take your choice."

685 So Pepper rode towards the grazing beasts. He drew his bow—the men watched
682 to see what he intended. Twang! He sent an arrow into Múβa's best horse and one into his captive's mule. With the animals writhing on the ground, he rode off.

That made Múβa angry. "What a mean fellow!" he cried. "The way he shot down those horses. Get our horses! We are going to talk to our friend." As they rode forward to catch up with Pepper, he laid out his plot to his captive. "He will strike you because you are a captive. Hit him back and fight with him. Then I will kill him."

They came abreast of Pepper and started to talk with him. Soon Pepper began to abuse the captive. "You, what did you come here for? Do you think anyone would grant your wish or give you anything? If anyone wanted to horsewhip you, is there any reason why they should not?"

"Well, try it," the captive dared.

"Well, why not?" He struck the captive across the face.

The captive slashed back. They grabbed each other's hair and rolled to the

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ground. Múβa watched for his chance until he could shoot a wounding arrow into Pepper. 685

"Can't you do better than that?" Pepper cried. So a second arrow was used to kill him. 682

Without attempting to take the dead man's horses, they went back to where the other Comanches waited. "I have killed our friend," Muβa announced. The four who were there then mounted and went out to look for the body. They stayed a long time preparing a grave, wailing and mourning for the dead man. Múβa and his captive spent the time preparing a meal from their dead mule, which Pepper had shot.

When their friends came back from their mortuary undertakings, they ate heartily. In the meanwhile, Pepper's captive drove his master's horses into camp. There was great mourning among his master's relatives. Because Pepper had no father, a war chief named Bakamuts, a brave and respected man among the Those Who Move Often, called for attention. 627x 682 619

"Listen to me, all!" The wailing ceased. "There is a young brave named Múβa. He is of a large household and in it are many brave warriors. It is my mind that we let this matter go; because his friend first did the wrong thing, it was not his fault. Pepper was mean to have started the fight over a horse."

Bakamuts took these steps to close the incident because both he and the Antelope chiefs were afraid that the two bands would exterminate each other. They did not want a senseless fight between their bands. Crazy Bear and another Antelope chief counselled, "Let us forget this thing which has happened. Our children have intermarried; for their sakes, let us forget it."

Thus tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the rationale is on the kinship basis. The Comanche had not yet reached the state of pure polity. As to the materials of the action, the murdered warrior's resentment at the butchering of his horse was rooted in the very personal nature of horses as property. Comanche horses were highly regarded and imbued with a degree of personality. It is not unlikely that the slaying of horses was to the owner close to murder and hence no light thing to compose. Two horses killed for one horse butchered is in one sense a more-than-murder retaliation. The revenge-killing of Pepper roots no less obviously in a pattern that atonement deemed ample, and freely offered, was to be accepted, not to be insultingly refused by shooting horses instead of receiving them. 231 627x [619]

The extremes to which feelings on a favorite horse could go are also demonstrated in the famed murder of Rocky Thorn by Crowding A Person. 627x 682

Case 15. Killing a Favorite Horse and Murder: Rocky Thorn vs. Crowding A Person
Informant: That's It

"The trouble resulted from a raid on a Comanche camp by enemies. As the raiders were making their get-away, a young boy jumped on the nearest loose horse to

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join the pursuit. It was a fast buckskin, the favorite pony of old man Crowding A Person.

"The boy beat everyone to the enemy and overtook and killed a raider, but the rest got away. It was the boy's first coup. It made him so eager to get back to camp and to the acclaimed glory which would be his that he overrode the buckskin until it dropped dead.

"The youth's mother went to the lodge of Crowding A Person. There she told him of the enemy her son and slain. 'But at the same time,' she continued, 'he has had a misfortune.' She told him his buckskin had died.

"The old man was angry. He said he loved that horse better than any living person.

" 'Why,' he stormed, 'did the boy have to pick on that horse when there were so many other fast ones about?'

"When he acted like that the mother got angry too. She scorned him and hurled taunting words in his teeth. 'What are you talking for?' she cried. 'You couldn't do anything. You could not have killed this enemy. You do no brave deeds. You are a coward anyhow. If you love that horse better than me, why don't you kill me, if you dare?'

"The old man slowly answered, 'Rocky Thorn, do you mean that?'

"She said, 'Yes.'

"He took up his bow and fitted an arrow. He drew the string and shot. Two times he shot her, and she was dead. Then he prepared himself to meet his end. He moved his lodge outside the village, awaiting the return of Rocky Thorn's brothers from a raid.

" 'If they are going to kill me,' he said, 'let them do it away from the camp.'

"His best friend, an old man too, joined him out there and they waited. That night the war party came in. The brothers heard, and in the morning five men, all relatives of Rocky Thorn, went armed to visit the old men. When Crowding A Person saw them coming, he entered his lodge to prepare himself. Soon he came out again, knife in hand, to advance serenely against his enemies. They started shooting immediately. And yet he was as if charmed, for none of the arrows found him. He was almost among them. Then Chew It Up put an arrow through his breast and he was dead."

Such was the operation of the law of retaliation for murder. The kin of the dead were obliged to take revenge. This is the first principle of collective liability.

A second principle of collective liability frequently expressed as to primitive law is that a group cannot proceed against itself. Hence, a wrong committed by one member of a kin group against another within the same group is said to be not punishable in the same way as a wrong done by an out-grouper.

A unique occurrence illustrating adherence to the principle was the

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attempted parricide upon old Brown Robe. It was a notorious and most "unnatural" offense. 627x 682

Case 16. Homicidal Assault: Brown Robe vs. Crazy Bear
Informants: That's It and Visits Her Relatives

"Brown Robe was a Yep Eater with three wives. Two were sisters; the third was a chore wife. The elder sister had married him first and the younger had been given to him later. When he brought home the third wife, the elder sister said to him, 'I see you have a new wife.'

"Three young men were living in his household with him. They were Buffalo, who was his son by a former marriage, Crazy Bear, his grandson, child of his daughter who had died, and also Buffalo's nephew. The third young man was a captive whom Brown Robe had taken as a child, raised, and called 'son.' The two sisters each had a child by Brown Robe, but the chore wife had no children.

"One day Buffalo and Crazy Bear ambushed the old man. Buffalo shot him with an arrow. (His father had given him medicine as was customary for a father to give a son his medicine. This medicine was that of the brown bear; it gave invulnerability to bullets. A bullet won't go through a bear, except at a certain spot. An arrow will. That is why Buffalo used an arrow to shoot his father, because he knew a bullet would not harm him.) Then Buffalo ran off with the chore wife. She was not pretty, either. She was real dark. Crazy Bear ran off with Young Woman, his grandfather's younger wife. The elder wife and the captive boy stayed with the old man. He did not die from his wound, for he was doctored back to health by a medicine man. While they were out hiding, children were born to the two young men; each of them had a boy.

"Later on these couples and their children returned to Brown Robe's camp. He greeted them without malice. 'What you have done to me is forgiven. Just forget what you have done. Let us live in peace.' Everything did go smoothly after that. His former wives, who were now his daughters-in-law, treated him respectfully as a father-in-law. And when Brown Robe died about ten years later, his son and all his establishment mourned for him."

Community reaction in such a case could be only in the form of public disapproval. Legally the whole affair was a private matter. And as She Invites Her Relatives explained it, Brown Robe could not retaliate because the offenders were blood relatives. Or as Kwasi (Dr. Mirsky's informant), phrased it, "His feeling for his son and grandson over-balance the women (meaning the wrong alone). The women were of no consequence compared to his own flesh and blood." Brown Robe's receiving the whole group back was above criticism, "because he was a war chief." 627x 624

But the fact that Buffalo, his son, was also a war chief did not save him from public censure. People talked in strong terms of his conduct. When he and the others returned to the main camp, public opinion was so sharp that

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×627 they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment
624 was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a
[674] crime.

×627 In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because
602 of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

×627 Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be
593 taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide
682 in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had
602 grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

×627 Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-
602 gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

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inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627x that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602 personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562 band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682 in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in [684] forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581 band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562 true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602 marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587 establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562 not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682 was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

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ccc 586 606 was at the same time the wife of his brother. But when a son-in-law gave personal offense to a parent-in-law, it was possible to order dissolution of the marriage.

Case 17. Murder of Sister-in-law: Lost vs. his nephews
Informant: Post Oak Jim

x627 682 602 "Once some white men caught some Indians and held them prisoners. Those that were left were short of food. There was a Mexican captive who went to a girl and said that if he could get a horse he'd buy something for them to eat with it. He wanted to take the best horse. The girl bawled him out. 'There are plenty of horses, and I don't want to take the best.' She said she didn't want to give it to this crazy Mexican. After that he wanted to make up again, but they sent him off. He was interpreter for the Indians at that time.

"The Mexican went up to his wife. He wanted to know where his bow and arrows were. He took them and went up to the woman who owned the horse and killed her. Four of her sons were gone. After she died, her people cried and cried, and buried her out on the prairie. All the rest of the Indians had it in for the Mexican, but they didn't know what to do about it. The Mexican was a medicine man and a war chief. The four boys got back. The others were crying for the dead mother. The boys told them to be quiet for a while. They said they were not going to cry until they finished everything. The Mexican's wife told him his nephews were back. His wife was the dead woman's sister. The sons did not eat. They got several men, and told them what they were going to do.

" 'We're just going to keep still about it for awhile. We'll find out all about it. This man is a medicine man, and we'll try to take away his medicine. Early in the morning we'll pack up and leave.' In the morning the men and the four boys got their guns and got ready to start.

"The Mexican had his horse tied up. There were eight men with the boys. The Mexican untied his horse, saying, 'They won't come.'

"His wife was all anxious and nervous. She said, 'Lost, what are you going to do? Your nephews are coming.'

"He said, 'I've no need to be on horseback to fight them. They are just like women.'

"They came around the tipi, calling, 'Come out, you are nothing but a coward.' As soon as he came out one of them shot him, and they went on. His wife didn't know what to do. He was dying; blood was just pouring out. There was one medicine man there, but he didn't have much power. The following evening he was doctoring Lost, but he died. The wife came down to camp the next morning. Nobody did anything to the boys. They had it in for him, killed him, and that was all. Lots of people were glad. He was real mean. Chew Up was the man who killed him."

It is not likely in this instance that the fact of Lost's being a captive laid him open to attack where a full-blooded Comanche would not have been.

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He was a medicine man and a ranking war leader, which meant that he was perforce a man of status, even among the tribal full-bloods. 627x 682

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, it should be noted however, that from a general social point of view, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered mean by the people; yet if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through *coups*, there was little to prevent him from being as free a Bluebeard as he wished—except that wives became harder for him to get. 602

Attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare. The one case, given by Talker, is interesting for its many facets, and significant for its outcome. It shows that given time to let the revenge feeling cool, coupled with a recognition of provocation to kill, certain murders might be overlooked.

Case 18. Murder: Wife destroys husband
Informant: Talker (Abstract of History recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.) 627x

The husband had been abusing his wife in attempts to force a confession of unfaithfulness from her. One day when he had prepared a fire over which to roast her, she seized and stabbed him and cremated him on the pyre he had intended for her torture. Then she fled for many days to the west until she met Ute Indians. There she was adopted as a wife and lived for a season or two. Then she told her entire story, ending, "and then I threw his body on the fire that had been prepared for me. Because both my husband and I have many relatives on both sides, and because I feared a conflict between the two families, I started out so that there might be no trouble between the two families." 682 593

Later she escaped and returned to her people. She repeated the whole episode to the dead man's father, and as she finished, all her relatives burst forth in a great wail for the man whom she had slain. But there was no trouble. The dead man's father announced, "Because my son was so mean to her, and because I had tried to talk to him, and he would not listen nor heed my word, and because both our families are respectable, to do anything at this late date would be unbecoming."

Thus there was no feud, no retaliation.

ACCIDENTAL HOMICIDE

Though the Comanches were more rude than other Plains tribes in their failure to recognize composition for murder, they showed more perceptive discrimination than most primitives in drawing a clear line between murder and accidental homicide. Intent to assault was a necessary feature of murder. A clearly defined case illustrating this principle was given by White Wolf. 627x 672

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×627 *Case 19. Accidental Homicide*
672 *Informant: White Wolf*

"Two young boys were out hunting turkeys one time, when one of them stepped on a dry stick. It scared away the birds, and the other boy got so angry that he shot at his friend. He fell wounded in the side.

"In a panic of fright the boy fled from the spot where his friend lay bleeding on the ground. As he came into the village, he was met by his father, who asked where his friend was. The youth said he did not know; he told his father that his friend had left him an hour or more before, to come home.

"Later on the mother and sisters of the wounded boy got worried; they went out into the mountains calling his name. Finally they heard a low moaning; there, among the rocks, they found their boy lying in blood. In his mother's arms the boy told her he was dying. He begged her not to kill his friend, because it had been accidental. Revenge would not bring him back.

[764] "When the wounded youth died, the parents of his friend covered all the funeral necessities and provided gifts to be buried in the grave with the body."

Whereas murder allowed no adjustment other than death, accidental homicide could be settled by proper payment to the *family* of the deceased. Thus the boy who did the killing was not punished. However, it should be noted that the principals in the case were minors. It may have been otherwise with adults.

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CRIMINAL OFFENSES

EXCESSIVE SORCERY

Much confusion in the study of simpler societies results from our common habit of identifying criminal law with so-called penal law. Primitive law cannot be fruitfully considered according to the type of punishment. Criminal law is the law of crimes, i.e., *public* wrongs or delicts; civil law the law of "private" wrongs or delicts: torts and breaches of faith. 121

A crime may in this sense be distinguished from a wrong so far as the consensus in the society does or does not show a feeling that the act in question is a harm to society *per se* rather than merely to an individual or particular sub-group. Thus violation of a norm becomes a crime when the sanction of force attached to it is applied by society or its recognized agents, the primary motive behind the sanction springing from a positive sense of general social injury or affront. But the sanctions involved may be no different from those observed to operate in the case of private wrongs. The line between crime and wrong is not a sharp one; commonly, any offense is part one, part the other. When there is no statutory or other explicit means determining where the responsibility for action shall rest, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate crime from wrong in any way; indeed, there may be no differentiation.

Sorcery in Comanche society was primarily the concern of the family of the person affected. It was for them to treat with the sorcerer or to engage a medicine man to effect the cure. Sorcery as a wrong is dealt with below (see Ritual and Evidence). It is also clearly established that sorcery engendered social consequences causing the entire society to react. Because sorcerers were persons with whom social intercourse was dangerous, to be known as a sorcerer meant that normal social relations were to some degree withdrawn. To be known as a bad sorcerer meant that a person was usually shunned to the point of ostracism. The evidence indicates that this ostracism was positive enough to cause the evil medicine man to live apart from people, taking his position a little way off from the camp as a social pariah.[1] From this it is fairly clear that general social sanctions were asserted along with the particular magical and social sanctions which were first applied in a case of sorcery. Public opinion—that sustained public disapproval of any act or series of acts in which we find the germ of criminal law—was always hostile to the sorcerer. After a long-time accumulation of public 754 626

[1] That the sorcerer was specifically ostracized was affirmed in a generalized statement by That's It. The fact will be noted in application in the case given by Slope on page 79, and again in the quotation from Eagle Tail Feather contained on page 81.

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754 resentment a crisis could arise which focused all this resentment on the
626 sorcerer's unfortunate head, congealing public sentiment to direct and vigorous public action. When this point was reached, tort merged into crime.
626 The result was lynching. But such lynching was an act of social policy and
683 not the venting of mob hatred. The purpose and end can be seen to be the same as in many of those outbursts of fury which occur in our own society, but the temper was different. In our society lynchings are frequently associated with the outraged feeling that the "law" will not operate severely enough or that it may be evaded. Comanche lynchings were deliberately executed by spontaneous, but stated, social agreement in the absence of any other established procedure. This was a movement towards a higher juridical level; ours is a relapse. Finally, the crime of which the Comanche victim was guilty was rarely indeed *an* act; it was rather the acquired status of "publiely dangerous person," akin to our recent conception of Public Enemy No. 1. History and reputation made the status; danger, or the sorcerer's old age, or loss of grip furnished the motivation; any given particular outrage was at last a fulminating cap upon the charge.

*627 Comanche lynching was apparently not of frequent occurrence. It could
683 not be called a *predictably* established practice. Our records are limited to three accounts of such an event, though most Comanches will formulate the generalization that evil medicine men were killed by the people. These accounts were explicit and to the point, leaving no doubt as to their being definite Comanche reactions. It cannot be stated with surety that they are not all versions of the same incident.

Case 20. Excessive Sorcery: People vs. (?)
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"There was a nice young man got bewitched by an old Beaver medicine man; he was wasting away. Someone asked another medicine man to find out what was wrong with the boy. This second medicine man told them about the sorcery the Beaver man had made. He also told them that that same old man was the cause of other cases like that.

"When this was learned, all the men in the band had a conference at which they decided to kill the sorcerer. They made believe they were going to have a curing for the sick boy. They set up a Beaver lodge and put the sick boy in it. Then some of them went and smoked with the sorcerer and asked him to come to perform the Beaver ceremony cure for the boy. He accepted the smoke and came to the lodge. The people went inside, but they left two young warriors outside the lodge to kill the medicine man when he came out after the ceremony was over.

"Later on, he came out and started for home with a small boy as companion. When they had got half way home, and the women were all asleep, the two warriors sent the little boy away and killed the medicine man."

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Case 20a
Informant: Slope

627x
683

"An evil medicine man lived among the band called Those Who Move Often. He was so hated by the people that he finally moved away. He went west and there located with another band. After he was there awhile, a man got sick. Another medicine man took the cure and saw that it was this evil man from the Those Who Move Often who had caused the sickness.

"The people got together and plotted to kill the fellow. They arranged for him to doctor a sick person—then they would kill him as he came from the tent. They did it just as they had planned. Just as he was stepping over the bottom part of the tipi door they shot him with bow and arrows. He made one big jump and fell dead on his face."

Case 20b
Informant: Talker

"How Gawky, the evil medicine man, died. He bewitched all the Those Who Move Often, old and young, men, women, and children; he was about to exterminate them. He placed a curse on a rich man. That man died. It was found out that it was Gawky who had cursed him.

"People talked this thing over; they said, 'There is not much we can do with Gawky; we can't fight him. The only thing for us to do, the sure thing, is to cause him to break his tabu.' His forbidden thing was the eating of any food cooked on a long stick—a spit.

"Someone invited him to dinner where it had been arranged to put a spit with meat upon it (just as was forbidden) under the robe on which he was to sit. He sat right on it.

"He ate his dinner and left.

"That night a voice was heard to cry, 'Gawky is dying.' 'What is he dying of? He can't; he is invincible.' Then Gawky spoke out, 'Nothing can save me; nothing can cure me. Through my rectum into my intestines has gone this forbidden spit. I am not going to get well.'

"He died. And after he died he became an evil spirit, but it ended sorcery among the Those Who Move Often. Just the contact of the spit had entered him magically and killed him.

"Bad medicine men become evil spirits."

What we see reflected in these cases is: (a) specific delegation of power to individuals by community agreement in order to rid society of a menace, (b) group slaying of the public enemy after community agreement (i.e., lynching). This is what made of excessive sorcery a crime.

Though not an historical case, one epic battle of sorcerers in legend is pertinent in the exposition of Comanche attitudes towards sorcery. 754

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754 *Case 21. Sorcery Contest*
Informant: Breaks Something

"At one time some Comanches and Cheyennes were camped near each other. Among the Cheyennes was an evil medicine man who was using his power to kill people. When a certain Comanche medicine man heard of it, he decided to go over and see him. So he mounted his horse and rode to the sorcerer's camp. When the Cheyenne came out to greet him, he said he had come to visit and would like to smoke.

"The Cheyenne invited him in and seated him on the south side of the tipi next to the sun, taking the place on the north side himself. The host then took his long pipe, filled it, and lighted it with a coal from the fire. He politely asked his guest how he would like the pipe tendered to him. The Comanche said that any way was all right. He accepted it with two hands and inhaled four times. On the fourth puff he felt some poison enter his body, but he said nothing; he blew in the pipe and handed it back.

"Then the Comanche felt of his belly and blew a yellow-hammer feather out of his mouth. He offered it to the Cheyenne saying, 'What do you mean by this? I found it in your pipe stem!' The Cheyenne told him he could do whatever he wanted with it.

"The Cheyenne now took his turn to smoke. He took three puffs, and on the fourth he felt a pain in his side. Wiggling about, he blew until he blew an eagle feather out into his hand. Looking at his guest he said, 'What do you mean by this?'

"The Comanche looked innocent and answered that he knew nothing about the feather; since the pipe belonged to the Cheyenne, he presumed that the feather did too. The Cheyenne gave it to his adversary, and the smoking continued.

"This time the Comanche smoked; on the fourth puff he blew a black bug out of his mouth into his hand. 'What is this?'

" 'I don't know; it must be yours.'

" 'Not mine; this pipe belongs to you.' And the Comanche gave the bug to the Cheyenne, passing the pipe to him, too.

The Cheyenne again smoked. This time after the fourth puff, he blew a tarantula out of his mouth. 'What is this! See this tarantula of yours!'

" 'No, no. That pipe is yours; you must have put it there.'

"And again the Comanche smoked. This time he blew out a cockle burr. 'What is this? Look at this thing from your pipe!'

"But when the Cheyenne took his fourth turn, he had a mighty pain. He blew and blew, but he couldn't blow out the cause of the pain. It was caused by a barrel cactus put in the pipe by the Comanche's medicine.

"The Comanche arose. Thanking the Cheyenne for a very pleasant day, he went home. No sooner had he reached his camp than he heard cries from the Cheyenne camp. Their medicine man had died. The cactus had stuck in his throat.

"The next day some Cheyenne came to the Comanche medicine man bringing a horse loaded with gifts in appreciation for killing that sorcerer."

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In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

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social authority emerged most clearly amongst the Plains tribes. "Indeed," Professor Lowie has written, "disobedience to their (the soldier-constabulary) orders on that occasion and consequent imperilment of the food supply may be regarded as the one crime against society recognized by all the Plains tribes."[3]

The Comanches are the great exception. To prove that it was entirely foreign to his people, White Wolf cited the experience of a Comanche who was living with the Cheyennes. In his ignorance this individual violated the Cheyenne law by seeking out the herd alone. In consequence, he was visited by the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, who began slashing his tipi and blankets and killing his horses. The Comanche vigorously protested the punishment to the leader of the group; he argued that it was no offense to hunt alone among his people; he had not known that the Cheyennes felt differently about it.

The Comanches were not unmindful of the need for limitations of individual action. The spontaneous germ, social recognition of communal danger which lay in individual hunting, was clearly there. Experience had taught them the danger of stampeding a herd. Such measures as they did develop show how naturally the buffalo problem did become a focal point for the excrudescence of criminal law in some originating Plains tribe. Thus it was said that if the chief *thought* a certain man was likely to sneak out alone or to break before all were ready, he told the *people* to keep an eye on that fellow.

Suppose some rugged individualist escaped the "eyeing," however. Slope recalled an occasion when he was on a hunt and one man crept out from the camp before daybreak, disregarding the impropriety of his action. While the others were still dreaming of shooting buffalo by the hundreds, he was out shooting those he could get, not stopping to butcher them, eagerly pushing on while the game was good. The band rose early too. The hunters were soon in the field. It was not long before they stalked upon the carcasses. Indignation was high. They moved to drastic action. The hunters pulled their skinning knives and slashed the hides to shreds. The chiseller would have no robes. Then they vindictively scooped sand and dirt from the ground, rubbing it soundly into the flesh. That fixed the sneaker. He knew what they thought of him. The hunt leader pointed the finger at him and told the people to keep an eye on him thereafter. He suffered no physical chastisement, as he would have among the Cheyennes. But the incident and the reputation it left must have dogged him.

Beyond this, however, the Comanches did not go.

[3] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 415; affirmed also by Professor Boas, cf. *Anthropology*, (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. I, 1935), p. 89.

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RITUAL AND EVIDENCE

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF SORCERY

The occurrence of supernatural sanctions may be legally irrelevant, for sin need not be illegal. But sometimes an act may be both sinful and illegal and the invocation of a supernatural sanction is one way of dealing with a grievance. When the sanction depends on invocation by the aggrieved or by an official, we have one form of resort to law—though it be also, or even exclusively, religious law. 121

There is a notion current among social scientists that religious tabu precedes legal strictures in the hypothetical time sequence of social development. Law emerges from religion, they say. This is one of those over-generalizations which trap seekers of sequences. Because in our own social history and that of Greece and Rome we can note an early precedence of religion as a source of some law, or because in some primitive societies tabu and supernatural injunction dominate human conduct, does not mean that such circumstances are characteristic of human society in general.[1]

Yet this erroneous notion is commonly accepted as self-evident fact. Harry Elmer Barnes' restatement of Franz Oppenheimer's thesis may be noted as an example. "Primitive punishment is inflicted either to remove the stain of impurity from society or to prevent a supernatural being from taking revenge on the tribe."[2] This is partly true of the punishment of murder among the Cheyennes. It would also be true for the punishment of incest among most natives of Australia. It holds only in very minor part for the Comanches. In none of the incest cases will the reader find a trace of fear of the supernatural expressed. Though religion penetrates the legal complex, law in this society does not reinforce religious beliefs. 121 688

Like all Indians, the Comanches were essentially religious. Their religion shows affiliations with characteristic forms of the Plains and in some respects with the Shoshonean peoples of the Great Basin. 771

It was an exceedingly simple, highly vital religion. The concept of the guardian spirit[3] was its heart and core. Success and excellence in any action

[1] Mr. A. S. Diamond (*Primitive Law*, London, 1936), has recently attempted to demonstrate the lack of validity of the "law from religion" doctrine by an historical examination of the development of the early legal codes of Asia Minor and Europe in particular. The codes, however, are the terminus, not the beginning of primitive law, a fact which makes his argument spurious as far as legal beginnings may be concerned.

[2] H. E. Barnes, *The Story of Punishment* (New York, 1924), p. 3.

[3] For the cultural significance and generalized nature of the complex see Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 29, 1924), p. 29.

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771 or trait depended on power given to man by some supernatural being. The supernatural beings were animistic objects of nature—birds—the hawk, the eagle, and humming bird; animals—the bear, the otter, bison, rat, wolf, and others; reptiles and fishes; even insects. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed special attributes or powers which they could give to men as medicine. Other spirits were the imaginary environment: a whole fabric created by man's fancy, made real by dogma. These were the dwarf people, who lived in the mountains; the water babies, who lived in swampy places; the dead reincarnated as animals; and the ghosts of men, who were likely to turn up almost anywhere. By association, medicines were usually similar in some respect to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the respective guardian spirit. Lightning and thunder gave power, too, but the earth and the sun were akin to deities. They were active in the affairs of men, yet above that individualized pity which led spirit-beings to bestow medicine powers on an earthling.

The essence of the religion was found in the relation between an earthling and his guardian spirits. Power came in vision visitations. It was a dream phenomenon, or hallucinatory experience. It sometimes came uninvited. More frequently it was sought.

A vision quest entailed a solitary visit to a mountain, or to the grave of a dead medicine man. Fasting and certain rituals were involved, though no self-torture was used by these people. The watch lasted four days; it might last longer. The Comanche stayed at it until he received his vision, or else abandoned the quest.

Religious practice consisted in first instance of the patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. Behind these were relationships which prevailed between men and their guardian spirits, together with certain notions concerning supernatural forces in general: so those pertaining to Coyote, the trickster, or to the earth and the sun. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, these relationships and their observance were a matter of *individual* concern. The Comanche did have medicine societies of a sort, but they were limited both in extent and in importance. Dances or ceremonies were few and simple. Most of them were without religious significance. The great exception, the Sun Dance, was a relatively late acquisition [177] from other Plains tribes.[4]

Religion being thus an individual matter save in exceptional cases, the tabus which it enjoined were also limited in importance to the person

[4] R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1938), pp. 420–428.

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concerned. Infractions of tabus which endangered the community were foreign to the Comanche mind. Hence any idea that crime and punishment must spring from tabu proves in this instance sterile. It was the holder of the medicine, not the community, who suffered if the strictures of associated tabu were overlooked. 771

With this, however, we have not slammed the door on the possibility of supernatural admixture in law. Among the Comanches we find it in sorcery. 754

The Comanches made no basic distinction between a medicine man (shaman) and sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil. In a tribe where the majority of adults (especially males, but also women) held some medicine, those who were recognized as medicine men were those who possessed at least one *outstanding* thaumaturgic power. To be "evil" was to use one's power to the damage of the well-being of a fellow tribesman. Hence, the sorcerer was tagged "evil medicine man." Correlatively, to be "good" was to use one's powers to advance one's well-being in hunting or war without harm to others of the in-group, or to use the power beneficently for the curing of others in the band or tribe. A shaman could be wholly good; he could be good and evil; he could be almost totally bad. It depended on the path he followed.

One interesting psychological feature of Comanche sorcery was a not unusual compulsion to use medicine powers against some innocent victim without—even contrary to—the conscious desire to do harm on the part of the shaman. Should a dream "tell" a medicine man to cause the illness of another person, it became imperative that it be done. Failure to so function meant death to the shaman; his power turned on him. "No Bed could not help herself," observed She Invites Her Relatives, "The dream came. She *had* to put the curse on the person dreamed of. Else the sickness would come on her."

The sorcerer's curse was done by "throwing" a foreign substance into the body of the victim. It was done in secret. The exception was when sorcerers gathered together to do battle in tournaments of competitive skill. Unless the sorcerer's medicine was unusually powerful, he had to operate in the near vicinity of his victim, for it was difficult to throw the substance far. Feathers were the choicest medium; thorns, cacti, crystals and spiders were among the varied possibilities. Sorcery thus had some tangible vehicle. The projecting power was worked up with songs and prayer such as had been revealed to the sorcerer by the guardian spirit.

Sorcery was aggression. It was violent trespass against the individual's right to life and well-being. Here is the conflict situation. To meet it recognized measures were at hand. 754 627^

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To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[5] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

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But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

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Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

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[5] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.

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The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer. 787 627^ 755

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse. 627^ 755 683

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by M. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938). 796 276

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Case 22. Sorcery: Post Oak Jim Repels a Curse

755 *Informant: Post Oak Jim*

"I was fire-tender[7] in a peyote meeting. That medicine man was outside. He was in the prime of life; his power was strong. We were inside there singing and praying. Things were going along, when of a sudden I felt a stab in my back. It was as if somebody had shot me there. Oh! I thought I would die. I spit up blood. 'Now I am killed,' I thought. (With much hacking and uncomfortable grimacing Jim showed just how he felt.)

"Stumbling to my feet, I pushed my way through the door to the outside air. I fell flat in the grass; it was heavy with dew. I lay there breathing. So much blood came up that it made a big pool.

"I got up again and entered the tipi. They were all sitting there. I walked around the circle to my place and sat down. They asked me what was the matter. They saw me bleeding there.

" 'Oh,' I said to them, 'I am not feeling so well.'

"The leader gave me some orders. 'Fix up the fire! Now come over here, and sit by me. That medicine man out there is doing things to you.' The leader did some great things then. He picked a live coal from the fire—a red hot one. He put it in his mouth, like that. He came close to me. His mouth met mine. Four times he blew into my mouth. Uh! I felt better.

" 'Now,' he told me, 'you go outside and air your clothes to the four directions. South! West! North! East!'

"When I reentered, they sprinkled holy cedar on the fire. The leader brushed the smoke over me with his eagle feather fan. The blood had stopped. I felt better. I was well.

"The other medicine man died in the fall while he was feeding his horses."

In this particular case there probably was no contractual set-up involved, unless implicitly. The doctor was right at hand; he stepped in as we today expect any medical man to do in an emergency. Whether the peyote leader had any claim on Post Oak Jim for his services or whether Post Oak offered any recompense was unfortunately not determined.

Not always was counter-medicine so immediately successful. It happened more than once that the sorcery was so powerful that no other medicine man could turn it back. Here was a desperate situation. Was the victim to die helplessly? Not among the Comanches. A war-like people, with war-like notions backing up their law, they were not without further means. The treatment of Barking Buttocks reveals what could happen.

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[276] [7] The fire-tender is one of the four ritual offices in a peyote ceremony. The tender sits beside the door so he may easily bring in the wood. The other three sit opposite the door before the altar.

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Case 23. Sorcery: Bull Elk vs. Barking Buttocks
Informant: That's It

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"Barking Buttocks was using his medicine in a bad way against Bull Elk. Bull Elk was awfully sick. They called in one doctor after another to work on him. Not one could do a thing. One right after the other, they gave it up. Finally, they called on Traveller's Road. He was a captive, but he had medicine.

"This captive got up his songs; he acted as though he were flying over Bull Elk with his medicine feathers, so he could see who had put the spell on Bull Elk. Then he started right in doctoring. He did his cure three times, but nothing happened.

"Bull Elk had four brothers. Two of these brothers now talked to Traveller's Road. 'What did you learn?' they asked him. 'What is it in our brother there?'

" 'It is a bad medicine,' he replied. 'It is the evil medicine of Barking Buttocks.'

"The brothers looked at each other. 'Well now,' they said, 'We'll just ask him to remove that curse from our brother there. We won't do him any harm, friend. No, we won't attempt to harm him. We promise that. We will just ask him to withdraw his medicine. But how do you know it is the medicine of Barking Buttocks?'

" 'When I was flying the feathers over your brother, I saw his shadow. The medicine of Barking Buttocks is in him,' was the answer.

"That settled it. On the next morning Bull Elk's brothers sent his wife to seek the bad medicine man. They told her to invite him to come to the tipi where Bull Elk lay dying. The brothers were waiting in the tipi, sitting near the door, the sick man lying at the rear. Barking Buttocks came, and they moved apart for him to sit between them. Both of the brothers had weapons.

"They started talking to the sorcerer. 'Friend,' they said, 'We have a question to ask of you. There is our brother. He lies sick, about to die. You are the man who has done this thing. Take pity, we beg of you. Take pity on our brother there. Can you not see that he is an old man, even as you? Take away your medicine. Take it home with you.'

"Barking Buttocks replied that he had nothing to do with it. Who gave them the idea it was his medicine? Who said he was responsible anyway?

" 'Traveller's Road,' they answered.

"Now Barking Buttocks was angry. 'That captive has no sense,' he cried. 'He is a fool. His medicine makes him lie. Why do you listen to him? Bring that idiot in here so I can talk to him.'

"The wife went out to get the doctor. He came through the door, and they made a place for him to sit by them. Traveller's Road walked by. 'No,' he declined, 'I have my place.' He sat down at the foot of the sickbed. As he listened, one of the brothers explained the reproach of Barking Buttocks.

"Traveller's Road listened to the end. He was gravely silent. At last he pointed the finger at Barking Buttocks. 'How *can* he deny it?' he asked them. 'How can he deny it when he *knows* he did it?'

" 'Captive,' sneered the sorcerer.

" 'I saw his shadow over your brother,' reiterated Traveller's Road.

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×627 683 755 "'What about it, friend?' they pressed Barking Buttocks.

"He did not answer them. He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore. 'Early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!'

"The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you. We drop it.'

"During the winter Barking Buttocks with his family drifted away from the main camp. In the spring he went hunting with his nephew. The first storm of the season came: a cloud rolled up in the sky. Lightning flashed! One, two, three. The fourth bolt found Barking Buttocks. The medicine man fell dead. That settled the question. He was finished and Bull Elk was saved."

In this situation four approaches were taken: two on the supernatural plane, one on the profane, and then back again to the supernatural. There was the usual attempt to overcome sorcery with medicine. This failed without giving so much as a trace of the sorcerer. Then followed Traveller's Road's success in detection and his failure to cure. Direct action was taken, beginning with indirection. The sorcerer was entreated. The sorcerer denied responsibility. With denial a new tone appeared. The atmosphere was charged with threat of violence. Conciliation had failed; now came into play the law's earthly sanction—force. In this case, however, it did not come to violence. The medicine man preferred the supernatural. He introduced the fourth and final term by invoking the conditional curse—not on the accuser, but on himself.

The need for authoritative evidence had to be met. As between two medicine men, whose word was to be taken? The interesting thing in this case is that only the word of one party was tested. It was always so. The test was—"Is Barking Buttocks guilty as charged, or not?" That was the question put to the sun. The test was not—"Is Traveller's Road or Barking Buttocks the false speaker?" Hence the sorcerer called the conditional curse down upon himself. The presumption must be that either the sorcerer believed himself innocent, or else held the conditional curse lightly. It would be a bold Comanche who held to the latter. Skeptics may raise an eyebrow as to the end of Barking Buttocks in the manner described. Still there is legal significance in the native belief in the sorcerer's demise—for belief makes the sanction real as example for those who survive. The conditional curse in the sorcerer's trial was therefore the supreme appeal.

As counter-medicine occasionally failed, so also did sometimes threats of direct action. After all, while law is law, and sorcery illegal, sorcerers were dangerous personages. (One thinks twice, and more, before going to law with a gangster.) One trod cautiously when going to the mat with a sorcerer.

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The diplomatic game of threatening sanctions was played in Comanche law: there was much bluster, but we know of only two cases in which actual physical harm was done the sorcerer (aside from the planned executions above). One of these was a "lynching," the other a murder, but done within the family. In the case of No Bed, the sorceress whose story is recounted below, the attempted violence was circumvented. Indeed, so circumspect was the handling of sorcerers with mundane techniques, so much was it front without substance, that such a terrorizer as Looking After His Son could bully the would-be prosecutors into submission. 627x 683 754

Case 24. Sorcery: ? vs. Looking After His Son
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

"Looking After His Son was a boastful medicine man always talking about his power. Whenever he went among the people it was his boast that he could kill anyone within a vicinity of a quarter mile, should that person raise his displeasure. After all this big talk people began to get suspicious of him.

"One day a young man fell sick. People took to muttering about Looking After His Son. Rumors flew about until finally Looking After His Son heard that people were accusing him of the deed. He heard that the relatives of the sick youth were threatening to kill him.

"It was not long before a relative of the youth who lay ill came to call at the sorcerer's lodge. Looking After His Son welcomed him. 'Hello, friend,' he said. 'I am happy to see you here. Sit down. We will tell stories tonight.'

"At midnight the visitor made excuses to go. The medicine-man motioned him to keep his place. 'I have a certain question to ask. You must accept it,' he ordered. 'I understand your relatives are saying I cause them death. They are making threats at me. Now you look out. Before you leave here, swear that you will stop them, or else—. Well, I'll fix you for certain.'

"The man swore.

"Early the next morning, without stopping for breakfast, he sought out his kinsmen. He pleaded with them for his own sake not to offend the sorcerer further. They heard his plea, and deemed it wisest to acquiesce; they said nothing more about Looking After His Son after that." [602]

It was the opinion of the narrator that Looking After His Son was as guilty as guilty can be. Yet what could be done about it? Sorcery was the the affair of the relatives; they shirked it with cold feet. The sorcerer's bold front and the power behind it were his impunity.

A comparable outrage was recorded from Carrying Her Sunshade. It was a situation in which she figured as a girl, thus placing it shortly before 1860.

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Case 25. Sorcery: Salt Worn Out vs. Robe On His Back
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

"Robe On His Back propositioned Salt Worn Out's wife and she turned him down. Robe On His Back did not like that one bit; so he brooded over it, and settled on revenge. His medicine centered in a black kerchief. He worked on this handkerchief with his spells until it brought a curse on Salt Worn Out's little daughter. She bled from her lungs.

"My husband was a medicine man, so Salt Worn Out brought his daughter to us. My husband worked and worked, but he got no results.

"Finally he called on me, 'Breathe four times on her,' he commanded. I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed—behold! The blood stopped flowing. 'Again,' ordered my husband. I breathed, and I breathed and I breathed, and I breathed. He had me do it over and over until the girl felt better.

"Next he advised Salt Worn Out to move his tipi over to ours, so we could doctor during the night.

"For quite awhile my husband had me repeat my medicine over the girl. It was good medicine, but she never got completely well. We had to find out who was causing the illness, so my husband took out his copper bowl painted red about the rim. He filled his bucket with water, and sang his songs. Then he called us all to look into the water. What did we see but Robe On His Back holding his black handkerchief! Every time he fluttered the kerchief, the girl coughed blood. My husband called the girl's mother to look in, too. 'You have refused Robe On His Back,' he told her. 'I have seen this thing' (in his dreams). This was the proof of all the trouble.

"Salt Worn Out was a coward. He was afraid to protect his daughter. He shrank from approaching Robe On His Back. He shrank from even so much as begging him to remove his evil medicine. Never did he think of threatening him. Instead he stayed with us for a whole year to keep our help and protection. Finally, he decided to move away; they drifted off to some other band where they hoped they could escape from Robe On His Back's hatred."

In this instance the issue of guilt was not put to the test because of Salt Worn Out's cowardice. Here there was not even a preliminary blustering before the back-down. Robe On His Back was free from legal molestation, showing again how distinctly sorcery was a tort. Success in handling supernatural aggression hinged, like success in prosecuting the aggressor against marital rights, upon relative power—either supernatural, or physical and moral. In handling sorcery, however, it was not so easy to attain a balance. Especially is this true of the second phase of anti-sorcery procedure—that which was followed when counter-medicine had failed. We have seen the situation in which the case proceeded to its perfect legal end, that in which Barking Buttocks appealed to the conditional curse. We have revealed two instances in which fear of the aggressor stilled the aggrieved. We were able to record but two cases wherein actual physical coercion was attempted against the body of the sorcerer.

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Case 26. Sorcery: ? vs. No Bed
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

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"No Bed was a powerful medicine woman. Her power was one of the strongest in the tribe. She shared it with her daughter, whom she had initiated into its mysteries. Quite a few rules went with the medicine, such as the tabu against yellow paint. Another was that whomsoever they dreamed about, on that person they must put the curse. If they did not make bad medicine against that person, they themselves would sicken and die!

"No Bed dreamed one night. She dreamed about a young man in the camp, a young man well-liked by every one. Even No Bed liked him. Nevertheless she made her medicine. Pretty soon the poor boy fell sick. The wasting-away sickness was upon him.

"Everyone thought about No Bed. Sure enough, the medicine man on the case saw she was guilty, so he had them send for her. She refused to go at first. 'Why do you come for me?' she complained. 'I have no power. What do they want me for?'

"The messenger begged her. 'Do come before it is too late,' he implored. 'You can remove the curse if you come now. Before long it will be too late.'

"Well, she would go along, she said. But all the time she kept repeating over and over that she had nothing to do with it and could be of no possible use. She was still wagging her tongue as they approached the tipi, when they heard a wail emerge. She stopped. A great chorus of mourning came out from the sick lodge. The boy was dead!

"No Bed took to her heels and ran. Her escort seized a spear, and charged after her. She sped for the lodge of Grey Flat Lying Object, who was a chief of the Quick-Stinger band. She rushed through his door, and throwing her arms about him, she begged for protection.

" 'Well, what is the matter, then?' queried Grey Flat Lying Object. No Bed babbled out her story. 'Yes,' the chief assured her, 'I will give you protection as far as I can. Now sit down; let us talk this thing over.'

"Grey Flat Lying Object recognized her danger. He knew she would be killed if she stayed in camp; he could not protect her forever. He decided to spirit her away until the trouble blew over. No Bed assented, so her daughter was sent for. The two stayed hidden in the chief's tipi until dark, when Grey Flat Lying Object led them out of the camp and away. No Bed left her tipi standing with all her belongings so as to fool the people. By hard travelling they found a camp of Caddo in the east. Grey Flat Lying Object left them there, and returned home.

"No Bed and her daughter lived for many years among the Caddo. The daughter is still living; she is a Christian now, but she still has her medicine. It is no longer so bad now; times have changed.

"No Bed died some years ago. After she came back to our people she befriended an old man. She cooked him food and helped him. But that was because she was going to put her bad medicine on him. A certain medicine man dreamed about this. He hurried to warn the old man of his danger. 'There is only one way you can save yourself,' he told him. 'The next time you see that old woman, put some yellow

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*62 754 683 paint on yourself in some secret place.' When this happened, it broke No Bed's tabu against yellow paint—she was killed in the end by her power."

Here is a case where we see a chief (Grey Flat Lying Object was one of the great Comanche war leaders) taking the role of the champion in a new situation, this time acting for the defendant. We *should* know something of his motives in expousing her cause. We found no evidence of institu- [183] tionalization of a right of asylum.

The next and the only other case we have in which a *real* attempt was made by relatives of a sick person to do direct violence to a sorcerer comes from Dr. Mirsky.

Case 27. Sorcery: Chew Up vs. Bull Roarer
Informant: Talker

"There was a man named Chew Up. He was a Yɛp-Eater, and had just returned from a war-raid. He asked his father, 'What is that tent doing there?' (pointing to a tipi close to his own).

"His father said, 'Your brother is very ill.'

" 'And what may be the matter with him?' he asked.

" 'Some one has shot him with his medicine. Some one put his curse on him.'

"Chew Up went into his father's tipi; there he found his mother getting food ready for him. His father followed him in and addressed him. 'Son, there is something I cannot keep from you. I cannot keep you in darkness. Bull Roarer is doctoring your brother. Bull Roarer is a very great medicine man—his diagnosis is always right.' The father told him what Bull Roarer had discovered.

"At that moment the mother's brother of Chew Up entered. 'Nephew,' he hailed him, 'you have returned. I overheard you talking. That is why I came in.' That was all he said; taking his leave, he went to the sick man's tipi.

"Chew Up rose and followed him. He found the uncle sitting at the foot of his brother's bed. Chew Up gave sympathy to his brother, encouraging him with promises of his recovery. Then he turned to his uncle. 'You are a medicine man who can doctor. Why don't you doctor him?' he demanded. To his uncle's wife who sat at the far end of the tipi he then gave an order to leave. As soon as she was out the door, he drew his knife.

" 'Oh,' cried the uncle, 'I have failed. I cannot relieve him.'

"As he said that, Chew Up seized him by the hair, and pushing down his head, he stabbed his uncle twice. Then he went out. He had killed him.

"He went striding back to his father's tipi, where his mother was still cooking. 'Mother,' he said, 'I have killed your brother. Now go tell your sister-in-law what I have done to her husband. But tell her this, she is not to mourn for him.'

"His mother went to her sister-in-law with his bidding. 'Come,' she directed her, 'we will get your husband's body out of the tipi.'

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"As soon as they started to carry out the corpse, Chew Up followed after them, repeating his warnings to his aunt. 'Don't wail,' he commanded the bereaved woman. 'If you wail for him, I will kill you. Go bury him, and when you have done it, go back to your own people.' 627x 754 683

"The evil medicine man was buried unmourned.

"That night Chew Up himself went to stay with his elder brother. The young man was so sick that he could drink no water—always the sign of a person at death's door. All night long Chew Up held his brother in his arms, until—just as the white dawn came—he died. They wailed for him, and they mourned. The father of Chew Up was a war chief and a rich man. Chew Up explained, 'I am but following the pattern set by my father.'

"What lay behind it all was this: the medicine man uncle had caught his nephew lying with his wife—not in actual intercourse, however. For this reason he had put the curse on him. *Because the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it.* (Author's italics.)

"Just as all this quieted down, Chew Up's other elder brother came home from war. (Chew Up was the youngest, the one who died was the middle brother.) The eldest brother admonished Chew Up. 'You have committed the unheard-of thing: you have killed our uncle.'

"And Chew Up replied, 'Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?'

"To this his elder brother retorted, 'You have done something terrible. You shall not live long.'

"Chew Up answered back, 'I am going to live a long time.'

"The elder brother was killed not long after, and Chew Up lived to be an old, old man."

The thing that strikes hardest in this history of Chew Up is the way in which it emphasizes so completely the non-criminal nature of homicide. But it is also breath-taking in how fast it moved through the ordinary middle-stage of beseeching the sorcerer to remove the curse. "You are a medicine man, why don't you doctor him?" Not an entreaty, but a sarcasm. Then the death-blow. Here the sorcerer faced a tribal strong-man, a man of wealth and position with the pattern of family pride to uphold. How differently the law worked with such a man on the aggrieved's end of the stick than when it was put in the hands of Salt Worn Out to wield for justice's sake! [671 682]

Comanche law, because it was a personal and a kin law, *did* swing upon valor and guts. It was a matter of out-weighing whatever power the offender had on his side. In cases of sorcery this was usually done in the attempt to throw counter-medicine into the scale. But unless the counter-medicine was stronger in its supernatural power than the medicine behind 671 627x

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671 the curse, its legal value was nil, for it was a sanction without teeth. In
x627 exactly the same way the application of physical force as a sanction turned about the point of relative powers. So in this type of case we found four basic outcomes: 1) where the aggrieved party was a weakling there was no prosecution (Sorcery in this respect presents a contrast to adultery and wife-stealing, wherein the aggrieved had to act. In these latter situations it was purely bravery against bravery, but bravery vs. sorcery seems to have been another thing.); 2) where the prosecution was forceful and so also was defense, the defense being more so, in one instance at least, the prosecution backed down—a primitive "*nol pros*"; 3) where the prosecution was forceful and/or the defendant was weak, the sorcerer was driven out or killed by a party for the defense (In the event of capital punishment through violence we do not know if it would give rise to blood feud, because in the only case which reached the bitter climax, the killing was within the family circle.); 4) where the prosecution was forceful and so also was the defense, the deadlock over the dispute of fact was broken by recourse to the conditional curse on the part of the defendant. The supernatural "tried for guilt," and acquitted or executed the defendant in one act. A reasonable length of time, namely, until the next change in seasons, was allowed for the judgment to take place. The issue was not hurried, but its results were accepted as final.

FORCED CONFESSIONS: THE THIRD DEGREE

x627 It has just been shown how the Comanche utilized divination and con-
684 ditional curse in sorcery. Now let us see how they set about testing marital fidelity. There were various techniques available to the husband as a prosecutor. These were ritualistic and non-ritualistic. The latter were simple and direct third-degree forms. A man took his wife to a lonely spot to build a fire. If the threat of what was coming did not force a confession from the lips of the wife, the husband then held her prone over the fire, lowering her closer and closer to the flames until she gave the information he wanted. Another method was to choke the woman until a confession was forthcoming. Whipping also served the end. One or the other of these methods was used in six out of the twenty-three adultery cases recorded in this study.

Not only was the confession of unfaithfulness forced in this way, but also the naming of the correspondent. On the basis of such confession suit for damages could be begun.

The case of Bone and his wife is illustrative of how evidence given by a witness was reinforced by such confession.

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Case 28. Adultery: Bone vs. Cómatsit
Informant: Visits Her Relatives (niece to Bone) 627x 684

"Bone and his younger brother were living together with Bone's wife. She was called Little. One day Little was out collecting sticks for the fire; it took her a long, long time, until Bone began to suspect things. He called on his little ten year old sister to go see what his wife was up to. The little girl went looking about. Finally she found the pile of wood near a tipi, so she went over and looked in. There she saw her grown-up sister-in-law lying in bed with a man.

" 'What are you doing there, auntie?' the little girl asked. 'My brother wants you to come home right away. You'd better hurry up.'

" 'Oh,' Little tried to reassure her. 'I just came in here for a smoke. You run along now.'

"The little sister did just that. She ran home as fast as she could to tell her brother she had seen his wife lying in bed in a certain tipi: how she had seen her there with Cómatsit (a Mexican name). Soon after, Little came home. 'Now we are going hunting,' announced Bone. 'Come, brother, we are going after game. We shall not stop to eat. You are coming, too,' he told his wife. Then they started out, but as soon as they were out of slight of the camp, Bone stopped the procession. He ripped the clothes from Little and violently threw her upon the ground. 'Now tell me,' he thundered, 'what were you doing in that tipi?'

" 'Oh, my husband,' Little wept, 'I did nothing there. Your little sister has told you an untruth. She does not know what she says.'

" 'We'll see,' muttered Bone. So saying, he placed his hands firmly on her throat. 'Now tell me,' he commanded. Then he choked her and choked her and choked her.

"At last she gasped, 'Yes, I did it.'

"Then he let go of her. With his freed hands he drew his knife and deftly cut off half her nose. 'Come, brother,' he said. So the brother picked up their wife's clothes, and away they went, leaving poor Little lying on the ground where they had mutilated her. When they got back to the camp, Bone sent his little sister out again. 'Go to our wife's grandmother and tell her to go get her.' So the old grandmother went and found Little and took her home.

"Next Bone and his brother went to Cómatsit to sue for damages because of the offense he had committed. They got most of that man's fine clothes and six horses from him besides."

Another case shows how the third degree instituted on purely circumstantial evidence brought a confession and led to a damage suit which was settled by the defendant giving up three horses. Carrying A Sunshade told how Yellow Bear found a red bead under his bed one time when they were getting ready to move camp. How did that bead get there? It was not his own! And it was of the kind worn only by men. So he called on his *haits*[1] to accompany him with his wife to a lonely spot. Once there they started to "question" her. She denied everything at first, but after they had put [301]

[1] [i.e., his formal friend — Analyst]

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*627 684 pressure on her, she owned up that the bead belonged to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist. When these words escaped her mouth, the friend, Little Medicine, shot her dead. Yellow Bear turned away with his friend, and they walked off leaving the dead woman to be sought after by her mother. Later they went over to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist and got the three horses from him.

[562] Such techniques of procuriug evidence, so effective with women, could not be applied to men. Procedure had to rest on the evidence forthcoming from the woman's confession or upon definite knowledge possessed by the husband. When the defendant denied complicity in sexual transgression there could be no suit. Acceptance of guilt by the accused was a necessary basis to legal action. In only one instance were we able to get an example of denial maintained.

Case 29. Adultery: Defendant Denies Guilt and Is Shamed
Informant: Slope

"Early one evening a young man came to see a married woman. Unfortunately for them, the woman's husband came home early and saw the two near the tent. Startled, the young man ran off before the husband recognized him. But the husband questioned his wife to discover the boy's name. She told him who it was: a young fellow still living with his father. Her husband decided to go over the next morning to demand damages. When day came, the husband left for the boy's home. There he found that the offender was still in bed, so he called to his father saying, 'I want to see you. I've come to collect damages.'

"The father answered, 'Who's it on?'

" 'That boy of yours.'

"By this time the culprit had appeared, and they all sat down to talk the matter over. The husband asked the young man to sit next to him, and calling him 'brother,' declared that he didn't want much. Four horses would satisfy him.

"At this the boy spoke up. 'Who are these four horses on?'

" 'You.'

"The youth acted surprised. 'Why you must be mistaken,' he said. Then his father asked him whether it was true or not that he had wronged this man, and the boy denied it flatly.

"This denial enraged the husband. He pulled his knife and slashed off one of the young man's long braids of hair. Throwing it at his feet he cried, 'I was not going to do this, but if you insist on lying like a coyote, I'll sure make you look funny!. The boy and his father sat silent while the husband continued, 'That's all I'll do. *627 684 I won't take any horses—but you sure do look funny.' And with that he stalked out."

558 This was a grievous insult—doubly so. To be minus a braid of hair made one conspicuous. Everyone would ask what had happened. To be compared

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to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch. 627x 684 558

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic approaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath. 627x 782

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ta*β*ɛ*β*ekat. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[8] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in. 627x 177 562

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

[8] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

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627 "But you listen, I deny this thing. Now look out! I am going to smoke too.
177 If you are putting the lie on me, the sun will get you instead." That put a
562 different complexion on the situation; the husband was not begging for such a bargain. "So," as That's It put it, "he called off his sun-killing and gave his wife sugar-words."

Later another husband called the deal and paid the price. A man named Brother-in-law, according to Holding Her Sunshade, tried his wife on false evidence. When he put her to the curse, she made her denial and ended by calling to the supernaturals, "If he cuts off my nose, grant that he shall not live long." Brother-in-law accepted the challenge. He did cut off her nose, and within a month he was dead.

x 627 In earlier days when such notions had not yet occurred to women, there
688 were, nevertheless, other escapes, if the aid of a powerful practitioner could be enlisted. For in the case of Looking For Fun, we have one fortunate woman who was able to dodge death through the invocation of strong counterpowers.

Case 30. Adultery, Conditional Curse: Looking For Fun
Informant: That's It

"Her husband suspected her of adultery. This Looking For Fun denied. So her husband made sun-killing. Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the sun saying, 'You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall.'[9] Then to the earth he said, 'You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you.' Whereupon he gave the pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.

Even though she was guilty and knew it, she swore to the powers, 'Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true!'

"That ended the ceremony.

"After a few months Looking For Fun had fainting spells and began to waste away. She was frightened and went to a medicine man for help. He told her to wait to see what his powers offered. After three or four days he came to her and said he believed that the husband's charge was true! The great powers were punishing her. At this she owned up. She told the medicine man she had not confessed because she was afraid of what her husband would do to her. As for the curse, she said she didn't believe in its power and so had lied about it. The medicine man told her that that being the situation, it was too dangerous a matter for him to handle. His power was not strong enough to cope with the sun. He recommended that she take her case to another medicine man who was a specialist in such matters. Looking For Fun was eager and asked her adviser to tell her mother of the situation. The medicine man

[9] Compare this wording with the Crow Indian conditional curse in coup-counting disputes—"It was I struck the enemy. Sun, as you looked down, you saw me. May the one who lies die before winter." R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 217.

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went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor. 627x 688

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[10]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians. 627x 754 684

627x 754 684 522

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

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627 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon
754 of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances
684 of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.
522 "The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and
[558] begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

606 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propi-
581 tiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title
562 to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

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absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture. 627x

Papitsoin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so." [602]

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech. 627x 789

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers. [522]

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the 627x 684

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches. [171]

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

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×627 684 tongues were collected and roasted by the women. When they were cooked and taken from the fire to be cleaned, men and women lined up and started dancing. When they stopped, all was ready. Then a war leader called for a virtuous woman to come forth to cut the tongue—not a virgin, but a wife who had never betrayed her husband. The leader warned the husbands that if their wives stepped forward and were disqualified they must not get angry or punish them.

The men were in one group; the women in another. There was silence and embarrassment when the call to come forward was given. At last one bolder than the rest stepped out. From the group of men could come an anonymous voice. "Go back!" It would be the command of a secret lover. The woman obeyed, for the leader had announced that if any unfaithful wife was permitted to cut the tongue, she would die. One woman after another would make the try and be sent back by her lovers, until finally one came forth who stood the test. To her the knife was given; she cut the tongue amidst the "*li-li-li-li*" (cry of applause) of the other women. One [726] informant said that this ceremony was used to bring success to a large war party before it set out. If a virtuous woman did the cutting, success was theirs. If an unfaithful wife were to do it, they would meet disaster. As she interpreted it, lovers revealed their secrets because it was their duty to safeguard their fellow-warriors' lives. Because it was a religious ceremony under the patronage of the supernatural, women were safe from their husbands when their lovers told on them. No one ever heard of a husband molesting his wife for being found out in this test.

×627 To complete the record of the supernatural relations to evidence and law an account of oaths as used by the Comanches in certain non-litigational situations is needed.

Among the Comanches unwitnessed deeds had to be verified by a simple ritual *ex parte* statement (akin to affidavit) before they were first recounted publicly. When a lone scout returned from his reconnaissance, he rode into the camp and scattered a pile of buffalo chips which the waiting warriors had placed before them. This guaranteed the truth of his statements. If the scout had killed a man, he rode directly to the pile and ran his spear through a chip for each man killed. With each chip speared, he cried, "*ahé*" ("I have claimed it.")

A Comanche adventure with the Utes shows the efficacy of the buffalo chip ritual (accompanied, here too, by tangible evidence), for even in the face of some skepticism, the story had to be accepted on the basis of the manure test (and the horse and woman taken). The Victory Dance was even given to celebrate the feat.

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Case 32. Coup Substantiated by Oath
Informant: That's It

627^
726

"A Comanche band out looking for trouble were closing in on their objective. They had a scout out in front. He climbed a hill and looked about, but didn't see anything. Pretty soon he got sleepy and dismounted. He left his arms on his horse and dozed off.

"Some Utes came along then and made camp just below him. Some of the men came up the hill and saw him there, but they thought he was a Ute. He had some kind of a blanket over his hand, so they couldn't see him. They took their places near him and sat down to smoke.

"Finally the scout woke up and heard some talking. He peeked out and saw they were Utes. Then he tried to figure out what to do. Just then the young people down below started a deer. The braves on the hill got to their horses and rode after, leaving only some old men behind. Then the Comanche saw what to do. He got up and limped toward the Ute camp. The old men saw him and laughed. Near the camp the scout saw a horse with a deer hoof necklace. He got on and followed the people who were chasing the deer the way he wanted to go. Cutting across, as though to head the deer off, he caught up to a woman who was ahead of the others and nearest the deer. Seizing her bridle-vein, he led her off and took her back to the Comanche camp.

"When a man has such luck they have a special ceremony. The people stand in a circle with a pile of buffalo chips in the middle. The man rides across it and scatters the pile. Then he must tell all from the beginning. The leader of the raid said he was satisfied. They had a captive with no losses, so would turn back. When they got back to the main camp, some of the warriors didn't believe it. But they didn't have any other test. The people gave the Victory Dance."

The Comanches do not seem to have had any oath ritual for settling disputed coup claims as did the Cheyenne and other Plains Indians, even though the Comanche conditional curse resembled the Crow oath in form. No instances of such disputes could be remembered. 627^

Before summary, it may be recalled that the separatism of Comanche law results, as has been pointed out, in several divergent lines of action according to the nature of the offense. In the bargaining procedure there is neither ritual nor any other appeal to supra-social forces. The procedure was a purely legal action of negotiation and settlement.

In summary, ritualistic procedure was used in the procuring of evidence in adultery and sorcery. Procedure based on ritual was of three kinds: (a) conditional curse, (b) divination, (c) oath. Ordeal did not lead to legal procedure. Sunkilling was used to detect and punish adultery, the detection showing in the punishment. In adultery disputes it could be used only on a woman, but has been lately turned back on men who have evoked the sunkilling. The joking ordeal also was used to detect adultery, or any sex inter-

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x 627 course, and though a true ordeal, was nevertheless not used as a legal instrument. In an earlier chapter it was shown how divination was used to detect sorcerers and how the conditional curse sometimes entered the legal process.

The Comanche form of oath was the striking of buffalo chips as a verification of the telling of the truth when recounting *unwitnessed* but not unattested coup. This oath was not used in the processes of legal settlement.

Non-ritualistic methods of obtaining evidence were also used in cases of suspected adultery. These techniques were akin to the third degree and were applied by the husband.

Of all the classes of wrongs which in Comanche society gave rise to civil disputes, only in the treatment of sorcery was a means provided for applying tests of evidence to a male offender. This, however, is not the great deficiency it seems, for as has been pointed out, of the remaining cases, the vast majority revolve about marital problems. In such disputes, evidence could be forced from the woman by the methods described above. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that evidence was only very rudely treated by the Comanche.

ABNORMAL CONDUCT

On a less-than-legal level there are forms of social conduct which are definitely in violation of social norms and yet not viewed in the eyes of a people as behavior that calls for explicit sanctions. Such acts, though disapproved, society is willing to leave to the implicit sanctions of public opinion and the desire of the individual to stand well. The off-the-norm behavior described in this section is of this order. 626

ILLEGITIMACY

Comanche attitudes towards illegitimacy show no vindictiveness, though the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father. Illegitimacy was declared by all informants to have been rare. Premarital sex relations were common enough, and abortion was not unusual, but in case of childbirth it is asserted that the father married the mother willingly. If the father did not come forth voluntarily and his identity was known, the parents of the girl are said to have gone to him with friendly talk to persuade him to marry the daughter. In cases of doubt (multiple possibilities), informants say paternity was determined on the basis of physical resemblance between child and supposed father: or if the child was old enough, it was determined by whom the child chose as its father. It is stated that if the father was not known, the girl was not usually married to another for a long time after the birth of her child, for the father could come and claim his child at any time. The problem-set was not to punish the mother, but to properly provide for the child. 848 [836] [847]

That's It gave a history which is typical of the Comanche attitudes.

Case 33. Illegitimacy
Informant: That's It

"An unmarried woman had a child. She said she would never be able to take care of that child, so she thought she would get rid of it. Accordingly, she took it to a grove and there washed it up and laid it on a bed of sage leaves. Pretty soon a young man came out to tend horses. He found the little baby lying there. He looked at it and picked it up and wrapped it in his blanket. He turned back home with it. Just as he stepped through the door of his tipi the baby cried. The brave's mother, who was there, looked up, 'Did I hear a baby?'

" 'Yes,' said the youth, 'here's my son.'

" 'What a burden!' the mother cried.

"But her son insisted on keeping it, so they took the child to a wet nurse. They gave her presents in payment for feeding the baby. Later on they bought corn meal from the Mexicans to feed it. When the boy was three years old, his father told his mother and father that he wanted to go on the war-path. He was gone for a year.

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848 On the day he came back the little boy's mother wanted to come over to the warrior's tipi. She hesitated three times and couldn't get herself to go. But she came over at breakfast the next morning and called at the tipi. They invited her into the tipi and told her to sit down next to the boy. The girl told the grandmother that she had come to do dishes and clean up everything. She went over and sat down next to the grandmother.

"The people wondered: they asked her how it happened she was visiting them when she had no connection to them. Then she told her story. When she finished she begged to be allowed to stay in any capacity.

"The old man, the grandfather, said, 'Yes, it is good. It is up to the old woman, my wife.'

"The old woman, the grandmother, said, 'Yes, it is all right; it is up to the old man and my son.'

"Then the brave said, 'She will take care of him. It is good. She may stay here with us.'

"The child was named Covered With Sage; that is how they found him."

INCEST

835 626 Incest was forbidden. The tabu applied to parent-child (real and classificatory), brother-sister (real and classificatory) and uncle-niece, aunt-nephew relationships. There was no rationalization of the tabu. It was just there. As Bluefoot observes today, "They did not know about the harm in it. They just didn't want the people to make fun of them for marrying a relative."

"Making fun of them" and ostracism were the only controls used by the Comanches to reprove incest.

One whole band is damned in name because of their reputed incestuousness. Lots of Maggots on The Penis was this band's regular appellation. An alternative sobriquet was Something Together. It is declared that this band is now extinct because of its incestuousness. (This might vaguely imply a supernatural sanction, but more likely this is a reflection of attitudes derived from the whites.) Comanche attitudes towards incest are revealed in the following case.

835 588 *Case 34. Incest*
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"There was a family, father, mother, brother and sister. The children grew up. When the daughter was about twenty-five and very pretty, the family seemed to get separated from the rest of the band. They camped by themselves. It made the mother wonder why they had gotten away from the others. 'It is dangerous to live off by oneself; in case of attack there is no one to help us,' she complained.

"But the son said, 'Be quiet. It is not dangerous.'

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"One day the son left them to visit the main camp. On his return he brought with him a wife—a wife to do the cooking and work for them. His sister wanted to leave them to go live in the main camp where she could go to dances and have friends and meet the young men. But her brother forbade it. This brother was in love with her all the time even though he was married. In time, even though he had a wife, he had a child by his sister. 835 588

"Before it came, his sister had missed four periods, so her mother became suspicious. She waited until she was alone with her daughter to question her. The latter revealed to her, 'It is none other than your son. He came at night to the tipi and lifted it up. I thought it was someone else, until it was too late.' Then the family isolated itself even more and the sister had a baby boy born out on the prairie.

"When this happened the father said to his wife, 'What does this mean? What is it all about?'

"And the mother said, 'Come with me. Let us get wood.' When they were in the woods alone, she said to him, 'I did not want to get wood, I wanted to talk to you alone. Our son has begotten a child by our daughter!'

"Light dawned on the father. 'Now I understand,' he said. 'Now I can see why he has kept us away from the rest of the camp. When other men of my age could meet of an evening and smoke, I could not go. We had to be isolated so he could indulge in that insane thing.' It crushed him and he became ill.

"The son went everywhere looking for a medicine man to doctor his father. But the father merely said, 'There is no need for you to go looking. No doctor can cure me. You have killed me.'

"After he had died the mother said to her son, 'Now, my son, you have brought all this on us. You have committed unheard-of things. I, who have lived long, have never heard its equal. You have caused your father's death. Now you must take your own sister to yourself as wife. I am going back to my people.' She did not go back to her own family, but lived among friends in the main camp. When people asked her why she had come back alone, she only told them that her husband had died and that she had come back to her people. She was still mourning him, and so his relatives came to join her in her grievous wails.

"Three years passed. The brother and sister and his first wife came back to the main camp. The sister was the favorite wife and the other was the chore wife. His father's folks heard they had come back to the camp, so they went to call on them right away. They came to wail with them for the father's death which had occurred three years before. The child was now three years old. 'Whose child is that?' asked one of the aunts. 'Is it yours?' she questioned the chore wife.

" 'No, it is hers,' pointing to the sister.

" 'Is he—her brother—married to her?'

" 'Yes, he has taken her to wife.'

" 'This is unheard of,' the aunt cried. 'It is insane. Since he has taken his sister as wife, I suppose he will take me too. I am not coming to see you any more. You are living so disgracefully, I cannot come any more.' During this whole time the brother and sister said never a word.

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835 588 "They stayed right on in camp. The brother and sister and chore wife lived together and the child grew up. Some people called on them, but even though they lived in the main camp, they were isolated. People like myself, who knew what was right, thought the brother was crazy. Some men would smoke with him and try to tell him evil would come of it.

"Yet they lived through it all without mishaps and died a ripe, old age."

626 835 588 Here society was completely disarmed by a thick-skinned individual. The barbs of public and familial disapproval did not penetrate. There were no legal shafts to hurl—the deed was neither tort nor crime—he matched his indifference against society's impotence—and won.

There were other cases. Red Youth married his sister's daughter. Though he was much older than she, they were married and lived together for years. People called it ajakwɜ'ɜtɜn, niece-uncle marriage, in a sneering way.

In another marriage of this sort, Pointing To The Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet. His sister, Takes Two Scalps refused to call him "son-in-law." She always called him "elder brother": it was as though he were not married to her daughter. People always made it a point, however, to refer to him as her son-in-law. *They* were not going to let it pass.

In all these cases the male was the incestuous aggressor. Such men were referred to as crazy (pɔ'sa). They did not care for the delicacies of convention.

835 There is a mythological tragedy, however, in which the sister was the aggressor. The boy reacted heroically. He is held up as the ideal to Comanche children: his sister is given them as the example of what comes of shamelessness.

This boy was old enough to have his separate tipi. His sister slept in the big tipi with the parents just as was usually done. One night a girl slipped into the tipi of the youth and lay with him. He did not know who it was in the dark. He was curious, so he marked her dress down the back with paint while they were together.

The next day he went over to where the women were playing shinny to look for his mark. His sister had the mark on her dress! The boy was ashamed; but he did not say anything. He just went away and cut a short double-pointed dogwood spear and took it with him to bed that night. Again his sister came and lay with him as before. Just as they pressed themselves together, he shoved the spear between their breasts. It pierced them both. In the morning the parents came to see why the boy did not come out. They found them dead. The mother was so angry with the shameless daughter that she cut and slashed the body of the girl all to pieces.

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RAPE

Rape was an act beyond the pale of normal conduct. It, too, was of infrequent occurrence and not part of the general pattern. Sex relations were so free that there seems to have been little cause for rape. 839

Case 35. Rape: Blow it Away
Informant: Holding Her Sunshade

"Blow It Away was a chronic offender. He was not favored by the women and was generally avoided by them. He made up for this by attempting surreptitious night unions with women in their tipis. He would sneak in and try to arouse them to desire. He never had much success. Then, too, he would attempt to rape such women as he found alone away from the camp. These attacks he would make in the daytime and in these he was usually successful. No one ever caught him attacking a married woman, so he was never called to account by a husband. But one night he tried his night-stealing on a large married woman and she broke him. 684

"The woman awoke to find Blow It Away feeling her. She struggled with him; then she got him down. Holding him to the ground, she ripped his breech clout from his loins and grabbed his penis. She was starting to drag him from the tipi when her son awoke and saw them. Her boy begged her not to do that to the man, but the mother was going to teach that nuisance a lesson. Holding him as she had him, she dragged Blow It Away through the door out into the open spaces between the tipis where all the people could see him.

"This was the first time anyone took action against him. It was the last time he tried to force himself on a woman."

This is shaming par excellence, plus a very painful conditioning.

Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. Thus, it was out of the category of abnormal conduct. 836

THEFT

Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently it must fall into the vague class of unapproved abnormal acts which were outside the scope of law. One informant after another avowed that it never happened within the tribe. No clear cut cases of theft under aboriginal conditions were recorded. 685

GRAVE ROBBERY

In recent years the Comanches have been considerably annoyed by ghouls. The ancient custom of burying a person's individual belongings with him and of throwing articles of value into the grave with the body persists today. Predatory whites have been given to exhuming bodies to strip them of whatever valuables might be found. The grave of the son of a certain rich

685 Indian is said to have been opened at least a half dozen times. Attention is naturally directed to the possibility of grave robbery among the Indians before the depredations of the white man. Here again inquiry was met with denial, until one instance was finally related by Slope.

Case 36. Grave Robbery
Informant: Slope

"A wealthy man was in a cave. His body was dressed in his best clothes; and when he had been laid in the cave, the opening was closed up with rocks. The mourners went away down the hill toward the camp.

"As soon as they were out of sight, a tákapa (poor man), who had hidden nearby, came out and removed the upper rocks from the opening. Putting his hand in, he felt of the man's beaver-wrapped hair, and his silver ear-rings. The fresh air brought the dead man to life and he caught the hands of the marauder. So frightened was the youth that he uttered a piercing cry and struggled to get away. But the man spoke to him and begged him to get some water for him to drink. He asked the poor boy to run and tell the departing relatives that he was alive, and said he would give the youth anything he wanted.

"The boy set off at a run to tell the mourners what he had seen. When he caught up with them, he confessed his attempt to rob the grave and what had happened to him. They immediately turned about and went back to the cave. There they found their relative revived as the boy had said. They took away the rest of the rocks and gave him a drink of water. In gratitude to the poor boy, they forgave him for his act and gave him the good clothes which the man had been buried in and four horses."

It is evident enough that the robbing of graves was not in the category of usual forms of misconduct. Apparently no particular pattern of attitudes was worked out as to how to treat such violators; there was no need. The one case cited could easily have been otherwise handled if it had not resulted in the saving of the life of the "dead" man. One suspects that it may be more legendary than factual.

SUICIDE

Suicide because of an overwhelming sense of shame was a definite 762 Comanche pattern.

"When I was about fourteen years old I saw a woman who was either sick or pregnant hang herself," said Post Oak Jim. "She was ashamed of having a child when she was so old. She would stay away from camp all day. Finally she hung herself." And again, "Once there was a man who was whipping a horse in the face. The horse dodged, and he struck himself

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across the face with his quirt. He'd never been whipped. He got to thinking about it, so he got out his gun and shot himself. The people didn't know why he did it, and suggested things out of the way. Sometimes when Indians go on a raid they catch a disease and commit suicide because they don't want to go back that way. This man was a brave warrior; he had killed lots of enemies; he had power." 762

Among the Comanches a sense of the injustice of a formally justifiable act at times took the form of a protest-suicide. Or perhaps it might be released in some retaliatory act, such as killing a favorite horse or mutilating the good-looking sister of the man who had pushed the law too far. A boyhood prank of Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man produced these double repercussions of incensed reactions to an over-strict legal settlement. 681 762

Case 37. Adultery and Retaliations
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man

684 882 689

"I was down by the creek one day with a friend when a woman came down for water. She was the sister of my friend's step-mother. I proposed that we seek intercourse with her. My friend agreed. So I went over to make the proposition to the woman. She was quite willing, provided that we would wait until she had taken the bucket of water back to camp. On her return I met her first, as I had demanded the first chance. While we were together there, her sister (my friend's step-mother) saw us, but she slipped quietly into the brush and said nothing. When my friend had his turn, his step-mother again spied and saw them together. She went right away to her sister's husband and informed him of his wife's doings with us.

"The man came to my father's tipi. He told him what had happened. 'What do you intend to do about it?' he asked my father.

"We were called in and he blamed us both with adultery. I denied any contact with the wife, but when my friend was charged he boasted, 'Sure I did it. It's an honor to be able to do such a thing as that.' The husband demanded damages, and when he received two good horses from my father, he departed satisfied.

"Then my elder brother came home from a raid and heard that two horses had been given because of our activity. He was angry. He took his bow and arrow and shot two horses dead in the herd of the woman's husband.

"Nothing further happened at that time. But then the younger brother of the husband came back from a raid and heard the story. He was angry that the two horses had been shot. Thinking that his older brother had been ill-treated all around, he went over and cut off the nose of my friend's beautiful sister.'

The whole difficulty generated from the fact that the wrong-doers were youths. Adultery does give cause for suit for damages, but boys were always in a favored position and indulgence should have been shown them.

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684 Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man denied his guilt and nothing happened.
882 The other boy boasted, aggravating the situation. The elder brother, how-
689 ever, would not be imposed upon. To him it was lack of good taste and fairness for the old man to take two horses; hence his summary retaliation. The collaterals to the other party reacted in turn to this action as indecently harsh. They retaliated with mutilation of the sister. This last retaliation should not be confused with the principle of group liability (i.e., that the sister paid because she shared the responsibility). It was rather that the sister belonged to the brother and, as a good-looking girl, had value to him. Spoiling her visage was like mutilating his horse (possibly more so).

689 So too in the murder case (pp. 66–67 above) in which a war leader was slain for killing the two fat horses which had been offered him in compensation for one fat horse of his which had been eaten without his permission. The horses were his by acknowledged agreement. But that the chief should so scornfully kill them was too much for the other party. It was an insult to a man who had sought to do right. Though the killing was undertaken by one man and his captive, yet the entire group acquiesced, making no effort to dissuade him. Their inaction showed at least passive approval.

It appears that one should not press his bald legal rights too far. Too much pressure under the wrong circumstances generated the same type of back-fire which in recent decades has troubled modern Continental lawyers with the concept of "abuse of rights."

689 The sharpest back-fire in such situations was in protest-suicide. Witness
762 the action of a disowned mother, who was rightfully denied by the son she had deserted.

Case 38. Suicide
Informant: That's It

"This woman was widowed with her four-year-old son. The band was moving camp and she had her boy tied in his little saddle on a pony. They were straggling along so much that they dropped behind the other people. A young man dropped back and proposed to the mother that they run off and marry. She agreed to that. But they did not want to be bothered with the child, so they tied his horse to a tree in the midst of a grove and left him there to starve.

"Later on some hunters, who were out after a bob-cat, came to the grove. One hunter said to the others, 'There's a horse standing over there.' The group went into the grove and saw the boy sleeping. They watched him. Some said they should wake him up. They woke him up and asked about his mother. He didn't know, but he told them the direction she had gone. The hunters followed the trail and came up to the main band. The mother was not there, so the boy was taken by his grandfather and raised to manhood, and got married.

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"One night his mother came back to the band. She went right into her son's tipi 689
and shook his arm. She told him to get up and get some bison before they moved 762
camp, because the people were going to a place where buffalo were scarce.

"The young man woke up and looked at her. He said, 'Did you call me "son"?' 'No,' he replied to her avowal, 'I have no mother. You tell me you're my mother. You don't know what you are talking about. Go away!'

"His mother uttered a groan and went back to her own tipi. Then she went out. She went down by the creek to a tree and threw a raw-hide rope over a branch. She stood on a log and put the rope about her neck. After that she kicked the log out into the stream and hung herself.

"The body was discovered by some hunters. All the people ran down there to cut her down and they buried her not far from the creek. The brother of the dead woman was angry. He said he would kill his nephew's wife. He said she must have had something to do with it; otherwise it would not have happened. But the young man and his wife ran away. They stayed with some other people until the trouble was forgotten."

Here again the son was legally right, for his mother had given up proper claim to him. For that in itself the son was not blamed. And yet to cause her such anguish that she committed suicide was going too far. In the uncle's thinking the son would not have done that of his own volition; his hussy of [157]
a wife must have urged him to it! The forgetting of the trouble, by lapse of [152]
time, shows the role of momentary passion, such as grief, or outraged dignity, in a hot-tempered people.

Nor should we fail to include the seeking of death in flaming glory on the battlefield, sought with reckless abandon by men whose honor was stained or whose failing constitutions held out the prospect of death on the sick-bed. These, too, were suicide: but suicide turned to public benefit.

Case 39. Suicide
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Among the Yep-Eaters were two brothers: they were Thunder and Rocky Creek. They grew up together and never quarrelled. When they were yet young men their last remaining relatives died, leaving them alone. They were single men.

"Then came the time when Rocky Creek eloped with Eat Something; he took her on the war-path, for she was married to an old man. His brother was with him in this venture. But then they returned, Rocky Creek let her go; because she was a mean woman he did not want her.

"These brothers had a sister, Breaks Wind While Sitting, who was married. When they returned from the war-path they went to visit her.[1] Their brother-in-law,

[1] The rules of avoidance lapse when brother and sister have been married.

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684 762 who had been out hunting, returned with meat at the same time they arrived in camp. The next morning at breakfast both Rocky Creek and Thunder asked their sister to add some more fat to their meat. 'I did not endanger my life on the hunt in order that you should enjoy the best of it all,' their brother-in-law muttered. When he said this mean thing, Thunder pushed his meat aside.

" 'Sister,' he requested, 'take this food away.' She obeyed him. The brothers washed their hands; Thunder motioned to the door, 'Come,' he said to Rocky Creek, 'let us go outside.'

"They left the camp to go up into the mountains; there they stayed all day even though it was winter. Towards evening another young man came along. He hailed them. 'What is the meaning of this? Why are you here? I know you have been here since early morning.'

"Thunder answered him, 'We are just thinking things over.'

" 'What things?' the stranger asked.

" 'I have no father or mother,' Thunder replied. 'There is only one thing left for me. Tomorrow I start out to seek death.'

" 'Where then?'

" 'In the white man's territory. I shall probably not return from there either.'

"The stranger said he would join them.

"As they started slowly on their way, they were met by several others in the same plight—young men without a place to go—tákapana. They travelled for days and days. Then they were being trailed by some soldiers who were led by an Indian scout. The young men stopped and killed some cattle for meat which they carried into a ravine to cook. Just as they sat ready to eat, one saw a cloud of dust. 'It is a whirlwind, I think,' he remarked to the others.

" 'No,' said another. 'It is the soldiers on our trail.'

"Thunder spoke up then. 'Listen to me, brothers,' he commanded. 'Those of you who care to can still escape. Go now! I stay here. Here by this fire, for I have come seeking this very thing.'

"They waited. The soldiers were upon them. Here and there a man was picked off as the firing began. Rocky Creek approached his brother. 'I am shot,' he said. 'A bullet has wounded me.'

" 'You can still escape. There is a way out down the creek. Go! But I am staying.'

" 'Brother, come with me,' Rocky Creek pleaded.

"Thunder only answered, 'I am not leaving our fire.' The guns rattled on.

"By noon all the tákapana save one were dead. The firing ceased. Of all the young men this one alone lived to tell the story of what had happened to this homeless group.

"The brother-in-law who had begrudged food to his wife's brothers was an exception. When he acted so, it wounded their prides so that they went out to seek death. Many young men in the same circumstances courted death at enemy hands."

[558] So, too, did lovers who had lost face when a braver husband forced them to give up a stolen woman. Cases will be remembered from previous sections.

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Here, as in the Trobriands, we find suicide "a means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior."[2] 762

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 98.

Professor Malinowski emphasizes another aspect of the situation which Professor Karl Llewellyn feels is not justified by the Melanesian data thus far at hand. The whole of the quotation cited above reads, "Thus suicide, like sorcery, is a means of keeping the natives to a strict observance of the law, or means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior." Llewellyn observes that the Trobriand data show not that suicide is a method of enforcing the *law*, but more likely that it is a method of protest *against* a too strict insistence upon the letter of the law—even as in Comanche society. But Malinowski's point holds for many cultures. Compare "fasting on a man" in ancient Ireland, revived in the modern hunger-strike. Devotion-suicide (as of the widow in ancient India) may merge into one institution with shame-suicide (as in old Japan), and in both phases run free either of protest or of effort at enforcement of rights or vengeance for wrongs. In our own civilization threatened suicide is sometimes met as pressure in love-matters; but the claims sought to be enforced are rarely "legal," even in the sense of primitive law. On the contrary, the pressure may be in every sense an illegal aggression. The act itself is almost without cultural meaning; only its context gives it color. 121

PROPERTY, INHERITANCE AND CONTRACT

421 Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics the institutions of land tenure, disposition and inheritance, the treatment of chattels and the obligations of contract make up the better half of the material about which law centers. Or, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown writes, "With us one of the most important aspects of succession is the transmission of property by inheritance." But the study of Comanche practice offers little of note on this phase of the subject. For as Radcliffe-Brown continues, "Yet in some of the simplest societies this is a matter of almost no significance at all. In an Australian tribe, for example, a man possesses a few weapons, tools, utensils, and personal ornaments, things of little value or permanence. On his death some of them may be destroyed, others may be distributed among his relatives and friends. But their disposal is of so little importance, unless in relation to ritual, that it is often difficult to find any rules of customary procedure."[1]

If this statement had been written for the Comanches, it could scarcely have been more apt.

LAND TENURE

423 The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly nor communally. One may merely speak of land as having been communally occupied. The possibility of dividing hunting grounds or seed patches by families as was done among the northeastern Algonkians[2] was not considered, for as Schoolcraft wrote of the Comanches, "No dispute ever arises between the tribes (bands) with regard to their hunting grounds, the whole being held in common."[3] Within the tribe, therefore, land tenure was infer-
[648] tile soil for legal conflict. Trespass by persons of enemy tribes meant death, unless it was a woman whom they cared to take as a captive, or unless the warrior escaped by display of cunning or bravery. "Friendlies" could visit with impunity and partake of Comanche game without danger.

CHATTELS

422 Wealth for the Comanche centered largely in horses. The economics of horse ownership has been discussed above (pp. 14–15).

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[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession* (Iowa Law Review, Vol. XX), pp. 286 ff.

[2] F. G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories* (Canadian Geological Survey, Memoir 70, 1915).

[3] Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes, etc.*, Vol. 2, p. 131.

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In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections. 422 562

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of private property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride. 422 231

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself. 672 231

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make 574 224

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574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[727] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
422 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the
586 husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
428 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) perso-*
768 *nal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

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been done away with from intercourse with the more civilized Indians. . . ."[4] 428
Further, even the tipi in which the dead person, man or woman, lived was 768
totally destroyed; also for a child, but not for a baby. Articles of intimate personal usage were buried with the corpse. Other less important articles were burned. Possessions with medicine powers were either destroyed by throwing them into the river, or by placing them in an unfrequented tree where they could rot.

Claimants for any surplus property were the relatives, close friends 428
of the deceased and fellow tribesmen who came to mourn—especially those who mourned with enthusiasm. Superficially there seems to be no consistency in the Comanche rules of disposal—as to whether goods went to wife, to children, to brothers, or were given to non-relatives. The key is in the recognition of a plurality of levels of legal and customary claims.

First, the surplus property by "law" (presumably law, but its reliability could not be tested to determine enforcement) went to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. Thus Itoβits said that a wife would "probably" inherit the property, and if her mother-in-law still lived, she might divide with her. Where the marriage had been polygamous, Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man stated, "Only those wives who had had children by the deceased husband may inherit from him; the first wife administers the distribution." That's It offered that a wife could not keep all the property for herself. "If she tried to, her husband's friends would make trouble."

The first outside claim could be that of the deceased husbands' best friend. He was privileged to ask for the favorite horse: refusal reputedly never occurred. But this was not a cut-in on the widow's property, because if the horse was not given to the intimate friend as a keep-sake, it was invariably slaughtered at the grave. In no event did it enure to the widow. By pre-death testament a man occasionally expressed the desire that his [763]
horse be given to a specified friend, rather than be slaughtered.

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could estab- 428
lish an obligatory claim in two ways. By providing a suit of clothes or add- 626
ing property of their own to the goods buried with the person, they imposed upon the survivors an obligation to share the estate. Visitors mourned and mourned until they were given sufficient gifts to stop them. This was an irresistible pressure from without.

Within the group of heirs, after the wife, surplus horses went to the 428
"father, mother, brothers, and all other relatives according to the degree of

[4] Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes, etc.*, vol. 2, p. 133.

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428 relationship." The maternal uncle had prior claim over the paternal.

However, the right to inherit must have meant very little when balanced against it were the exacting requirements of customary mourning. Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of a dead man gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that from the estate. The [762] burial of a suicide-mother in the Yep Eaters band was in this pattern. The mother hanged herself because her son called her a bitch for not doing for him what his wife should have done. When the body was brought in by her 428 elder sister and father, they laid out a large buffalo rug over a thong. Then, 764 "on this they put all the pretty, fine things the *family* owned. They dressed the dead woman in all her finery, painted her face, combed and plaited her hair, painting the scalp red up the part. They covered her arms from wrist to elbow with silver bracelets. They put on her finest moccasins with silver dollar trimmings. She wore two beautiful belts with handsomely trimmed possible pouches, and so forth. The women dressed her body. (A man dressed a man's.) Her father sat at her head, calling on all her relatives and friends to take their last look. There was a big crowd gathered outside. 'We are going to throw her away. She is going to live in the ground,' he cried. After the people had seen her, they folded the blankets over her, folding in all the fine, pretty things; then they wound the thong about it.

"During this time the women wailed. They tore their dresses off, leaving only skin aprons to cover their mid-region. They hacked at their arms and legs and face. Some cut off an ear. The men cut their flesh, too. This was done by her immediate kin and close friends.

"They brought her horse then with its own saddle. Across it, they threw her body. They put their finest silver-mounted bridle on the horse. They all mounted their horses, and the sister led the funeral horse to a natural cave in the mountains. They put her in it with her saddle. Then they killed her mount.

"When they came back—there was her tipi where she had lived with her father. Back of it was her son's tipi. They put all their belongings inside and burned them. They had *nothing* left."[8]

When people so made themselves destitute, they were on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went afoot on a raid to get horses and start life anew.

428 In situations where the family did not spontaneously go as far as did this 626 last one, the public pressure of mourners *forced* them to further giving. 765

[8] The quotations are from Talker, recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.

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Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. "... in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp 297–298. 177

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428 183 *Case 40a. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping*
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man

"Before his death, A Big Fall By Tripping had made an announcement stating his desire that his best horses were to be slain with the arrows which he had in his three quivers. There were one hundred arrows in each. (Indeed, a wealthy man.) The remaining horses were to be divided up among the tribesmen. This order was executed by the tribe's best marksmen under the direction of a peace chief. Three hundred of the best were slain."

Case 40b. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: That's It

"A Big Fall By Tripping made no announcement whatever of testamentary desire. After his death the chief decided that the herd was too large for a woman to handle, so he set the warriors to slaying the horses. They worked at this until all the ammunition ran out. Still there were five hundred horses left. The chief thought it over then and decided that the woman could handle one hundred head without trouble. They picked out the gentler ones for her. Then the dead man's best friend took one hundred too. The chief asked the widow what she would like to have done with the rest, advising that it was good to give them to the husband's best friends. It was done in this way, with the mother and the grandfather of the most intimate friend of the old man coming in for a share too. The horse which had been used to carry the man's travois was buried in the grave with him."

Case 40c. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: She Invites Her Relatives

"The dead man's nephew rounded up the horses and started killing them. He was engaged in this when four disinterested men came to him and told him not to kill all of them. They told him to give the remaining horses to his own children and his friends. He decided to do as they suggested."

Case 40d. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: Talker

"There was an only child, a favorite daughter. Three nephews, Echo Of A Wolf's Howl, Little Crow and Old Weathered Tree, also survived him. They hated their 'sister' out of jealousy for her favored position during the fat man's lifetime. Because these men were her 'elder brothers,' they could control the disposition of the estate. They each selected forty or fifty good horses and shot the rest so that there would be none left for her. They killed so many that they lay in the meadow like so many shocks of wheat. They used their superior status to get even with her and she had no redress. If they had not been mean to her, they would have asked her to take some of the horses because her father would not have wanted her to be poor."

When confronted with such a situation as this the only sound interpretation the investigator can make is that inheritance rules were so uncertain

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that there was no commonly accepted formula to which retailers of the story could hold fast. Without this unconscious prompter of memory, the truth was soon dissipated and the event is described according to individual notions. 428 183

CONTRACT

Rounding out the survey of situations of possible legal significance, attention must be given to the phenomenon of contract wherein a party or parties assumed a definite, but limited, obligation by virtue of agreement. These obligations are not to be confused with such status-obligations as sharing food with one's father-in-law. These latter may be entered upon by acts of agreement such as marriage, but once entered upon they were social and legal duties inherent in the new relations and carried on indefinitely. Standing economic obligations of a reciprocal nature are not "contractual" in nature. Contract is a specific obligation undertaken at a specific time; the contractual arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. 675

In addition to the transfer of medicine powers and the payment of goods to settle a grievance there were other contract situations involving the rendering of personal services. Of these the most usual was curing; the next most important was the undertaking of responsibility to lead a revenge war party. A third was occult prophecy, or seer-seeing. And a fourth was sorcery for hire, or putting the enemy of another person on the spot through evil use of medicine powers. The last is not substantiated by any case material, but was attested by informants. Saddle and arrow making, if done on order, would also come under this heading.

In seeking a medicine man to perform a cure, there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The proposal and acceptance followed an institutionalized pattern which marked the occasion ceremonially as one of significance. In the first place, it was well to use a "political lawyer" to get the thing done, especially so, if the practitioner sought was a well known medicine man. A friend of the medicine man was known throughout the band as the best person to send to the doctor. The doctor would listen to him with willing ears. The petitioner was also familiar with the ways in which the medicine man liked to have the smoke handed to him and could make the petition smooth in many ways. Such intermediaries received their compensation not from the sick person, but from the doctor, as a share in the gifts received by him.[8] 675 756

[8] The use of a pipe lighting assistant is of limited Shoshonean distribution. Cf. W. S. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Chicago, 1938), p. 127.

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675 The go-between went to the doctor carrying in the right hand the loaded
756 pipe or rolled cigarette. Before speaking, the emissary lighted the tobacco and puffed a few puffs. Then he told the medicine man what was wanted. Sometimes he added what might be expected in the way of gifts. Then, if he knew the ways of the medicine man, he proffered the smoke. If not, he first asked the medicine man how he would like the pipe handed to him. The medicine man was not universally obliged to accept. But some medicines required acceptance of a commission if the emissaries did certain things. Thus with Break Something, if the emissary circled his tipi to the left before entering, he was bound to accept. But usually a medicine man, if he thought the case too much for him or was not interested, refused to accept the smoke. The acceptance of the proffered smoke bound the contract, and the medicine man set out with the emissary to visit the patient. A curing contract was for four treatments to be given in two days. If at the end of two days the patient were not completely well, continuation for another two days' cure could be arranged, or the doctor withdrew to make way for another practitioner.

Break Something told how a practicing medicine man in an impasse called in consulting specialists. Break Something's medicine enabled him to specialize in pneumonia cases. One medicine man, after two days without success, sent his wife to get Break Something. He went and found the other medicine man waiting with the cigarette. This doctor told Break Something he would like his help in this pneumonia case. He took the smoke. "When medicine men smoked together they were as one doctor." They doctored for two days; first the one medicine man, then Break Something. The patient was cured. But there was no fee-splitting. All pay went to the first doctor. All Break Something got tangibly and immediately was the smoke. However, they had an agreement after that that Break Something could call on the other doctor for assistance at any time if he needed him.

The Comanches aver that medicine men who undertook a cure got paid regardless of the outcome, providing a fee had been agreed upon. But there was at least one exception in fact. Went To See His Son was called upon to doctor a sick man. He performed his cure for two days; the patient got well; the relatives were happy, so they gave Went To See His Son a fine horse. Then the patient died. The horse was a good one and Went To See His Son was running it in races. Then a relative of the defunct patient came and said he wanted the horse back. Obviously, he said, Went To See His Son had not cured the deceased, so he had no right to the horse. But the doctor was fond of the horse and said he was going to keep it; so the relative pulled his pistol and shot the horse dead. Went To See His Son was sorry to lose

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the horse, but he didn't do anything. Apparently he did not believe he had an established right to his horse, or we should have seen a more typical Comanche reaction to the killing. 675 756

Nevertheless, when no fee had been indicated in advance, Comanche doctors were happy to receive gifts. But the true professional spirit prevailed, for it is said that if people were too poor to give gifts, it was of little concern to the medicine man. "He was glad to help out." But who knows perfection? Some medicine men hid when they thought they were going to be called upon for charity. However, if a female relative of a sick pauper asked the wife of a desired medicine man where the doctor might be, she she was "custom-bound" to tell.

While women were a nuisance in this way, medicine men had another way with others of them. A doctor could dream that if a certain woman came to ask for his help, the sick person would surely get well, providing the woman did his bidding during the cure. This is reputed to have been a not uncommon practice. Some of the more unscrupulous practitioners used it as a ruse to seduce reluctant women of their fancy, we were told. But whether a woman *had* to aid, or what she received for it, could not be determined.

On the other end of the contract, what happened when the promised fee was not given after the cure had been made? The Comanche practitioners were without legal means of restitution.

A Comanche of mean disposition would in native opinion have had recourse to sorcery, "but the honorable medicine man would forget it." Persons who failed to pay explicit fees, however, were the ones the doctors dodged, while the creditor medicine man never again took a case for the defaulters. The result was a normal, but guild-manifestation, of Malinowski's principle of withdrawal of reciprocal services in reprisal for deficiency of conduct.

The sale and transfer of supernatural powers among the Comanches was a form of contract in incorporeal property rights. As between close friends and relatives the offer and acceptance was informal and direct. It was when an ambitious youth yearned to purchase power of a strong medicine man with whom he had no close kinship that more formal steps were taken. First steps were taken by the neophyte's mother. She approached the head wife of the shaman. The woman thought it over. Then she learned from her husband what gifts would be required to satisfy him. These she described in detail to the mother at a later time. Anything within reason could be asked for, for "no matter what it costs them, they are going to have that medicine." 675 756 425

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When the proper gifts had been collected, the boy's father loaded them upon a horse; he led it to the medicine man's lodge and tethered it a short way east of the tipi. Walking about the tipi counterclockwise in ceremonial custom, he passed through the door to be recieved by the shaman. Sitting by the medicine man at the west side of the lodge, the father offered smoke and stated the purpose of his visit. If the medicine man took the smoke it was an acceptance and the deal was closed.

The "sale" of power, it should be added, was not an alienation of the right of the original owner to use it himself. Our closest analogy is the revelation of a trade secret, use of which requires special talent. What the "seller" did was to prepare the neophyte in such a way that the guardian spirit of the medicine man would provide a vision visitation in which the power itself would be bestowed. No mortal could give supernatural power. He could merely lend his influence to lead to a cut-in.

The purchase of medicine was only a start on the road to success for young men. The most potent powers were never shared. Indeed, it was only when a shaman had more than one medicine that he was willing to sell an access to one of them. Then it was always his poorer. The presumable motivation is that prestige rests in rarity.

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CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

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178 been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the
181 establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche.
171 Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[2] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

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[2] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɨkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hɨkandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
I. Communal Organization and Practices				
Bilateral family as preponderant local group.	Regular.	Occasional.	Rare.	Rare.
Cohesive and definite band organization.	Mostly limited to winter villages.	Regular, for the most part.	General.	Ubiquitous.
Tribal organization.	None.	None.	?	Notable consciousness of tribal identity; but no formal tribal organization.
Civil leadership.	Family headman, village headman.	Band peace chief, some with camp crier; family headman for small groups; no juridical authority.	?	Band peace chiefs with camp criers; no juridical authority.
Warfare.	Rare; no institutionalized military pattern.	Unsuccessful simulation of Plains war complex; war leaders; coup and scalp.	Plains type warfare with bravery status; coup and scalp.	Plains military ideal dominant; war chiefs; coup and scalp; bravery status for males.
Horses.	None.	Few.	Numerous.	Multitudinous.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
Communal hunts.	Occasional ritual drives for antelope and rabbits.	Buffalo hunts on the plains with support of allies.	Annual buffalo hunts.	Annual buffalo hunts.
Hunt police.	No police; direction by shaman.	Special police organized for the occasion.	Organized police, becoming permanent in two military fraternities.	No police.
II. Offenses with "legal" sanctions.				
Public delicts, "crimes."	None (?).	1) Cannibalism. 2) Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Excessive sorcery.
Private delicts, "wrongs."	1) Abduction of females. 2) Homicide (?).	1) Gang rape. 2) Adultery. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide.	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide (?).	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Violation of levirate. 4) Sorcery. 5) Killing a favorite horse. 6) Homicide.
III. Procedure and Sanctions in the Law-ways.				
In abduction and gang rape.	Offender runs the gauntlet; or, mass brawls.	Apparently, no institutionalized reactions.	—	—

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In adultery.	?	Either, no action against the male; or else, attempted homicidal attack. Mutilation of the wife by the husband.	Occasional attempt to kill the male offender by sorcery, sometimes no action attempted, other times horses of male offender are killed or mutilated. Female may sometimes be killed or mutilated.	Restituitive damages collected from male offender. Female regularly mutilated, sometimes killed by the husband. "Third degree" and "sun-killing" used to obtain confession.
In wife absconding.	?	Either, no action; or else, attempted homicidal attack on the male offender, the female, or both.	Sometimes no action, otherwise attempt on life of male offender through sorcery or homicidal assault. Occasionally, restituitive damages received in settlement (the wife may be either recovered or released in this event). There is no predictability as to which of the above courses will be followed.	Restituitive damages recovered from male offender; wife may be recovered or released by husband; or, horses of the male offender may be killed or mutilated. Husband may kill or mutilate his wife if he fails to release her.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In sorcery.	?	No sorcery (?).	Counter sorcery.	Aggrieved resorts to counter magic through his own powers or those of a hired shaman. Or, relatives threaten physical violence to the sorcerer, in which case he may resort to the conditional curse.
In killing of a favorite horse.	—	?	?	Probable retaliation on horses of offender. Possible mutilation of sister of offender, or homicidal attack on offender.
In homicide.	Retaliation uncertain.	Retaliation uncertain.	Probable retaliation, no continuing feud.	Retaliation on killer; no feud.

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APPENDIX A

NOTES ON THE POLITICAL-JURIDICAL BEHAVIOR OF THE NORTHERN SHOSHONE

Representative of the Northern Shoshone are the Bannock Creek Shoshone[1] at Ft. Hall, Idaho. In the middle of the last century they were loosely organized into a band with peace and war chiefs; though given mostly to seed-gathering, they went on buffalo-hunting excursions, and they had some horses. Though less prosperous than the Lemhi and Salmon River Shoshone described by Lewis and Clark, and later by Professor Lowie,[2] in essentials of social life and organization they are similar. 621

The bonds of the Bannock Creek band were not tight. Small camps of bilateral families, each focussed about the leadership of an active male relative, were prone to locate in isolation from time to time, especially if the urge to travel out of the traditional territory within the confines of Bannock Creek laid hold of the family group. For the greater portion of the people, and for the greater part of the year, however, the band moved together as a nomadic unit.

The nominal leader of the band was the peace chief, who was called tégwoni. This can be prosaically translated, "talker," but the word in fact carries a fuller freight of colorful overtones. To the Shoshone mind it means, "good talk thrown out to the people." As public adviser, the Shoshone peace chief was functionally more active than his Comanche counterpart who was partially eclipsed by the war chief. Each morning he delivered an eloquent harangue to his people, always including in it a warning against wastage of food, reminding them that bad times were surely ahead. The main overt social function of the Shoshone band leader seems to have been to act as the consolidator of group will power—to place a check on the powerful desire to gorge when a surplus of food was at hand. More positively, he directed camp movements. This required an intimate knowledge of the botanical characteristics of the band habitat, for the leader was expected to know just when and where the various seeds and nuts would be 622

[1] In previous publications of data from the Bannock Creek Shoshone (American Anthropologist, 37, pp. 370–381, 1935; *ibid.*, 41, pp. 440–457, 1939) I have used the local native name Hɜkandika, or Seed Eaters. Steward has revealed the confusion which results from the practice of using local native names in Shoshone ethnology and has suggested the title Bannock Creek Shoshone for the group I am here reporting. Cf. Julian Steward, *Some Observations On Shoshonean Distributions* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), p. 263. Henceforth, Steward's nomenclature will be followed.

[2] Meriweather Lewis and William Clark, *History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark, 1804–5–6* (2 vols., Chicago, 1902), vol. 1, pp. 450 ff. R. H. Lowie, *Northern Shoshone.*

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622 ready for harvesting. Some band leaders utilized a personal announcer to
[624] harangue for them. Such were known as tégwɔniwʌp, in which the wʌp suffix indicates "specialist." The peace chief was expected to possess the usual qualities of wisdom, gentleness, good humor, kindliness and the ability to command respect for his judgment. His powers were entirely non-coercive and he had no judicial authority.

It may be remembered that no generic etymological significance could be found for the Comanche name for their peace chief—namely, páıaiβo. The Comanche tékniwʌp, war leader, is directly derived from the Shoshone peace chief term, though corrupted in meaning.

624 The war leader institutionalization had also worked into the Shoshone culture. Men who qualified by attaining martial reputations were dubbed náβedink tɛgwɔni, "in fighting, good talk thrown out to the people." Unlike the Comanche, however, the Shoshones were never able to overcome the handicap of their original pacifism, for when the northern tribes of the Plains were receiving fire-arms from the British and French imperialists, these Indians were denied the weapons which might have given them a chance in combat, because the Spaniards with whom they had a limited intercourse, refused them guns on the ground that they "might hurt themselves with them."[3]

701 The feeble Shoshone efforts towards militarization of male behavior
428 were doomed to failure. The coup pattern was aped, but few men could lay claim to coups. The scarcity of coup-making opportunities was so great that the Bannock Creeks improvised an adjustment which probably occurred no where else in America. Only two men were allowed to count coup struck on the same victim, but others could also strike the victim for the future privilege of claiming the coup. When the first two holders of the coups taken on a victim had died and were no longer present to utilize their claims, then the coups counted by those who had struck after them became valid and could be recited. But only two persons at any one time could have a recognized claim to the coups. Thus the coups passed successively down the line of those who had touched the body. A lawyer might in these instances think of an *interest expectant*, after a prior *life-estate*.

701 Lewis and Clark, though they describe the attire of the Lemhi Shoshone
714 warrior in great detail, make no mention of the feathered war bonnet.[4] By the last half of the 19th century, however, the feathered war bonnet was generally affected by Shoshones in eastern Idaho. It bore absolutely no relation to coups or the wearer's war status, but was instead nothing more

[3] Lewis and Clark, *Expedition*, vol. 1, p. 449.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 456–457.

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It's bear absolutely no relation to coups or the wearer's war status, but was just a nothing more than an expression of the owner's vanity.[5] The war bonnet trait was taken over from the Plains culture without a realization of its function in the war complex.

With personal prestige rating not a matter of great moment for the Shoshone males, a compulsion to take action when victimized by the aggression of a fellow Shoshone was not developed. There was, as will be shone, no predictability as to whether any action would be taken in any Shoshone case. In numerous instances among the Bannock Creek people no issue was made of wife absconding or adultery. White Man's Son, for example, did nothing when a good-looking young shaman ran off with his wife. Or even more striking is the abduction of the wife of Red Son by Weaver. Weaver took the woman over the divide, where they lived for some time among the Wind River Shoshone. Red Son made no attempt to follow them. After eight years, or so, the pair returned to the Snake River. Red Son ignored them, but his son by the erstwhile wife accepted Weaver as his father.

On the other hand, the reaction of the aggrieved husband sometimes turned out to be most violent. The wife of No Testicles deserted him to flee south to the Shoshone in the vicinity of Salt Lake. No Testicles called his friend, Dunking, to go with him. They trailed the fugitives until they spied the smoke of their camp fire. Creeping cautiously upon the camp, they laid an ambush from which they shot down the lover without warning. Leaving the corpse where it fell, they took the woman back to Idaho where she lived tractably with No Testicles for the remainder of her life. No revenge was taken on the two men for the murder.

In another recorded case, the Shoshone known as Indian John took the same course in murdering the stealer of his wife. No revenge was taken on him. Shoshone informants, when they generalize, declare that the relatives of the slain man ought to have revenged his death, but that they were afraid to attempt it. Courage and recklessness, when shown, were likely completely to baffle the unwarlike Shoshone. In a case from the Wind River Shoshone which is well known to the Bannock Creek people, sublimated revenge was sought in feeble ridicule.

The wife of Water Plant was stolen by another Wind River Shoshone, who started for the Snake River riding double with her on his only horse. Water Plant called on his friend, Little Gulping As Though Swallowing Water, to join him in pursuit of the pair. They followed the trail until it led them to the lovers' camp. There they ambushed the absconder as he was

[5] This information as it applies to the Ft. Hall Lemhi Shoshone conflicts with the statement of Steward (*Sociopolitical Groups*, p. 210), who states that the band chief led large war parties and he alone wore an eagle-feather bonnet.

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W 684 butchering a black tailed deer. He was shot in the back without warning. The woman was dispatched in leisure and left to lie beside the body of her lover. The slayers returned directly to Wind River to go about their regular W [682] routine. It was well known what they had done, but their sole reproof was the raillery of the dead man's relatives. "When a man goes hunting," they guyed, "he usually brings something back. Where is all the meat?"

N 684 The type of action indicated in the situations thus far described indicates that the northern Shoshone were inclined to make the defense of of marital rights a matter of individual responsibility, so much so that there was not even a compulsive obligation to blood revenge on the part of the kin group.

N 684 Nevertheless, deadly group brawls could develop from infractions of marital rights.

579 Red Round Object gave the following case:

Bronco and Little Cottontail Rabbit were camping down on the Port Neuf River philandering with a woman. Her husband was out trapping, but when he came back his little son told on his mother. The old man began sharpening his knife. When it was whetted, he stood before his tipi and called over to the two young fellows, who were racing their horses on a hill-top. They came down from the hill and went into his lodge with him because he talked so nicely to them. They palavered inside until suddenly the old man attacked them with his knife. Bronco escaped from the house. Little Cottontail Rabbit was badly cut and was crying for help. Dry Head Of The Penis, Bronco's mother's brother, rode over when he heard the fracas. Little Cottontail and the old man were now fighting outside the tipi. Dry Head Of The Penis called 'nephew' to the old man.[6] The fighting stopped and as the boys stepped back, Dry Head Of The Penis shot from his horse. The old man dropped dead. At the sound of the shot the erring wife burst from the lodge and threw herself into the river. Dry Head Of The Penis rode over to the bank, took aim and killed her [682] too. Her body floated off down stream. Nothing was ever done to Dry Head Of The Penis, though the son of the murdered old man was wont when drunk to threaten to slay his father's killer. But every time he would wilt when the time for action was at hand.

N 684 605 839 171 The abducting of married and unmarried women by a group of cousins, such as was practiced by the western Shoshone, became metamorphized into gang rapings of "loose" women, according to the Idaho practices described by our informants. Several such cases were recorded, but in none of them was there any defense of the girl by her male relatives. Steward[7] describes abduction of married women and their consequent raping by

[6] Men who have shared a woman sexually address each other as "brother." The speaker in this case was uncle to the adulterer, hence the aggrieved husband became his "nephew."

[7] Steward, *Sociopolitical Groups*, pp. 214–215.

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gangs of cousins, who then turned the female over as wife to the one of their number whom they were assisting to acquire a mate. Gang raping of unmarried girls was revealed by the Bannock Creek informants, but not marital abduction in this form. Such techniques were ascribed to the western Shoshone, of whom it was said, "A lone Indian with a good-looking wife would sure have her taken away from him if he visited those Nevada Indians." Northern Shoshones visited no sanctions upon the rapers, according to our information, though Steward writes that free-for-all tussles were engaged in by the abductors and the relatives of the female. 605 684 839 171

There was for the most part little evidence of a juridical mechanism for settling disputes. A condition of *all or none* seems to have prevailed; the outcome appears to have depended upon personal courage and temperament. 627

The payment of damages for settlement of wrongs was emphatically denied by the majority of Shoshones. There is no word for the action in their lexicon. 681

Only two cases of property settlement for wrong could be recorded from the Bannock Creek Shoshone. One arose from the Shoshone equivalent of the Samoan *moetotalo*.[8] Sleep-crawling was done by Shoshone boys who were received in the family tipi of the girl at night while her family slept. Etiquette required only that the lover did not awaken the sleeping members of the household. Darkness and stealth gave reckless youths the chance to steal favors meant for others, a fraudulent wrong, called kwə́hənai (woman +to make). 836

Knocking Over was once caught when betrayed by the girl. He would tell the story of his predicament for the amusement of others after he had become an old man. When he was younger he was said to be ashamed to mention it. 836 684 [522] [888]

There was a girl I was enamoured of, I made up to her all the time, but she would have nothing of me. A couple of times I tried to visit her in the moon hut (menstrual lodge), but there was always an older woman to keep an eye on her. One night I stole into her wickiup and lay beside her. I was excited and happy when she embraced me. "Oh, she has changed. She loves me," I thought.

But she was just getting a good hold on me. All of a sudden she let out a yell, "Here is an evil supernatural thing."

Everybody in the lodge bolted up from his sleep. I staggered to my feet with her clinging to me. Oh, I was excited. I couldn't find the door in order to escape. She hung to me and I just bumped around knocking things over. Finally, I stumbled out, and the girl let me go.

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[8] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928), pp. 93–95.

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836 684 The next morning her uncle came over. I had to give up my best horse to make him satisfied, and I never bothered that girl again.

In the case of J— and G—, which occurred when the two were young men, they were enticed into intercourse by the young wife of an old man. The old man came with a friend to make the following declaration. "My wife has been running after you. I am an old man and she doesn't want me. She wants you. Give me your race horse and you may have her. Decide now! I don't want any quarrel or trouble; just give me the horse." J— sat with his chin down to his chest saying nothing. His aunt, with whom the boys were staying was surprised into saying, "Why, the boys took food down to somebody by the creek."

"Yes", said J—, "she is down there. You go and take her. I don't want her."

It is clear that the old man in this felt he had no right to damages. It was merely his hope to seize upon the opportunity to make a good trade, and perhaps a good riddance.

684 626 Northern Shoshone husbands, like the Comanches, could, and did, cut off the noses of unfaithful wives for adultery, if they were so inclined. It is the theory among these Shoshones that an aggrieved husband was privileged to mutilate the horse of an adulterer by putting out the horse's eyes or cutting its leg tendons. "The adulterer had to accept it." Not a single case of such action could be recorded, however. And the action of the Lemhi Shoshone in a case noted by Lowie which occurred on the Lemhi Reservation about 1900 shows how little reality there was in the privilege. The physically strongest man on the reservation shot the horse of his wife's lover. There was notable general resentment which led to the formation of a "vigilante" gang which mobbed the husband, bound him and delivered him to the Agency Superintendant to be tried before the Indian Court (governmental), which in turn gave him a jail sentence.[9] One suspects that the husband had been doing some general bullying to build up a public resentment which seized the occasion to down the object of its resentment, but that such an occasion should be used as excuse is significant.

627 754 So far as could be determined, the use of medicine powers against a fellow Shoshone was not done. There were no sorcery cases to be obtained and so this fertile field of friction for the Comanches did not exist among the northern Shoshone.

627 Oath, conditional curse, and the joking ordeal were not used by the Shoshone.

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[9] R. H. Lowie, *Northern Shoshone*, p. 209.

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Cannibalism arising from starvation was a Bannock Creek Shoshone obsession. Shoshone folklore shudderingly retails the activities of the dʒɔ'aβits, gigantic cannibal ogres who lived in the Saw Tooth mountains. The fear of actual cannibalism had become a folkloristic anxiety. The possibility of cannibalism is not even mentioned by the Comanches, from whose folklore the dʒɔ'aβits had entirely disappeared, though in other respects the mythology of the Shoshone and Comanche are very much alike. C N 266 713

To the northern Shoshone actual cannibalism was a crime to be punished with death. It was believed that the person who had once tasted human flesh suffered an inordinate craving for more. His skin took on a peculiar hue, so that such persons were altogether dangerous and loathsome. One story is told by the Bannock Creek Shoshone of an occasion when they came upon the deserted camp of another Shoshone group in Utah. Suspiciously, because of the appearance of the camp, they waited before entering the place, until one or two men had scouted it. The scouts found decimated cadavers and human bones in the wickiups, and in the largest they found an emaciated "chief" and his wife gnawing human bodies. These were the sole survivors of a devastating famine. When the scouts reported their gruesome news, there was much excitement amongst the outside Shoshones. They quickly agreed that the pair should be dispatched, and arming themselves with stones, they stormed the grass hut, trampling it down and stoning the hapless cannibals to death. N 266 682 731

The father of Coyote Droppings became a hermit in his later years, living on the banks of the Snake River below the Raft River junction. The notion developed that he was a cannibal, and people talked and talked about him until they finally worked themselves up to decide, "We had better do away with him. He'll eat us up!" Two men were sent down to assassinate him, which they did. Cannibalism was a quasi-crime. N 682 626

Combinations of circumstance led the northern Shoshone to consolidation of governmental and legal practices in one field which actually placed them ahead of the Comanches in this respect. They adopted the Plains Indian practice of policing the buffalo hunts in which they engaged. Hazardous invasions of the plains were generally undertaken in the fall of the year after the main seed and nut crops were in. Then the Bannock Creek Shoshones joined with other bands from the vicinity of Ft. Hall, including the Bannocks, to cross the continental divide into the buffalo country (buffalo had become extinct in Idaho about 1840). On occasion, union was joined with the Nez Perce and Flatheads, to increase their defensive power against the Blackfoot or Crow attacks. Military as well as hunting effectiveness was needful for the success of these ventures. To attain this end a small N 224 625

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Northern Shoshone NR14

N 224 625

number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers táɔkoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

C N [101] 224 625

It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

C N 181

Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

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APPENDIX B

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A. *Comanche* INFORMANTS

1. Herman Bluefoot, ésənap. Born of a captive Mexican father and a full-blood Comanche mother, Herman served as our chief interpreter and go-between. Highly respected for his leadership abilities he was ideal in his role, for he never obtruded his personality upon the informant, but served always as a skilfull transmitter of ideas between Comanches and ourselves. Age 50.[1]
2. Eagle Tail Feather, qwásia. A member of the Those Who Move Often Band. Quiet, responsible and respected, one of the most reliable of Comanche informants, inclined however to resist rapport with whites. Age 56.
3. Slope, náyia. Easy going, genial, a Comanche who sees all life in its humorous aspects. Generously helpful with the information he possesses (except the nature of his secret herbs), with his interest in people and things he was capable of providing much anecdotal material. Of the Those Who Turn Back From Raids band. Age 57.
4. Rhoda Bluefoot. Wife of Herman Bluefoot, daughter of a well-known medicine man and warrier. Too young to have had a great deal of experience in the old culture, most of her information was secondary. Her services were as interpreter when working with woman informants. Age 45 (?).
5. Post Oak Jim, (?). An active, unusually extraverted Comanche with a colorful and notorious history, now a famous Peyote leader and singer. A willing and self-regarding informant, but not too reliable in all respects. Of the Those Who Turn Back From Raids band. Age 64.
6. Kowíno, (?). A Yép Eater. Now deacon of the Mennonite Mission Church, only slightly useful as an informant.
7. Breaks Something, tʃíkoβa. His information centered mostly about his own personal experiences as a medicine man and in damage settlements. A most conscientious informant who provided valuable material. A member of the Antelope band. Age (?).
8. That's It, tasúɹa. One of the finest of all possible informants, unassuming, intelligent and versed with an astounding knowledge of Comanche ways and events. Entirely cooperative and appreciative of the purpose of the study. One of the few surviving members of the Water Horse band. Age 79.

[1] Age is given as of 1933.

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9. Skinny and Wrinkled, tekwítʃi. Interpreter. A Carlyle graduate. Age 45.
10. Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man, tɛ́nɛβɜkə. An obstinate and tantalizing informant, he is the "greatest" of the living Comanches, for he is the sole surviving member of the band of five warriors who stole all the 121 horses from the U. S. Cavalry at Ft. Sill in 1871. Buffalo Eater band. Age 89.
11. Get Your Neighbor, nə́mɜuiβɛtsi. An effective woman informant from the Swift Stingers band, she gave much comprehensive information. Age (?). Her name is also translated as Visits Her Relatives.
12. Holding Her Sunshade, hɜkiyáni. Captured as a seven year old child in a Comanche raid upon her schoolhouse in old Mexico, she has lived through a fantastic life history and at the age of 90 survives with her very active 75 year old daughter, born of a Comanche chief. A capable informant.

A number of other informants were consulted incidentally in the course of the investigation. Those listed above include the persons whose informamation was pertinent to the preparation of this memoir. (Informants used by Dr Mirsky are not included in the above given list.)

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APPENDIX C

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF INDIAN NAMES

(International Phonetics Association Symbols)

Comanches

A Big Fall By Tripping	piáɹɜpsima
Barking Buttocks	wítawɔwɔki
Bay Mare	óhapia
Bone	tsúnip
Been To See His Son	patuáwunikwai
Blow It Away	pɔ'aika
Breaks Something	tʃikova
Brother-in-law	ʈɜ:tɜ:
Brown Robe	ɔ'tiahɜ
Buffalo	ʈásiwɔ
Buffalo Robe	yóniakʌt
Bull Roarer	wɜ'kɜβuβi
Bull Elk	páɹuakum
Carrying Something Under Her Belt	saídja
Chew Up	kútskwip
Cliff	tɜ'panai
Cooks Dried Meat	kúkap
Coals In A Wood Fire	kútu
Crazy Bear	ísawɜɹa
Crowds Somebody	wútsuki
Dry Tipi	pákikani
Eagle Tail Feather	kwásia
Echo Of The Wolf's Howl	ísɛnanika
Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man	ʈénɛβɜkɔ
Grey Flat Lying Object	ésihaβit
Holding For Fun	ʈʌ'sʌtsai
Holding Her Sunshade (Carrying Her Sunshade)	hɜ'kiyani
Little	ʈɜ':ta
Little Medicine	tɜ'βowakʌt
Looking	púnita
Looking For Fun	ʈɜ'sɜtsaponi
Mangey Coat	tásiaβɔkuɹawa

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C
551 Narrow Gut — kóhi
104 No Bed — kápewat
Pepper — tʃíeɹa
Red Young Man — ékawɔkani
Robe On His Back — kwáhiɜa
Rocky Creek — ʈɜ'piwnɜ
Salt Worn Out — ónawia
Short Dress — cítaɹa
She Invites Her Relatives (Gets Her Neighbors) — nɜ'mɜɹuiβɛts
Skinny and Wrinkled — ʈɛ'kwitʃi
That's It — ʈásuɹa
Thunder — pɔ'tsensuap
Touch With A Closed Fist — tɔ'kwia
Tongue — ékon
Traveller's Road — nɔ'βɔik

N *Shoshone*
551 Climber — tɛ'ndoi
104 Coyote Droppings — húgwidʌp
Dunking — tɔ'stagwa
Dry Head Of The Penis — pásakant
Knocking Over — ʈɔ'ani
Little Cottontail Rabbit — ʈáβutsi
Little Gulping As If Swallowing — kúnutsi
Little Old Man — wúwutsi
Lost — wáʃiki
Noseless — múβiwʌt
No Testicles — nɔ'yɔwʌt
Red Son — ɛ'ngaʈua
Red Round Object — ɛngaβɔ'nɛkɔ
Water Plant — paínaitɔ
Whispering Voice — sɔ'yɔkant
White Man's Son — taíβoandua

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APPENDIX D

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/For informal ingroup justice, see Category 116, pp. 51-66, 69-76, 78-79, 85-106 --Analyst/

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Three Years Among the Comanches

THE NARRATIVE OF NELSON LEE THE TEXAS RANGER

Containing a detailed account of his captivity among the Indians, his singular escape through the instrumentality of his watch, and fully illustrating Indian life as it is on the war path and in the camp.

With an Introduction by Walter Prescott Webb

[p. V]

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INTRODUCTION

By Walter Prescott Webb

114 This small book contains the account of the most exciting and adventurous years of Nelson Lee. It was published in 1859, when Sam Houston was governor of Texas, just before Lincoln was elected, when practically the whole American West was still the abode of what Richard Irving Dodge so appropriately called "Our Wild Indians." The adventures which justified Lee in writing the book began when he arrived in Texas in 1840 and ended eighteen years later when he escaped from the Comanche Indians and returned by way of Texas and Havana to his native state of New York, where he arrived on November 10, 1858.

His recollections of this eighteen-year period must have been hot in his memory. He began to tell his tale, and the tale he told convinced his hearers that he was speaking the truth. The world then, as now, had in it those vicarious adventurers who are willing to collect, edit, and publish accounts of hazardous living which they lack the daring to risk. Nelson Lee could talk, but he could not write. The unknown editor says: "The narrative has been recorded, as received from his lips, from day to day, not precisely in his own words, inasmuch as he is not an educated, though an intelligent man, but his history is told substantially as he relates it." Two reasons are given for the literary ven-

[p. vi has no textual material]

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114 ture: Nelson Lee had returned in poverty, "stripped of all he possessed"; and many white people, mainly women, remained in Indian captivity, from which Lee had just escaped. The publicity might at one stroke recoup Nelson Lee's finances and lead to the ransom of the captives. Behind these good reasons was the real one, the simple fact that this scarred-up mariner of the western plains had a story to tell.

The remarkable speed with which the story was put in print intrigues us. Lee says he "arrived in the United States" on November 10, 1858. The preface by the unknown editor bears the date January 1, 1859, the year of the copyright date. This means that the manuscript was completed within less than sixty days after the wanderer landed.

The story falls into two parts. The first part covers the period from 1840 to 1855, the fifteen years that Lee spent in Texas. This long span is treated in eight chapters—really in seven, because the first chapter deals with his early life and gets him to Texas in 1840, at the age of thirty-three. His life there would have justified a book in itself because this man hunted out the places of excitement and put himself in the midst of it repeatedly. He claims to have joined the Texas Rangers under Ewen Cameron, to have been with Ben McCulloch to warn the settlers after the Comanche raid on Linnville in 1840, and to have been present at the Battle of Plum Creek where the Comanches were defeated and the plunder from Linnville was recovered. He went on the Mier Expedition, but fled when the Texans surrendered, swam the Río Grande, and made his way back to San Antonio. In connection with this fiasco, he made his only political comment. He thought President Sam Houston designed the failure of the Mier Expedition and shows himself to have been anti-Houston.

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Introduction

There is little doubt that he served with Ben McCulloch, 114 Jack Hays, and Samuel H. Walker, all famous Texas Rangers. He joined up for the Santa Fé Expedition, but had to give that up on account of illness. He served in Hays' regiment of Texas Rangers for the duration of the Mexican War. In the quiet periods he engaged in Indian fighting and became a trader in horses and cattle.

There is no better description of the life of the Texas Rangers than that given by Nelson Lee. He is sparing of dates and shy of first names of commanders and persons with whom he was not closely associated, but in most instances he convinces the reader that he was there.

The second part of the story is told in seven chapters. It covers a period of three years, from March, 1855, to November, 1858. Lee and six other men formed a "joint company" to drive a herd of horses to California. They hired sixteen American drovers and three Mexican horse breakers, gathered a herd of 395 horses, and set out from San Patricio for California by way of El Paso. Lee gives the full names of each of these men, of whom he was the only survivor. The party crossed the Río Grande, "passing to the left of the river towns." On April 2, the Comanches attacked in the night and killed or captured the entire party. Later they killed all the captives except Nelson Lee, who saved himself by the use of an alarm watch which fascinated the superstitious Indians, particularly the chief. Lee, along with the watch, was subsequently traded to two other chiefs for fabulous quantities of horses and buffalo hides.

It is his account of life among the Indians that makes this book of unique value. The story he tells is absorbing, but the information he conveys about how the Comanches lived before they were affected by the white man is in-

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114 valuable. As an example, he tells how the Indians made a captive safe for the night. They made him lie down on his back with arms and legs outstretched. Each arm and leg was tied with buffalo thongs to stakes so that none could be moved. Two stakes were driven in the ground on either side of his neck, and these were connected with a thong that fit tight across the throat.

Lee finally managed to escape, and, after incredible hardship, made his way into the Mexican settlements and finally back to his own people. It is probable, though not certain, that he spent the years of his captivity in the western part of Mexico.

The little book of 224 pages is now extremely scarce, much sought after by libraries and collectors. Its reprint in the Western Frontier Library will be welcomed by all lovers of such characters as Cabeza de Vaca, Huckleberry Finn, and the Ancient Mariner. They all had this in common: Each made a hard journey and returned home to tell about it.

[pp. xi-xvi, 1-87 not processed]

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X

The Indian dress—Discovery of the watch—Half-past three—It strikes the alarm—Gathering up the plunder—A heart-rending sight—Probable cause of being unexpectedly attacked—The infernal pantomime—Blindfolded and lashed to a mule—Departure of the caravan—The uncomfortable ride—Performances on the tightrope—Tremendous applause—The night encampment—Favorite food of the Comanches—Appearance of the captives—Amusements at supper—Horseflesh hissing hot—Put to bed and tucked up—The captive's night thoughts—Crossing the river in a buffalo skin—The war whoop—Arrival at an Indian village—The wonderful watch—Original doctrines—The war dance—Description of an Indian village.

[27] I soon became aware that the only members of the party who escaped the massacre, which proved to have been bloody as it was sudden, were Thomas Martin, John Stewart, Aikens, and myself. The first two had been secured much in the same manner I was, but Aikens, who was sleeping in a tent, had succeeded in escaping a short distance, and had engaged in a hot scuffle, during which he fired upon his assailants before he was overpowered. The first step taken by the savages, after the confusion had subsided, was to strip us of every particle of apparel, and clothe us in their own fashion of dress, which consisted simply [29] of buckskin leggins, with a hunting shirt of the same material fringed at the bottom, and at the cuffs, and tied in front with strings.

Discovery of the Watch

While they were stripping and dressing me in this manner, one of them picked up my coat and discovered the watch. He seized it with avidity, examined it intently, turning it over and over, immensely pleased, as his countenance plainly indicated, with the singular and pretty bauble. While thus regarding it, the minute hand ticked round to half-past three, when the alarm went off. The utter astonishment of the Indian was beyond description. Holding it out at extreme arm's length, his head thrown back, and staring wildly, he was too much surprised, as it roared and rattled for two minutes, to decide whether it was safest to let it fall to the ground or retain it in his grasp. By the time it ceased, a dozen had gathered round him, looking into each other's faces in silent wonder. The one who held it presently pointed to me, then at the watch, then at the spot where he had found it, speaking at the same time fast and earnestly, informing them, I suppose, that I was the owner of it. Approaching and holding it out to me, they made signs expressive of their desire that I would cause it to repeat the alarm. The idea at once flashed upon my mind, that I might make it serve a useful purpose. They untied my hands—when I accepted it with an air of reverence and adoration, wound it up solemnly, and so regulated it that in a few minutes off it went again, and again was the dusky crowd struck with increased wonder and astonishment. This was repeated frequently, the savages in the meantime holding it to their ears to hear it tick as they had seen me do, when the chief wrapped it carefully and tenderly in his deerskin pouch and placed it in his bosom, not, however, until I had comprehended from their gestures, such as pointing upwards, then at the watch, then at myself, that they regarded it as something supernatural which connected me with the Great Spirit.

Three Years Among the Comanches

727 Their next step was to collect the plunder. In this, they were, indeed, thorough. Not only did they gather up all our buffalo skins, Mexican blankets, rifles and revolvers, culinary utensils, and the like, but the dead bodies were stripped to the last shred, and tied on the backs of their mules. Nothing was left behind. By this time the morning light began to break on the eastern mountains, and preparations were made to depart. Before starting, however, they unbound our feet, conducted us through the camp, pointing out the stark corpses of our butchered comrades, who had lain down to sleep with such light and happy hearts the night before. The scene was awful and heart-rending beyond the imagination of man to conceive. Not satisfied with merely putting them to death, they had cut and hacked the poor, cold bodies in the most brutal and wanton manner; some having their arms and hands chopped off, others emboweled, and still others with their tongues drawn out and sharp sticks thrust through them. They then led us out some three or four hundred yards from the camp and pointed out the dead bodies of the sentinels, thus assuring us that not one of the entire party had escaped. The bodies of the sentinels were lying close together at the south side of a thicket, which suggested to me the probable reason of our being surprised before an alarm was given. The night, as I have said, was chilly, and instead of riding round the camp at proper distances from each other, as was their duty, they had undoubtedly huddled together under the thicket, in order to protect themselves from the cold wind that swept down the valley. In this position the Indians had crept up unperceived through the fog, and dispatched them so suddenly there was no opportunity to make an outcry. Beyond question we had been watched from the mountains ever since our arrival in the

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valley—indeed, I learned as much from them afterwards— 727
so that they had plenty of time to deliberate upon the plan of attack. Before leaving Texas, I had insisted upon taking with me a favorite watch dog, but Aikens was confident he would prove only an annoyance, and I was persuaded, though reluctantly, to leave him behind. Had I adhered to my purpose, his vigilance, peradventure, might have saved us, for though they numbered between two and three hundred, I have no doubt we could have repelled them, had we stood on the defense and been prepared to receive them.

During all the time they were thus exhibiting the result of their savage work, they resorted to every hideous device to inspire us with terror. They would rush toward us with uplifted tomahawks, stained with blood, as if determined to strike, or grasp us by the hair, flourishing their knives around our heads as though intending to take our scalps. So far as I could understand their infernal shouts and pantomime, they sought to tell us that the fate which had overtaken our unfortunate companions not only awaited us, but likewise the whole race of the hated white man. All the dead, without exception, were scalped and the scalps, still fresh, were dangling from their belts.

This sickening and frightful ceremony ended, dressed deerskins were thrown over our heads, drawn down over the face, and tied with a string, closely about the neck. We were thus completely blindfolded, and would soon have suffocated, had not a small hole been cut through the skin, under the nose, and in front of the mouth, sufficient to admit air necessary for respiration. We were then each mounted on a mule over an Indian saddle without stirrups, our hands tied behind us at the wrists, our feet brought as near together as possible under the body of the animal and

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727 firmly lashed. In this situation it was possible for us to roll off sidewise if we pleased, but it was impossible to extricate ourselves from the beasts.

The caravan set forward in the following order: Our drove in advance, with outriders in front, and to the right and left, guarding it in the same manner we had previously; behind the drove rode the warriors, and in their rear came the pack mules, and the mules bearing the prisoners, without bridles, but left to follow at their own leisure and discretion. It is customary, not only with the Indians on such [492] occasions as this, but with Mexican and Texan drovers on a long march, to leave their pack mules free to follow, and never do they stray out of the line or linger many rods behind. Our position, bound as we were, however, was not comfortable. Utterly powerless, so far as guiding the animal was concerned, which, like the wind, wandered where it listed, sometimes pushing and crowding in among the pack mules, sometimes suddenly stopping to take a bite or two of grass, and in that natural and innocent act, throwing us forward on the pommel of the saddle with the impression we were going over his head, the next moment starting suddenly on a sharp trot, throwing us as far backward—our predicament was indeed awkward as it was tormenting. But these were only the light afflictions and trials of the prairie. When our journey came to lead us through strips of timber land, as it often did, then the measure of our tribulation was full, indeed. The first time the thoughtless brute ran under a limb, striking me in the face and knocking me off, or rather turning me round so that my head reversed positions with my feet, the sensation produced was horrible, but practice makes perfect is a true adage, and, in time, habituates a man to almost anything. My frequent repetitions of this performance on the *tightrope*

rendered me an adept in this sort of somersault. There was 727
one consolation attending it, the moment I went over, the mule would invariably stop, and an Indian as invariably run and right me up again.

Unable to see, I was in perpetual suspense. If the mule happened to be traveling at a sharp pace on these occasions, and the branches strong, it became a violent and serious affair, not only to the extent of inflicting great pain, but of endangering life. As it was, my face and breast were sorely bruised, resembling more the appearance of a pugilist returning from some Long Point than the ordinary features of a man. It afterwards afforded the Indians most excellent [522]
sport, a subject for infinite jest, and every performance was treated with "tremenduous applause." No comic actor ever so amused his audience. Indeed, I could tell sometimes from the laughter that would begin to arise that danger was near, and lying close on the mule's neck, escape it. It was aggravating beyond endurance, converting any humbler emotions I might have entertained to those of uncontrollable wrath. If each malediction I bestowed on the high cheek-boned, copper-colored demons, and which came from the bottom of my heart, had possessed the weight of a grain of mustard seed, the whole Comanche nation would have soon been attending to their own torments instead of mine, in another and a hotter world.

About noon of the first day's march, the cavalcade halted, repacked the mules, roasted some venison, and after an hour's delay proceeded on the journey. At dark they again stopped for the night. When permitted to dismount, and the blindfold had been taken from my eyes, I discovered we were in a narrow ravine, a lonely and secluded spot, with high precipitous mountains rising close on either side, and near a large spring which gushed from a rock, the source

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727 of a considerable rivulet. The cords were here unloosed from my wrists; nevertheless, I was pinioned back from the shoulders, leaving my arms so far at liberty, however, that I could raise my hands to my mouth. The drove properly herded, one or two horses were shot, and the meat brought in for supper.

727 I may as well state, in this connection, that horseflesh is 262 the favorite food of a Comanche Indian. They do devour great quantities of venison and buffalo meat, but these are universally considered as greatly inferior to the steaks cut from the carcass of a mustang. The woods and prairies are covered with wild fowl, and the streams abound with delicious trout and other fish, yet none of these are ever made use of as an article of diet.

A fire was now kindled, and the warriors gathered round it, the prisoners in the center. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing and speaking to my fellow captives. Martin was silent and dejected, apparently absorbed in his own reflections, and little disposed to converse. Stewart was nervous and frightened, bewailing his hard fate in tears; but Aikens maintained a cheerful spirit, advising us to keep up our courage and look the matter coolly in the face until the last. While conversing, the Indians were engaged boiling their meat, which they ate without any accompaniment [267] whatever, save water dipped from the spring in buffalo horns; the greensward serving as their table spread, and their fingers as knives and forks. Having satisfied themselves, they now seemed to take into consideration the appetites of their captives.

727 In wandering menageries, the curiosity of civilized assemblages is sometimes excited to see "the animals fed in the presence of the audience." Something of this kind actuated the Comanches on this occasion. At all events, they re-

Horseflesh Hissing Hot

solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double 727
purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves
food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of [291]
leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat,
the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was
necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our 727
feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the 522
meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry
and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my persōn, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, [726]
forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some
fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this 727
space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the
following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

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position that they were as wide apart as possible. Then two other stakes were driven close on either side of the neck, and a strong strip of buffalo hide tied from one to the other, so that it passed under the chin, across the throat. Thus we lay upon our backs, unable to move head, hand, or foot.

I had now tasted nothing, save a little water, for nearly twenty-four hours, yet was not hungry; had undergone hardships rarely endured, yet was not weary; my excited imagination had driven afar off the desire for rest or for refreshment. During the long watches of the night, my brain was busied with ten thousand fancies; but through the maze and shadow of them all, I could not see the remotest prospect of deliverance. I gazed up into the sky —I could gaze nowhere else—and wondered how it was that the good God who dwelt above the stars, omnipotent as He was just, could permit such a wrong as I was suffering to be perpetrated in His sight. Thus the wretched night, without having for one moment closed my eyes, passed off. The warriors, at length, bounding to their feet and preparing with much bustling preparation to commence the adventures of another day, to end—I knew not where.

The second day of the march, about midday, we reached a wide river—(I have since learned it was the upper Río Grande, separating that portion of Mexico in which we were captured from the vague and unknown region of country distinguished on the map of northwestern Texas as the Presidio.) Here we were subjected to considerable delay. There was a large number of animals to be crossed over, besides a great amount of what they regarded, and which in fact was, valuable plunder.

At the point of the river where we reached it, was a low, long gravelly beach—a high, perpendicular rocky bluff di-

rectly opposite—but a mile below the bluff was another gravelly beach, almost precisely similar to the one at which we had arrived, and opposite that, and below us, was likewise a high bluff, so that in crossing, it was necessary to move in a diagonal direction, as well as a long distance. The usual labor was expended, and the usual means resorted to in passing the drove, which, in consequence of the low water extending from the opposite beaches, left only the main channel, a distance, perhaps, of a hundred yards, to be swum. When it came our turn to take passage, the blindfolds were removed, and each was seated in a little buffalo-skin boat, an invention original, I believe, with the Comanche tribes, and capable of being taken apart, folded into a small compass, and carried as baggage. To the bow of these boats were hitched one end of a hair rope, the other to the tails of our mules, who safely ferried us from shore to shore.

That night we encamped at the foot of the mountain, and the whole of the next day traveled, as near as I could judge, over a steep, rough, and uneven road. During the entire trip, I was subjected to the same annoyances of being run under trees, burned with hot horseflesh, and staked down at night, as described above.

Early in the afternoon of the fourth day the warriors raised the war whoop, and afar off was heard another war whoop in reply. As we advanced, over what appeared to me a smooth plain, the answering voices grew more and more distinct, until finally the approaching parties met and intermingled. Having halted, I was taken from the mule, and when allowed the liberty of my eyes, found myself and companions standing together, in the midst of a great number of tents, and surrounded by five or six hundred men, all pushing forward to catch a glimpse of us.

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727 Some little time elapsed, when the crowd gave way, forming a passage through which advanced the leader of the war party, accompanied by an aged chief and a squaw, the latter the only one of her sex then anywhere to be seen. Having reached us, the watch was produced and handed to me, with signs indicating they wished me to exhibit its marvelous qualities.

It became me now to put forth all my histrionic powers, and to feign emotions far different from the real ones that were struggling in my bosom. My object was to take advantage of their credulity and superstition to establish among them the notion that it was a thing of life—a spiritual medium, having powers of speech—through which their chiefs and prophets, and great warriors who had gone to the land of spirits, could converse in a language perfectly intelligible to me, but utterly incomprehensible to them; to indoctrinate them into the solemn belief that my old "turnip," as I usually called it, was no less than the brother or offspring of the sun, and on such intimate and familiar terms with him, that it could foretell through me the precise moment he would reach any given point in the heavens, and that such was the unity of feeling existing between them that the short second hand of the watch, in its lesser sphere, kept corresponding pace with him as he went round and round the world. Finally, and most especially, to imbue their minds with the importance and solemnity of this one great truth, that connected as the watch and myself were, both with the visible and invisible world, any mishap that should befall either would inevitably disarrange the machinery of universal nature, break a cogwheel, or something of the sort, and send us "all to smash."

The character it became necessary for me to assume, therefore, was that of a missionary, expounding my pe-

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culiar doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received 727
it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whir and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and for- [431]
mally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was conducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse- [262]
flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and *very* rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like 361
other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

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361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of [354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard, [354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

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The War Dance

north winds in the wintry season, and in hot and sultry 361
weather shade them from the sun.

I had remained in the chief's tent but a short time when 727
I was again conducted to the square. There I found Aikens, 535
Martin, and Stewart. It was soon revealed we were to "cut a conspicuous figure" in a war dance. We have among us frequent ideal representations of savage customs which are horrible enough, but the mind labors and struggles in vain to select from the wide range of our language the exact words that will properly describe an Indian war dance round a *real* captive. They came forth bedizened in their traps and feathers, their tomahawks and scalping knives in their uplifted hands, great daubs of red paint above and below their eyes, circling round and round us on a spasmodic trot, uttering their hoarse guttural songs, which seemed to flow up through their savage throats over sharp rifts of phlegm. As they proceeded, their pace, such as it was, accelerated, and their songs grew loud and louder, rising gradually from a monotonous grunt into a hideous and indescribable howl. Very often, some one of them, deserting his place, would dart towards us with his drawn hatchet threatening to brain us, while another would seize us by the hair and go through the pantomime of scalping. Thus, for two hours, they continued to sing and dance, and whoop and yell, flourishing their tomahawks and knives over us, until, at last they were compelled to stop from mere exhaustion. The captives were then separated, myself being 727
led back to the chief's tent, where I was tied down to stakes in the manner before described. Four days had now passed without repose, but weary nature, at length, demanded rest, and I sank into a troubled sleep.

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XI

The chief and his household—The matrimonial relation—Osolo, the Big Wolf—An Indian breakfast—The consultation—Moko, the favorite wife—The watch, once more—Mysterious assembling outside the camp—The captives stripped and bound—Preparations for the sacrifice—March of the warriors—The flint arrowheads—Scalping the prisoners—Sounding the war whoop—The torture—The desire to die—Taunting the victims—Compelled to look at the sufferers—The last act in the tragedy—Indian dogs—Return to camp—Obstinacy—Interview with Aikens—The sorrowful parting—Change of mind—Removal of the camp—Description of the country.

727 In the morning I was released from the uncomfortable
595 position I had occupied during the night, allowed to sit up with only my hands tied behind my back, a change which afforded inexpressible relief. I soon comprehended the number and character of the household in which necessity had forced me to take up board and lodging for an indefinite period of time. It consisted of a tall, stout Indian, who had apparently long passed the middle age of life, and his four wives. The latter were comparatively young, none of them exceeding twenty-three or twenty-four years. The youngest was by far the most comely and graceful and evidently the favorite. Each wife, as is the Comanche custom, had her separate and distinct apartment, consisting of a small tent erected outside of, but adjoining, the husband's.

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The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He [551]
had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left [591]
the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-
red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

264 Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by their appetites, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling their mouths alternately with flesh and vegetable.

727 An hour or two subsequently, a party of fifty, perhaps,
623 collected together and held a council, the Big Wolf presiding. It was evident that frequent references were made to me, and that I was spoken of in connection with the watch. In the course of the consultation, Moko, the chief's favorite wife, into whose sacred keeping it had been delivered, was called. Presenting it to me, she made the usual signs, signifying, "Make it go." On this occasion I resolved to risk, for the first time, the result of a refusal. Accordingly I pointed to the heavens, uttering a rigmarole of words without sense or connection, and solemnly shook my head. If I did not impress them with the fact that such an operation, just at that time, would be attended with "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," it was not because of any lack of effort on my part. My success far exceeded my expectations. Instead of exhibiting any manifestations of ill humor, they quietly submitted to the disappointment, and continued their consultation.

727 Immediately after the council had adjourned, I discovered the warriors assembling outside the village at a point distant a quarter of a mile. I was somewhat curious to learn the occasion of it, but I little dreamed it was the prelude to an exhibition horrible beyond measure. At length, I was waited upon by a strong guard and escorted into their midst. On arriving, I found my fellow captives had preceded me, and at once comprehended some terrible scene would ensue. There were Aikens, Martin, and Stewart, stripped entirely naked, and bound as follows: Strong, high

posts, had been driven in the ground about three feet apart. 727
Standing between them, their arms had been drawn up as far as they could reach, the right hand tied to the stake on the right side and the left hand to the stake opposite. Their feet, likewise, were tied to the posts near the ground. Martin and Stewart were thus strung up side by side. Directly in front of them, and within ten feet, was Aikens, in the same situation. A short time sufficed to divest me of my scanty Indian apparel and place me by the side of the latter, and in like condition. Thus we stood, or rather hung. Aikens and myself facing Stewart and Martin, all awaiting in tormenting suspense to learn what diabolical rite was now to be performed.

The Big Wolf and a number of his old men stationed themselves near us, when the war chief, at the head of the warriors, of whom there were probably two hundred, moved forward slowly, silently, and in single file. Their pace was peculiar and difficult to describe, half walk, half shuffle, a spasmodic, nervous motion, like the artificial motion of figures in a puppet show. Each carried in one hand his [411]
knife or tomahawk, in the other a flint stone, three inches or more in length and fashioned into the shape of a sharp pointed arrow. The head of the procession as it circled a long way round, first approached Stewart and Martin. As it passed them, two of the youngest warriors broke from the line, seized them by the hair, and scalped them, then resumed their places and moved on. This operation consists of cutting off only a portion of the skin which covers the skull, of the dimensions of a dollar, and does not necessarily destroy life, as is very generally supposed; on the contrary, I have seen men, resident on the borders of Texas, who had been scalped and yet were alive and well. In this instance, the wounds inflicted were by no means mortal; neverthe-

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less, blood flowed from them in profusion, running down over the face, and trickling from their long beards.

They passed Aikens and myself without molestation, marching round again in the same order as before. Up to this time there had been entire silence, except a yell from the two young men when in the act of scalping, but now the whole party halted a half-minute, and slapping their hands upon their mouths, united in a general and energetic war whoop. Then in silence the circuitous march was continued. When they reached Stewart and Martin the second time, the sharp flint arrowheads were brought into requisition. Each man, as he passed, with a wild screech, would brandish his tomahawk in their faces an instant, and then draw the sharp point of the stone across their bodies, not cutting deep, but penetrating the flesh just far enough to cause the blood to ooze out in great crimson gouts. By the time the line had passed, our poor suffering companions presented an awful spectacle. Still they left Aikens and myself as yet unharmed; nevertheless, we regarded it as a matter of certainty that very soon we should be subjected to similar tortures. We would have been devoutly thankful at that terrible hour—would have hailed it as a grateful privilege—could we have been permitted to choose our own mode of being put to death. How many times they circled round, halting to sound the war whoop, and going through the same demoniac exercise, I cannot tell. Suffice it to say, they persisted in the hellish work until every inch of the bodies of the unhappy men was haggled, and hacked and scarified, and covered with clotted blood. It would have been a relief to me, much more to them, could they have only died, but the object of the tormentors was to drain the fountain of their lives by slow degrees.

In the progress of their torture, there occurred an inter-

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mission of some quarter of an hour. During this period, 727
some threw themselves on the ground and lighted their pipes, others collected in little groups, all, however, laughing and shouting, and pointing their fingers at the prisoners in derision, as if taunting them as cowards and miscreants. The prisoners bore themselves differently. Stewart uttered not a word, but his sobs and groans were such as only the intensest pain and agony can wring from the human heart. On the contrary, the pitiful cries and prayers of Martin were unceasing. Constantly he was exclaiming—"Oh! God have mercy on me!" "Oh, Father in heaven pity me!" "Oh! Lord Jesus, come and put me out of pain!" and many other expressions of like character.

I hung down my head and closed my eyes to shut out from sight the heart-sickening scene before me, but this poor comfort was not vouchsafed me. They would grasp myself, as well as Aikens, by the hair, drawing our heads back violently, compelling us, however unwillingly, to stare directly at the agonized and writhing sufferers.

At the end of, perhaps, two hours, came the last act of the fearful tragedy. The warriors halted on their last round in the form of a half-circle, when two of them moved out from the center, striking into the war dance, raising the war song, advancing, receding, now moving to the right, now to the left, occupying ten minutes in proceeding as many paces. Finally, they reached the victims, for some time danced before them, as it were, the hideous dance of hell, then drew their hatchets suddenly, and sent the bright blades crashing through their skulls.

The bodies were taken down and rudely thrown aside upon the ground. What mattered it? They were at rest at last.

Aikens and myself now anticipated we would be com-

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pelled to suffer the same fate, and endeavored to prepare ourselves to meet it. To our astonishment, however, we were unbound, taken in charge by separate guards, reinvested in our hunting shirts and leggins, and started towards the camp. As we moved off, I turned my head to take a last lingering look at my dead companions, and saw that the Indian dogs had already gathered round the corpses and were lapping the blood from their innumerable wounds.

Returned to the same tent from which I had been taken to witness these barbarities, and again tied hand and foot, it may well be imagined I had abundant food for reflection. My contemplations were disheartening, indeed. Fully impressed with the belief that the novelty of the watch would presently pass away, and that it was foreordained, sooner or later, I must also suffer in like manner at the stake, the prevailing thought with me was how I might reach death, yet avoid their tortures. Self-destruction became a subject upon which I meditated, long and seriously. It was, however, a subject most repugnant to my nature. Whether, at any time, I would have taken my own life, if the means to do it had been allowed me, I can hardly determine; as it was, every instrument necessary to effect such a purpose was kept wholly beyond my reach.

The more I mused on the atrocities I had seen—the more the bleeding, ghastly forms of Stewart and Martin rose before me, as they did constantly day and night, both in my waking and sleeping hours—the more bitter became my feelings towards their murderers. My bosom scorched and burned with the desire of vengeance. I luxuriated in daydreams—became lost in the labyrinth of imagination—at one time fancying myself with an invading army come to sweep the barbarisms from the face of the earth—at another with my old companions in arms, the Texas Rangers, dash-

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ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined 727
for mercy, like their own vile curs.

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415]
which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522]
that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irk- [515
some—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgust- 364]
ing camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection.

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727 I had not seen Aikens since the day we separated at "the place of torment." What fate had befallen him was altogether unknown to me. It was, consequently, with much surprise that I saw him one day led into my tent, surrounded by a formidable guard. He was permitted to sit down beside me and an hour's time was granted, during which we were at liberty to converse.

He was far more familiar with Indian life and customs than myself, understood their signs and language better, so much more that I placed great reliance on his judgment. From him I learned that he had been kept a close prisoner in a tent on the outskirts of the village, and had experienced severer treatment than I had been subjected to—that he was now about to be carried to some distant tribe, and that this interview was allowed in order that we might have an opportunity of bidding each other farewell. No man could foresee his destiny, he said, but as for his own, there remained not a lingering doubt in his mind but that he was doomed to die by torture. He accounted for not having suffered with Stewart and Martin by saying it was not their custom to put more than two to death, in that way, at the same time; but he was convinced it was their intention to sacrifice him as soon as the tribe was reached they were now about to visit. However, not the shadow of an opportunity to escape should be lost, even though the chances against him were as ten thousand to one.

This was his judgment as regarded himself, but as to me, he was confident that with proper caution and prudence, I might eventually, through the instrumentality of the watch, be enabled to escape. He had witnessed the effect it had produced on the chiefs and warriors assembled in the square on our first arrival; and his knowledge of Indian ignorance and superstition was sufficient to teach him that

Interview with Aikens

they believed, in truth, it was a living spirit in a silver body. 727

When I recounted all that had occurred since we last separated—my refusal to wind it—my obstinacy in resisting their commands, and my attack upon the Indian when unbound, he became still more convinced. The fact they had pursued such a course towards me, which they had not towards him, was perfect evidence in his mind they intended to naturalize me, and that, so long, at least, as the watch remained in order, I need not fear death at their hands. But he advised me, by all means, to pursue an entirely different course from that lately adopted; on the contrary, to leave no effort untried to initiate myself into their favor—to cultivate their good will—to yield submission in all things, and to deceive them, if possible, into the belief that I preferred to dwell with them rather than with my own people. By pursuing this course, he represented the time would come at last when their vigilance would relax, and an opportunity of escaping safely from them would occur. We conversed of many things, past, present, and to come, losing not a moment of the precious hour. At its close, he was ordered by the guard to leave. Charging me, if ever I escaped, to communicate the intelligence of his misfortunes to his friend, Antonio Ferandez, of Corpus Christi, he bade me a sorrowful *adieu*, and passed out of the tent. I have never seen or heard of him since.

Soon after this, early one morning, I discovered the 484 squaws busily engaged taking down the tents. One after 462 another the dingy white cones came down until the whole village looked as if some sudden tempest had laid it in ruins. Every canvas, buffalo mattress, and blanket was then rolled up, the cooking kettles and the tent poles collected, and all packed firmly on the backs of a crowd of mules [492] collected in the square. It was a busy and laborious scene,

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484 requiring much strength to elevate some of the packages
462 to their place, yet it was all performed by women.

462 The Comanche Indian in his village is the idlest, laziest being in existence, a sluggard and a glutton. His sole and only pursuits are war and hunting. His wife, besides attending to the domestic duties of the tent, plants his corn and reaps it, cultivates his tobacco, tans his buffalo hides—in fine, performs wholly, without the remotest aid from him, every particle and kind of labor, which, among civilized beings, devolves upon the husband. So now, while the women toiled and strained and lifted, the men moped stupidly around, smoking their pipes, or lolled upon the ground.

727 Everything in readiness, I was once more blindfolded,
484 mounted, and tied, when the entire town, not only its men,
492 women, and children, but its furniture, its tents, its public and private buildings, all moved off on the backs of mules and horses. There was not left one stone upon another of that city.

727 Fortunately, the mule upon which I rode was led, so that I escaped the annoyance that befell me, under similar circumstances, on a previous occasion. Being deprived of the use of my eyes on the journey, except when we encamped at night, I cannot give a description of the country over which we passed, further than to say we crossed over many mountains, and that it seemed to me a wild and barren
[805] region. At the end of three days, or three "sleeps," as a Comanche would express it, we reached the end of the journey. Here I found myself in a small village, of not more than twenty or thirty tents, inhabited by what appeared to be a portion of Big Wolf's tribe, on the bank of a considerable river that flowed to the southwest, and in a valley much larger than any I have before described.

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XII

The Valley of Mannasaw—Indian agriculture—The watch again—Chemakacho, the good white man—The bloody covenant—Life in a Comanche camp—Hawakakeno, the wide river—Comanche horsemanship—Dressing the buffalo skin—Indian apparel—Supreme nastiness—Marriage—The mode of burial—The accursed white man—Comanche prophets—Religion of the savages—Manner of communicating intelligence—Festival of the roasted dog—Sahonkeno, the Fox—The green corn dance—The white women—Painting the face—Return of the war party—Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw.

On our arrival, which was welcomed with no demonstrations whatever, the squaws unpacked the mules, and immediately engaged in erecting the tents, with the same assiduity they exhibited in taking them down. In a few days, though an hundred miles distant, we were, to all appearances, occupying the same village, having the same square, and the same streets—which in fact we were, save that it was located on a different spot, and contained a population numbering about two hundred more.

The valley, also, was a "counterfeit presentment" of the one we had left behind, except the stream whereon we had encamped was wider, and the mountains round about seemed to have fallen back. It was called *Mannasaw*, laying a heavy accent on the last syllable, the meaning whereof I do not know.

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727 In time I came to understand that this was the usual summer residence of the tribe, where their corn and beans and tobacco were cultivated—that it, in fact, was their main camping ground, their home, and that the other valley was only resorted to for the purpose of hunting, during those moons when the hair on the buffalo is thick and long. In the suburbs of this village were extensive specimens of Indian agriculture. The Comanche women—for the men have nothing whatever to do with it—would not be likely to receive even a "volume of the Transactions," were they to compete for the prize offered for the best system of farming at one of our state fairs. The expense of drainage and subsoil ploughing is small; nevertheless, they manage to raise respectable crops.

727 The confidence I had in the shrewdness and judgment of Aikens, and the encouragement I had received from him in our interview, inspired me with hope, and I resolved to follow his advice to the letter. My fame, evidently, had spread abroad through the new community soon after our arrival, for those I had never seen before came and gazed upon me for a long time, and then turned and walked seriously and thoughtfully away. It was not long before Moko came with a group of the new faces and presented me the watch. My obstinacy was now abandoned, and I fell again, very deep, into the mysterious mood. Winding it up and setting the alarm a minute or two ahead, I bowed my face before it—clasped it affectionately to my bosom—held it out at arm's length before me in my two hands, regarding it with that intensity of expression with which a tragedian on the stage always regards a love letter just received—turning up my eyes adoringly towards the glorious heavens—and let it whiz!

The effect was solemn and satisfactory. I felt that I had

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made "a hit"—that the sharp eyes which could detect a 727
trail so far had failed to penetrate the thin veil which covered the deception. Up to this time, and never afterwards, did they attempt to open it, or exhibit any inclination to manage it themselves; nor did any other than Moko, the youngest wife of Big Wolf, ever have it in charge.

Moreover, I now became submissive, and when untied obeyed every order that was given me. I ran to the waterside and filled the Big Wolf's buffalo horn when he was thirsty, pounded his corn when he was hungry, spread his mattress and lighted his pipe, in fine, made myself generally useful. As Aikens had predicted, their vigilance did relax to such a degree that I was permitted to wander through the village, but not beyond it—to have a knife in my possession—to sleep without being bound—and so far ingratiated myself into their confidence and esteem that they christened me *Chemakacho*—"the good white man."

This was not done, however, until after I had entered 727
into a solemn league and covenant with the chief. It was 675
a singular bond, not to be found in any book or legal forms. A stick of wood eight or ten inches long and about two inches square was produced. On its different sides were carved numerous figures representing skeletons, scalps, tomahawks and other like devices. Receiving the stick from Big Wolf, I opened a vein on the back of my hand and carefully painted the carved characters with blood. The condition of this sanguinary agreement, as it was understood, at least by the party of one part, was that I would remain in the quiet and peaceable possession of said Big Wolf, his heirs and assigns, without any attempt, design, effort, idea, or intention of running away, while he, the aforesaid Big Wolf, on his part, for and in consideration thereof, covenanted, promised, bargained, agreed, and

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
554

The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno,* the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

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Dressing the Buffalo Skin

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824]
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

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439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

Mode of Indian Burial

him constructed of poles. Into this enclosure is placed his 764
personal effects—his saddle and bridle, his tomahawk, scalping knife, bow and arrows and lance, all the inanimate property he possesses. The enclosure is then roofed with bark and covered with earth. This part of the burial ceremony concluded, all his horses and mules, even if he was the owner of a hundred, are brought to the grave and killed. When a squaw dies, her property, also—her calico gown, cooking kettle, tools for dressing skins—are buried with her, and the horse upon which she was accustomed to ride slain in the same manner.

They are buried with their heads to the west, because 764
they believe at the resurrection, of which they have vague 775
and indefinite notions, they will arise and march eastward, again to take possession of all the country from which the accursed white man has driven them and their fathers. They bury their property with them and kill their horses because they suppose their souls will have need of them in the other world.

Among them are prophets, corresponding with our di- 793
vines, who maintain with exceeding strictness their sacer- 781
dotal dignity. The prophet addresses them on various occasions, such as the green corn dance, and the festival of the roasted dog, but especially in the time of the new moon. At all times they listen to him with the most profound reverence, their heads hanging down, and not a murmur of sound among them from the commencement of his exhortation to its close; but in the season of the new moon, they fall on their faces to the earth before him, and there remain still and motionless until the sound of his voice has ceased.

They believe in God, a great spirit, who created and gov- 775
erns the earth, sun, moon, and stars. They have an unwaver-

775 ing and undoubting faith in a future state of existence, and in future rewards and punishments. They hold that the soul of the wicked coward or thief, after death, will be driven before the frown of the Great Spirit, afar off into a region barren and cold and desolate, there to wander forever through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain; but the good Indian, who has been brave in battle and walked uprightly among his tribe, will be translated to a valley ten thousand times ten thousand fold longer and wider than their own valley of Mannasaw, where the climate is always mild as it is in the moon of plants; where there is cool water, and pounded corn and mustang meat forever at his hand, and where buffalo and deer abound, and the horses are fleeter than the wind.

[173] They have many traditions but no records; nevertheless,
212 they have certain hieroglyphics by which they contrive to communicate intelligence with as much accuracy as if they understood the epistolary art. For instance, if one party goes out before another has returned, and wishes to convey information of the course they have taken and the business they are upon, they will seek some point where it is probable their trail will be discovered. Here, providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded in the form of a letter without breaking, they will make such figures and emblems upon it as represent the idea they wish to convey. If they are on the war path, the character will be a tomahawk and a scalp; if on a visit to a friendly tribe, it will be a pipe; if on a buffalo or deer hunt, there will be no characters, but the folded bark will simply enclose some of the hair of the animal of which they are
212 in pursuit. If they intend to be absent a month, the emblem
201 will be the full moon; if two weeks, a half-moon, if only a few days, the new moon. Then they strike a hatchet deep

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 305
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

746 of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression
241 came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was
537 able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

746 The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were
241 kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round
[532] they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded
[532] in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music ham-
[534] mered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

727 It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I
302 was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

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composed chiefly of a peculiar kind of clay—so that it would 727
be difficult for a stranger to distinguish me from one of their 302
own number. As I became more and more acquainted with those who inhabited the little village we had joined, I observed four girls, the youngest twelve, and the oldest, perhaps, eighteen, whose appearance attracted my attention. They had the copper-colored complexion, but not the high cheek bones and the course black hair and the peculiar expression of countenance that always distinguish the aborigines. On the other hand, they possessed the Anglo-Saxon face—their gait was different from that of the other women of the tribe—and what was the most extraordinary, they had fine light hair, inclined to auburn, and upon one of them it curled. They were a mystery to me, until one day I saw the women coming from the river where they had gone to bathe, and walking among them were these four, perfectly white. The paint had been washed from their faces in the water, revealing to me their race. I made assiduous inquiries of Big Wolf and others, and of themselves, but could obtain no satisfactory information. They knew no other than the language of the Comanches, and in all respects conformed to their manners and customs. It was, therefore, evident to me they had been captured in early childhood and remembered no other life than that they were then leading.

More or less of the tribe were almost constantly absent 721
on the war path. Sometimes they would sally forth of their own motion; at others, a number of them would join a party from a different village happening to pass that way. Even- 727
tually they returned, and the manner of their approach indicated whether they had been successful, or the reverse. On one occasion, during the summer, they brought in a captive, blindfolded as I had been, and had a rousing war-

727 dance over him in the square. I longed for the privilege of speaking to him, but it was denied. The morning following his advent, he was tied on a mule, his face covered with buckskin, and escorted from the camp. I never could gain the least information from whence he came, or whither he was taken; but suppose he had been captured by a party belonging to another village, who simply halted at our [517] encampment overnight, and got up the war dance by way of entertainment.

727 We were frequently visited by the chiefs and warriors of 574 the surrounding tribes. They were, invariably, cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained. Then there was a pipe [532] dance, which is the dance of love and friendship. They were invited to repose on the largest buffalo skins, and given to eat the flesh of a roasted dog, though the moon was not in the full—a luxury surpassing even the meat of the wild horse. I apprehend many were attracted to our camp through curiosity to see and hear the wonderful watch, the fame thereof, beyond question, having spread far and near. I come to this conclusion from the fact that speedily following their arrival, Moko would bring it forth, and call on me to make it talk.

There was one visitor, in particular, a stout, surly chief, who in the course of the summer visited our camp many times. He appeared to have become fascinated with the watch, never growing weary of listening to the alarm. After Moko had finally placed it affectionately in her bosom, he would have long and earnest interviews with Big Wolf, the subject of their conversation being, as was easy to perceive, the mysterious watch. I learned that he was the chief of a tribe whose village was situated in a valley beyond the mountains at the distance of two days' journey, and that he was known as the Spotted Leopard.

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Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw

Lounging about the camp, I now led a monotonous and 727
weary life until about November, or, at least, until after [221]
the season of buffalo hunting had arrived, when I was ordered, unexpectedly, one morning, to mount a mule, and riding forth from the camp, accompanied by Big Wolf and half a dozen of his warriors, I left behind me forever the beautiful valley of Mannasaw.

XIII

The journey beyond the mountains—Capturing a bear—The night encampment—Entrance into the valley of Lescoha—The dashing escort—Camp of the Spotted Leopard—Another war dance—No change of programme—The bargain and sale—Renewal of the bloody covenant—Value of a captive—Arrival of Moko with the watch—Attempt to escape—Cutting the knee cord—Buffalo hunting—Battle with the Apaches—Meeting of Rolling Thunder and Spotted Leopard—Hanging by the heels—The arrival of the white women captives.

On this journey I was neither tied or blindfolded, but rode a bridled mule, while the warriors were mounted on their best horses. They usually kept me in advance of them, directing me when to turn to the right and left. We followed a well-beaten trail that led in a northwest direction. On reaching the head of the valley, we turned to the left, and began the ascent of a wide, low range of mountains, winding in and out of narrow passes and defiles, but still gradually ascending, traveling in this manner some twenty miles before reaching the summit. The descent on the opposite side was of equal extent.

The ravines were overgrown with dwarfish trees, and the adjacent mountains in general were rocky, but occasionally between the ridges that rose in succession one above the other were small, level plats, covered with a heavy growth of grass, upon which buffalo, deer, and antelopes were feeding.

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The Night Encampment

While crossing one of these little prairies, we espied a 224
bear making his way to the mountain. A part of the Indian's equipage is a *lasso*, tied to his saddle girth, and in the skill and accuracy with which they throw it, they far excel the Mexicans. On this occasion it was brought into use. A couple of them galloped out, one dexterously throwing the noose over Bruin's neck and twitching him on his back, the other as dexterously throwing another over his hind legs, thus subjecting him to a most uncomfortable stretch, as they pulled in opposite directions. A scalping knife soon relieved him of his hide, and a portion of his carcass supplied our evening meal. Bear's flesh is often eaten by them, but is not regarded as equal to buffalo, beef, or venison. They are hunted considerably, however, for their oil, which [281]
is used in the preparation of various kinds of skins.

Having descended the western slope of the mountain range, we encamped that night at the extreme point of a narrow valley, which seemed to run up a long distance between the hills. Wearied with a hard day's travel, I hastened 727
to cook my own and Big Wolf's supper—for I was compelled to act towards him in the capacity of a servant— 264
and then lay down to rest. Though I brought his water, and cooked his food, and slept in his tent, and was in fact, his menial and slave, Big Wolf never, in a single instance, placed the horn of water to his lips or put a morsel of flesh into his mouth until I had tasted them. This, also, was the case with the two chiefs to whom I subsequently belonged. Whether it was through fear of poison, or dictated by some singular superstition, is more than I am able to determine.

Setting out again early in the morning, we traveled down 000
the little winding valley until it opened into an extensive plain. Here we struck a narrow but very rapid stream, when

000 turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

727 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded
535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

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understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 without any damage, very much to my relief. 635

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727 of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574 This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727 collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425 pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727 Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622 there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

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over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 302
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped
on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—
I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude.
She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed
at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sor-
rowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village
beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in
the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and
those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others
had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones
into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrap-
ping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken
up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every
respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most
profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation,
they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and
the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode [576]
away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as
they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village,
continually thinking of escape. This subject was never
out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun,
I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as
possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

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in my progress hither, made up my mind as to the course which would lead most directly to the white settlements. About half a mile from the camp was a deep, thickly timbered ravine, running back apparently a long distance among the mountains. I had been out to the entrance of this ravine with the chief in one of his rambles, and it occurred to me if I could manage to slip away from the camp unperceived, and get into it, escape was possible. Many a night my eyes were not closed in sleep, studying and musing over the plan. During the day I was constantly gazing toward the defile—some indefinable but powerful attraction turning my face thitherward.

Finally my plan was perfected—which was to steal away from the village in the night, trusting to travel many miles on the journey before the chief would awake. At length, after patient watching, the favorable moment, as I supposed, arrived. I was permitted at this time to carry a knife, and providing myself with some strips of venison, about twelve o'clock one night, when the chief was lost in deep slumber and the camp was silent, crawled softly from the tent and was about to make my way from the village and fly across the plain, when I was startled by the growl of a big dog, that confronted me, showing his white teeth. Presently he was joined by another, and another, until I found myself surrounded. Their growls awakened all the other curs, with which an Indian town is invariably overrun, and instantly a universal snarling and barking was heard from one end to the other of the camp. The disturbed women and warriors shouted to them, in a half-sleeping, half-waking state, to be still and lie down. Under these circumstances, further advance was useless, and I made my way back into the tent, as speedily and stealthily as the nature of my situation allowed, having in the meantime avoided observation.

Attempt to Escape

Though disappointed beyond measure, I was by no means so far discouraged as to abandon the enterprise, but determined still more firmly to avail myself of the first opportunity that occurred to put it into execution.

My orders were not to go beyond the boundaries of the village. However, as their watchfulness over me became less and less strict, I so far disregarded them, occasionally, as to wander a short way down the creek, or out to a little grove some rods from the village—at times being told by anyone who chose to exercise the authority, to go back; at others, left to return at leisure. This practice I kept up, until finally it became almost unnoticed. Emboldened by their increasing indifference, just at dusk one evening, at that point of obscurity between light and darkness when objects may be seen at some distance on the plain, but when it is difficult to distinguish between a man and an animal, I started off at a slow, careless pace towards the mouth of the ravine. Having proceeded, perhaps, a hundred rods, and when about to make a trial of my speed, I saw three warriors in advance, approaching me directly. I happened, at this moment to be near a cluster of bushes, and taking out my knife commenced cutting a forked stick, designing to deceive them into the belief that my business there was to obtain such an article for the purpose of more conveniently cooking the Spotted Leopard's meat; but my movements, especially at that hour, were too suspicious, and they were, evidently, not to be deceived.

Taking me by the arm, they led me back into camp, and on arriving there, called the chief one side and had a lengthened interview with him. At its close the chief pointed me into his tent, where I was tied down to stakes, on my back, in the same manner I had been bound when

727 first carried away into captivity. This, I supposed, was the extent of the penalty I was doomed to suffer, but a short time taught me I was sorely and painfully mistaken. The Spotted Leopard, drawing down my leggin, with the coolness of the most practised surgeon, drew the edge of his knife across the cartilage or tendon just below the kneepan of my right leg. The muscle was not entirely severed, as was evidently his intention. The object of this surgical operation was to cripple me in such manner as to render escape impossible, even should a favorable opportunity present itself. For two weeks I was kept tied down, the chief frequently, during that time, bending the leg back and forth, each time breaking open the wound afresh. Eventually, however, I was unbound, and the wound permitted to heal, leaving a formidable cicatrice, and rendering the limb extremely stiff, not to such a degree, however, as it was his purpose to make it.

224 In the winter following, some 250 of the warriors, armed
727 with bows and arrows, lances, tomahawks, and knives, set
492 out on their annual grand buffalo hunt. They were mounted on their choice horses, while I, who accompanied the chief as his servant, rode, unarmed, a dilapidated mule.

224 It is only in the cold months that the skin of the buffalo has any value for the purposes of traffic. Then, only, is it covered with wool, being, in the warm summer weather, with the exception of a tuft of mane, entirely bare. During the latter period they are only killed as the necessity of food requires—their skins then being used for the construction of tents.

224 On these annual excursions, they are followed by a large
492 number of mules that not only carry out their buffalo-hunting tents, which simply consist of one or more skins,

thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes—but also bring 224
back the hides they may succeed in taking. 492

On the occasion I now refer to, the party moved west, 224
threading their winding way over the mountains, and across numerous streams and valleys of greater or less width and extent. In the afternoon of the third day we struck a wide, rolling prairie. Dividing it nearly in the center was a high, smooth ridge—its summit reached from both sides by an easy, gradual ascent. As we crossed the prairie and approached this ridge, our scattered cavalcade extended, perhaps, a quarter of a mile, moving forward carelessly, and in no order whatever. I was at the extreme rear, by the side of the Spotted Leopard, and surrounded by the pack mules. As the foremost horsemen reached the height, they 726
halted suddenly, making hurried signs, while two or three of the braves galloped back down the slope, riding eagerly to and fro among their brethren, as if urging them to push forward without delay. The whole band, thereupon, dashed up the hill, except the Spotted Leopard and myself, who remained with the mules in the rear, and on reaching the summit deployed into line. By this time I had heard the cry of "the Apaches, the Apaches," and knew at once there was hot work at hand.

As yet, however, I had seen nothing of an enemy, and only drew the inference there was one present from the cries I had heard, and the general commotion that prevailed. In the course of two or three minutes after our line formed on the ridge, the air was rent with the noise of the war whoop, and up the opposite ascent, at full speed, came the Apaches in solid body, like a black cloud. As they approached, a shower of arrows were discharged from both lines, when they rushed upon each other in a hand-to-hand encounter.

Three Years Among the Comanches

726 From the position I occupied I had a fair, unobstructed view of the battle. It was fierce and terrible. The horses reared, and plunged, and fell upon each other, their riders dealing blow for blow, and thrust for thrust, some falling from their saddles to the ground, and others trampling madly over them.

The Comanches outnumbered the enemy; nevertheless, they were forced to retreat, falling back down the hill almost to my position; but still they were not pursued, the Apaches appearing to be content to hold possession of the ground. Soon, the tribe of the Spotted Leopard again rallied and dashed once more to the attack. If possible, this contest was severer, as it was longer than the first. Again the fierce blow was given and returned; again horses and men intermingled in the melee—stumbled, fell, and rolled upon the ground, while the wide heavens resounded with their hideous shrieks and cries.

My blood thrilled through my veins as I looked upon the scene. I had mingled in encounters fierce even as that, but never before in the midst of the hottest fight was I overcome with such a sense of terror. To be an inactive spectator of a battle is far more painful than to be a participator in it.

I hoped devoutly during the engagement that the Comanches would be beaten, being impressed with the belief that if I should fall into the enemies' hands, my chances of escape would be increased, for I had often heard that the Apaches, though a most warlike nation, were more merciful to prisoners than others of their race. But in this
727 I was disappointed. The Apaches at length gave way, disappearing beyond the ridge. Instead of pursuing their advantage, however, the Comanches hastily gathered up their dead and retreated towards the mountains we had crossed.

Battle with the Apaches

As soon as they had left the ground, the Apaches again 727
appeared upon the height, and bore away their dead also.
It was a drawn battle.

This encounter was unexpected on both sides. The Apaches, as I learned, were gathered around a spring, cooking their meat, little expecting the approach of an enemy, when the van of our party came upon them. At that time a deadly strife existed between the tribes, and it would have been a scandalous violation of an Indian's idea of manhood to have separated, under such circumstances, without a bloody tilt at arms.

The Comanches lost in this battle seventeen warriors; the Apaches, probably as many more. Had the combatants belonged to a civilized people who keep a record of their wars, it would have furnished a thrilling page of history; but thousands of such sanguinary struggles take place on the lonely prairies of which the world knows not. That same season, however, they buried the tomahawk and danced the pipe dance, and henceforward were at peace.

The close of this eventful day was occupied in burying 727
the slain, which ceremony was performed in their custom- 764
ary manner, except they seemed to chant the death song 775
with more energy and feeling than on ordinary occasions. With them, death, at any time, even the nearest and dearest of their kindred, is not regarded as an event to be deplored, but on the contrary, to be welcomed with rejoicing; but when a warrior dies on the field of battle, their joy and exultation knows no bounds, for their crude theology assures them his departed spirit is, at once, caught up by the Great Spirit, and borne to the region of everlasting and supreme felicity.

We saw no more of the Apaches, and the following day 224
turned our course up the prairie—crossed the mountains

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 On the return, which was by a different route from that
574 we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a
622 friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their
[551] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the
[622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his
727 people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

Hanging by the Heels

could hear distinctly the sound of their voices singing their 574
savage songs. Presently, came thrilling through the air, 727
mingling with the loud, shrill war whoop, a shriek of mortal agony. Again and again it was repeated, growing fainter and fainter, until, finally, it ceased, or, at least, failed to reach my ears.

At length, a party of six or seven came after me. While 727
passing through the strange encampment, I discovered pieces of soldier's clothing, which I recognized at once as the United States uniform. Moving on beyond the camp into a grove, a spectacle presented itself that froze my blood with horror. A white man had been subjected to the torture. He was not lashed to stakes as Stewart and Martin were, but a sharp stick had been thrust through his heel cords, by which he was suspended from a limb, with his head downward, as a butcher suspends a carcass in the shambles.

He, also, had been sacrificed with the accursed flints, his ears cut off, and tongue drawn out. A slight convulsive shrug of the shoulders, indicated that life was not wholly extinct. I gazed upon him in silence and terror and was relieved when they led me away. I concluded, from what I saw in their camp, he was a United States soldier, captured, probably, near one of the frontier outposts—such exploits not being unusual, numbers having been taken during my early residence in Texas, as far down as Fort Jesup in Louisiana.

The Indian policy of the United States, I am convinced, 648
is not the most advisable one. So long as it is continued, the frontier settlements will be constantly exposed to depredations, and prisoners subjected to the horrid cruelties I have described. They cherish an inveterate and undying hatred of the white race, whom they regard as usurpers—

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648 and are sanguine in the belief that the time will eventually arrive when they will be enabled, with the assistance of the Great Spirit, to sweep them from existence and reclaim their rightful inheritance. In their ignorance, they compare, favorably for themselves, their feeble strength with the whole power of the United States.

000 It would be cheaper for the government, in the end, instead of maintaining a line of military posts on the frontier—standing merely on the defensive—to send an army through their territories, giving them ocular demonstrations of its power, arresting their turbulent chiefs, and teaching them a lesson too impressive to be forgotten, that the rights of a citizen of the United States shall not be violated with impunity. Hundreds of our people, in the pursuit of their lawful business, are captured yearly, enslaved, and barbarously put to death, without attracting the attention of government, whereas if the hundredth part of the same outrages were committed by any enlightened nation, it would call upon the people to fly to arms. For my own part, I do not see why the arm of authority should not be stretched forth to protect the outraged citizen at the headwaters of the Guadaloupe with the same promptness it is to protect him in Paraguay, or on the Gulf of Mexico.

221 The camp of the Spotted Leopard, as has previously been
241 seen, was situated at the source of the Boge Lescoha, at the foot of a mountain range. Fifty miles south, at the other extremity of the valley, were his planting grounds, where a small village had been constructed, and where a number of the tribe, principally squaws, usually remained.

727 I had been here several months when a party arrived from the plantation, among whom I observed were three white women, notwithstanding their faces were painted.

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The contour of their features, and especially their red hair, 727
indicated the race to which they belonged, beyond mistake.
At the next festival of the full moon, where all, bond and [796]
free, were permitted to mingle and converse, I found, to
my surprise, they could speak English. It was the first time
since my capture that I had heard the accents of my native
tongue. The oldest woman had passed the age of sixty, and
her name was Mrs. Marietta Haskins. The two younger
were her daughters, the oldest, Margaret, perhaps, twenty-
one, the other, Harriet, three years her junior. They ap-
peared to be persons who had been brought up in humble
circumstances, though possessing a fair share of intelli-
gence. The following is, substantially, the version of their
story.

They were natives of one of the midland counties of 000
England, where they occupied an obscure, though com-
fortable position in life. While thus situated, happy and
contented with their lot, there came into the vicinity of
their residence, one of the Latter-Day Saints, preaching
and expounding the Mormon doctrines. His arguments
were so ingenious—his appeals so eloquent and earnest—
his description of the valley of the Great Salt Lake so
glowing that many of the poor people listened and were
converted. He represented the climate as more salubrious
—the soil more fertile—the scenery more delicious than in
any other region of the world. He portrayed, in fascinating
colors, the life of ease and luxury the poorest thrall in
England might lead in that favored land—where wild herds,
the common property of all, darkened a thousand hills,
and the bountiful earth yielded its fruits without toil.

The fortunate inhabitants of this paradise he pictured as
basking in the full fruition of the highest earthly happiness.
Discarding the false, domestic notions to which the wicked

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and perverse generation around them still clung, they followed the examples of Solomon and the patriarchs of old. They were, he declared, the elect people of God—members of the true church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints—founded on the revelations contained in the Book of Mormon—delivered unto mankind through the instrumentality of Joseph Smith; and since that great Prophet had suffered death for righteousness' sake, his mantle had descended upon a faithful apostle, Brigham Young, a perfect and upright man.

Seduced into fanaticism, many gathered together their worldly goods, bade *adieu* to the friends of their youth, and the burial places of their fathers, and departed, with joyful hearts, for that distant region of enchantment. Among those who were led astray by these high-wrought descriptions and fervent appeals was her husband. She, herself, combated the pernicious doctrines, and resisted, as wild and visionary, the idea of quitting home and country for such a far-off place; but the resolution of her husband overcame all opposition, he remaining confident, as if it had been revealed to him from on High, that when they arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake and were permitted to enjoy the ministrations of Brigham Young, the successor of the Prophet Joseph, they would enter upon a new and happier existence, to be compared only with that millennial time "when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and a little child shall lead them"!

Accordingly, they set out upon the journey, bringing with them their two daughters, leaving behind them one, a married woman, in Devonshire, and after a prosperous voyage, landed at Indianola on Matagorda Bay. The entire party numbered between one and two hundred. Here they made up a wagon train, breaking many cows to the yoke, think-

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ing they would be of service on the way, packed their house-000
hold goods, furnished themselves with provisions, and started through the Indian country toward the distant city of the Great Salt Lake.

They struck the Río Grande at Eagle Pass, pushed onward beyond the futhermost settlements, and for a month were slowly winding among the mountains, when many of their teams began to fail. A party of forty were thus compelled to fall in the rear, and finally became separated from their companions. With this party was the Haskins family.

They now began to be annoyed by the Indians. For sev-726
eral days they had been seen scouring the prairies in different directions, ascertaining, perhaps, the strength and quality of the train. They constantly grew bolder and bolder, in the daytime dashing up within a short distance, and at night driving off more and more of their cattle, until, at length, they were destitute of sufficient force to proceed. In this helpless state, they were surrounded by a cloud of savages, and taken prisoners.

In this party of forty were fourteen women and several 727
young infants. The men, among whom, of course, the husband and father, were massacred without exception, the women less fortunate, and the infants were carried away. I turn with disgust from the contemplation of the cruelty to which these captive women were subjected by the lustful hellhounds as they bore them off in triumph to their camps. Some idea of their barbarous nature may be conceived from the fact that while on the way, when an infant cried, it would be snatched from its mother's breast, a hole cut under its chin, then hung on the point of a broken limb, and there left to linger through its little painful life. In this manner, I was assured by Mrs. Haskins and her duaghters, every child unable to comprehend the danger of crying was disposed of.

Three Years Among the Comanches

727 On arriving at a large Indian village, the spoils were divided and distributed among the victors. These women fell into the hands of a chief, who transferred them, a short time after, to the Spotted Leopard. The mother, whose health had broken down under the hardships and sufferings she had endured, was made a common drudge in the camp, while the daughters were appropriated by two burly warriors, and compelled to serve them, both in the capacity of slaves and wives.

When I met with them, they had been with the tribe of the Spotted Leopard between two and three years. In the meantime the mother had grown extremely feeble, and latterly was so afflicted with rheumatism that she was incapable of performing any kind of labor. Of no further service in the camp, there was still enough of life left in her to gratify their thirst for cruelty. Assembling one day outside the town, near the close of my sojourn among them, she was brought forth, stripped, and fastened to the stake. The daughters, likewise, were bound to stakes directly in front of her, so that it was impossible for them to avoid witnessing her agonies.

The same infernal orgies were again gone through with which attended the cruel butchery of Martin and Stewart by the warriors of Big Wolf. Like them, she was first scalped, then cut and hacked with flints, and finally tomahawked, but not until long after life had become extinct. She fainted when the scalp was severed from her head, once or twice revived and screamed, fainting immediately again; and when the final blow was given, it fell upon a corpse! The daughters, likewise, screamed and swooned, and then revived to scream and swoon again; and when the mad rites were ended, were borne back, half-dead, amidst taunts and laughter, to their tents.

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Women Captives

These women, and doubtless many others like them, are now dragging out their weary lives in misery and captivity. Humanity pleads in their behalf. Would to God some pitying voice in the councils of the nation would so call attention to their unhappy state that measures would be adopted, as they might be, that would reach them in those lonely wilds, and bring them out of bondage.

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XIV

Another bargain and sale—Arrival at the village of Rolling Thunder—Uniformity of Indian villages—Euphonious names of Rolling Thunder's wives—Renewal of the covenant of the square stick—The wisest of the wise—Married to To-ma-no-a-ku-no, the Sleek Otter—The Indian duel—Visit to the ruins—Volcanic eruptions—Ancient architecture—The Indian legend—Mounds on the tablelands—Departure for the Grand Council—Incidents by the way—The tragical death of Rolling Thunder.

727 The Rolling Thunder was a frequent visitor at our camp, subsequent to the time when he and his tribe accompanied us home from the buffalo hunt. He exhibited a regard for me, and would often fall into a profound revery, when Kianceta, the Weasel, had presented me the watch, and I had caused it to communicate intelligence from the Great Spirit in the usual, rattling offhand manner in which it was accustomed to converse. His interviews with the Spotted Leopard became so long, and, to all appearances, of such vast importance that I had no doubt I was to be subjected to another sale and assignment.

My surmises proved to be entirely correct. Just previous to the time when preparations are made for the annual [361] buffalo hunt, the Spotted Leopard and some of his dis- [484] tinguished warriors, Kianceta, and his other wives, with myself and a considerable drove of pack mules, set off over the mountains in all respect similar to those I had pre-

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viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

Three Years Among the Comanches

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

those countries, he laughed me to scorn, arguing that its 823
inhabitants would have to walk with their heads downward, and must necessarily fall off; besides, the premise upon which rested the superstructure of the argument was false, inasmuch as the earth was not round, but flat, a fact patent to the naked eye.

I described a train of cars, wooden tents placed above 000
rolling wheels, filled with a crowd of people outnumbering all his tribe, forced by the power of steam, such as he saw rise from the water boiling in his kettle, along an iron trail, faster than he ever saw the wild horse run across the prairie —endeavored to explain how they could converse, however distant from each other, through the marvelous electric telegraph, describing the immensity of their towns, the number of their warriors; in fine, whether under his own tent in the village, or encamped on the prairie after a day's hunt, he was constantly interrogating me upon some subject connected with their manners, customs, or inventions. Usually, 186
when I had concluded, the old man would remain silent a long time, absorbed in deep study, from which he would, at length, arouse and exclaim—"Wonderful! wonderful! are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all!"

The Rolling Thunder evidently entertained a favorable 584
opinion of me. This was shown soon after my arrival in his camp, by insisting that I should take a wife. I took the matter into serious consideration, endeavoring to decide in my own mind what effect it might have on the chances of escape. The conclusion was that the effect would be favorable, and, accordingly, I signified to the chief that "Barkis was willin'."

The next step was to make a selection from the dusky daughters of the tribe, a matter about which I felt dis-

584 posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new [302] moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily [291] embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, [551] the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space 476 of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws 585 generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter 588 made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

enlarged, it being considered improbable, I suppose, that I 593
would tear myself away from the partner of my bosom. I was no longer made the center-post at their war dances, but permitted to wear the gayly colored feathers in my hair, and with the warriors, "round about the cauldron stout, to dance right merrily." But I was by no means entirely at liberty, nor did their apprehensions that I would escape, if opportunity occurred, entirely vanish. I was not allowed to leave the village alone, nor to carry arms. My duties were those of an attendant upon the chief. He kept me near him always, whether on buffalo hunts or visits to the neighboring tribes. He frequently made these visits, when they required but one day's ride, with no one accompanying him but myself. At such times he was mounted on a power- [714]
ful horse, armed with bow and arrow and a musket—a tomahawk hanging from the pommel of his saddle, and a long knife in his belt; while I rode before him on a sluggish mule, entirely unarmed. We never passed the night together alone on one of these excursions. In a thousand little ways it was made evident he did not regard it exactly safe to place himself within my power.

The most thrilling incident I witnessed during my so- 593
journ with the tribe of the Rolling Thunder was an Indian duel. Among his warriors were two young men, both proud and spirited, between whom there had long existed a deadly animosity. The cause of their quarrel I could never fully understand, further than it appeared there was a young squaw in the case. Time and time again their differences had been brought before the council without any adjustment being satisfactorily effected. At length, when negotiation had become useless, it was determined to settle the matter forever in a most bloody manner.

It was a pleasant morning towards the close of autumn,

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578 when the whole tribe, save the squaws and papooses, assembled on a level piece of ground a mile from the village. Here they formed a large ring, into which walked the Rolling Thunder and Han-na-nos-ka-a, the prophet. The latter pronounced a long discourse, setting forth, as nearly as my imperfect knowledge of the language enabled me to comprehend, the original cause of the quarrel, a detailed account of its progress, the inability of the council to agree upon a satisfactory arrangement, and that, finally, it had been referred to the just decision of the Great Spirit, into whose presence their implacable brethren were now about to appear.

Having concluded, the brothers of the young warriors conducted them into the ring. One of them was, perhaps, twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, the other four or five years older. The younger was somewhat the largest, though both were remarkably athletic and powerful. When they reached the center of the ring, meeting from opposite [284] directions, their left arms, as far up as the elbow, were firmly lashed together with stout, thick cords of buffalo hide. They were bound so thoroughly that the possibility of breaking away from each other was utterly beyond question.

Into the right hand of each was then placed a hunting [412] knife, having a heavy buckhorn handle and a blade about nine inches long, evidently prepared for the occasion by being brought to a keen edge on both sides. The brothers then withdrew some twenty feet from the combatants, drawing from their belts similar knives, when the signal was given and the fight began. After that there was no call of "time"—no retreating to the "corner"—no planting the left heavily on the "mug"—they "toed the scratch" but once, and ended the combat in a single "round."

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Visit to the Ruins

The battle lasted but a moment, the bright blades, in 578
the meantime, glittering and glimmering in the sun, and the contestants instantly presenting the appearance of men suddenly overtaken by a storm of blood. At length, a mortal thrust by one was followed by a fierce blow from the other, gashing through the side of the neck, from which the purple tide of life spouted up in a high wide arch, when both fell lifeless to the ground.

Had either survived the conflict, according to their code of honor, it would have been the duty of his brother to have put him immediately to death. Throughout the exciting scene not the slightest partiality was exhibited. The faintest shadow of emotion could not be detected upon the countenances of the savage stoics as they gazed upon it. They were stretched side by side on the spot where they had fallen—buried in the customary manner—and left to rest together in peace, at last.

The week succeeding this tragedy, a party of ten or 484
twelve, including the Rolling Thunder and myself, started 224
on a long journey, its object being to ascertain whether the buffalo droves had changed their feeding grounds, before the warriors set out on their annual hunt. In the course of this trip we crossed a valley, the singular appearance of which has very frequently since been the subject of study and reflection.

On the summit of many of the mountains we passed, 172
were broad, level tablelands, destitute of a solitary tree, and covered with rank grass. Upon every one of these elevated plains was to be seen a mound, in most instances in the form of a half-circle, resembling the overgrown ruins of an ancient fortress, and plainly the work of human hands.

Finally we descended into a ravine, walled on either 133
side by rugged cliffs which led us a day's ride to the south-

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133 west, when we emerged into a valley about four miles wide and thirty long. It was surrounded on all sides by very high mountains, exceedingly bleak and barren. There was not a tree, or bush, or even a blade of grass to be discovered over the entire surface of the valley. It was covered, to the average depth of fifteen feet, as near as I could judge, with broken pumice stone, a substance precisely similar to the lava of Vesuvius. That it was the result of volcanic eruptions there was no possible doubt, inasmuch as numerous tracts down which it had flowed from the mountain tops were distinctly visible.

172 The Rolling Thunder, in order to convince me of the correctness of a belief, universal throughout the Comanche nation, conducted me to the western side of this strange valley, where I saw, with infinite astonishment and surprise, the dilapidated ruins of a large town. In the midst of the falling walls of a great number of buildings, which, in some remote age, beyond doubt, had lined spacious streets, was what appeared to have been a church or cathedral. Its walls of cut stone, two feet thick, and in some places fifteen feet high, included a space measuring two hundred feet in length, and, perhaps, one hundred in width. The inner surface of the walls in many places was adorned with elaborate carved work, evidently the labor of a master hand, and at the eastern end was a massive stone platform which seemed to have been used as a stage or pulpit. In my surprise at beholding so unexpectedly these evidences of civilization in that wild region, I turned to the Rolling Thunder and asked if he could explain it.

173 This is the legend of the Comanches, as he related it: Innumerable moons ago, a race of white men, ten feet high, and far more rich and powerful than any white people now living, here inhabited a large range of country, extend-

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ing from the rising to the setting sun. Their fortifications 773
crowned the summits of the mountains, protecting their populous cities situated in the intervening valleys. They excelled every other nation which has flourished, either before or since, in all manner of cunning handicraft—were brave and warlike—ruling over the land they had wrested from its ancient possessors with a high and haughty hand. Compared with them the palefaces of the present day were pigmies, in both art and arms. They drove the Indians from their homes, putting them to the sword, and occupying the valleys in which their fathers had dwelt before them since the world began. At length, in the height of their power and glory, when they remembered justice and mercy no more and became proud and lifted up, the Great Spirit descended from above, sweeping them with fire and deluge from the face of the earth. The mounds we had seen on the tablelands were the remnants of their fortresses, and the crumbling ruins that surrounded us all that remained of a mighty city.

In like manner, continued the Rolling Thunder, the 186
day will surely come when the present white race, which 773
is driving the Indians before it, and despoiling them of their inheritance, and which, in the confidence of its strength, has become arrogant and boastful and forgotten God, will be swept from existence. For the Great Spirit is *just*—and as certainly as the rivers flow downward towards the salt sea, or the sun rises in the morning and sets at night, so certainly will He yet restore the land of their fathers to the red man, when the days of his affliction are passed.

It would, indeed, be difficult to adopt any other hypothesis than the one entertained by the chief. The evidence before me was too clear and palpable to be controverted,

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186 that at some period, more or less remote, this valley had
773 been inhabited by a people skilled in architecture and evidently possessing, in a high degree, a knowledge of mechanism and the arts. Whether the Rolling Thunder's account of their destruction is correct, or his belief that their successors will eventually be disposed of in the same summary manner is orthodox, will admit of argument; nevertheless, there is no doubt that, in common with all the tribes of the Comanches, he entertains this belief, in genuine sincerity. It is this unwavering faith in the future ascendancy of the red man, and the final restoration to him of all the possessions he has lost, which prompts him to perpetual resistance, and which so often led the Rolling Thunder to exclaim, after I had described some marvelous invention—"Wonderful, wonderful are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all."

224 After leaving the volcanic valley and ascertaining the feeding grounds of the bison, we returned to the village, and soon again set forth on the yearly buffalo hunt. It is [136] a singular fact that on these excursions the hunters are followed by droves of wolves. They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the business in which the party is about to engage. As soon as the skin is stripped from the buffalo they surround the carcass and devour it. To wake
000 in the dead of night, after dreaming, peradventure, of early home and friends, to find yourself under a rude tent, in those far distant wilds, surrounded by a savage tribe, produces sensations, lonely and desolate indeed—but terror mingles with the sense of desolation when, all around, the adjacent solitudes are vocal with the barking and snarling and howling of wolves, gorging themselves at their midnight feasts.

It was at such times as these my soul longed to reach once

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more the abodes of civilized man. Though greatly discouraged, I never entirely despaired of sooner or later effecting an escape. Aside from the charm which still lingered around the watch, the silver child of the sun, that had so providentially shielded me from unspeakable outrage during the earlier portion of my captivity, I was confident the covenant of blood into which I had entered, and more than all, my marriage with Sleek Otter, would henceforth save me from violence.

At this time I had no apprehensions whatever in regard to my personal safety so long as I remained an obedient captive, fulfilling the humble duties imposed upon me. A detected attempt at escape, however, I was fully aware, would be followed by the severest penalties. I had so long, and so intensely, contemplated the subject that there was no possible aspect in which it could present itself that had not received the closest and most careful scrutiny and consideration. Of one thing I had become thoroughly convinced, which was that if I had been successful in escaping from the tribe of the Spotted Leopard, without the means of killing game or making a fire, I should, most assuredly, have perished from starvation among the mountains.

It became necessary, therefore, to devise some plan by which, in case the opportunity offered, I could provide myself with these indispensable conveniences. It is probable I could, on many occasions, have reached the mountains unperceived after the marriage, had the attempt been made, but it was utterly impossible to have done so, providing myself at the same time with any kind of arms—the watchfulness over me in respect to them being strict and constant.

It was while indulging in these never-ending speculations that the Rolling Thunder ordered me to saddle my mule and accompany him on a long journey. It should be remem-

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ooobered by the reader that I have now brought down this narrative to the month of May last, wherefore the object of the journey upon which the Indian chief, at this point, is ready to depart, and which I gathered, both from himself and various other sources, may be regarded in many quarters as exceedingly important.

728 648 His destination was a village three days' journey to the north. At this place a general convention had been called, to be composed of all the chiefs of all the different tribes inhabitating the country between the northern bounds of Mexico and the regions of perpetual snow. The object of the convention was to induce the Indian nations, hitherto at variance, to bury the hatchet as between themselves, smoke the peace pipe, and unite in a universal bond of brotherhood, for the purpose of preventing the whites from passing through their territories to the settlements on the Pacific Coast.

It was, as I then understood it, and now believe, to enter into an alliance with the view of waging an exterminating and implacable war upon every train of emigrants or other party moving towards California, Oregon, the Great Salt Lake, or other points in either of those directions. How it terminated, circumstances unanticipated but of a most exciting and stirring character forbid my knowing, yet, that the design was precisely such as I have mentioned is a fact, which I beg all those who contemplate making the overland route to bear seriously in mind.

292 The Rolling Thunder, before taking his departure, arrayed himself with extraordinary care. A dozen scalps were attached to his war shirt; silver trinkets representing the moon in all its phases were fastened on his breast; his feet were clad in new and cunningly embroidered moccasins, and on his head rested a crown of feathers plucked from

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the crow, the kingfisher, the prairie hen, and the eagle, so 292
dyed by his ingenious wives as to reflect all the colors of the rainbow. Of all the horses that grazed the wide pastures round about his camp, he was mounted upon the most fleet and spirited—the weapons of war in which he was accoutred were a knife thrust through his belt, a hatchet suspended from the pommel of his saddle, and a Mexican rifle, rare among his tribe, upon the possession of which he prided himself exceedingly.

I bestrode the same old mule that had so often and so 000
far borne me on her back, with nothing hanging from my saddlebow but a huge buffalo horn wherewith to furnish my doughty master with cool draughts from the streams as we journeyed on the way. Saluting the Sleek Otter, who little thought it was the last nod she would ever receive from her long-haired spouse—for, not having seen a razor for three years, I was very far from being "the man all shaven and shorn, who married the maiden all forlorn"—we trotted away from the village, myself in advance, neither of us destined ever to return.

From early morning we traveled leisurely but steadily, 574
and at sunset entered a valley wherein resided a small tribe 439
whose chief was *Nis-ti-u-na,* the Wild Horse. The usual hospitalities were extended—or rather on this occasion they were unusual—inasmuch as a party had just returned from a meeting with the traders, bringing with them a quantity of mescal, a kind of whisky distilled from the fruit of a tree, commonly known in Mexico as the cabbage tree.

An Indian's dignity, whether chief or subject, never rises 574
to that elevated degree which prevents his getting drunk 273
every opportunity that offers, and consequently it followed, as a matter of course, that so distinguished a visitor as the Rolling Thunder, arrived at that peculiar juncture, could

not avoid stretching himself on his buffalo skin that night without a weighty "brick in his hat." In other words, the sedate old fellow became beastly intoxicated,—forgot altogether the decorum that characterized his customary walk and conversation—vainly attempted to be funny—danced out of place—and whooped when there was no occasion for it—in fact, was as boisterous and silly as about half a gallon of bad whiskey could make him.

However, bright and early in the morning, the chief was again on his proper legs, ready to set forward on the journey, intending to lodge that night at another village farther to the north. After a breakfast of mustang steak, which rested ill on his sour stomach, we bade the sore-headed sons of the tribe of the Wild Horse good morning, and pursued our travel. Very soon we passed out of their valley and entered the defiles of the mountains. The last night's debauch had set the old chief on fire, and before the sun had halfway ascended to the zenith, his throat was parched, and he was mad with thirst. But there was no water to be found. On and on we went, threading our way through thick bushes, around the sharp points of overhanging cliffs, across rough and rugged ravines, but nowhere did a spring or running stream greet his longing eyes. We continued to press forward in this manner until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when, reaching the bottom of a deep hollow, we discovered water oozing from the base of a perpendicular precipice and trickling down a little muddy channel through the grass.

He called impetuously upon me to fill the horn at once. Though I attempted to obey his order with all possible celerity, the rill was so extremely shallow that in spite of my best endeavors, every dip I made, the contents of the horn would come up in the proportion of three parts mud

to one of water. Perceiving the difficulty, he leaped from his horse, directing me to hold him by the bridle, threw his Mexican rifle on the ground, and laying down upon it in the grass, thrust his scorched lips into the little stream.

Standing by the horse's side, I observed the hatchet hanging from the pommel of the saddle. The thought flashed through my mind quick as the fierce lightning that the hour of my deliverance had come at last, and snatching it, in that instant, from its place, I leaped towards him, burying the dull edge a broad hand's breadth in his brain. A moment sufficed to draw the rifle from beneath him, jerk the long knife from his girdle, mount his horse, and dash wildly away over an unknown path, towards the land of freedom.

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XV

The flight—Barricades of thorns—Clambering up the precipice—The mountain terrace—The narrow pass—Sense of relief—A wild scene—Entrance into the second ravine—Approach of darkness—The lonely encampment—Melancholy speculations—The demands of appetite—Necessity, the mother of invention—Slaughter of the mule—Preparing provisions—An unusual vessel—The scent of blood—Surrounded by wild beasts—The impressive lesson—Continuance of the journey—Coursing down the valley—Taking the back track—Toiling over the mountains—Avoiding the Indian towns—Snakes and wild animals—Cloudy days—The north star—A twelve-day halt—Renewal of the journey—Abandonment of the horse—Pain and suffering—Meeting with traders on the prairie—Accompany them to San Fernández—Voyage to Cuba—Arrival in the United States—Conclusion.

Turning about, I retraced the path we had followed, some two miles, remembering to have seen a narrow defile stretching to the west as we passed along. Plunging into this, I spurred on at a breakneck pace, over piles of broken stones that had rolled down from the declivities, penetrated barricades of tangled thorns and brushwood, the mule all the while following closely at the horse's heels, and at the end of six miles, encountered a bold bluff extending entirely across the western termination of the ravine, abruptly arresting any further progress in that direction.

The Flight

This bluff was the eastern side of a high, bleak, rocky spur, which shot out from a still more elevated range, right athwart the path I was pursuing. Wheeling northward and moving along its base, I reached, at length, a contracted crevice, half-filled with broken, sharp-angled fragments of rock, up which, with great difficulty, myself, horse, and mule managed to clamber, until we gained a comparatively level spot, a kind of terrace, some twenty feet wide, about halfway to the summit. Further ascent was impossible, and no other recourse was left but to follow the terrace whithersoever it led. Its surface presented, as an Indian would term it, a clear trail, and was undoubtedly one of the paths traversed by deer and other animals while migrating from one feeding ground to another. We followed it as it wound around the southern declivity of the precipice, becoming more and more narrow as we advanced, until, to my unutterable horror, it had contracted to a width less than two feet. A sharp point round which it circled just in front of me hid the view beyond, but all appearances indicated it terminated there. On one side were great, loose overhanging rocks impossible to ascend and threatening to fall, on the other, an almost perpendicular descent of at least a hundred feet. The horse hesitated to proceed, as if conscious of the danger to which he was exposed. Between the wall of adamant on the right and the precipice on the left, there was not sufficient room to enable either horse or mule to turn around, and so entirely did their bodies fill up the path it was impracticable for me to turn back, had it become necessary so to do, without pushing the poor brutes down the fearful steep.

With eyes turned away from the dizzy depth below, down which, in my despair, a strange impulse urged me to plunge and end a miserable life at once, I crawled carefully

to the sharp point before me, closely hugging the upper side, and peering round it, beheld with ineffable satisfaction that it expanded into a broad, smooth road. Much urging and coaxing, finally succeeded in inducing the horse to pass the point of danger. My sense of relief, when we had reached a place of safety, was like that of the awakened sleeper when he thanks God the awful chasm over which he has been hanging by a slender twig is but the vagary of a dream.

From the spot now gained, I gazed abroad upon the surrounding scene, and a wilder or more dreary one never broke upon my vision. On all sides around and above, were piled mountain upon mountain as far as the eye could reach. Here and there, among the defiles, could be discovered strips of timber, but the summits, as they appeared in the distance, were bare and rocky, their bald peaks stretching to the clouds.

After some examination, for I was in too great haste to linger, a narrow opening in a southwest direction attracted my attention, and towards it I turned my steps. The descent, though not entirely impracticable, was tedious in the extreme. The ledges were numerous and abrupt, and difficult to pass, often drawing me far out of a straight course. Finally, however, the opening was reached, proving to be another ravine averaging two hundred yards in width, over which were scattered cedar trees and clusters of thick bushes. By the time I had reached the southwestern termination of this little solitary valley, the sun had set, and darkness was fast spreading over the earth. Pushing into the center of a dense thicket, covering perhaps two or three acres, the loneliest spot that presented itself, I halted for the night.

Securing the horse to a limb by the bridle, and removing

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the buffalo-skin saddle, I sat down upon it and consulted with myself as to what it was best to do. My safety depended much upon circumstances. If the body of the chief should happen to be discovered immediately, my escape was doubtful. The moment it was found, my knowledge of savage life taught me, a party would instantly and eagerly start upon my trail, and at the same time messengers be sent to all the tribes far and near, calling on them to keep a sharp lookout for my approach, so that I had as much to apprehend in front as in the rear.

I was provided with the dead chief's rifle and ammunition, and consequently had the means of kindling a fire, but making the one or discharging the other, at least for some days, would be a dangerous experiment, inasmuch as the noise of the rifle or the light of the fire might expose me. The demands of appetite, however, would render it necessary to risk both, and, in fact, already were they becoming clamorous, having fasted since our early departure in the morning from the camp of the Wild Horse. Being impossible at that hour to capture game, my thoughts turned upon the mule. She had followed me unexpectedly and could be of no possible use; on the contrary, in all probability, would prove an annoyance. Necessity, which is, indeed, the mother of invention, suggested how I could turn her to account, and the suggestion was adopted. Walking up to the tired and patient beast, as unsuspicious of harm as was her now stark owner when he bent down to drink, I grasped the long knife that was wont to grace his girdle, and drew it across her throat.

When life was extinct, I cut from her hams long thin slips of flesh to the measure of some ten pounds, and having done so, resolved to run the venture of kindling a fire, trusting that the Rolling Thunder was still reposing undis-

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ooocovered and undisturbed where I had left him. Accordingly, I gathered a pile of sticks, and withdrawing the charge from the rifle, ignited a priming of powder which presently resulted in a ruddy, and under other circumstances, a cheerful blaze. The mule meat was then broiled, and satisfying present appetite upon a portion, the remainder was carefully laid aside for future necessity. Thus provided with provisions for several days to come, it occurred to me that I might suffer for the lack of water on those thirsty mountains. The buffalo horn, though convenient at a stream or [415] spring, could not be used in carrying away their contents. Some kind of vessel was indispensable, and in order to be furnished with such an article, I cut the bladder from the mule, blew it up, dried it by the fire, filled it from a sluggish pool at hand, tying the mouth with a strong buffalo string.

These labors performed, with the reloaded rifle in my hands, I sat down on the buffalo skin at the foot of a cedar tree and leaned against its trunk. Here, a new terror awaited me I had not anticipated. The mule's blood had been scented by wild beasts, wolves and panthers, which began to scream. Nearer and nearer they approached until the horse snuffed and snorted, and I could hear their teeth snap, and the dry sticks crackle beneath their feet. A dozen times I was on the point of ascending the tree, momentarily expecting to be attacked. With such a crash would they break through the thicket that many times I bounded to my feet, thinking the Indians were upon me. It was a fearful night, and the most fearful sound that has ever fallen on my ears is the scream of the panther, so like is it to the plaintive, agonizing shriek of a human being. The fortunate resolution I had taken to build a fire undoubtedly kept them off, and the absence of Indians beyond the sound of their unearthly confusion was the sole cause of my hiding

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place not being disclosed. It taught me, however, a lesson not thenceforward to be forgotten, that is to say, never to encamp where I had killed my game.

In the morning, very early, I proceeded on the journey, and in the course of half an hour was again intercepted by another mountain. It was high noon, when I reached the summit, so rough and difficult was the ascent. Often, having entered a gully whose entrance allured me with the promise of a favorable path, I would break through dense thickets of prickly pear, the thorns piercing and tearing my flesh, until thinking I was about to emerge upon the plateau above, a wall of fallen stone, or the trunk of a prostrate tree, would suddenly present an invincible barrier, compelling me to return down the same painful path and seek, in another place, some more feasible passage.

During the afternoon, I kept my course, as near as possible, along the ridge of the highlands, but notwithstanding I improved every moment of the time, so rugged was the route it is probable I had not passed ten miles in a direct line from the place of departure in the morning when night again overtook me. This was passed under a ledge, in a little nook where a portion of the rock, in the form of a wedge, had fallen out. On such an eminence as this it would have been madness to light a fire—nothing less than a signal to any in pursuit to come up and take me—nevertheless, the tough mule meat, and the yet unemptied bladder, furnished me with a thankful repast. My poor horse, however, was not so well supplied, there being neither water or grass here, and but few bushes on which to browse. Wrapping the buffalo skin around me, I endeavored to sleep, realizing the invigoration it would bring was necessary to sustain the fatigue and hardship before me; but my slumbers were broken and troubled, full of fearful

dreams, in which I was clamboring over rocks or pursued by Indians, yelling close on my trail, and yet, unable to fly, having lost the power to move, so that I arose with the first faint glimpse of the rising sun, sore and unrefreshed.

I continued along the height a portion of this day, and would have pursued it further, deeming it safer than a less elevated path, had it not become absolutely necessary to find water for my horse. This necessity induced me to make my way down the mountain side, a labor I succeeded in achieving towards the close of the day, when I struck a green, delicious valley, a mile wide in some parts, on which wild horses, a few buffalo, deer, and antelope were grazing, and which apparently stretched a long distance to the south. Fearing to adventure upon it in daylight, I hid in a cedar copse until dark, when, allowing the horse to slake his thirst at a rivulet, and feed an hour on the rank grass, I mounted and rode as fast as I could urge him until long after midnight, keeping in the shadows of the mountains. I had ridden in this manner at least thirty miles, congratulating myself on the rapid progress I was making, when the little valley came to a point, shut in by impassable precipices.

The opening day disclosed that I had been completely entrapped. The valley was surrounded on all sides by precipitous rocks, up which, in some places, I might possibly have made my way alone, but which it was beyond the power of the horse to ascend. My situation now became unpleasant, it being probable that a luxuriant valley like this, abounding in game and so rarely to be found amidst these sterile regions, must be frequented by Indians.

No alternative presented itself, but to turn back, retrace, cautiously, the course over which I had galloped with so much satisfaction the previous night. The whole of this day was occupied in traveling about fifteen miles. Along

the south side of the valley which I was now coursing, at the average distance from each other of three-fourths of a mile perhaps, narrow points or promontories shot out from the side of the mountains, the space of prairie land lying between them resembling a half-moon or segment of a circle. From the extremity of one of these headlands I would reconnoiter, until satisfied the "coast was clear," then dash across to the next as fast as the horse could run. In this manner, as before stated, some fifteen miles were accomplished which brought me to the close of the day, and also to a path that opened a comparatively easy passage up the steep.

For two days I wandered over these mountains, rising constantly from ridge to ridge until the summit was attained and passed, and at evening of the sixth day of the flight descended into a dark, cavernous defile, where I found a spring of water and many deer browsing around it. The mule meat, besides being so tough as to demand the exercise of my utmost powers of mastication, was now nearly gone. Here, for the first time, I discharged the rifle, bringing down a plump doe, whose skin and hindquarters I carried forward four or five miles and halted for the night, leaving the remainder as an entertainment for the wolves. Selecting a secluded spot under an overhanging cliff, and approached through a thick growth of brushwood, I kindled, for the second time, a fire, and prepared a meal of venison. Though unsalted and unpeppered, and without the concomitants of currant jelly or other desert, after the hard fare upon which I had so long existed, no epicure ever enjoyed with a keener relish the daintiest dish that I did, slice after slice, of the juicy and tender steaks. Venison will remain in a state of preservation longer than the flesh of any animal with which I am acquainted. Notwithstanding

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the weather was warm, I was not obliged after this to shoot a deer oftener than once in three days.

The seventh day found me toiling over a succession of mountains smoother, and of a more gradual ascent, than any I had yet crossed. My course here led in a southwest direction, having conceived the idea, which subsequently proved very erroneous, that it would conduct me to the Mexican state of Chihuahua. At length, arriving at the height of land, a wide prairie unexpectedly spread out before me, over which numerous Indian horsemen were riding, and at my feet stood an Indian town of at least three hundred tents.

The prairie extended to the west farther than I could perceive, but the mountains that bound its eastern terminus were distinguishable at a distance, as near as I could estimate, of twenty miles. Anxious to escape, at once, from so dangerous a vicinity, I lost no time in coming to a resolution, which was to make the detour of its eastern extremity. In order to do so, however, it was necessary again to retrace my steps many rough and weary miles; but perseverance, incited by an apprehension of immediate danger, enabled me to "overcome all things," insomuch that late in the evening of the day following the discovery of the town I had rounded the point of the prairie and was encamped in a snug and solitary fastness of the mountains that lined its western side. Until I had passed far beyond this Indian settlement, I exercised the same caution as if assured intelligence had been conveyed to them of the death of Rolling Thunder, and as if I knew they were on the watch for my approach.

For nearly two weeks now I was lost in a vast range of mountains, sometimes going forward, at others compelled to turn back, winding through deep hollows, and climbing

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over abrupt precipices, often suffering with hunger and parched with thirst. I doubt if civilized or savage man ever before or since made the passage of this sterile region. During the day I directed by course by the sun, always keeping in view, as far as practicable, in my zig-zag progress some prominent peak far in the distance. At night I was guided by the north star. However, there were many cloudy days and nights, during which I was unable to proceed with certainty, and consequently lost much time.

There were many difficulties, hardships, and dangers encountered on this lonesome journey, a correct description whereof it is impossible for me to draw, or the reader to conceive. For instance, I was frightfully annoyed by snakes. It has been seen on a former page that the sight of these reptiles always inspired me with emotions of dread and terror. There was a flat-headed adder I frequently discovered on wet ground and near streams and springs of water; rattlesnakes were everywhere; but there was another species, a kind I had never seen, and am ignorant of the name naturalists have applied to it. It was of a brown color, rather slim, and as often exceeding as falling short of nine feet in length. It inhabited the clefts of the rocks, and stretched itself out on the ledges in the sun. One of its peculiar characteristics was to blow, when disturbed, emitting a loud, disagreeable, unnatural noise, half hiss, half bellow. Frequently while laboring up the steep side of a mountain, drawing myself up a declivity by grasping slight rooted twigs that had sprung up in the cracks and crevices of the rocks, as my head emerged above the surface I was striving to attain, one of these monsters would raise itself to the height of three feet and blow directly in my face. It made my "locks," which, indeed, were "knotted and combined, to part, and each particular hair to stand on

end:" Bears were numerous, and occasionally a panther could be seen stealing noiselessly through the underwood, but these caused me very little, in fact, no apprehension whatever.

On the twentieth day Indians were again discovered. I had reached another valley early in the morning, and from a secure point was making observations, when I perceived them, to the number of a hundred horsemen, followed by a train of pack mules moving towards the west. There was no village to be seen, and I concluded, therefore, they were a party on a visit to some neighboring tribe, the buffalo-hunting season having passed. Watching them until the last one had disappeared and making myself certain others were not approaching, I hurried over the narrow valley at a rapid pace, and commenced another "crossing of the Alps."

By this time the horse had suffered so much from thirst and the want of forage that he had become emaciated in the extreme. His hoofs, likewise, were broken, and he was lame and spiritless. My moccasins, also, were worn out, my feet covered with bruises, and my whole body sore and stiff. In this condition we reached, one day, a singular spot, a deep basin among the hills, enclosing bottom land to the extent of ten or fifteen acres, covered alternately with patches of grass and thickets of brush and wholly shut in by lofty eminences. A spring, clear as crystal, gushed from the base of the mountain on one side, and a number of deer were feeding at different points. At this green spot in the desert I remained twelve days.

Though I had no mirror with me to make a particular examination, I expect my personal appearance was not especially attractive. Three years had elapsed since my beard or the hair of my head had defiled a comb, brush, or razor. My moccasins were dilapidated beyond redemption, my

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leggins and hunting shirt in shreds, torn in a thousand places by thorns and brambles. I still retained the deerskin band which bound my head and fastened on the forehead with a clasp, preventing the hair from falling over my eyes, but the little painted feathers with which the Sleek Otter had ambitiously adorned it, were long since blown to the winds of heaven.

My employments during the twelve days I halted in this solitary place were various. The most laborious portion of each day was spent in ascending one or the other of the adjacent peaks, and taking an observation of the surrounding region, in order to ascertain if an enemy was approaching. With much difficulty I cleared a small space in the center of the densest thicket, cutting out and pulling up the roots, whereon I erected a fireplace of stone, the object of taking so much pains being to kindle the fire where the thick shrubbery about it would, in a great measure, conceal the light. Here I went assiduously at work to provide for "a rainy day," in the matter of provisions, and to replenish my wardrobe. I shot four or five deer at different times, drying as much of the flesh as I deemed it convenient to carry, and manufacturing the skins into necessary articles of wearing apparel. The only tool I possessed was a knife, but with this managed to accomplish all I undertook. The moccasins were made of the hide while in its green state, applied to the foot with the hair inside, fastened with stout whangs of the same material inserted through holes made with the point of the knife and tied, and left in that condition to dry. I was familiar with the Indian mode of dressing buckskin with the brains of the deer itself, and had no difficulty in preparing new leggins and hunting coat. Perhaps the fit was not exactly admirable, nor the suit, taken as a whole, such as would be commended by a fashionable

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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man at a select party; nevertheless, it suited the society with which I was then associating, and was extremely comfortable. I delayed several days after these arrangements were effected on account of the horse, which, notwithstanding he had plenty of pasture and water, did not seem to recruit, but, on the contrary, to be effectually broken down.

However, I set out again at the end of twelve days, arayed in my "new clothes," and with the bundle of dried venison hanging at the saddle bow, wildly imagining myself in the neighborhood of Santa Fé. My course now led over a mountainous region, if possible more difficult, barren, and desolate than any that had preceded it. Water was rarely to be found, and in many parts there was not sufficient grass on a thousand acres to supply the horse with one night's provender. He constantly became more and more tenderfooted and lame, the flesh had departed from his bones, and the proud and fiery spirit with which he had pranced out of his native valley, amidst the salutations of the tribe, with the Rolling Thunder on his back, was gone—completely gone. I was now compelled to lead him, stopping frequently for him to lie down. At length, the supply of water I had brought with me from the last spring was exhausted, and I was obliged to leave him on the mountains.

Rolling up the buffalo skin enclosing my drinking horn and other articles, and tying it with the bridle reins into the form of a knapsack, I threw it upon my back, shouldered the rifle, and bidding the poor horse a sorrowful farewell, started on alone.

Now for the first time my heart died within me. For aught I could discover, the abodes of civilized men were as far off as when I began the long and tedious journey. I began to doubt myself, to fear that I had become crazed and lost, and instead of pursuing the southwesterly course

Pain and Suffering

I imagined, was only wandering round and round over the same ever lasting solitudes. Moreover, since parting from the horse, who had been as a companion to me, whose presence during the silent hours of the night, stamping and feeding round me, seemed like a protection, I was lonesome and desolate indeed. And I was sick in body as well as soul. My limbs had become swollen and the wounds and bruises that covered me inflamed and painful.

In this condition of body and mind, several days after my leaving the horse, I came upon a fountain of pure water, gushing out beautifully from a rock. The cool draught was so refreshing and its application to my burning body afforded so much relief, I fully resolved to proceed no further, but there linger through the remainder of my life, which seemed fast waning to its close. A night's rest, however, relieved me somewhat of pain, inspired me with renewed hopes, and animated me to make another attempt to drag myself wearily along. But day by day I grew weaker as I advanced, the vigorous strength and hardy constitution with which Providence had blessed me breaking down under these incessant struggles and privations. Very often while reclining on the ground, my feet resting on some little elevation to relieve pain, it seemed certain that sufficient energy would not return to permit me to rise again, and still more often I prayed God that when I fell asleep I might never wake again.

The fifty-sixth day of my distressing travels brought me to a rolling prairie of considerable extent, dotted with many small groves of timber. Into one of these I had made my way to avoid the hot beams of the sun, and was lying in the shade, in a drowsy, half-sleeping state, when I was startled by the sharp crack of a rifle close at hand. My first thought was—is it possible they have chased me so

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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600 far? Bounding to my feet, I held the rifle in my hands, ready to bring it to an aim as soon as necessity required, resolving, weak as I was, after such incredible suffering to stand on the defense. In the course of some ten minutes, instead of being rushed upon by a band of Indians, a mounted Mexican, wearing a wide-brimmed sombrero, came riding leisurely along, with a deer which had received its death wound from the discharge that had so astounded me, thrown over his horse's back, behind the saddle.

"How do you do?" he exclaimed, in mongrel Spanish, and much astonished.

Not knowing the character of the company into which I had so unexpectedly fallen, and deeming it prudent for safety to conceal my true story for the present, I walked up to him and addressing him in his own language, with which I am familiar, replied, "Sick and dying, will you help me, my friend?"

"How come you here?" he inquired.

"I have been lost among the mountains," I answered, "and have been trying to make my way to the settlements."

Much other conversation ensued, when he informed me he was one of a party of three who had been on a trading expedition to the Apaches, and were now on their return—that his companions were encamped not far distant—that they belonged to San Fernández, below Eagle Pass, near the Río Grande, and concluded by inviting me to accompany him to the camp. Perceiving how difficult it was for me to proceed, he dismounted and helped me into the saddle and walked by the side of the horse, conversing kindly, and evidently much interested in my behalf.

His companions were cooking when we arrived, and like himself, were greatly astonished at beholding me. However, they gave me a hospitable and generous welcome,

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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exhibiting the true spirit of the Good Samaritan. In their train were eight pack mules, loaded with buffalo robes and furs, the proceeds of their traffic with the tribes. Their kindness won my entire confidence at once, and without further hesitation I related the whole story of my adventures. The interest my previous story of being lost among the mountains had excited was vastly enhanced by this disclosure, and no pains were now spared to administer to my comfort and convenience. The eight packs were rearranged so as to afford me one of the mules to ride, and we started on.

The third day we crossed the Río Grande upon a raft, swimming the mules and horses, and passing through a number of frontier settlements, at all of which my misfortunes were related by the traders, and followed by the kindest treatment. On the seventh day thereafter, we entered the town of San Fernández. The names of these humane and generous men are Antonio Halleno, Josef de Silva and Mario Francisco des Lezzez. I owe them a lasting debt of gratitude which I can only repay by proclaiming their noble-hearted generosity to a poor suffering wanderer among the mountains, wherever this narrative may go.

I remained six weeks at San Fernández under the care of a physician, at the end of which time Josef de Silva accompanied me to Matamoros. From thence I proceeded to Brazos Santiago and shipped for Havana, where, having fulfilled my parting promise to Aikens to communicate the intelligence of his fate, in case I escaped, to his friend at Corpus Christi, I set sail in the schooner *Elizabeth Jones*, Captain William Hudson, and on the tenth day of November, 1858, reached the United States.

I cannot conclude this history of my adventures and misfortunes without once more endeavoring to direct attention towards those captives, less fortunate than myself, who

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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000 still remain among the Indians. My own observation, together with the knowledge obtained from the chiefs and warriors of the tribes to which I was so long attached, places the matter beyond dispute, that a large number of white prisoners, principally women, are held by them.

Their situation, above all others, is eminently one deserving the consideration of humane and philanthropic persons. The barbarity and degradation to which they are doomed, render them, truly, especial objects of pity and compassion, and whoever engages to accomplish their deliverance will enter on a work of Christian charity.

If the proper effort were made in the right direction, beyond question, many of them could be rescued. It would not require an armed invasion of the Indian territory; such an invasion, however salutary it might prove in other respects, would in all probability result disastrously to the captive. There is a peaceful and far more economical mode 727 by which their liberation can be effected, and this is 439 through the instrumentality of the traders.

These compose a privileged class among the savages; are protected rather than injured by them. They are relied upon for their annual supply of knives, hatchets, calico, and trinkets. Arrangements could therefore be made with the traders to purchase the white men and women belonging to the several tribes with which they have intercourse—purchases easily to be negotiated if supplied with the necessary means. In most instances they are without friends, the survivors of emigrant families, attacked and overcome while journeying to the distant West. Bearing always in remembrance the awful scenes of agony and torture it has been my lot to witness, I can never cease to plead with my countrymen to interest themselves in behalf of those who are still in

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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bonds, and subject to the same cruelties; ready, myself, 727
though prematurely old, to devote the remainder of my 439
days, without reward, to the accomplishment of their
ransom.

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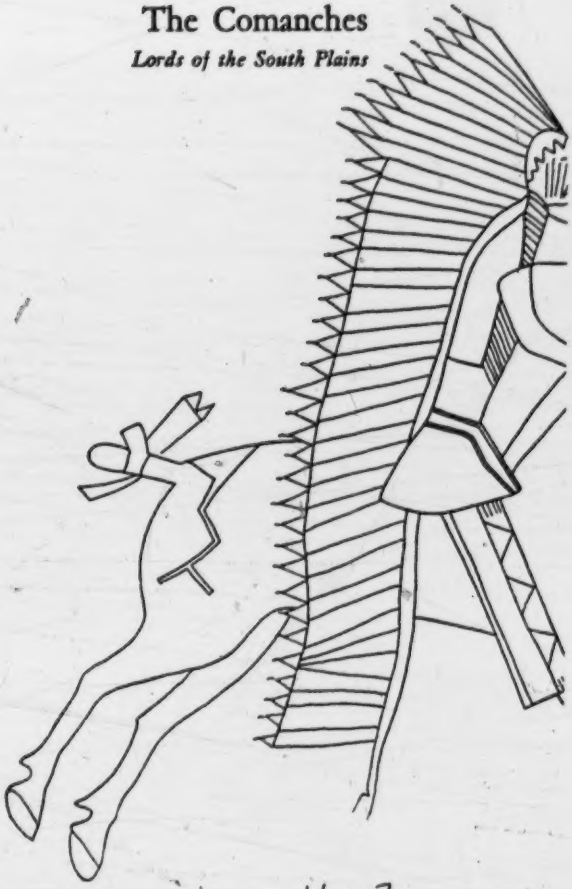

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THE Comanches

Lords of the South Plains

by ERNEST WALLACE &
E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

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To Sue Ellen Barton
and Ralph Linton

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Preface

114 THE Comanches were one of the great tribes of the American West. For a century and a half they successfully defended the High Plains and prairie country south of the Arkansas River against all intruders, both red and white. Their superb nomadic horsemanship, their dauntless military prowess, enabled them to guard well the vast, semiarid land they had won and claimed as their own. They made life unsafe for their enemies who dared to live near the periphery of the Comanchería.

Throughout the Southwest their name has become a synonym for wildness, fierceness, and savagery. They stopped the Spanish expansion from south and west. They blocked French plans for trade and held up the Anglo-American advance for half a century. The effect of the Comanche conflict upon the life and history of the Southwest was significant and dramatic.

Yet, for a variety of reasons, the story of the Comanches and their way of life has remained unwritten. No attempt at a comprehensive anthropological study of this people was made until they were visited by the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology. Subsequently, they were further studied by Miss Jeannette Mirsky in 1935 and again in 1940 by a group of linguistic specialists from the Department of Anthropology under the direction of Professor George Herzog.

In the notes and records of nineteenth-century military men, government agents, travelers and captive whites are many scattered pieces of information on the Comanches, yet they have not been previously drawn together.

Professor R. N. Richardson has published an excellent account of the historical relations of the Comanches in their conflicts with the whites throughout the nineteenth century in his book, *The Comanche*

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114 *Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

121 The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

114 Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of
[186] our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

Preface

and their ways should be true and adequate. They want their children 114
and grandchildren to be able to read this book when they are gone. 186
The memories of the old ways are to survive in print.

The chief informants used by Mr. Wallace were Wiley Yellow- 115
fish, *Pakawa* (Kills Something), John *Padoponi* (See How Deep the Water Is), *Pohawe* (Medicine Woman), and *Tawaka*. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data in question were recorded from them by him in the summer of 1945.

The chief informants used by the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group were Post Oak Jim, *Nayia* (Slope), *Tasura* (That's It), *Quasia* (Eagle Tail Feather), *Tɛnəβɜkə* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), Frank *Chikoβa* (Breaks Something), *Nɜmɜruiβɛtsə* (She Invites Her Relatives), *Hɜkiyani* (Carrying Her Sunshade), George *Kɔwino*, and Howard White Wolf. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data were recorded from them by Mr. Hoebel or by other members of the Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933.

The Reverend Robert Chaat served as interpreter and informant for Mr. Wallace in his work. Mr. Herman *Asenap* (Greyfoot) and Mr. Norton *Tekwitchi* (Skinny and Wrinkled) were the indispensable interpreters and go-betweens for the Laboratory field party.

We are also indebted to many other persons who aided one or 500
the other of the authors in their work. Among these are Professors Walter Prescott Webb and J. G. McAllister of the University of Texas, Mr. Martin Taylor and Mr. Max Penrod, educators to the Comanches, Professor R. N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Holden, Mr. O. A. Kinchen, and Mrs. Ida Vernon of Texas Technological College, and Mrs. Ernesteen Barton. A fond salute is given to the members of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology Comanche field party: Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett, Waldo R. Wedel, and F. Gore Hoebel (an ex-officio member). Mr. Joseph Casagrande generously made the manuscript of his unpublished dissertation on "Linguistic Accommodation to Acculturation in Comanche" available to us.

Illustrations and materials to be used in illustration for this book were kindly provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the University of Texas Anthropological Museum, and Texas Technological

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College. Their aid has done much toward making this book more valuable and attractive.

[122] Without the direct aid in subvention of research by the Allocations Committee of Texas Technological College and the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology, it is unlikely that this book could ever have been written.

Like any married authors who are members of university faculties we have been sustained, aided, and abetted by our knowing and indispensable wives.

To all these—our sincere thanks!

ERNEST WALLACE
E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

May 15, 1952

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Linguistic Note

104 IN THIS BOOK the alphabet of the International Phonetics System has been utilized for Comanche words and names. This method may, at the outset, present a minor difficulty for the person not trained in reading the symbols conventionally used in the system. However, we feel certain that all readers will appreciate the more accurate pronunciation of Comanche that can be conveyed through a scientific linguistic system.

Conventional vowel symbols are pronounced in the continental manner (i.e., *a* = *ah*, *e* = *ay*, *i* = *ee*, *o* = *oh*, *u* = *u*, as in *you*). Variant Comanche vowels are written and pronounced in the following wise:

ɔ = *aw*, ɜ = *e*, as in *er* (pronounced very broad, without sounding the *r*), ɛ = *eh*, as in *get*, ə = *uh*, as in *alone*, ʌ = *u*, as in *shut*. A colon (:) after a vowel signifies that it is prolonged and drawn out. A single quotation mark (') represents a glottal stop.

All Comanche consonants are written and pronounced as in everyday English, except the following:

β = the bilabial fricative, i.e., like a *v* except that the lips are held closed together instead of putting the upper teeth over the lower lip. (Try it!)

ɾ = a "flapped" *r*, one in which the tongue is first placed against the roof of the mouth and quickly let drop while forming an *r*.

ṭ = a dental *t*, formed by placing the tongue against the upper teeth instead of the fore-palate.

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I

Comanchería

ON a sultry summer day in June, 1875, a small band of starving Comanche Indians straggled in to Fort Sill, near the Wichita Mountains in what is now the southwestern part of the state of Oklahoma. There they surrendered to the military authorities.

So ended the reign of the Comanches on the Southwestern frontier. Their horses had been captured and destroyed; the buffalo were gone; most of their tipis had been burned. They had held out to the end, but the end was now upon them. They had come in to submit.

For a good 150 years, since first they had come down from the north, at first alone and later with the aid of their Kiowa allies, the Comanches had been the lords of the Southern Plains. They had decimated the pueblo of Pecos, within thirty miles of Santa Fé, New Mexico, so that in 1838 a pitiful surviving handful of this once-great pueblo abandoned it entirely. The Spanish frontier settlements of New Mexico had long been happy enough to let raiding Comanches pass without hindrance to carry their terrorizing forays into Old Mexico, a thousand miles down to Durango. They had fought the Texans, made off with their cattle, burned their homes, and effectively made their own lands unsafe for the white intruder. They had joyously fought and whipped at one time and another the Utes, Pawnees, Osages, Tonkawas, Apaches, and Navahos.

These were the "Spartans of the Prairies," of whom Thomas J. Farnham had written seven decades before, "their incomparable horse-

The Comanches

000 manship, their terrible charge, the unequalled rapidity with which they load and discharge their fire-arms, and their insatiable hatred make the enmity of these Indians more dreadful than that of any other tribe of aborigines."[1]

These are the people of whom this book is written.

101 To themselves the Comanches are "The People." They call themselves *nɜmɜnə*, from the root *nɜm*, meaning "human beings." It is not that they failed to recognize other peoples as human, too (they had no racist dogmas), but other tribes were less than Comanches, and *they* were "The People."

The English language had no word for them originally, of course. Nor did the Spanish. But the Spaniards of New Mexico enjoyed first contact with the Comanches and gave the tribe the name by which they were later to be known by Spaniard and American alike.

Early French explorers and the few Americans who penetrated the Great Plains early in the eighteenth century knew the Comanches under their Siouan name, Padouca. But Lewis and Clark, in 1804, knew them only by hearsay and older records. They mentioned the great Padouca nation, "who occupied the country between the upper parts of the river Platte and the river Kanzas," and who "were visited by Bourgemont, in 1724, and then lived on the Kanzas river. The seats, which he describes as their residence, are now occupied by the Kanzas nation; and of the Padoucas there does not now exist even the name."[2] The Padouca had dropped out of existence for the Americans until they were met again as Comanches far to the south a generation later.

It was the Spaniard who taught us to know the Comanches as Comanches. For many years the meaning of the new tribal name was obscure; for it had no roots in the Spanish tongue. Then, nine years ago, Marvin K. Opler unlocked the door to the mystery with a simple key. "Comanche" means "enemy"—not in Spanish but in Ute. In Ute, the word is more exactly rendered *Kòmántcia,* which in a fuller sense means "anyone who wants to fight me all the time." Generically the Utes applied this term to the Comanches, Arapahos, Cheyennes,

[1] J. T. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies (1839)* (vol. XXVIII of R. G. Thwaites [ed.], *Early Western Travels*), I, 149.

[2] M. Lewis and W. Clark, *A History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark*, I, 36–37.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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and Kiowas—all of whom they fought. After 1726, however, the Comanches became the special enemies of the Utes, who fixed the word *Komántcia* on them. The Spaniards picked up the word from the Utes, and the Americans from the Spaniards.[3]

101

In the sign language of the plains, the Comanches are known as the Snakes. The term is still in general use by older members of the tribe. The gesture is made by placing the right hand palm downward, with forearm across the front of the body, and moving it to the right with a wiggling motion. There are two known oral traditions purporting to explain the origin of this term. One, as reported by Quanah Parker, the last Comanche war chief to surrender to the Americans, attributes it to a band of Comanches who were migrating across the mountains to the northwest in search of better hunting grounds. After several days' journey a number of the people became dissatisfied, principally because of the colder climate. The leader called a council to calm their fear, but a part of the group could not be persuaded. In a fit of anger the leader compared his followers to a snake backing up in its tracks. From that day the universal sign language for Comanche has been "snake going backwards."[4]

The other version relates that when a wolf howled in front of a band of Comanches traveling south, part of the group considered it a warning to go no farther. They turned back. The rest selected a new leader and continued their southward migration. Afterwards the southern group referred to those who turned back as "Snakes," the term soon being broadened to include all who remained in the northland, Utes and Shoshones alike.[5]

[3] Equivalent spellings, frequently occurring in earlier literature, are *Comantz, Camanche, Cammanche,* and *Commanche.* For additional information pertaining to Comanche names, see M. K. Opler, "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," *American Anthropologist,* Vol. XLV (1943), 155–58; James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Bureau of American Ethnology (hereafter cited as B. A. E.) *Fourteenth Annual Report,* Part II, 1043; Robert S. Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States,* II, 126; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians,* 174; F. W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 30* (hereafter cited as Hodge, *Handbook*), Part I, 327, 594.

[4] Dick Banks to Bessie L. Thomas (investigator), March 29, 1938, Indian–Pioneer Papers (MS collection, University of Oklahoma Library), Vol. V, 61–62. Banks lived for a year with Chief Quanah Parker.

[5] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," Indian–Pioneer Papers (MS collection, University of Oklahoma Library), Vol. CX, 155.

The Comanches

174 The Comanches were relatively late arrivals in the South Plains. It has been suggested that they were encountered by Coronado and that previously they had made inroads on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, but the evidence is thin.[6] When first definitely identified by the whites, they were so closely associated with the Shoshones culturally and linguistically that it was impossible to distinguish between the two. At that time the "Shoshones" covered a vast area, including most of Wyoming, the entire central and southern parts of Idaho except for a portion occupied by the Bannock, northeastern Nevada, a small strip of Utah west of Great Salt Lake, the headwaters of the Snake and Green rivers, the upper Platte down to the vicinity of the junction of the North and South forks, part of western Kansas, and the Missouri River from the headwaters eastward for some distance. Lewis and Clark in 1805 found bands of Shoshones on the headwaters of the Missouri in what is now western Montana. They had been driven from their eastern home along the Missouri by the hostile Atsinas and Siksikas, who had by that time obtained firearms from traders to the east.[7]

The language and culture of the Comanches point directly to a Shoshonean origin for the tribe. History also substantiates an origin in Shoshone country. According to Crow tradition, the Comanches once inhabited the Snake River region. Omaha tradition places them on the Middle Loup River probably until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[8] By 1700, a noticeable shift toward the south had begun to take place. La Sever's map (1701) places the Comanches near the headwaters of the Arkansas, principally on the north side, at about its closest point to the *Grande Rivière Cansez* (Kansas River).[9] Étienne Veniard de Bourgmond in 1724 found Comanche villages on the upper Kansas River along the route that later became the Santa Fé

[6] G. P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," B. A. E. *Fourteenth Annual Report*, Part I, 523–24; J. P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," B. A. E. *Twenty-ninth Annual Report*, 477–78.

[7] Thomas Jefferson, *Message from the President of the United States Communicating Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River and Washita by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar*, 60; Farnham, *op. cit.*, I, 261.

[8] J. W. Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," B. A. E. *Seventh Annual Report*, 109.

[9] Waldo R. Wedel, "An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology," B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 112*, p. 4, map 4. The map is reproduced from a copy in the South Dakota Collection, I, 49.

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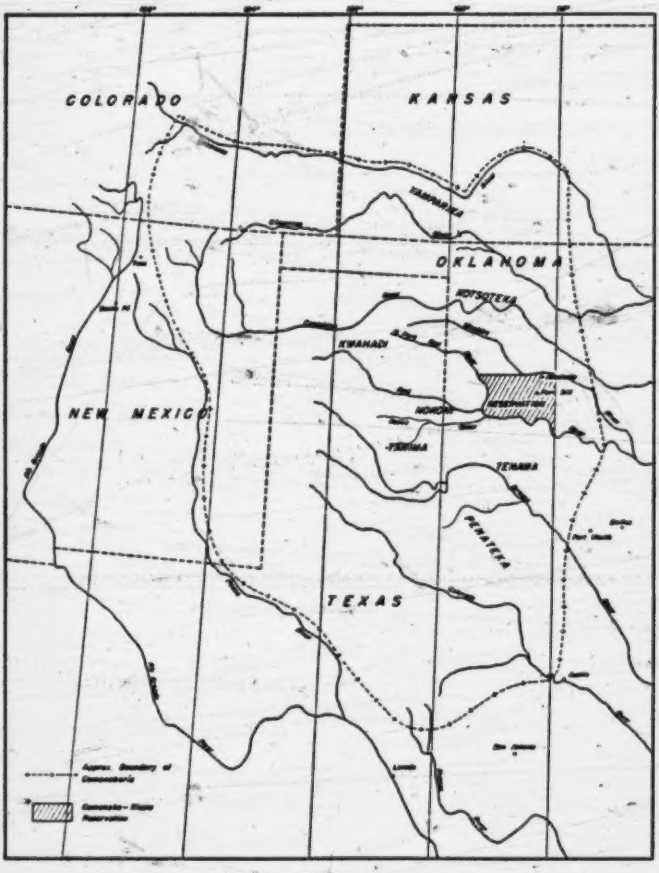

The Comanche Country

174 Trail, and located the tribe as occupying the territory between the headwaters of the Platte and the Kansas rivers.[10]

According to their own accounts, the Comanches came from the Rocky Mountain country north of the headwaters of the Arkansas to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas about 1700, having previously occupied the more northern region with the Shoshones. Their account is fairly well substantiated by historical records, and they were unquestionably identified in New Mexico in 1705.[11] So devastating were their incursions into New Mexico in the following years that a punitive expedition was sent against them into Colorado in 1719. No Comanches were found, but rumors were heard of French traders who were active among them to the northeast. Consequently, in the following year the Villasur expedition was dispatched to check the French. The venture met disaster on the Platte, and before the Spaniards could recover, the Comanches had moved into the territory of present eastern Colorado, southern Kansas, western Oklahoma, and northwestern Texas. For control of this territory the Comanches waged a long but successful triangular war with the Jumano allies of the French on their east, the Spaniards and their Indian allies in New Mexico, and the Apaches to the south. The Jumanos were never very formidable; Spanish power in the north was on the decline, and the Spanish system of control was not adequate to the Great Plains. The Apaches, after fierce resistance, were defeated. They retreated, leaving much of their Texas territory to the Comanches. Although Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico as late as 1786 still held the opinion that the Comanche stronghold was in what is now the state of Colorado, north of the Napestle (Arkansas) River, the Comanches, two decades before that time, had established their supremacy as far south as the San Saba country of Texas. Soon after the turn of the century, American explorers reported them between the Arkansas and the Río Grande,

[10] Henri Folmer, "Etienne Veniard De Bourgmond in the Missouri Country," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVI (April, 1942), 290–94; Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," *loc. cit.*, 109; James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," B. A. E. *Seventeenth Annual Report*, Part I, 161.

[11] Ralph E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, 301; Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777–1778*, 57.

extending from the headwaters of the latter eastward into the Great Plains.[12] 174

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their movement toward the South Plains, for Pike, Lalande, Pursely, Chouteau and DeMun, James, and others mention the Comanches' and Snakes' using trails along the edge of the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Platte to the Arkansas River and to New Mexico. Bandelier recorded that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited a Comanche village near Taos on a tributary stream near the head of the Canadian and traded the inhabitants guns, but a few years later the stronghold of the latter was to the east in what is now Oklahoma and Texas.

Any attempt to explain why the Comanches and the Shoshones separated is largely inferential. But if we may accept one Comanche tradition, the split occurred as the result of a dispute over the distribution of a bear which the Comanches had killed. The misunderstanding is supposed to have occurred on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo, Colorado, in the edge of the mountains.[13] Unable to reconcile their differences, the Comanches drifted southward while the Shoshones gradually shifted to the north and west.

A somewhat more plausible legendary account was given to the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933 by Post Oak Jim, then aged sixty-four. It is as follows:

« « « Two bands were living together in a large camp. One band was on the east side; the other on the west. Each had its own chief. 174 539

Every night the young boys were out playing games—racing, and so forth. They were having a kicking game; they kicked each other. One boy kicked another over the stomach so hard that he died from it. That boy who was killed was from the West camp. He was the son of a chief.

When this thing happened, the West camp cried all night. In

[12] Jefferson, *op. cit.*, I, 78.

[13] G. B. Grinnell, "Who Were the Padoucas?" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXII (1920), 260.

The Comanches

174 the East camp it was silent. Next day, they buried that boy.

539 The boy's father, the chief, had his crier go around announcing that there would be a big fight to see which camp was best so as to settle the question of his son's death. There was big excitement. Both sides had good warriors. The East camp ran to its horses. "If they really mean what they say, they will kill us," they cried.

The two sides lined up, and the chiefs met in the center. Then an old man from the East camp came up into the center. He wept and told them it wasn't right for them to fight among themselves like that. They took pity on him. Then other old men came out and gathered with him. "You have plenty of enemies to fight," they cried. "These were just boys playing a game. Don't take this thing so seriously. You are setting a bad example for the children. Whatever this chief wants to keep the peace, we'll do it."

That chief called it off. He said he did not realize what he was doing. So the East camp brought them horses and other things.

After that the chief had his announcer tell the people it was time to move camp. "We have had bad luck here. There has been hard feeling." While they were still there, smallpox broke out.

Then they broke up. One group went north; those are the Shoshones. The other group went west. » » »

174 Simple legendary explanations never tell the whole story, however, for many factors are at work when a people is on the move. It is most probable that the Comanche migration to the South Plains was in part forced by the incursion of more powerful tribes equipped with muskets coming from the northeast. Quarrels may have given no more than the impetus to split the groups.

It was an aggressive southward movement of the Blackfeet and a western advance by the Crows and other eastern tribes that forced the peoples occupying the western fringe of the plains between latitudes forty-three and fifty-two to retire toward the south, west and northwest. According to Flathead tradition, shortly after this eastern impact the Shoshone-Comanches disappeared from the vicinity of the Missouri.[14]

[14] James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau: The Flathead Group," B. A. E. *Forty-fourth Annual Report*, 304, 318.

However, the southward migration cannot be explained altogether as the result of superior enemy pressure alone. The Comanches had obtained the horse, being among the first tribes of the plains to do so, and the desire for a more abundant supply of horses was certainly an important motive for moving closer to the source of supply: the Southwest. 174

Of the Shoshones, starving and pitiful, whom Lewis and Clark finally found in the mountains of Idaho, the captains observed, "Within their own recollection they formerly lived in the plains, but they have been driven into the mountains by the Pawkees, or the roving Indians of the Sascatchawain, and are now obliged to visit occasionally, and by stealth, the country of their ancestors."[15] And in explanation of this state of affairs, "they [the Shoshones] complain that the Spaniards refuse to let them have firearms. . . . In the meantime, say the Shoshonees, we are left to the mercy of the Minnetarees, who, having firearms, plunder them of their horses and put them to death without mercy."

The gun was the crucial factor, as was clearly recognized by the headman, Cameahwait, who declared fiercely, "But this should not be, if we had guns; instead of hiding ourselves in the mountains and living like bears on roots and berries, we would then go down and live in the buffaloe country in spite of our enemies, whom we never fear when we meet them on equal terms."[16]

The Comanches escaped this pressure by drifting southward into relatively unoccupied areas, where they finally consolidated their position against all comers. Furthermore, once they had horses, they could really launch forth on a buffalo-based economy, and the buffalo was ever present to the south. Thus, "I do not believe the Comanches were driven into the country," declares Professor R. N. Richardson. "On the contrary, it seems that they visited it, found that it was well suited to their mode of existence, and proceeded to fight for it and take it."[17] While taking the more desirable country, they abandoned the less desirable northern territory, and they were better off because of this action.

[15] Lewis and Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 445.

[16] *Ibid.*, 450.

[17] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 19.

The Comanches

174 By 1836 the Comanches claimed and occupied all the country from the Arkansas River on the north to the Mexican settlements on the south, and from the Grand Cordillera on the west to the Cross Timbers on the east, according to the report of the United States Indian agent for the Osages.[18] Actually, however, the territory occupied was hardly that extensive. Comanchería, the land of the Comanches, may reasonably be said to have been in the mid-nineteenth century the vast South Plains area bounded on the north by the Arkansas River, on the west by a line extending from the headwaters of the Arkansas River southward near the Mexican settlements of Taos and Santa Fé, on the southwest by the Pecos River, on the southeast by the white settlements in the vicinity of San Antonio, Fredericksburg, and Austin, and on the east by the Cross Timbers, or approximately along a line slightly west of the ninety-eighth meridian: an area more than six hundred miles from north to south and four hundred miles from east to west. Although they shared parts of this vast country with the Kiowas and the Wichitas, it was theirs to have and to hold. Outsiders, red or white, who entered it did so at their peril.

133 What was the country like? It is generally level. The eastern portion is slightly rolling with an occasional range of rugged hills. And in the east-central section the solid masses of the Wichita Mountains, geologically one of the oldest exposed land masses in the United States, rise sharply from the plains. The western part is the level tableland of the *Llano Estacado* or Staked Plains. A number of rivers cut southeastward across Comanchería, but even so the distances between them are relatively great. From north to south, the Arkansas, Cimarron, Canadian, Washita, Red, Pease, Brazos, Colorado, and Pecos constitute the major streams. They are low-banked, sand-filled, and sinuous; and because of the gypsum and other minerals contained in their waters, they are not satisfactory for drinking. In the areas contiguous to the headwaters of the streams are escarpments, arroyos, buttes, and canyons. These "breaks" are generally barren and desolate, but contain small running streams and springs that provide an occasional oasis with drinking water, grass, and cottonwood. They give

[18] P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages, to Governor M. Stokes and General M. Arbuckle, April 25, 1836 (MS copy in National Archives, Western Superintendency file, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

excellent protection from the winter blizzards that frequently sweep across the open plains, and horses could always forage on cottonwood bark. 133

Growing in the sandy soil along the larger streams were extensive thickets of plum bushes and grapevines; and in much of the eastern portion, pecans, walnuts, haws, and persimmons contributed to the food supply of the Comanches. The mesquite, the tree most commonly found, provided wood for fires and its beans were valuable food for both people and horses. The rocky hills and sides of canyons were covered with scrubby cedar. Other trees found here and there were the ash, elm, redbud, oak, willow, bois d'arc, hackberry, chinaberry, cottonwood, and chaparral. 137 [313]

During the hot, dry summers, the area appeared to be a desert, but shortly after a spring or summer rain, its wide expanse became a sea of nutritious grass. Its warm, salubrious climate, the abundance of edible plant products, and the millions of wild animals which provided food, clothing, and shelter made the area a paradise for nomads who lived by hunting. The Comanche was well off and rarely haunted by the spectre of starvation. 511

To the west were the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of New Mexico, within striking distance of a Comanche raiding party, or near enough for trade, but sufficiently removed to leave the raider safe from any punitive force that might attempt to pursue him through the adjacent mountainous terrain and across the wide, level expanse of the intervening *Llano Estacado*. The watering places and landmarks were so few as to make any expedition into the region extremely hazardous except for those thoroughly acquainted with the routes. 133

To the south lay a great expanse of wild waste in the Big Bend country; through this ran a network of Indian trails, by way of water holes, from the central homeland of the Comanches into northern Mexico. Beyond the Río Grande the settlements of northern Mexico were isolated and poorly defended. Striking across this wasteland, the Comanches raided settlements far south of the river, returning with many captives and thousands of horses. The great desert expanse prevented pursuit by forces sufficiently formidable either to punish the marauders or to recapture the plunder, and the Comanches prospered as plunderers.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Meeting of the Dragoons and Comanches in 1834
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

[Facing p. 14]

A Comanche camp
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

The Comanches

133 The streams which led southeastward became highways for Comanche parties raiding the scattered and undefended Anglo-American settlements of Texas. The hills and breaks made it easy for them to strike and to escape with little danger of being apprehended from this quarter.

The Cross Timbers provided a sort of natural boundary on the east which the Comanches seldom passed. Along the margin, numerous weak, semi-sedentary groups of Indians for a time formed a barrier of sorts against white encroachment on the Comanche hunting grounds. From these tribes the Comanches obtained some vegetable products. North of the Red River the Five Civilized Tribes stood between the Comanches and the whites.

The Cheyennes and the Arapahos ranged the country north of the Arkansas River, making Comanchería fairly safe against white aggression from that direction. Moreover, white expansion was generally westward, not southward.

Such was Comanchería—a land ideally suited for a nomadic warrior people. And the Comanches were true warrior nomads. To them a sedentary existence was intolerable. Although a band normally confined its headquarters within a general area, within this area it was always on the move, and its principal encampment might be many miles from its location during the previous or the following year.

361 Before moving from one area to another, the camp or band headman (or war leader, if a raiding party) usually selected a familiar location which scouts had reported satisfactory. They understood how to select a site well-suited to their needs. The choice of a camp ground, even for a night, involved many factors. Primarily there were five considerations: food, shelter, safety, convenience, and forage for the horses. Colonel Richard I. Dodge relates that he once followed a Comanche raiding party for thirty days before he found a single camp site which he could have approached without discovery.[19]

361 171 Among the Plains Indians there is evidence of some tribal differences in preferences for camp sites. The Sioux, who had a mortal dread of ambuscade, preferred to camp near water but away from all timber; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, on the open prairie but near timber; the Osages, Omahas, and Shawnees, in a dense thicket. The

[19] Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 239.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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His-oo-sán-chees (The Little Spaniard)
From a painting by Catlin
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 15]

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

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One end
484 of a tipi pole was tied on each side of a horse or a mule and the other
492 end allowed to drag. This formed the travois on which the family belongings were piled until it was hardly possible to see the back of the animal bearing the burden. Children too large to be carried on their mothers' backs but too small to ride alone were tied on some old horse to be led or herded along with the procession. As an improvised
[758] ambulance for the wounded or ill, a buffalo skin was stretched between the poles of the travois, forming a sort of bed upon which the invalid was fastened for the journey. It frequently happened that some of the pack animals became frightened and scattered their burdens for miles over the prairie. Men and boys divided their time along the route between hunting and driving the remuda as they moved across a land they claimed as their own—Comanchería.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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II

The People

THE artist George Catlin wrote of the Comanches, "In their movements they are heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one of the most unattractive and slovenly-looking races of Indians I have ever seen; but the moment they mount their horses, they seem at once metamorphosed, and surprise the spectator with the ease and grace of their movements."[1] 142

Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, who spent many years with the United States Army on the plains, also thought them a poor thing on the ground but something special on a horse. "In stature," he wrote, "they are rather low, and in person often approach corpulency. . . . The men are short and stout, with bright copper faces and long hair which they ornament with glass beads and silver gewgaws. On foot they are slow and awkward, but on horseback graceful."[2] Captain Marcy saw more of detail and paints a richer picture. "The men are about medium stature, with bright, copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline noses, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard. They never cut the hair, but wear it of very great length, and ornament it upon state occasions with silver and beads."[3] Compared to the usual run of Plains Indians (Cheyenne, Crow, Blackfoot, and Kiowa, for example) the Comanche *is* short, squat, and heavy. Actually, the Comanches

[1] Catlin, *op. cit.*, II, 74–75.

[2] Richard I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, p. *xxv*.

[3] R. B. Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 161.

The Comanches

142 are medium in stature. Goldstein reported an average height of five
[141] feet, six inches for Comanche men and five feet for women.[4] This makes them slightly taller than their Ute and Shoshone relatives. The men are robust and well proportioned, but the idle and well-fed among them are inclined to be fat and paunchy. Their chests are wide and fairly deep, and they carry themselves erect and with unassuming
[145] dignity. Possibly because of their hard life, the women age somewhat prematurely.

The skin color of the Comanche varies from light brown to a reddish brown or copper, depending to some degree on the amount of exposure to weather and sunlight. The females tend toward somewhat lighter pigmentation than do the males. Like that of any Indians, the hair of a Comanche is black and straight and medium in texture. Among the females there is a greater tendency toward coarse-
[145] ness. It is a rare Comanche who has cause to worry over baldness or graying in old age. Such facial hair as a Comanche naturally grows is
[302] sparse and light, but until recently even this feeble growth had little chance, for it was the style to pluck it out, roots and all—eyebrows included.

On their heavy bodies the average Comanches carry relatively
[141] large, round heads with a cephalic index of eighty-three. This gives them a somewhat greater relative head breadth than neighboring Plains tribes and the Shoshones, too. The shift from the Shoshone norm may quite possibly be the result of extensive admixture with Mexican Indian captives. The forehead is broad, and the supraorbital ridges vary from slight among the females to moderate in the cases of males.

Eye color varies from medium brown to black like that of all Mongoloids. The eyes of the children are a much clearer, richer brown than those of adults. The sclera of adults is commonly bloodshot, and, contrary to popular notions about sharp-eyed Indians, the vision ap-

[4] Marcus S. Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XIX, (1934–35), 289–313. Goldstein's study is the best account of the physical appearance of the Comanches. It was made in 1931 and comprised thirty-five "unmixed" males, twenty-five "unmixed" females, and twenty-five hybrid individuals representing every surviving important band. The numerical figures and comparisons used in this description are taken from Goldstein's study. Otherwise, the description is based on field notes taken by Ernest Wallace in 1945.

pears to be weak. The eyes of about one-half of those studied by 142
Goldstein appear to be slanted slightly to moderately. In most cases the outer canthi are inclined upward, but a few were observed with a downward slant. The so-called Mongolian fold is common among children, but disappears in most cases by the time adulthood is reached.

The Comanche face is broad, even for an Indian people. Goldstein asserts that "In this respect the Comanches are probably exceeded by few or no other tribe." On this wide visage is a broad, high, [141]
and long nose with an index of 69.4 as compared to 67.5 for old American whites. In breadth it exceeds that of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest, but is practically the same as that of the Shoshones. The depression of the root of the nose is shallow to medium in depth, and the bridge is straight to moderate. The mouth is moderately wide, and the lips are thin. The lower jaw appears to be moderately developed; the chin firm and of medium prominence. All in all, the Comanche exhibits not a "finely sculptured" visage, but rather a heavy face with fairly massive features. In form as well as in personality he is a rugged individual.

Since their arrival in the South Plains, the Comanches have in- 144
corporated great numbers of Mexican captives into their tribe, and Mexican infiltration continues today at a rapid pace. Mixture with the Negro seems to have occurred with extreme rarity, if at all. Clark Wissler found that only 62.9 per cent of the Comanches were "full-blood" in 1910, as compared to 96.9 per cent of the Wichitas and 24.2 of the Iowas, the two tribes having respectively the greatest and least amount of alien admixture.[5] That this admixture has continued at an accelerated pace is shown by Marcus S. Goldstein, who believed in 1931 that not more than 10 per cent of the adults could, with any assurance, be considered fullblood.[6]

The Comanches are members of the Uto-Aztekan language family 197
in the sense that English-speaking peoples are Indo-European. The Uto-Aztekan family, which is one of the truly great linguistic stocks of ancient North America, has three major branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean peoples, whose home is centered in the Great Basin region of what is now western United

[5] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 148.
[6] Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *loc. cit.*, 290.

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197 States, may in turn be subdivided into three linguistic groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages differing both phonetically and morphologically. First, the Mono-Bannock group includes the Monos, the Northern Paiutes (Paviotso), the Snakes of eastern Oregon, and the Bannocks. These are the northernmost representatives of the Uto-Aztekan family. The second group is composed of tribes speaking the mutually intelligible Ute-Chemehuevi dialects of the region where Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona meet, there being also fragments in California. In this group are the Southern Paiutes, the Utes of western Colorado and eastern Utah, the Kawaiisus of south-central California, and the Chemehuevis along the Colorado River in southeastern California. The third group is the Shoshone-Comanche-Koso (Panamint), which includes the Shoshones proper, the Comanches, the Gosiutes in the vicinity of Salt Lake, and the Shikaviyams of California.

The area occupied by the Shoshonean linguistic group was exceeded in North America by that of only two other families, the Algonquian and the Athabascan. In the north the Shoshonean area extended far into Oregon, meeting Shahaptian territory at about forty-four degrees north latitude. It included southwestern Montana and southern Idaho and may have extended into Alberta, Canada. The eastern limits of Shoshonean territory are unknown. Tradition declares that when the Blackfeet entered the Great Plains, they found the country occupied by the Snakes (Shoshone-Comanches). Lewis and Clark reported that the Shoshone bands encountered upon the headwaters of the Columbia had within their recollection lived upon the plains east of the Rocky Mountains and had been driven into their western mountain retreats by tribes who had obtained firearms. Western Kansas, western and central Wyoming, western and central Colorado, northern and eastern New Mexico, and northwestern Texas were at one time Shoshonean territory. The family reached west across the Sierras into California, holding a narrow strip of that state in the northeast, with the western boundary extending in a southwesterly direction to the Pacific between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth parallels.[7]

[7] Edward Sapir, "Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language," American Academy of Arts and Sciences *Proceedings*, Vol. LXV, 5–6; R. M. Zingg, *A Reconstruction of Uto-*

The People

Although most people of this vast area spoke kindred languages, there was otherwise a wide variation of cultural patterns. The Shoshoneans to the west of the Rocky Mountains differed in culture from their kinsmen east of the mountains. The inhospitable nature of their country compelled those west of the mountains to accept a less adventurous and humbler mode of life. The most western representatives of the family subsisted chiefly on fish caught in coarse grass-nets, on rabbits, snakes, rats, grasshoppers, seeds, and roots. Yet southward a few hundred miles lived the Puebloan Hopi of northeastern Arizona, who differed so widely that they have little in common but linguistic affinity. They lived in villages of adobe and stone houses, were skillful potters and weavers, and derived their subsistence mainly from gardening. On the north and along the entire eastern border of the territory were the Bannock, Ute, Shoshone, and Comanche divisions. None of the latter cultivated the soil, and all derived the greater part of their subsistence from the pursuit of large game. Only the Comanches, however, were dependent almost entirely on the buffalo herds for a livelihood. 197

The linguistic relation of the Comanches to the Northern Shoshones is so close that it was patent to early observers, and it was on this basis that the derivation of the Comanches from Shoshonean roots was first posited. The two languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. When one of the authors[8] was doing field work with the Seed-eater Shoshones in Idaho, his Shoshone acquaintances were convinced that he and his wife could speak Shoshone because they could bandy some Comanche words. The fact that they could also phonetically record Shoshone and read it back was the clincher. Susie Lipps, one morning before starting work, said, "At breakfast my husband said, 'Our friends can talk Shoshone. Last night I dreamed and they talked to me in our tongue.'" Her reply was, "Of course they can. They can even write it down

Aztekan History, 1–4; R. H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 190–313; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 555–56; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, "Map of North American Indian Languages," American Ethnological Society *Publication No. 20*. Powell also regarded the Shoshonean-speaking peoples as constituting a distinct linguistic family.

[8] E. A. Hoebel.

The Comanches

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took [198] place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nəmənə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands.
361 The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

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alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite 621
extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band [582] as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence [591] tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting [593] strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to [606] furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes [574] of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group— 600

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

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The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

194 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

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Mexico spoke of three major bands. For a time, the Anglo-Americans designated three divisions—Northern, Middle, and Southern—but as they came to know the Comanches better, the practice was replaced by the use of definite band names. Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, was able to identify eight bands. James Mooney listed thirteen, but Robert H. Lowie, in 1912, recorded only four. R. B. Thomas, who lived with the Comanches for many years during the early reservation period, knew of twelve bands, six of which had already been absorbed or exterminated;[14] and at the time of the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Study Group in 1933, living Comanches still remembered thirteen.[15] Multiple names are usually recorded for a band, and in some instances it is impossible to determine whether two names refer to the same or different bands. Regardless of how many bands there may have been, during the nineteenth century there were five outstanding divisions, the others being small or transitory groupings.

The largest and best-known divisions of all the Comanches was the *Pɛnatɜkə*, or Honey-Eaters. Other names by which the band was known include *Teyuwit* (Hospitable), *Tekapwai* (No Meat), *Kuβatatpat* (Steep Climbers), *Pɛnanɜ* (Wasp or Quick-stinger, i.e., Raiders), and *Ho'is* (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived adjacent to the Spanish and Texas settlements in the vicinity of the Cross Timbers belt and along the headwaters of the central Texas rivers. A map of the country between the frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico, based on the expeditions of Captain Marcy from 1849 to 1852, locates the Southern Comanches, or Wasps, between the Pecos River and Fort Phantom Hill.[16] Their residence in the timber belt explains some of the various names by which they were called. They lived near the settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Early references by the whites to the Comanches pertain largely to this band. According to their own traditional accounts, the Wasps had moved so far away that for a long time they had no contact with other Comanche groups. They were

[14] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*, 153.

[15] E. A. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 12–13.

[16] Annie H. Abel (ed.), *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map (unattached).

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174 rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yampatikə*) and Antelope bands
619 (*Kwəharenə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyeka*), or *Nɔkoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief
[765] who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔkoni*), because of the tabu
[551] forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyeka* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsueka*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

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so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica*. The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainə*, or *Yamparikə*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nɜm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika*. In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni*, it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

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[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers;* 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

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174 According to their own accounts, they came around 1700 from the Rocky Mountain country, north of the headwaters of the Arkansas
619 River, to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas. Previously they had inhabited the country with the Shoshones. Governor Anza in 1786 located them as ranging across present northern Colorado and south to the Arkansas River. The accounts indicate, however, that the Yap-eaters felt at home south of that stream also. During the nineteenth century they camped generally on the south side of the Arkansas River and along the Canadian, the Arkansas being considered the northern boundary of their territory. They raided, however, far north of that stream across Kansas and Nebraska.

Another populous band, although little known until towards the close of the pre-reservation period, is the Antelope or *Kwɜharɛnɔ*. The name of the band is indicative of its life on the open plains where antelope were plentiful. And because they lived and traveled on the [293] glaring, treeless plains, these Comanches carried on their backs a square of rawhide that could be held over the head as a sunshade. Hence they were also nicknamed *Kwahihɜkɛnɔ*, "Sunshades on Their Backs." William Clark called them Qua-he-hu-ke, which he said meant "back-shade," because in their treeless country the only way to shade the face was to turn one's back to the sun, but we doubt the correctness of this interpretation.[21] Before the Comanches migrated to the South Plains country, the Antelope band was located just south of the Yap-eaters. The two bands probably drifted south about the same time, and then the Antelopes made the *Llano Estacado* their home and challenged all intruders. Within the wild depths of the Tule and Palo Duro canyons they found protection from the winter blizzards of the uplands and safety from their enemies until Colonel MacKenzie bearded them in their stronghold on September 27, 1874. They harried the frontier of Texas as much, perhaps, as any other Comanche band, and they were the last of the Comanches to submit to the efforts of the United States to bring them under control. For years they scoffed at their beef-eating kinsmen on the reservation, and did not submit until they had been drubbed repeatedly by superior military forces. It has been argued that present-day Comanche

[21] W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 119.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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dialects, traditions, and customs are largely Antelope.[22] To what extent this is true is impossible to judge, but even a casual student of Comanche culture cannot fail to note that the influence of the Antelope band is strong. These people are reluctant to accept innovations to this day, a few still preferring the tipi and the arbor to the modern house. 174 619

In addition to the above-mentioned major groups, there were a great many bands of less importance. Some of these are difficult to distinguish because of similarity of band names and variations in spelling the same name, and also because some bands had become extinct or had merged with others before becoming known to whites.

The *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), mentioned by James Mooney, were so called because they are reputed to have eaten the liver of their game in its raw state. Although Mooney found only one survivor at the time of his visit, Agent E. L. Clark reported several survivors living with other bands in 1881,[23] and Goldstein was able to identify the band in 1931. The Liver-eaters were neighbors of the Wanderers and with them composed a part of the group known as Middle Comanches. [262]

A third band which lived in the same region as the Wanderers and the Liver-eaters was the *Tenawa* or *Tenawit* (Down Stream), also noted by Mooney. The *Tenawa* and *Tanima* were frequently confused by the whites, partly because of the similarity of the sound of the names and partly because they inhabited the same geographic region. So confused are the accounts of the two that it is often impossible to determine to which band the name refers.[24] The Down Streams were practically exterminated in a battle with the Mexicans about 1845, and the band did not exist when the Comanches went on the reservation in 1869, or else they had been absorbed by other bands. R. N. Richardson believes that the Yupes or Jupes listed by Governor Anza as one of three major divisions known to the Spaniards in New Mexico in 1786 were the *Tenawa*.[25] The Liver-eaters

[22] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*

[23] Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

[24] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 21, lists the following variations of the two words and states that it is an incomplete list: Te-na-wish, Ta-ne-wa, Te-ne-wah, Te-na-wa, Tan-nee-wish, Ten-en-e-ree, Te-ne-mes, and De-na-vi.

[25] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

174 and Down Streams often camped with the Wasps and were probably
619 strongly influenced by them.

The *Itɛta'o* habitually put up more pemmican than they could eat in a winter. They threw the surplus out in the spring, and other Comanches, seeing their dumps of dried, black meat along the trails, dubbed them *Itɛta'o,* "Burnt Meat."

The *Wɔ'ai* carried a name meaning "Wormy," but more inelegantly, according to That's It, the full name means "Maggots on the Penis." They are supposed to have married incestuously, and hence they were also scornfully called *Namaɜ'ɜnɔ*, "Something together" or "Intercourse." Mooney reported them to be extinct at the time of the reservation period, but the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Group was able to record evidence of them in 1933. There were a few living in the vicinity of Geronimo, Oklahoma, in 1945, and only a few of the older tribal informants had no knowledge of this band.

The *Mutsanɜ* (Undercut Bank) were so called because their favorite camp site was underneath an overhanging cliff. According to Mooney, who called them *Mot-sai,* they were annihilated in a battle with the Mexicans sometime around 1845, presumably suffering the same fate as the Down Stream band. Mooney also identified a group which he called *Pagatsu* (Head of the Stream), probably the same band as that recorded by the Santa Fé Laboratory group as *Panaixtɜ* (Those Who Live Upstream).

A band famous among the Comanches but little known to whites was the Water Horse (*Pahuraix*). According to That's It, who was a member of this band, these people were taller and slimmer than most other Comanches. They were reputedly great runners who excelled at lacrosse. They bet prodigiously on their prowess, and like the Lamarkian giraffe they are supposed to have gotten their height by stretching—they piled their bets so high! In time, on account of their propensity for huge stakes and their unbeatable skill at lacrosse, other bands refused to play them. Robert S. Neighbors says that they were called *Par-kee-na-um* (Water People) because they usually camped near lakes and streams.

The *Wia'nɜ* (Hill Wearing Away) was a very small band of six or seven families which camped in a gap between a large hill and a rapidly eroding smaller one.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Mooney and Neighbors both listed a few Comanche bands that were not noted by any other reporters. Mooney's *Pohoi* (Wild Sage) were nothing more than some Wind River Shoshones who joined with the Comanches. Neighbors mentions a *No-na-um* band, who he said "live in the high prairie where there is no timber or running water, and never leave that kind of country." He also notes an *It-chit-a-bud-ah* (Cold People) band and a *Hai-ne-na-une* (Corn-eaters). All of these later groups were of little importance or had by mid-nineteenth century been absorbed or otherwise become extinct. 174 619

How many people all these bands added up to is hard to say. At best the Comanche tribe was never very large. Mooney estimated its population to be 7,000 in 1690.[26] Governor Anza of New Mexico reported that Comanches visiting Santa Fé and Pecos Pueblo in the first half of the year of 1786 included twenty-three chiefs representing 593 lodges or around 6,000 persons. In the same year Anza's emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, reported that he visited an area about one hundred miles square north and east of the Pecos River where he found eight villages of "Kotsoteka," containing a population of 6,000 to 7,000.[27] The figure given by Ortiz is quite likely exaggerated, but if it is approximately correct, then the tribe at that time could have numbered as many as 20,000 to 30,000. 161

It was several years after the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory that government agents learned much about the Comanches. One of the first reliable estimates of their military strength was by P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages. He wrote in 1836, "The numerical military forces of the Comanches (which includes all males old enough and not too old to bear arms) is estimated, and always has been, by the Mexican Government at 8,000, but from my personal observation, I have been induced to calculate the number of Comanche warriors at 4,500."[28] In the following year United States military authorities estimated the number of warriors at about 5,400.[29] Based upon the figures given by Chouteau and Bonville, the population of

[26] James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX, No. 7, 13.

[27] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 290–91, 325, 327.

[28] Agent Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 25, 1836, *loc. cit.*

[29] B. L. E. Bonville, captain, Seventh Infantry, to Commissioner, General Roger Jones, January 24, 1837 (MS copy, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Archives, I).

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161 the entire tribe must have been between 15,000 and 20,000 in the eighteen thirties. This would be in accordance with Mooney's estimate of 19,200 for the period 1841–45 and Neighbors' *Report* of 1849 which places the population at 20,000, with 4,000 warriors as "a careful estimate." A more conservative estimate made by Charles Bent, who was well informed, placed the number of lodges at 2,500, or 12,000 people, in 1846. This would approximate W. B. Parker's 1854 calculation of 20,000 for both the Comanches and Kiowas.[30] Twenty thousand is the population of only a small-sized city in America today. But a rough, tough, roving tribe of warrior-plunderers who with their women and children numbered 20,000 on the Southwestern Plains a hundred years ago was then a formidable group.

161 It could be that all the early estimates were somewhat high in the light of later knowledge of the Comanches, but they may not be
165 unduly so, for all evidence substantiates the conclusion that the population was declining rapidly in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A low birth rate, disease, and constant warfare on all sides were cutting down "The People." The decline continued until after the turn of the century. In 1866 the Comanches were estimated at 4,700.[31] By 1884 the population had dwindled to a pitiful 1,382,[32] and in 1910 there were only 1,171 survivors. By comparison, the total population in 1910 for all Plains Indians was estimated at 50,208 by Clark Wissler, and he doubts that their combined population at any time ever exceeded 100,000.[33]

[30] Charles Bent to Hon. Wm. Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 10, 1846 (from Santa Fé), Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 6–9; Parker, *op. cit.*, 231.

[31] Charles Bogy and W. B. Irwin, special agents, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1866 (National Archives, Treaties, Talks, and Councils file, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

[32] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1884, 79.

[33] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 44, 48.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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III

The Horse and the Buffalo

THE dominating characteristics of the "typical" nineteenth century Plains Indian culture, according to Clark Wissler, were the use of the horse, the buffalo, the tipi, the soldier band, and the Sun Dance. Although Wissler tagged them as a "typical" Plains tribe, the Comanches never developed the soldier bands beyond a weak, incipient imitation, and it is unlikely that the Sun Dance acquired any meaning for them, since the only one they held was a prelude to disaster. The warfare pattern of the Plains they could readily adopt, for that was an individualistic game. The military societies, however, called for a kind of internal organization which was foreign to their Shoshonean traditions, and since there was no notable functional advantage to be derived from such societies (as there was from warfare), they sensed no need to develop the military clubs to any great extent. The Sun Dance functioned as a tribal integrator for most Plains tribes and as a focal point of Nativistic revivalism for the peripheral Shoshones at the beginning of the twentieth century, but in the case of the Comanches, again with Shoshonean atomism in mind, it appears that there was no interest in tribal integration until sudden disintegration faced them in the eighteen seventies. Then their interest in the Sun Dance as a tribal catalyst produced for them nothing but disaster and the destruction of the old culture.

If, then, the Comanches lacked the typical military societies and the Sun Dance, what was there that made them typical Plains In-

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171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 174 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millenia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic*, vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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These forces brought about an immediate and sweeping change in the life of the Comanches that was even more drastic than in the case of most other Indians. Walter Prescott Webb does not exaggerate in his claim that "Steam, electricity, and gasoline have wrought no greater changes in our culture than did horses in the culture of the Plains Indians."[2] With the horse, the Comanche achieved incomparably greater mobility; he mastered the buffalo; he had an exchangeable asset that made him a greater trader; he was transformed from an impotent infantryman into a fierce cavalryman—a dangerous warrior and insatiable raider. As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation, the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. It enabled the hunter to provide plenty of food, clothing, and shelter for his dependents, the raider to take more plunder, and the warrior to take more enemy scalps with less danger to himself. His life became exuberant, his culture efflorescent. 177

The Comanche had not been devoid entirely of a beast of burden for use in transportation previous to the acquisition of the horse. He had used the dog to draw his travois, as we have already seen. But his movable goods when toted by dogs were meager and his household poorly furnished. After obtaining the larger animal, he merely enlarged his dog harness, lengthened the travois poles, and "as an indication of appreciation of the boon which had been conferred upon him, named the horse the God-dog."[3] But the difference in the load that could be moved and the distance that could be covered as a result of the change increased considerably the area from which the Comanche could draw sustenance and the load of household appurtenances he could move about in his wanderings. 177 492 231

The horse had other practical advantages over the dog. It could eat grass and even the bark of trees. In the lush plains of the past it was easier to feed in large numbers than was the dog. Furthermore, its flesh could be eaten in times of food scarcity, while the dog, although nutritious, could not be eaten because of the coyote tabu. The skin of the horse provided shelter, robes, saddles, and rawhide thongs. The mane and tail were converted into ropes and bridles. The Comanche hunter was no longer compelled to stalk his game on foot. 177 231

[2] W. P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Conflict of Civilization*, 13.
[3] *Ibid.*

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177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

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« « « I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican (a personal name) wanted in claim. 231 681

They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.

I told them I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another horse just as good.

Atsaci answered, "We want that horse or none."

I tried three times to try to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, "All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough." I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaci I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

"What?" he said.

I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my "daughters" (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. "If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take my daughters back from you. You are my son-in-law, and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love." » » »

With that Breaks Something won his point.

Killing another man's favorite horse was akin to murder, and in two Comanche cases people were killed in revenge.[4] Favorite horses were emotional objects, like people. 231 [685]

Just how and when the Comanches first obtained horses is not known, but within a short time after they migrated to the South Plains they possessed them in great numbers, and, henceforth, a considerable portion of the male's working hours were spent astride a horse. The first modern horses on the plains were brought by Coronado and De Soto, but those escaping from these expeditions could not possibly have been the progenitors of all the herds of a later date.[5] The Spaniards of northern Mexico possessed a great many horses,

[4] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–70.

[5] For this point of view, see Francis Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 429–30.

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231 some of which escaped and became truly wild. Others were stolen. Most of the horses to reach the plains at an early date probably came by way of New Mexico.

231 Available evidence indicates that the Plains Indians began using horses some time after 1600. None of the tribes could be classed as 174 having a horse culture before 1630, and probably not until after 1650.[6] Once the Indians of the South came to use horses, the spread northward was rapid. By 1659 Indians to the northwest of the Spanish settlements in New Mexico were raiding the ranch stock, and within another five years raiding was common practice. A significant number of horses, no doubt, were captured by the Indians in the revolt of 1680 in New Mexico, and it is likely that many of these fell into the hands of Plains Indians either as a result of trade or of plunder. In 1675 Fernando del Bosque found no trace of horses or horse-using Indians while exploring along the Río Grande from the mouth of the Conchos to the Pecos River and eastward. The Mendoza-López expedition eight years later likewise found the banks of the Río Grande still barren, but as it progressed northeastward, it encountered Indians with a few horses. The Spanish expedition into East Texas in 1690 found a few horses near the mouth of the Colorado River, and in the same year it was reported that about thirty were seen near the Arkansas-Texas boundary and that the Caddo to the west had four or five per lodge.[7]

All the tribes west of the Missouri had horses when first encountered by the French and English. The Pawnees and other tribes along the Missouri had horses as early as 1680. Du Tisne in 1719 reported that two villages of Pawnees in Oklahoma near the Arkansas River had three hundred horses, which were highly valued and not for sale. By 1724 the edge of the horse belt had reached the neighborhood of the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. By 1754 the Blackfeet had horses in general use both for pack and for riding, having obtained their supply from the Shoshones or Comanches. By 1770 the dispersion had reached its northern limit except for a small extension

[6] Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 112–17.

[7] Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *loc. cit.*, 429–32.

into the timbered area. The Shoshones of Idaho had obtained their horses by the route west of the continental divide about 1690 to 1700, or approximately twenty years before horses had reached the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. 231 174

Ponca tradition credits the Comanches with having the first horses seen by the people of their tribe. According to it, the Comanches at the time fought on horseback, using the long-handled stone battle-axe as their principal weapon. Furthermore, the Poncas claim that the Comanches had thick covers of overlapping pieces of rawhide to protect the breasts and sides of their animals. The Comanches taught the Poncas how to ride and to use the horse as a beast of burden. Soon afterwards they left the country, and the Poncas knew not where they went.[8]

The Comanches probably acquired horses as early as, or before, the Shoshones. They certainly had them by the time they moved into the South Plains. They were raiding in New Mexico in 1705. The next year, the Apaches in the northeastern part of that province suffered from Comanche horse-raiding expeditions. Comanche raiding in New Mexico apparently became progressively more frequent, for in 1719 the governor of the province sent a punitive expedition against the Comanches in an attempt to check the forays.

How many horses the Comanches accumulated is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Clinton Smith reported that his band had about 6,000 head, about one-half of which were the property of the chief; and that sometimes within a single night horses by the thousands were captured or stolen.[9] Captain Marcy estimated that the most successful warriors owned from fifty to two hundred animals each. By comparison, a Sioux considered himself wealthy if he owned thirty to forty.[10] The Antelope band, with a population of less than two thousand, had about 15,000 horses and 300 to 400 head of mules in 1867. Modern Comanches say that A Big Fall By Tripping owned 1,500 horses at the time of his death, although he was so fat he could 231 174 556 [492]

not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois.

[8] Alice C. Fletcher and Frances La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 27*, 79–80.

[9] Clinton and Jeff D. Smith, *The Boy Captives*, 50–51.

[10] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of America* (vol. I of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*), 160.

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

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received at least one horse. Some unimportant people got as many as five or six, and the Cheyenne chiefs many more.[13] 728

The numerous wild herds which roamed the Southern Plains afforded an ever ready supply to any Comanches who could take them—frequently a difficult task. The mustang, which played an important part in Comanche culture, was peculiarly fitted for its role. Small, agile, and tough, it was capable of surprising speed and possessed of great endurance. Its small, pointed, alert ears and quick, wicked eyes often signalled approaching danger before the rider himself was aware of it. The mustang was also a good forager and could obtain his own food even in the winter, when he was forced to live on bark and twigs. His life was in a way as hard and unadorned as that of the Indians. The frugal, wiry little creature became the fitting symbol of the equally frugal cultures of the Plains Indians. 224

The Comanches resorted to several methods of capturing wild mustangs. One necessitated building a corral, usually near or around a water hole, with diverging wings. The unsuspecting animals were driven between the wings until they entered the pen and were trapped. The Kiowas used this method extensively; the Comanches only occasionally. The Spaniards also used the plan, but it was so similar to the old Indian method of impounding antelope that it is probably an Indian adaptation of an old way to a new situation. In 1852 the Comanches were using "corrals into which four hundred or five hundred head could be driven."[14] Fortunately, a good description of such a corral in use before 1836 has survived. The corral was situated in an opening in blackjack timber. It was oval in shape, the opening being at one end. The fence was a stockade formed of blackjack posts set close together on end with brush and limbs of trees piled against the outside of the fence. The wings, made of brush, were heaped up high and wide, so that a horse could neither see through nor jump over them.[15] Once inside the pen, the mustangs were prisoners.

After the introduction of firearms, wild horses were often captured by "creasing"—a delicate task requiring expert marksmanship. To crease a horse was to shoot it through the muscular part of the

[13] G. B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 63–66.

[14] Anon., "Reminiscences of Service among the Comanches," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, June, 1882, 662–63.

[15] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 292.

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224 neck above the vertebrae. If the marksman could hit it there and not fracture the spine, the animal dropped to the ground paralyzed for two or three minutes. A neat trick! This gave the hunter time to rope and tie the mustang before it knew what was happening. It would soon recover, however, and when the wound healed, be as good as ever.

Young horses that had been driven from the herds by stallions were often found on the prairie in considerable numbers. When such a herd was discovered in a convenient location, the Indians would drive out a few gentle, old mares as lures. The young horses would mingle with the mares, and after a time some of them could be taken.

Lassoing was a popular Comanche method of capturing wild horses, even though relatively few animals were taken in this manner. It was an art in which the Comanche was often an expert. The skill required and the danger involved in lassoing a wild horse gave young men a real chance to show off and gain prestige while enjoying an exciting sport. It would seem natural that, other things being equal, a horse running free could not be overtaken by one carrying a rider and that the best of the wild horses would get away. The Comanches were wily enough to see to it that other things were not always equal.

In the wintertime or early spring, cold weather and lack of food sometimes made the wild horses thin and weak. At such times a chaser mounted on a fast horse that had received good care could readily overtake the mares that were thin from suckling colts or those that were heavy with foal—and even some of the stallions. In the summer, according to Post Oak Jim, wild horses became so fat that they were sluggish on their feet. Then it was possible to run them down on a good horse that had been kept in trim. In any event, by ganging up on a wild herd, a group of riders spread over a wide area could drive the herd toward a second group of riders hidden in a clump of underbrush or behind a hill. As the herd came near, the concealed Indians would dash suddenly into their midst and do their roping before the wild beasts had recovered from their surprise.

If there was no convenient hiding place, as often there was not on the open plains, the chasers sometimes undertook to surround the herd. In their efforts to break through the circle, the wild horses were forced to pass close enough to some of the riders that they could drop a noose over them.

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The Horse and the Buffalo

Of all the techniques of taking mustangs, one of the easiest was to ambush them at the water hole. It was the habit of the wild horses to feed as much as ten or more miles out on the prairie from the nearest water. They would munch on the grass until thirsty. Then they would run the whole distance to the nearest hole. Hot and thirsty, they guzzled their bellies full. The Comanche, mounted on a good, rested horse, could dart from his ambush and quickly take a waterlogged mustang which he could not even have approached a few minutes earlier.[16] 224

In capturing the hard-to-take stallions, however, the best way was to stalk them with a team of co-operating hunters. Each herd tended to move about within a limited range of territory; when flushed, it was likely to travel in a circle, returning eventually to or near the spot where it was originally found. To accomplish this end, one or more horsemen kept the herd continuously on the move without allowing it either to eat or to drink. This was not too difficult, for the stalkers, by remaining on the inside of the circle, traveled a much shorter distance than the herd. When their own mounts wearied, the riders were replaced by others or were supplied with fresh mounts. This procedure was continued without let-up for two or three days or until the herd became exhausted, when a number of riders on fresh mounts rode in and lassoed their pick of the wild horses.

To catch a wild horse is only half the job—if a man intends to ride him. There is yet the breaking to be done. The mustang was choked into exhaustion, thrown to the ground, and subjected to having the breath of the captor blown into its nostrils. The "wild" hairs were pulled from around its eyes. A headstall or hackamore, a loop of rope about the under jaw brought up and tied about the neck with a knot that would not slip, was put on the animal.[17] The captive was usually tied to a gentle mare in such a way as to keep it from injuring the mare during its first efforts to escape. While the horse was still tied to the mare, the owner handled it enough to make it gentle. After a few days it was set free, and thereafter followed the mare wherever she went. When the time came to ride his wild mustang, 492

[16] Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 187.

[17] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 67; Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Pacific with a United States Government Expedition*, I, 186–87.

492 the Comanche usually took it into a sand-bottomed creek or into deep water for his first mountings. This precaution took the bounce out of the bucking and made for softer landing.

721 Capturing wild horses had its points, but to the Comanche stealing them was better. And the Comanche was the top horse thief of them all. When he went raiding, it was sometimes for scalps, but usually he was more interested in plunder and horses than in killing.

Acquisition of horses by plunder appealed to a Comanche, for it enhanced his prestige. Taking horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for valor and cleverness, and it was in its own right a form of coup: stealing horses from enemies was a distinguished mark of honor, and those most successful in this enterprise were highly respected. Captain Marcy reported that Is-sa-keep, a chief of one of the Northern Comanche bands, said that he was the father of four sons who were a great source of comfort to him in his old age for they could steal more horses than any other men in his band.[18] Some, like Rhoda Greyfoot's father and his two brothers, made it a point of honor never to return from a raid without horses.

The Comanche taking a guarded horse was a ghost. There are instances on record of Comanches' stealing hobbled and guarded mounts of soldiers. Colonel Dodge says that a Comanche could crawl into a "bivouac where a dozen men were sleeping, each with a horse tied to his wrist by the lariat, cut a rope within six feet of the sleeper, and get away with the horse without waking a soul." The Colonel also cites an instance of two Comanche raiders entering a stable under apparently impossible circumstances and making off with two of the best horses. The stable was built of heavy timbers set on end surmounted by a heavy plate doweled into place. The stable yard was enclosed by a heavy picket fence with similar dowel construction. Both yard and stable were guarded by sentries. Yet one stormy night the two Indians cut the dowels, removed enough timbers to permit a horse to go through, and made away with the two best animals without alarming either sentry. They were some sixty miles away before they were overtaken.[19]

[18] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 159.
[19] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 401–402.

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The Horse and the Buffalo

Northern Mexico afforded a golden harvest of horses with little 721
danger to the Comanche raiders. Padre Jacob Sadelmeyer wrote in 1744 that the Comanches were raiding the Río Grande frontier for horses. Long years of internal strife and revolution after revolution had impoverished the Spanish borderlands, and the poor inhabitants were without adequate means of defense. Spanish and Mexican authorities, fearing revolution, resolutely sought to deprive the people of arms. The fierce Comanche raiders struck the defenseless towns, haciendas, and ranches like a whirlwind, capturing thousands of horses, mules, and cattle, and many Mexican children. They swept south to Durango, within five hundred miles of Mexico City, and over Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, San Luis, and Nuevo León. "For days together," said one traveler who passed through the country from Mexico City to Santa Fé in 1846, "I traversed a country completely deserted on this account, passing through ruined villages untrodden for years by the foot of man." The same authority stated that from the fall of 1845 until the time of his visit in September, 1846, on the northern frontier of Mexico "upwards of ten thousand head of horses and mules have already been carried off, and scarcely has a hacienda or rancho on the frontier been unvisited and everywhere the people have been killed or captured.[20]

When "Dot" Babb, for many years a captive and later an adopted 192
warrior-member of the Comanche tribe, expressed the view that the Comanches had a limited vocabulary,[21] he was reflecting the view of earlier centuries that primitives are incapable of abstract thought—an incapacity reflected in paucity of language. Of course, it is perfectly true that primitive peoples, whose simpler cultures have fewer objects to identify and fewer abstract concepts demanding expression, do have need for fewer words. But this is no indication of any inability to refine a vocabulary. Boas pointed out long ago that Eskimos, to whom the condition of snow is a life and death matter, have more than a score of words for snow in various degrees of temperature, crystallization, moisture, and compactness. LaBarre, in his recent work among the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, who made potatoes their mainstay in prehistoric times, recorded more than two hundred words

[20] George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 112.
[21] Babb, *op. cit.*, 144.

for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieka*), a reddish brown (*ɛkakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*tɔsa*), a blue (*epixtuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔtɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*ekaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛkasənaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsənato*), or black (*ḍuu:-tsənato*). And finally there were the red (*ɛkanaki*), yellow (*ohanaki*), and black (*ḍuunaki*) ears.

Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 862.

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feet to a post. Two men grabbed the hind legs, and the operator sat between the legs to do his cutting.[24]

Comanche horses were not ordinarily shod, but a man's favorite horse, if tenderfooted, was fitted with a rawhide boot soaked in water and tied over the sore hoofs.[25] Other riding horses had their hoofs toughened by walking them slowly back and forth near the heat and smoke of a fire.[26]

Among the Comanches, horses were private property. Each member of a family who was large enough to ride had one or more mounts of his own. The young child was usually given an old, gentle mare. The women had their riding mounts as well as mules and gentle horses for packing. Large numbers of mules were frequently found in the Comanche camps around the middle of the nineteenth century. Captives, before they were adopted into the tribe, were also forced to ride mules to lessen the danger of a break for freedom.

Josiah Gregg was of the opinion that the Comanches had a universal custom of marking their animals by a slit in the tip of each ear.[27] Contemporary Comanches deny this, however, saying that any Comanche could distinguish one horse from another by looks just as easily as he could tell one person from another. After all, the Comanches lived with their horses.

Most accounts by early explorers on the plains agree that the Comanches were among the best horsemen the world has produced. Baldwin Möllhausen, a German scientist and traveler who crossed the Southern Plains in 1853, observed that from earliest childhood to the last days of his life the Comanche was continually on horseback. "Indeed, he makes but an awkward figure enough on foot, though he is no sooner mounted than he is transformed; and when with no other aid than that of the rein and heavy whip he makes his horse perform the most incredible feats," which gave him a feeling of independence and superiority.[28] Marcy stated that it was while the Co-

[24] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[25] Informant: Slope.

[26] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races*, I, 518, n.136; Parker, *op cit.*, 203.

[27] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 433.

[28] Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184.

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492 manche was mounted that he exhibited himself to best advantage. "Here he is at home and his skill . . . is truly astonishing."[29]

492 One of the first things a Comanche child learned was to ride. He
726 started riding in a pack on his mother's back long before he could
868 walk. Next he was strapped to her saddle on a gentle mare. By the time he was four or five he was off on a pony of his own. Both boys and girls were taught to ride with or without a saddle. Girls were taught to ride astride and became almost as much at home on horseback as boys. But it was not enough for the Comanche boy merely to learn to ride. He had to be a trick rider. Day after day, month after month, he practiced in drill. He learned to pick up objects from the ground while his mount was traveling at full speed. At first, small and light objects were selected, but as the boy grew older and more proficient, heavier and more bulky objects were exchanged for the lighter ones, until at last, unassisted and at full speed, he might be able to pick up from the ground and swing across his horse the body of the heaviest man. To rescue a fallen comrade was the highest obligation of any Comanche warrior. To leave a comrade on the field to be stripped, mutilated, and scalped by desecrating enemies was a disgrace to The People. Every man was expected to be able to meet the challenge when the need arose—and he had to be able to do it alone. Generally, however, rescues were made by two men working togther. Rushing neck by neck on either side of the prostrate person, both riders stooped at the same instant and swung the body in front of one of the riders. This stunt was practiced over and over on all kinds of ground until riders and ponies could do it without a hitch.

492 In attack, the Comanche, like other horse Indians, made his mount
726 a mobile shield between himself and his enemy. How many a trooper or pioneer within his defensive corral of wagons has cursed at the scudding Indian whirling about him, loosing arrows from beneath his horse's neck, with nothing showing but a leg hooked over the horse's backbone! The key to this fancy trick was a loop of rope attached to the cantle or, if the rider was bareback, plaited into his steed's mane. With the loop slipped over his head and under his outside arm, a trained rider (and what Comanche was not?) clung to

[29] R. B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 54*, 103.

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the side of his horse with both hands free for shooting or picking up heavy objects while riding hell bent for leather.[30]

Thus it was that Homer Thrall imaginatively saw the Comanche as "the Arab of the Prairie—the model of the fabled Thessalian 'Centaur,' half horse, half man, so closely joined and so dexterously managed that it appears but one animal, fleet and furious."[31]

Long before they got horses, the Comanches, like their Shoshone cousins, liked to put a good bet on a stick game or an arrow-throwing contest. Small wonder that in later years they took to horse racing with gusto and mighty bets.

In one popular race the contestants started from a line and rushed full speed toward a tree, the one touching it first being the winner. In another they rushed at a pole resting horizontally about six feet from the ground. If a rider stopped his horse a moment too soon, he failed to touch the pole; if a moment too late, the horse passed under the pole, possibly leaving the rider dangling to the pole or thrown to the ground. In still another contest, two strips of buffalo hide were stretched across the track about six to ten feet apart. The starting point was about two hundred yards from the strips. The contestants jumped their mounts over the first strip, reversed their direction, and raced back to the starting point. The horse which failed to get beyond the first strip with all four feet or which went beyond the second lost the race regardless.

Most Comanche racers were "doctored" for a race. An owner had a medicine man chew up some unidentified medicine which he spit in the horse's mouth or ear. Whatever its specific effect, it was power in the Comanche view. No woman could come near a racer when it had had medicine made for it, and after racing, both horse and rider went into a creek to wash off the effects of the medicine.

In many instances horse racing proved to be really profitable business for the Comanches—who were not the least loath to fleece a sucker. Colonel Dodge has left a story of a race which the officers at Fort Chadburne, Texas, to their regret arranged with some Comanches. After the first bets had been laid, the Comanches innocently

[30] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 331; Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 103.

[31] H. S. Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas*, 445.

492 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of
525 thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[32]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household
224 friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse.
262 No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

271 When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available,
237 there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining
415 was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[32] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo 237
burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and [372]
cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep
some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed
with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of
buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fash-
ioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasion-
ally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions.
Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were [286]
made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture cloth-
ing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When prop- [281]
erly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it pro-
vided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it
constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before [286
the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide 415]
provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the In- 773
dians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty
years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33] 539
In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was
Ka:wus, the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

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old man all alone on the field. He just kept walking back and forth until, at last, he jumped back into the draw. The People kept looking. Then they saw him come out of the draw as a bird flying up and over the mountain.

Now The People wondered how they could get over the mountain to see. At last they thought of two birds. One was Owl. He flys quietly. The other was Quail. He walks quietly.

These two went over the top of the mountain, and there they saw a single tipi facing east. At sunset they landed near it.

After dark Owl said, "That's what we're here for. I'm going."

As he lit on the tipi pole, the old man inside said, "Uh, there's an Indian."

Owl flew back to Quail and told him, "He knew I landed, and when I flew away, he said, 'Uh, the Indian is gone.' "

Then Owl and Quail went up close together. They could hear someone talking. Then there was no sound for a long time, so Owl told Quail to go up to the tipi. Quail went up and peeked. Three times he looked. Then he went back to Owl. "There are three people there," he said, "an old man, his wife and daughter."

They waited a long time, this time—until midnight.

Then the daughter spoke. "Mother," she said, "let's have something to eat."

Owl said, "There they go. They've got plenty of meat."

Then they waited another long time, and again they heard the girl ask for something to eat. But her mother warned her, "Sh-h-h, don't talk like that. You can't tell how those Indians travel."

Owl nudged Quail, "She means us."

This happened three times when finally the old man said they should eat. So the woman opened a parfleche and took out lots of meat. When they were through eating, she just swept the suet and loose chunks to the back of the tipi.

Then they went to sleep. Quail went up and snitched some pieces. "Here's your meal," he said to Owl. Then they flew back to The People with some meat in their claws.

They exclaimed, "My, they have lots of meat, we shall have to go around the mountain to get at that stuff." So they moved camp. They packed all their stuff on ten horses, representing each band.

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The old man saw them coming. "What do you want?" he asked them.

"Oh, we're just here for a visit."

He was suspicious, nevertheless, and he drew a line from a tree to a stump, telling them to camp on the other side and not to cross the line. For three successive days he visited them, but he always kept them from coming to his camp. Every time he would say, "I don't know where we can get any meat to eat at all."

Ka:wus was there with The People. He could turn himself into any form. "It's up to you," The People told him. "You have to figure out how to get meat. He isn't ever going to give us any."

"There is only one way," *Ka:wus* replied. "Just leave it to me. Now you people break camp and move away." Then he changed himself into a puppy.

The old man followed after The People to see where they went. After a while, the daughter came to see if she could find anything in their old camp. Just that little puppy was there.

"Oh, you poor little puppy," she cried out. "You're mine." But the pup backed off like it was shy.

"Don't be afraid," she coaxed it. "From now on you are never going to be hungry. I'll prove it to you now. Come on!"

With that she opened the door to the tipi, and *Ka:wus* went in. There was a hole in the floor, and down there he saw a hundred thousand buffaloes!

Just then the old man came back. "Take that dog out," he ordered. "You can see from the look in its eyes that it is a human being. Take it out, or I will kill it."

The old man followed his daughter outside the tipi as she did what she was told. She put the puppy down, and then her father went away again to see if The People were coming back. As soon as he was out of sight, she picked the puppy up and took him right back in the tipi.

"You'll never get hungry," she kept consoling him, and she showed him all those buffaloes.

Then he began to act like he was getting nervous, and he jumped right out of her arms. He jumped around and shouted just like a human being, stampeding the buffaloes. They smashed down the door, and out they poured.

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773 That dog was still in there. The girl grabbed a club to brain
539 him, but he turned back to his human form. Hanging on to the side of a buffalo, he rode out without her getting him. He made straight for the hills, and there he saw that mess of buffaloes.

With that he went straight back to his people.

"How did you make out? What happened?" They wanted to know.

He told them, "Tomorrow at sunrise those buffaloes will be right at our door," he said.

After that they always had plenty of buffalo to eat. That is how they got them. » » »

136 The American bison, or "buffalo," as it is commonly called, is not really a buffalo at all. It is a gregarious bovine ruminant, one of the largest members of the family *Bovidae* that also includes cattle, sheep, goats, and antelope. It is a close relative of the bison of Europe, although quite different in appearance in many respects. It is of rather early origin. Recently discovered fossil remains are said by geologists to belong to the middle Pleistocene age, to be not less than four hundred thousand years old.

The first buffalo seen by Europeans was in 1521 by Cortez in the menagerie of Montezuma. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the first European to report seeing buffalo in Texas. Pedro de Castañeda, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, recorded that there were so many of them he did not know what to compare them to except the fish in the sea; they were so thick that many times his party was unable to go through them.

The buffalo were found on the whole of the Great Plains. The eastern limit of the buffalo land followed roughly from the north along the ninetieth meridian to the northeastern corner of Iowa. Then it bore slightly to the southwest, crossing the Red River about the ninety-eighth meridian, ran south in Texas to about the thirty-first degree of latitude, entered the southern part of New Mexico about the one hundredth and fourth meridian, and roughly followed the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the north. Thus the entire Comanchería fell well within the buffalo range.

Within this area the vast herds drifted back and forth in seasonal

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migrations. In the fall they moved south from two hundred to four hundred miles to winter in a more favorable climate, drifting north again with the coming of spring. In spring and summer the herds shifted away from the mountains; in winter, toward them. 136

The number of buffalo on the plains before commercial slaughter began reached a figure that staggers the imagination. In Kansas alone, it has been estimated that the bones of thirty-one million head were gathered and sold for fertilizer between 1868 and 1881.[34] A vast herd comprising considerably more than four million animals was seen by competent witnesses in 1871 on the Arkansas River between Fort Zarah and Fort Larned. The main herd was fifty miles deep and twenty-five miles wide—and this was only one of the many herds in existence at the time. On one occasion when the Great Herd moved north, it extended more than one hundred miles in width and was of unknown length, and it was estimated conservatively that the herd contained over one hundred million head.[35] Small wonder that the Comanches forgot to a great extent the starvation fears that beset the poor Shoshones!

Buffalo hunting for the Comanche followed fairly closely a regular pattern. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a co-operative venture. The great communal hunts occurred during the summer months after the seasonal moulting was done and the hides were in their prime, and during November and December when the hides, covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of fur, were best for winter robes. Preparation for the great fall hunt began in October, and the time was determined in democratic assembly at which everyone was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders made the important decisions. 224

Having decided upon an approximate time and location for the hunt, the entire camp became alive with activity. Runners were sent to seek a location for the temporary hunting camp. It must be near water and timber. Scaffolds must be erected for drying the meat. When all was ready, the young and able-bodied men, women, and

[34] Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail*, 203.

[35] Martin S. Garretson, *The American Bison*, 44–64. The estimate was made by General Philip H. Sheridan, Major Henry Inman, and Robert M. Wright who lived for fifty years in the heart of the buffalo country.

224 older children left the main camp for the operating base. Mules and pack horses were used to transport the hunting tents, which consisted simply of one or more undercoated skins thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes. They were also to bring back to the main camp the many hides and quantities of meat that would be taken. Only weapons, tools, and supplies that seemed necessary for the occasion were carried.

224 There was plenty of hard work for all concerned, but it was work spiced by anticipation of the excitement of great feasts and sharpened
535 by gay social activity. This was really the "Harvest Season." On at least one and possibly for several evenings before the hunting party left the main camp, the people gathered for the Hunting Dance at the central meeting place of the village just as lengthening shadows faded into darkness. The hunting party itself often continued to dance for one or more nights after they had left the main camp. There was no spiritual significance attached to the dance; each Comanche informant insists that the people danced because they "were glad they were going on a hunt." Why not? For the dance a fire was built, unless a bright autumn moon provided sufficient light. There
[801] were two, four, or more drummers and singers, always an even number. The drummers and singers were men who had good voices, but for such strictly social dances no medicine powers were essential. Men and women lined up facing each other, and when the music began, the women crossed over and selected a partner. The dancers joined at intervals in the singing. They wore their everyday clothes, for no special ceremonial dress was necessary on this occasion. During the dance one man took care of the fire, but the wood was gathered by any of the enthusiastic dancers who wished to help. About midnight the dance ended and the people scattered to their lodges for sleep.[36]

224 The regulation of communal buffalo hunts under the strict surveillance of military police was one of the outstanding features of the cultures of practically all the Plains tribes. But of this the Comanches had nothing. They had, of course, no military fraternities such as those which did the policing for the other tribes, and in spite of their fierce individualism they seem not to have had the need for police

[36] Informants: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; Kills Something.

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when it came to hunting. Here the unruly Comanche behaved himself very well. Group discipline prevailed, and all worked for the common good. The rules of the game were known and respected. 224

Each hunt had a hunt leader who was the director for the occasion. He was a respected warrior and a man of good judgment, that we know. But whether he was appointed to the position or merely assumed it by common consent cannot be said. He gave general directions for the conduct of the hunt, and his was the power to signal the attack—for all the hunters charged simultaneously.

In the execution of the hunt the exact location of the herd was first determined by scouts. Then the hunters were out before the dawn of day. A narrow valley with many lateral ravines was considered to be very favorable. Moving up into position against the wind in a great semicircle, the band of hunters remained quietly on horseback out of sight of the buffalo. Buffalo have a keen sense of smell, but their wool partially obscures their sight and their sense of hearing is not acute. As they approached the buffalo, the hunters gradually spread until the herd was encircled except on the windward side. Everything ready, the leader gave the signal, the gap was rapidly closed, and the whole circle closed in. The Indians ran their ponies around the herd, forming it into a compact mass. The bulls would force the cows and calves to the center of the pack, and would then run around and around the margin, presenting themselves broadside to the hunters. In the surround, the buffalo often became bewildered and ceased to run. Killing them was then easy. Outer guards were in a position to turn back or kill any animals which escaped the hunters on the inside of the circle, but escaping buffalo were not pursued if other herds were in the vicinity.

At other times, particularly if the topography of the land was unfavorable for making a close surround, the hunters stalked the herd against the wind to get as near as possible without being detected. Then they lined up to get an even start, and at a given signal all charged the animals. The main function of the simultaneous charge was to prevent the scattering of the herd by a few individuals, but equally important was the need to kill as many buffalo as quickly as possible, for the meat would spoil before it could be cured if the animal when slain was overheated from long running.

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224 It was necessary to have well-trained horses, for the time of the
492 slaughter was short. The first step in training a horse for buffalo running was to make him rope shy. This was done by twisting one end of a rawhide rope around the lower jaw, allowing the free end to trail. The trainer then mounted another pony and proceeded to prod the horse with whip, lance, or switch. For a short time, the horse, stepping on the halter rope, found it difficult to run. A few falls and hard jerks, however, were usually sufficient, and afterwards the horse very skillfully avoided stepping on any rope. Horses were trained also to run without bridle or rope of any kind, being guided by knee pressure.

224 Buffalo hunting, although hard work and dangerous, was truly exciting. When chasing buffalo, the Comanches, like other Indians, usually discarded all clothing except the breechclout. They rode bareback, although occasionally a small pad was used. Frequently a rope was wound in loose coils around the horse's body, just back of the forelegs; by thrusting his knees under the rope, the rider maintained a firm seat while in action. Each hunter rode upon the buffalo from the rear, coming in close on its right side and shooting at the soft spot between the protruding hip bone and the last rib. This was the only way to reach the vitals. The heart of the animal hung low, and since the rider was slightly behind and above the buffalo, the arrow slanted into the soft spot behind the short rib and ranged forward and downward. Driven with terrific force at such close range, the shaft often completely buried itself or passed all the way through the animal, even on occasion bringing down a second animal running alongside. A hunter sometimes pulled the arrow from the victim while the animal was still running. As soon as he heard the twang of the bow string, a good buffalo-running horse swerved away from its victim in order to be well out of harm's way when the wounded beast turned and charged. Unfortunately, the horse was not always quick enough to prevent being gored, and frequently a mount stepped in a prairie-dog hole, breaking its leg and throwing its rider. Many a hunter received broken limbs as a result of such accidents, and some were killed, but it was a risk taken with joy.[37]

[37] C. C. Rister, "Indians as Buffalo Hunters," *Frontier Times*, Vol. V (April, 1928), 456; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–62.

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When the hunt was over, each dead buffalo was the property of the man who killed it. Public-spirited men of consequence gave some of their kill to old men or widows or to families who had no hunters to provide for them. A hunter had no extreme difficulty in identifying the buffalo which he had killed. He might be able to recall the location of the animals, their appearance, the position of the wounds, and he easily could recognize his own marked arrows. If arrows of different men were found in the same dead buffalo, ownership was determined by the position of the arrows. If each arrow had inflicted a mortal wound, the buffalo might be divided, or more likely it was set aside as a portion of the charity fund. The hunter leader usually made the decision in case of argument.

Another and early method of killing the buffalo, and one which remained popular among the Comanches until the last, was with the lance. Josiah Gregg says that the Comanche often charged the buffalo with a long-handled spear or lance, which, if the horse was well trained, was much more effective than the bow and arrow or the American pistol.[38] In using the lance, the rider approached the buffalo from behind and held the lance across his body, the opposite hand from the buffalo being the higher. When the buffalo was slightly ahead of the horse, the hunter, using both hands, thrust his lance downward and forward, aiming for the heart, although some hunters thrust downward for the kidneys, hoping to break down and cripple the animal. When the buffalo felt the prick of the lance, it usually ran faster. When it attempted to turn and charge, the hunter pressed the lance firmly into its side until the buffalo gave way and ran on, or until it fell.

Although relatively few buffalo were taken in modern times by any other than the above methods, other means were occasionally employed. One was to drive the buffalo over a precipice or into a river. Fortunately an excellent description of this method has survived.

> This mode of hunting was to select one of the most active and fleet young men, who, disguised with a buffalo skin fastened about his body, with the horns and ears so secured as to deceive the buffalo, placed himself at a convenient distance between the herd

[38] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 363.

224 of buffalo and some of the river precipices, which sometimes extend for miles. His companions, in the meantime, get in the rear and along the flanks of the herd and, showing themselves at a given signal, advance upon the herd. The herd, thus alarmed, runs from the hunters toward the river. The Indian, who thus acts as a decoy, when the precipice is reached, suddenly secures himself in some crevice of the cliff previously selected, leaving the herd on the brink. It is then impossible for the foremost of the herd to retreat or to turn aside, being pressed on by those behind, and they tumble headlong off the cliff, strewing the shore with their bodies.[39]

The hunters rushed up to take a heavy toll of those failing to make a quick escape. This, of course, was a survival of the favored buffalo drive of prehistoric Indians on the plains.

The individual hunter sometimes employed a still more unique method. He wrapped himself with the hide of a wolf or a buffalo and on "all-fours" crept within shooting distance of the unsuspecting animals. Care had to be taken to approach toward the wind always. It was then possible for the hunter with bow and arrow to kill a number of animals before the unwary herd realized the source of its danger.[40]

252 Among many Plains tribes the women took over as soon as the men had shot the buffalo down. According to Comanche informants[41] the heavy work of skinning and butchering was done by the men. Cows were left lying on their sides, but bulls were heaved over to set on their bellies with all fours spread. They were then ready for butchering. The brisket was first slashed across at the neck and folded back so the forequarters could be removed at the joint. Then the hide was sliced down the middle of the spine in such a way as not to cut the sinews, which were removed intact. After the hide was peeled back toward both sides, the hind quarters were disjointed, leaving the rump with the back. The flank was next cut up toward the stomach and removed in one piece with the brisket—the whole thin

[39] J. A. Allen, "History of the American Bison," United States Geological and Geographical Survey, *Annual Report*, IX (1875), 574–75.

[40] Rister, "Indians as Buffalo Hunters," *loc. cit.*, 456.

[41] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Slope.

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chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing. 252

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. [251] Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning.

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter. 224 787

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the 224 825 787

224 825 787 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusɛtɛmini*, "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a [837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, 312.

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and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward; and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

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fore the Civil War, but it appears that several trading concerns employed men who combined hunting with trading. There were very few buffalo left by 1852 in the vicinity of Fort Phantom Hill, Texas.[48] A few years later, however, there were great numbers of buffalo in the same vicinity. In 1855, John W. Whitfield, Indian agent, wrote that the Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes were then confined to a district from which the buffalo had almost entirely disappeared, and that they were feeding upon their horses and mules until the number of those animals had fallen below their necessary supply. He recommended that the government furnish them subsistence until they could be taught to support themselves.[49] The Arapahos in 1857 were on the verge of starvation, and their chief told the agent that his people must learn either to work or starve.[50] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in that same year that the game had diminished to the point that many of the Indians were compelled to live by plunder.[51] The Comanches, although feeling the pinch of the diminishing supply, were faring better than their neighbors. The Civil War interrupted temporarily the encroachments on the Plains Indians' hunting grounds, but when the war was over, the slaughter soon was resumed in such proportions as to make that of the earlier period seem child's play.

By 1870 the original great buffalo range had become permanently divided into two sections. The northern herd ranged from about forty-three degrees north latitude through the Powder River country to the British possessions. The southern herd ranged from North Texas to about forty-one and one-half degrees north latitude. This southern buffalo range corresponded almost entirely with the territory held by the Comanches with the exception of the feeding grounds between the South Platte and the Arkansas. In the winter of that year an eastern company experimented successfully with buffalo hides

[48] Clarksville, Texas, *Standard*, May 28, 1853; A. B. Hasson, Post Surgeon at Fort Phantom Hill, "Report," 1852, West Texas Historical Association *Year Book* (1924), I, 75.

[49] Agent J. W. Whitfield to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 4, 1855, 34 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1*, No. 46, 437.

[50] Robert Miller, agent for the Cheyennes, "Report," October 14, 1857, 35 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 11*, No. 60, 432.

[51] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1857, 35 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 11*, 296.

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for making leather. By 1872 it became generally known that buffalo hides were marketable, the price being about $3.75 per hide. The railroad lines leading into the plains soon swarmed with "would-be hunters" from the East, excited by the prospect of having a buffalo hunt that would yield a monetary return. By rail, wagon, horseback, and afoot, the hunters poured in, and the slaughter was on.

A number of hunting outfits operating from Dodge City crossed into the northern Panhandle of Texas in the autumn of 1873 in violation of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, made in 1867 between the Federal government and the Indians, reserving the region between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers for an Indian hunting ground. The buffalo hunters, refusing to respect the treaty, established a trading post at Adobe Walls, which action instigated the Comanches to resume the warpath. After a short cessation of activities, the hunters shifted to the southern part of the range. By the fall of 1874 some professional hunting was being done in the southern part of the range, and by 1875 the slaughter was definitely under way in an organized and systematic manner. The slaughter abated during the hot summer months, but as soon as the first cold of autumn started the buffalo south, it was renewed. Destruction of the herds went on at an increasing rate throughout 1876 and 1877. The greatest slaughter came in the winter of 1877–78. More than one hundred thousand hides were taken in the months of December and January on the Texas range.[52] J. N. Atkinson claimed that in Fort Griffin at one time there was a stack of buffalo hides as long as a city block, "as high as a man could reach throwing hides out of a wagon, and so wide that it must have been made by driving wagons down both sides of the pile in stacking."[53] Only a few small herds located in the Yellowhouse, Blanco, and Palo Duro canyons, in the valley of the Canadian River, and along other water courses traversing the Southern Plains were to be found in the winter of 1878–79, and by the end of another year the buffalo were gone.

The buffalo slaughter became an important issue with the public. Opponents fought it for sentimental reasons, or cited the great waste and the renewal of the Indian wars in support of their position. On

[52] W. C. Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 13.
[53] Mary J. Atkinson *The Texas Indians*, 331.

3. Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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175 the other hand, the buffalo hunters, supported by a strong public opinion, insisted that they were rendering a great service in removing the buffalo from the Great Plains. Their position was summed up by General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the Southwestern Department, before a joint meeting of the Texas Senate and House of Representatives in 1875. Sheridan argued that it would be a sentimental mistake to attempt to stop the slaughter of the buffalo. Instead of stopping the hunters, he said, the legislature should give them a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks and appropriate money to present to each hunter a medal of bronze with a dead buffalo on one side and a discouraged Indian on the other. He continued in words which reveal clearly the Comanche dependence upon the buffalo:

> Those men have done more in the last two years and will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian [Comanche particularly] question than the entire regular army has done in the last 30 years. *They are destroying the Indians' commissary* [italics ours]; and it is a well known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send them powder and lead, if you will, and for the sake of lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until they have exterminated the buffalo. Then your prairies will be covered with speckled cattle and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of civilization.[54]

The general knew whereof he talked.

[54] John R. Cook, *The Border and the Buffalo*, 113.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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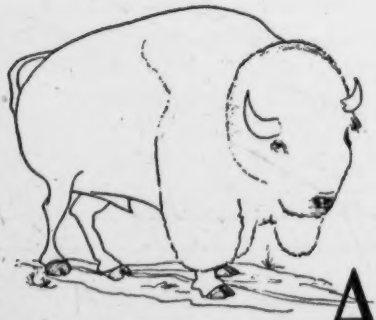
IV

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings



ALTHOUGH the subsistence activities of the Comanches centered around the buffalo, theirs was not a one-crop economy. Elk were plentiful in the brushy regions bordering the rivers and their tributaries. The black bear, found in the Cross Timbers, was hunted largely for its oil, which was used in the preparation of hides. The Comanches considered bear meat less tasty than either buffalo or deer. Principally within the region of the High Plains, in the heart of the buffalo country, roamed herds of antelope in great numbers. A herd of about two thousand was once seen at Fort Dodge.[1]

Food was usually plentiful enough that the Comanches no longer bothered, as did the horseless Shoshones, to run down antelope until the frightened and exhausted animals dropped. But they did retain from their Shoshonean background the magical antelope surround that was so widely used by the Indians of the Great Basin.

It was used among the Comanches only when the whole camp was out of food. Then the camp leaders would go to a medicine man or a medicine woman who had antelope power. They would smoke and tell him the trouble. According to Slope's account, the medicine man called for an antelope dance lasting several days to work up his power and to draw in the antelope. He selected two men to whom he gave some of his power for what they had to do. When all was

[1] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 64.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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ready, the people arranged themselves in two parallel lines facing east, the antelope medicine man at the center with the two warriors mounted on either side of him. Everyone else was afoot. In his hands the conjurer held his medicine sticks—two antelope hoofs, each on a piece of wood. Crossing his arms halfway below the elbow, a stick in each hand, he "blocked" the antelope. They could not run away. Then, giving one medicine stick to each of the warriors, he bade them ride off. One went northeast; the other southeast. Circling wide, they met and passed each other a mile or so to the east. They were drawing a magical barrier. Against its power the hapless antelope would be helpless. Each rider returned along the path laid by the other; the circle was closed. Now the two files of people—men, women, and children—followed out along the trails of the horsemen until they were standing in a huge circle, all singing antelope songs.

The antelope were now inside the circle, and the people closed in on them, shouting. The animals were in the corral. They dashed wildly about, but they could not cross the line. At last, when they were exhausted, the medicine man pointed one of his hoofs at an antelope who had one horn down. He would fall dead. "The people then pile in and kill them all."

The skeptic may say that it was the circle of shouting beaters who bunched the animals. But not the Comanche. He was convinced that without the medicine charm they would break through the circle and escape. The medicine hunt was not used often, but Comanches say it worked.

262 There is some disagreement about how fond the Comanches were of horse meat, but when game was not available, it was eaten and relished. Raiding parties normally carried few rations with them, and when the supply was exhausted, they simply killed and cooked a spare horse on the spot. Thomas C. Battey, who was one of the first white teachers among the Comanches, states that buffalo, antelope, or deer were preferred, but if not obtainable, a pony or a mule was the next choice. Modern Comanches agree with him. We have already called the Comanches "pastoralists," but they were not strictly so in that they did not rely to any great extent on their horse herds for food, and they never killed their mares. Around the middle of the nineteenth century they had plenty of horses to eat, yet the values

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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that had been built up when horses were rare were such that horses remained almost wholely prestige tokens and transport bearers. 262

Great numbers of cattle obtained from raids on Mexican and Texas settlements were also eaten, especially in later years. The majority were butchered and consumed by the raiders wherever they were found, or as soon as the raider felt himself at a distance safe from attack by the whites. The Comanches made no attempt to herd them. Many head of stolen cattle were not butchered, but went to New Mexican traders in return for ornaments, arrows, kettles, and other articles. Although the Comanches thought beef was poor eating when buffalo was to be had, nowadays an old Comanche likes to sink his teeth into mediocre beef with plenty of fat as the nearest thing to the buffalo he loved.

Dog meat was regarded as an almost sacred dish by the Sioux, and to the Cheyennes "A nice fat, boiled puppy is just like a turkey on Thanksgiving to you white people."[2] But the Comanches did not eat dog meat. Medicine Woman says it is because "Once, when the people moved, they left an old, old lady in camp with a dog. Several weeks later when the people returned to the site, they found that the dog had killed the woman and had consumed most of her body. Henceforth the Comanches refused dog meat, since dogs ate human flesh."[3] There is a deeper reason, however. Dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is tabu. He is the Trickster of Comanche and Shoshone mythology—a demi-god. Although coyotes were occasionally hunted for their furs, they were never eaten or wantonly killed. Post Oak Jim shot one for the fun of it once when out on a cattle raid. Came a cyclone, and Jim thought his horse was spinning on its head; it rained all night, and in the morning it was so cold they nearly froze. "That coyote's mother probably made medicine," said Jim. "Coyote has medicine. If we harm one, it will get back on us some way." 262 776 825

The same with dogs. Post Oak Jim killed a dog once, and ever after he thinks he had bad luck with his children. They all got sick and died. In 1933 Howard White Wolf had a dozen curs on his place. He did not dare to kill them himself, but he asked a member of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group to do it for him. White 776 825

[2] E. A. Hoebel, Cheyenne Field Notes (unpublished).
[3] Informant: Medicine Woman.

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776 men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing
825 to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten
262 except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

266 The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

266 In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

000 In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding 252
it on a stick over a fire. Sometimes it was roasted on hot coals and the burned portion removed before eating. It was served on the flesh side of a dried skin, or sometimes the stick was brought into the tent and the handle end stuck into the ground with a long piece of meat dangling from the other end. The women got copper or iron pots as soon as possible from the traders and thereafter boiled or stewed most of their meat. They had always stewed some meat in the buffalo paunch, heating it by immersing hot stones in the water, since a fire could not be built directly under the paunch. After they obtained metal pots, the large kettle was placed over a fire and all sorts of meats and cuts dumped into it. The contents were stirred at intervals with the broad rib of a buffalo. Hunks of meat were fished from the sloppy stew with the stirring stick, knife, or the hands. The iron pot released women from a lot of labor, but it certainly added nothing to the flavor, sanitation, or dignity of the meal. During the later period [263]
a few people dipped their meat into a salt brine as they ate it. Generally, however, no salt was used on the meat, either for curing or when eating.[7] A sauce made from honey, water, and tallow was frequently used over roasted meat. The Comanches were fond of tripe. [262]
When it was not consumed raw, the usual method was to clean it and then roast it over hot coals.[8] Terrapins and turtles were collected in sacks and thrown while alive into a crackling fire. Those which sought to escape were thrown back until they roasted, when they were raked from the fire, their shells broken open, and the contents eaten with a horn spoon.[9]

Captain R. G. Carter, whose military life brought him into contact with the Comanches, described their cooking of fish and turkey:

> In cooking fish, they enclose them in clay or mud after they have been "drawn" and cleaned, to a depth of several inches, rolling them over, and the hot coals scraped on top. When cooked the hard baked clay is knocked off with the casing, and the fish eaten with salt.
>
> A wild turkey was bled, dressed or "drawn," a few feathers

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Parker, *op. cit.*, 196.

[9] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 66; Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*, 95, 323; Rister, *Border Captives*, 18–19.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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252 plucked out and it was flung into the fire or red coals. When one would suppose that there was nothing left to the bird, the burnt, black mess was raked out, left to partially cool, then with dexterous movement of the knife the skin is peeled or stripped from the neck downwards taking the burned feathers, revealing a white and tempting morsel to a hungry man. It was then cut and torn apart.[10]

252 Even when game was plentiful, the Comanche taste for certain
262 foods would not appeal to us. When a buffalo, beef, deer, antelope, or elk was killed, it was not uncommon for a hunter and his family to gather about, open its veins, and drink the warm blood. Raw brains and the marrow from the leg bones were stirred together on the flesh side of the hide or in a dish made by cutting out a section of the slaughtered animal's ribs, and were consumed without further preparation. The fresh, warm liver covered with the contents of the gall bladder was considered one of the finest delicacies. Children crowded around the butcher and begged for it. Liver cooked on coals and spread with rich marrow also formed a choice dish. Entrails stripped of their contents by drawing them between two fingers, kidneys, paunch, loin tallow, and the tallow around the kidneys were all eaten raw while still warm and without washing. A Comanche would cut into the udder of an animal and, placing his mouth on the gash, suck the warm mixture of milk and blood with the greatest of pleasure. The curdled milk from the stomach of a suckling fawn or calf was a delicacy indeed. Herman Lehmann also refers to their having eaten the heart, but this appears to have been unusual, for it was generally left within the skeleton,[11] probably a ceremonial gesture to propitiate the animal spirit. These appetites may have been indelicate from our point of view, but they provided an effective way to get vitamins and iron in large quantities. The Comanche would have had the hearty approval of the modern dietitian.

222 Although buffalo meat was their dietary mainstay, the Comanches did not suffer the unrelieved monotony of boiled stew and jerked

[10] R. G. Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 279.

[11] Herman Lehmann, *Nine Years among the Indians*, 115, 116; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

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meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a 222
background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They
utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of 222
the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing 824
about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones. Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today. Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in [278]
the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the [262]
only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, 222
grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, 251
and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also dehydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in 222
Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuberous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, remember, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

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like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

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night. This belief was strengthened because they prepared and set 264
food before guests as soon as possible after their arrival, whatever the
hour. Eating is a gesture of hospitality not to be postponed. "Meat [574]
is free to those who come. A man makes friends of the poor that way.
They never got tired of visitors," says Slope. Nevertheless, it was customary to have a formal meal soon after arising in the morning and a much more important one in the evening. There appears to have been no regular noon meal, both children and adults helping themselves to food, if plentiful, whenever their appetites and convenience dictated. Before eating on public occasions, the chief or leader cut off a morsel and offered it to the Great Spirit by holding it first toward the sky and then burying it. Individuals did the same when eating, in lodge or elsewhere, but like our custom of offering thanks, the practice was not universal. Some interesting descriptions of Comanche meals have been left by early writers. One is that of a breakfast of the less formal type:

> Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horse flesh was attached to the end of a stick some four feet in length by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by the appetite, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling the mouth alternately with flesh and vegetable.[14]

Another account is of a formal meal where visitors were present:

> The company is seated, or squatted, rather, around on the matting that forms the beds at night, their feet gathered under them. Short boards or thick pieces of hide are placed before each one;

[14] Lee, *op. cit.*, 132–33.

264 the meat is taken out of the kettle by the fingers of the woman who officiates as cook, and apportioned to each one, and placed before him; bread [this was after the government had set up a reservation and was providing some provisions] is apportioned out, and cups for the coffee furnished to each. The party is some time in partaking of the meal, which is enlivened by much conversation, amusing tales, and laughter, while the meat is torn to pieces by the teeth and fingers, sometimes with the assistance of a knife. . . . After a meal water is always offered to all who have partaken to rinse the mouth and wash the hands. After this the pipe may be in order but not necessarily. If it be introduced, the women withdraw, and some important subject discussed. The pipe is always circulated from one to another, from right toward the left.[15]

261 Perhaps opportunism in the life of the nomadic Comanche is best reflected in his attitude toward subsistence. Seldom were efforts put [185] forth to make provision for the future other than preserving meat or wild fruits and nuts by drying in such quantities as could be carried when the camp moved. He ate sparingly when on a raid or a hunt. Times of hunger were frequent. He could subsist on a surprisingly small amount when game was scarce, or he could demonstrate an amazingly gluttonous appetite when food was plentiful and no danger present. Besides, the food might spoil unless quickly consumed. By practicing self-denial, he developed a quality of hardihood unequaled by other peoples who later came to his country. It was because of his surprising resourcefulness while traveling on the semiarid Staked Plains that he was able to survive where the Anglo-American invader would starve or die of thirst. And when all resources were exhausted, he could go for many hours through trying circumstances without either food or water. Indeed, his self-restraint could be quite as pronounced as his gormandizing. Clinton Smith relates that on a trip across the plains, when water was not found where expected, the most rigid discipline was enforced in the interest of the weaker members of the party. Grim warriors, with blood-shot eyes and swollen tongues, staggered on, threatening with death anyone who might attempt to

[15] Battey, *op. cit.*, 322–23.

drink the few cupfuls of water carried in buffalo paunches to supply the children.[16]

In very early times, if we take what we know of the Shoshones as the measure, the Comanches could not have taken much interest in sartorial splendor. Even in later days their work-a-day garb was simple and crude. They hardly looked like the popular conception of the painted, beaded, and befeathered Indian. For festive occasions, however, they had their fancy dress garb, and young men, especially, liked to think of themselves as dandies. A *ʈuiβItsi* was much to be admired, and if asked what a *ʈuiβItsi* is, any Comanche will answer, "A handsome young man with shiny black hair, all dressed up on a good-looking horse." The *ʈuiβItsi* had his counterpart in the *naiβi:* a good-looking girl with long braids, painted and all dressed up in a good buckskin dress. When there were dances or when the band was moving from one camp site to another, the *naiβi* and *ʈuiβItsi* liked to parade and show off to the admiring glances of the people—and each other. Adult Comanches also liked to dress up, but they were not so self-conscious about it.

Boys, until they reached the age or eight or nine, went entirely nude unless the weather was severe. Regular attire generally consisted of breechclout, leggings, and moccasins only. The former was a broad piece of cloth or buckskin drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. The ends, one in front and one behind, formed loose, hanging flaps which extended almost to the knees. The length of the breechclout depended, of course, upon the size and height of the individual, but would probably average six feet for an adult male. Since blue was the favored color for formal or dress-up occasions, some early observers believed it to be the predominant color.[17]

A vestige of the breechclout is still worn by conservative Comanches in the form of a gee-string beneath their Levis. It is nothing more than a braided cord passed between the legs and wrapped about the waist. It cannot be seen, is not decorative, but is magically protective of the male's sex organs.

[16] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 60.

[17] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 184; David G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

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Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

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A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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291 Comanche leggings were of buckskin and extended from the foot to the hip. They were close-fitting and were attached to the belt. The border of the material beyond the seam was left loose, presenting a wide margin of flapping buckskin. Those intended for dress occasions were likely to be red or blue.[18] They were distinguished among other Plains Indian leggings particularly by their long fringes. Leggings were sometimes beaded, but the ornamentation was usually attached to the fringe and might consist of bits of silver or other metal, beads, shells, elk's teeth, or anything that appealed to the wearer's fancy.

The moccasins of the Comanches had buckskin uppers with a seam down the heel, with the lower border of the upper sewed to a stiff sole of tanned buffalo hide. Like the leggings, Comanche moccasins could be distinguished by their long fringes. The fringes ran from the lace to the toe and along the seam at the heel. They were relatively short on top of the moccasin, but those on the heel were from six to eight inches in length and might number as many as fifty or more. The tail of a polecat or some other animal was occasionally used instead of the fringe of buckskin strings. In addition to the fringes, moccasins were ornamented with beads and small jinglers. Beads of various colors, including dark blue, light blue, white, and red, were strung, and the string sewed to the moccasin. Strings of beads extended along the seam at the heel and around the opening at the top of the moccasin, and from the lace almost to the tip of the toe. Small pieces of metal were often attached to the ends of the fringes.[19] Although the Abbé Emmanuel Domenech related that the Comanches extracted silver from mines near San Saba from which they manufactured ornaments for themselves and for their horses,[20] there is a lack of evidence to support his statement. Certainly most of what they used was traded from the Mexicans.

For winter foot gear the Comanches made genuine arctic boots of buffalo hide that reached to the knee. The whole boot was made with the wooly hair of the buffalo inside and with the soles folded

[18] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 432.

[19] Direct observation of Comanche women making moccasins by Wallace.

[20] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Journal d'un Missionnaire au Texas et au Mexique*, 125–26.

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A dugout in the Comanche country in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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291 up higher at the sides than for moccasins. Unlike moccasins, they were loose fitted so that cloth could be wrapped around the feet in extreme weather. Under the boots, the buckskin leggings were always worn as well. The soles and feet of the boots were greased to waterproof them, but not the legs.[21] All in all, it must have been a good winter foot covering. Poor people, according to She Invites Her Relatives, "got pretty cold." They had no boots and had to be content with ordinary moccasins and trade cloth wrapped about their legs.

Early plainsmen claimed that they were able to identify the tribe to which a party belonged from the moccasin tracks. To some extent this was true, for the heel fringes, the nature of the soles, and the toe forms left distinguishing marks. The one-piece moccasin was typical among the Northern Plains tribes. Instead of the buckskin heel fringes, the Cheyennes, for example, used two small tails of deer skin, a buffalo tail, or a strip from the beard of the buffalo which trailed behind. The short, stubby foot of the Comanche left a track that provided an additional means of identification.

Shirts worn by the men were made from the skins of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. They were made by sewing two pieces together in such a way that the pattern conformed to the natural contour of the skins. The ornamented shirt was more or less a ceremonial
292 uniform of chiefs and important warriors. On the other hand, the shirt itself, stripped of its ornaments and accessories, seems to have been the precise pattern worn in daily routine in cold weather by the northern Indians. Clark Wissler believes that the shirt was not in early use among the Comanches and other southern Indians.[22] Neither Dodge, Marcy, Burnet, nor Neighbors mentions the shirt as being a part of Comanche attire, but "Dot" Babb and our informants definitely state that it was worn in cold weather prior to the reservation era.[23] The neck of the shirt was cut in a V-shape, and the shirt extended below the top of the leggings, measuring about two and one-half feet from the cut of the neck to the bottom. The garment was generally richly fringed around the collar and sleeves, the buckskin strings often extending twelve inches or more in length. It was also ornamented with beads, metal, and scalps of enemies.

[21] Informants: Holding Her Sunshade; She Invites Her Relatives.
[22] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 47, 48.
[23] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

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291 After the acquisition of bandannas, the man wore one around his neck. Instead of tying it in front, he used a button made from buffalo bone through which he pulled the ends of the handkerchief. The older men still wear bandannas in this manner.

294 There was a time when the art of sewing was unknown and when garments were tied together at the seams, but in modern times clothing was neatly sewed with sinew thread, which was very stout and durable. Such thread was made from the sinew lying along either side of the spine of the buffalo or deer. It was taken off in long pieces and dried, and strands of it were split off with the finger nails as needed. The strand of thread was then moistened in the mouth and rolled on the knee with the palm of the hand or between the palms, and one end of the thread pointed. With an awl a hole was made in the material, the fine point of the thread was passed through the hole, and the thread pulled through with the fingers.

294 413 Awls and needles were usually made of bone sharpened to a fine point. Steel substitutes were among the first articles traded by the whites to the Indians, but the methods of sewing remained practically unchanged so long as leather was used for clothing. Sewing implements were carried in a small case made of dressed buffalo cow or calfskin tied to the belt. Such cases usually opened at the top with a flap. The awl was also carried by the men as a part of their everyday outfit, since it was an essential tool in their work. The men carried it in a small leather pouch with a flap covering, attached to the wrist by a buckskin thong. Pouches were ornamented with variously colored beads in simple design and sometimes fringed with metal pendants.

291 294 The buffalo robe was a regular part of the wardrobe. Hides for robes were taken during the fall months of November and December. Some robes were prepared with the hair left on for use in extremely cold weather, while others were prepared with the hair removed for milder weather. Some specimens retained the holes around the edge through which pegs were driven in stretching the hide. Minor alterations in shape were made by cutting off the tail and legs and by tucking the ears through slits from the outer to the under side. The Comanche robe was usually made of two separate pieces sewed together down the center, because the buffalo was skinned by cutting

down the spine. A very narrow (one-quarter to one-half inch) line of red paint down the middle concealed the stitching. Ordinarily a man's robe had no other decoration. Robes ranged in size from about twenty by thirty-six to approximately seventy-five by one hundred inches. 291 294

The robe was one of the warmest and most protective coverings that could be devised against low temperature, for the buffalo in November and December was covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of wool intermixed with hair, which on some of the bulls measured from seventeen to twenty inches in length. Plainsmen and soldiers stationed at the frontier forts claimed that one buffalo robe was warmer than four ordinary blankets. Many overcoats were manufactured by the government from buffalo robes for army men exposed to severe weather during campaigns against the Indians. Lighter robes were also made of bear skin, for which two hides were required, gray wolf, calling for four skins, and coyote, for which eight skins were needed. Rarely, even skunk fur was used. And for babies and children rabbit-skin robes were provided.[24] 291

There seems to have been no difference in the robes of men and women except that those worn by the wives of great warriors and chiefs were painted.

The eight Comanche robes found by J. C. Ewers in American museums in the nineteen thirties all had the so-called "hour glass" figure in the center. This figure is nothing more than a highly stylized, geometric representation of a buffalo. A geometric border runs around the outside of the field in all the women's robes. In its distribution the Comanche "hour glass" and border design is definitely Southern Plains, for it is shared for the most part only by the Wichitas, Kiowas, Apaches, and Río Grande Pueblos (presumably Taos). The feathered sun symbol, popular on robes to the north, was not used at all by the Comanches. Robes worn by the wives of noted warriors often carried markers symbolizing the coup, or war honors, of their husbands.

The preparation of a Comanche painted robe was a serious undertaking. Usually three or four women worked together under the direction of a skilled and experienced leader. Before the painting was done, they took the gelatinous scrapings from the under side of the 294

[24] *Ibid.*

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294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and [386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such [428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

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nearly so important to the Comanches as they were to some tribes 293
farther north.

The life of a Comanche warrior was rugged, but that did not keep 302
him from spending a great deal of time at his toilet. He was especially proud of his hair, and in the village he might be seen daily combing, greasing, and braiding it. Men parted their hair from the center of the forehead back to the crown, forming a braid on each side, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red along the part. The braids were tied or wrapped with beaver fur or any other available material that appealed to the wearer's fancy. Beaver fur was worn on dress occasions. Bright-colored pieces of cloth, with red the most commonly recurring color, is used at the present time by the older men. Pieces of silver, beads, tin, glass, and single feathers were attached to the side locks as decorations. Each man also wore a scalp lock braided from the hair at the top of his head, and in it he usually wore a single yellow or black feather. Brushes, made from the tails of porcupines, were used for grooming the hair. The most common form was made by stretching the porcupine tail over a stick of wood. Hair brushes were also made by pounding out the fibres of a large yucca stalk. These fibers were gathered up and bound together with a buckskin thong and singed so as to burn off the sharp edges. The men never shaved, but carefully plucked all hair from their face and eyebrows with a pair of tweezers made of bone, leaving the whole face as smooth as a baby's cheek. A piece of door spring was used incessantly by Post Oak Jim through all the long hours of interviews in 1933. Comanche vanity went so far that narcissistic bucks begged for the hair that women cut off in mourning so that they could splice it into their braids to make them look longer. She Invites Her Relatives tells of one *tuβltsi* who was showing off at a dance. "He threw his side [522]
lock over his shoulder—and the attached end came off. Everybody hooted with laughter; he picked it up and went home."

Paint was an indispensable article of ornamentation for both sexes. Both men and women, when circumstances permitted, painted their faces before meeting strangers and for all special occasions. The Comanches always carried paint with them. Vermilion was much sought [386]
after, but when it could not be obtained from the white trader, paint was made from clays and from weed and berry juices. Black was the

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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302 Black was the
[822] war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both
301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands
[411] of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*. II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

fringe on sleeves and hems and colorfully beaded designs marked the dress of fashion. The dressmaker carefully worked the skins of the deer until they were soft and pliable—sometimes a muted lemon yellow and sometimes a buff color. The skirt was made in two pieces, with the legs of the deer skin making an uneven hemline reaching to the ankles. The skirt was sewed up the sides with buckskin thongs, and heavy fringe finished the hem and extended up the sides above the knees, with lighter fringe up the seams to the waist. The slightly flared skirt was broken above the knee by a narrow band of beading with long pieces of fringe at intervals below the beading. A scalloped band of narrow beading was attached just above the hem. The blouse was made poncho-style from the skin of a single animal. A slit was cut horizontally in the center, creating a high, straight neckline, which was brilliantly banded with beading extending across the shoulders to the elbow-length sleeves. Blouse and skirt were laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, hidden beneath an ornamental skin peplum hanging in deep points to mid-thigh. Geometric medallions were beaded across the peplum in a band, and medallions of varied size and color were sewed across the front and back of the blouse. Just below these brilliant designs and continuing across the blouse were clusters of round beads, from which hung long leather and beaded thongs. A wide butterfly sleeve was formed by the loose ends of the skin. Colorful beads were scattered along the edge of the deep fringe line which finished the sleeves. Additional skin bands hung from the front and back of the sleeves, the fringed ends extending below the long, heavy fringing of the sleeves.[31] 291

The number-one wives of brave warriors wore an additional special decorative device, according to She Invites Her Relatives. A tongue-like appendage hung down from the neck, front and back. In the front it was fringed, while the back tongue, which was unedged, carried a painted symbol ⌋ in dark blue for each war honor of her husband. 291 554

The costume was completed by beautiful beaded moccasins. In winter highly ornamented leggings were worn to the knees, with only a knee-length buckskin dress above. In very cold weather the woman added a buffalo robe for warmth. The dress was comfortable 291

[31] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 342; museum specimens.

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was en- 415 velope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

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The poles were long, straight, and slender, usually of pine or cedar, peeled, seasoned, and pared down to a suitable diameter. They were sometimes pointed at the butt to prevent slipping on the ground. They varied in length from ten to twenty feet, depending on the size tipi desired. Robert G. Carter observed that hundreds of Antelope band poles were of cedar, approximately fourteen feet in length.[32]

Like the Blackfeet, Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Hidastas, Omahas, and others, the Comanches used four poles as a foundation. Many tribes, including the Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Arapahos, Pawnees, and Kiowas, on the other hand, used a three-pole foundation. The projecting tops of the poles of a tipi erected on a three-pole foundation have a spiral appearance, while the four-pole base tends to group them on the sides. It seems evident from the fact that the Comanches used a four-pole foundation like the Shoshones, Utes, and other northern tribes, instead of the three-pole foundation of the Kiowas, Pawnees, and other southern neighbors, that they first adopted the tipi while still in their northern environment.

In erecting the tipi, the four poles were first tied together near the top and set upright. The butt ends of the poles were then pulled out and evenly spaced in a circle. Against this foundation were stacked the remaining poles, all tied together near the top with thongs of buffalo hide. They were set diagonally into the ground, as deep as two or more feet for a permanent dwelling, and three to four feet apart in a circle. Greater security was sometimes obtained by means of short stakes set at an angle across the lodge poles a few inches above the ground. A tipi thus set would withstand most of the strong winds that swept frequently across the High Plains.

The poles served as rafters. Buffalo hides, carefully fitted and firmly sewed together with sinew, were hoisted with a single pole from inside the framework. Women standing on each other's shoulders fastened the covering at the top. The covering was pinned up the front with wooden skewers the size of a lead pencil. From ten to seventeen buffalo hides were required to make a covering for the usual lodge, and rarely was a tipi larger than twenty skins, even if as many as twenty people were sheltered within. This number compares with an estimated average of fourteen and a maximum of

[32] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 197; Lee, *op. cit.*, 128.

342 eighteen to twenty for the Crow tipi.[33] For the purpose of lodge-making, the hides of old buffalo cows, just shedding the winter coat in April or May, were preferred. These hides were supposed to be the easiest to tan, possibly, it is said, because the old cows were then thin in flesh and their hides thicker and hence more easily worked. The average tipi was twelve to fifteen feet in diameter across the floor. The height from the center of the floor to the peak was approximately the same as the diameter of the floor.

The tipi was tilted slightly backwards. The smoke-hole near the top, above the entrance, was made by folding the skins back or attaching flaps in such a way as to give the appearance of the lapels on a man's coat. Each flap was adjusted by means of an attached outside pole. By moving one or both of the poles, the prevailing wind could be shut out, and at most times a draft of air could be created to carry off the smoke from the fire directly beneath. Thus the smoke-
[354] hole and flaps served somewhat like a chimney.

The door, which always faced the rising sun, was simply an opening three or four feet high, covered by an extra pelt, tanned stiff. It was fastened either on the windward side or at the top, with a weight attached to the bottom. Either method provided a self-closing door.

The covering was staked down, but in warm weather it was not completely drawn to the ground, an air space of several inches being left all around. This space, together with the opening at the top, provided perfect ventilation. In cold weather the covering could be drawn completely to the ground. To keep the continual draft blowing in all around the bottom of the tent from striking those inside, a buffalo skin lining, in later times called a "dew cloth," was fastened to the lodge poles from four to six feet above the ground. The lining hung down inside the poles and was tucked under the edge of the bed. Consequently the air coming in under the outer covering was deflected upward by the lining and never struck the occupants directly. The lining also prevented rain entering the smoke-hole from falling on the bed and provided insulation against the penetrating summer heat. A very small fire was all that was necessary to provide warmth even in extremely cold weather. A narrow ditch around the outside kept the floor dry.

[33] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, 87.

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Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used.

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist.

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[34]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick-

[34] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

372 ly and easily by placing a rag around the point of friction and sprinkling gun powder on the rag. And if rags and gun powder were plentiful, they would load an old gun and shoot it against a tree. The rags would light and could be used to start a fire. This method was especially good in wet weather.

When needed, a low fire was kept fed by wood or buffalo chips gathered by the women and children. Buffalo chips were more desirable, since they burned more slowly and the fire did not die out so readily. Their surface remained year after year, unaffected by the weather, except annually they became a little harder until at last it was almost impossible to cut them with a knife. The under side, not being exposed to the sun, retained a certain amount of moisture longer and was never quite so hard. During cold weather the same fire provided heat both for comfort and for cooking food.

352 513 The bed of the lodge owner was placed at the back of the tipi, that is, directly opposite the entrance in the place of honor. Other beds were placed on one or both sides according to need. In the permanent camp, beds were elevated above the ground from four to six inches by means of pole or rawhide slats supported by a couple of poles. Robes were spread on top to form bedding and cover. In the temporary camp the mattress was spread on the ground. Members of the family simply crawled beneath the skins needed for cover, leaving the remainder for a mattress, and, according to informants, slept with their heads to the west. Buffalo-skin partitions were frequently stretched between beds to give a degree of privacy. Pillows were made from skins of smaller animals and stuffed with grass or straw. Although such beds were soft and fairly comfortable, they were also desirable abodes for both dogs and innumerable vermin.

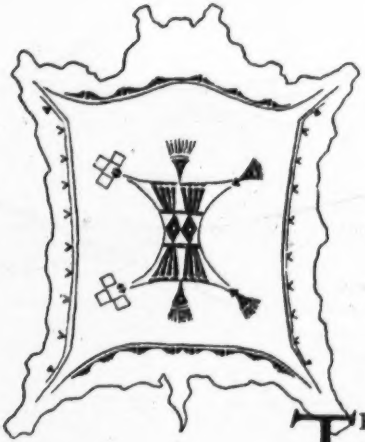
352 Mattresses served as chairs or for lounging as well as for beds. The master of the lodge always occupied the position directly facing the door. On his left was the place of honor for guests. Lodges of well-to-do persons were provided in modern times with back rests at the head and foot of the mattress.

Ample storage space was available between and underneath the beds and toward the front of the tipi. Extra food, clothing, and small articles were stored principally in parfleche bags. When many buffalo were killed, much dried meat was stored away in parfleches

for use during winter and spring. Other bags contained ornaments, 352
wooden bowls, dishes, small horn spoons, extra clothing, personal belongings, and any odds and ends. In fact, the contents of a parfleche were a perpetual surprise. It might contain anything from a tooth to a gold coin.

No tipi furnishings were complete without a supply of utensils 415
or receptacles. They, too, were adapted to the environment and the mobile habits of the owner. No pottery was made or used, simply because it could not be conveniently handled and because more practical materials were at hand. Receptacles for carrying water during travel where water holes were far apart, as was usually the case in Comanche country, needed to be light and to pack well. The paunch of the buffalo met both requirements; therefore, before the introduction of the kettle it served well. A green paunch was hung from a limb or pole and hot stones held inside until the water boiled. Water vessels were also made from "cased" deer skins, that is, skins removed whole. The legs and necks were tied tightly with sinews. Buckets or cups could be made by tying one end of the skin of a leg and fitting a small rod around the inside of the other end. Drinking cups were made from buffalo horns and terrapin shells. A few wooden [322]
spoons and bowls were used. They were worked into shape by burning, scraping, and polishing. The Comanches, however, were little interested in this type of receptacle since it was more of a burden than an advantage in their way of life. Consequently, the workmanship was primitive. A very few crude baskets, knives of stone and [285]
bone (of metal after contact with the whites), mauls, a digging stick or two, and a few bone needles completed the tipi furnishings.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



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V

At Work and Play

THE material culture of the Comanches was relatively meager, the industries few and simple. To the visitor uninitiated in ways of primitive tribal life, Comanche men might give the impression of being lazy and indolent. If meat was abundant and the men not concerned with war, raids, or ceremonies, they were likely to be found loafing in their lodges or idly working at some small task. Meanwhile their wives were occupied with domestic chores, attending to the children, and ministering to the needs of the men. Any supposition that the men were lazy, however, would be false, for in the life of the camp a division of labor between the sexes existed. If men labored less continuously than their wives, theirs were the more perilous occupations of hunting, raiding, and fighting. The wife's share in the life of the community was the care of the household; the husband was the provider. It was his duty to defend his wife and children and the tribe at large, and if the enemy were too strong to be defeated or repulsed, to hold them in check until the women and children might escape. All these activities were dangerous and hazardous. To fight at an advantage, the man must be light and active on his feet and unhampered by a load. Chiefly for this reason the men with their arms went ahead and the women followed behind, looking after the children, carrying the burdens, and attending to the animals which transported the camp equipment. Long after the need for such culture patterns ceased, it was not uncommon to see a woman walk out of a store carrying a heavy sack

of flour or other supplies while the man came out unencumbered. 462
Moreover, in the way of home industry there was indeed little for the men to do. The Comanches did not work at such specifically mascu- 323 285 286
line crafts as metallurgy and wood-carving. Pottery, basketry, and weaving were unknown.

It was the woman's business to prepare the food, clothing, and shelter, and to care for the children. She made the household articles and bags, brought the wood and water, attended to packing and unpacking on moving day, and helped with making the horse equipage. She followed closely behind the hunter with pack animal and knife, skinned the animals, packed the hides to camp, and by slow, tedious processes converted them into clothing, tipi covering, bags, and other articles.

Hides were prepared differently according to whether they were 281
to be worked into leather or made into rawhide bags. Some skins were tanned on one side only, others on both. The process was not identical for buffalo and deer skins, leather might or might not be smoked, and there were variations due to individual technique in workmanship. White influence affected the implements and technique, so that full details concerning the historic process can no longer be recovered. The essentials of tanning, however, are clear enough. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked on the hair side with a mixture of wood ashes and water, which produces lye. Lime, which was obtained from burned rock, was sometimes used in place of ashes. After the hide was sufficiently soaked, the hair side was scraped against the grain. Some women chose to shave off the hair without previously soaking the hide.

There were various kinds of scrapers. A scraper might be an oval, flat flake of flint chipped down so as to have a rather sharp and even edge all around, and it varied in size, some scrapers being large enough to use in both hands. Buffalo bones were often employed, and after the appearance of the white man, metal scrapers became common. Whether or not the hair was removed, a long and tedious process was required to tan the hide. The essential operations were the preparation of the hide, the application of the tanning mixture, and the subsequent working of the hide to make it soft and pliable.

The green hide, according to the whim of the individual worker,

281 was thrown across a limb, laced to upright saplings (called a rack), thrown across a log flattened on top, or more often stretched upon the ground with flesh side up. If stretched upon the ground, it was made fast by means of wooden pins driven into the earth through small cuts in the edge of the hide. To get the best results in tanning, it was important that before the hide dried, it should be evenly fleshed, by which is meant freeing it of every particle of blood, fat, and flesh. This was necessary for rapid drying as well as to reduce the hide to a uniform and proper thickness.

281 413 Fleshing tools varied from a sharp flint flake or buffalo bone to an instrument similar to a drawing knife. Sometimes a wooden hoe made from the fork of a limb of a tree with the cutting part sharpened and finely serrated was employed. The most commonly used instrument was shaped somewhat like an adze. The cutting edge of this tool was bound to a handle of elk horn with strings of rawhide or sinew. It could be used with one hand. With the appearance of the white man the flint cutting edge gave way to metal blades. The rough, abrasive surface of the dried skin of buffalo tongue was preferred in some bands. As the skin clothing and the skin lodges were made by the women, the fleshing implements were very important and were handed down from one generation to another.

281 With the fleshing tool the worker clipped the skin, cutting off a thin shaving with each blow. The skill of this process lay in so directing and tempering the blows as to cut off the skin and yet not hack through it, and in finally obtaining a perfectly smooth inner surface of uniform thickness. Moistened wood ashes were spread on the fatty, greasy surface from time to time and left long enough for the lye to neutralize the fat. This process completed, the hide was usually left to cure and bleach in the sun for several days, although it might be saturated occasionally in water.

The next step was to make the skin soft and pliable, for if given no further treatment, it became hard and inflexible. One satisfactory method was to place it in a hole in the ground, cover it with water and then tramp it for one or two hours. Most women used a tanning mixture composed of brains, liver, grease, basswood bark, soapweed, and water. The basswood bark or soapweed root was pounded fine and thoroughly mixed with the buffalo or deer brains or liver. Grease

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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of any available kind, except swine, might be added. The mixture was then thinned with water to the desired consistency. Brains with nothing added were used frequently. The tanning compound was applied to the hide, on both sides if the hair had been removed, and was thoroughly rubbed in with the hands or with a stone. After it had been worked into the texture, the rawhide was placed in the sun so that the heat might aid in the penetration and distribution of the mixture. The skin was then alternately stretched and rubbed with the hands, or pulled back and forth across a limb of a tree, around a sapling, through a loop of rawhide, trampled, or beaten. The friction developed considerable heat, thereby drying and softening the texture. The hide was then folded and put aside overnight. The next day it was unfolded and laid in the sun to dry. After it was dry, the process was repeated. This procedure was continued day after day until the worker deemed the skin sufficiently soft and pliable.

There was no definite time required for properly preparing a hide. The work was long and laborious, but the women were industrious and time was of little importance to them. A woman worked until she was tired, and then laid her work aside to be resumed at her convenience. The tanning might be completed in about ten days, or it might be extended over many weeks.

A worker could change a skin from its natural white to a yellowish brown on the hair side and to a light yellow or tan on the flesh side by smoking it. To do this, the skin was tied into a chimney shape around a pole or was stretched across a pole and placed over a fire pit filled with rotten wood to produce a smoldering smoke. In either arrangement the skin was placed over the fire in such a way as to prevent the escape of the smoke.[1] Tipi covers were naturally smoked by long exposure, but the women made no special effort to color them. Skins used for shirts, leggings, and moccasins were colored on both sides. According to Catlin, the smoking process kept

[1] This description of the Comanche method of tanning is compiled from the field notes of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group and from statements by H. W. Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *Frontier Times*, Vol. VI (June, 1929), 373–75; E. House (ed.), *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn and Her Two Children with That of Mrs. Harris by the Comanche Indians*, 36; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 357; T. R. Davis, "The Buffalo Range," *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1869, 160; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 284; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 183; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 27.

281 skins soft and flexible no matter how often they were exposed to moisture.

Every woman made the clothing for herself and her family, as was explained in the previous chapter. From the tanned skins the women also made various kinds of soft leather pouches, among them the long fringed ones for the men's smoking utensils. Some of these [531] bags were decorated with beadwork after the arrival of the white traders, but informants insist that porcupine-quill embroidery was unusual among the Comanches.

281 463 Although every woman learned to make clothing and bags, it seems that there were only a relatively few who became expert at designing and cutting the cover for a tipi. A mother or wife who wanted to make a tipi gathered the poles, stripped them of their bark and pared them down to the desired size, and possibly pointed the butts. She then most likely went to an expert tipi-maker and asked for her help. She might offer her a present then, or it might be given afterwards. A day for the work was agreed upon. Other women would be invited to join the "quilting party," but the expert was in complete charge and gave the instructions. She usually did the most critical cutting and fitting. During the day the hostess provided her guests with a feast. Although the women worked together, there appears to have been no organization of tipi makers.[2]

492 Since the Comanches spent much of their time on horseback, horse equipage was an important item. Although both men and [463] women worked at it, saddle-making tended to be the specialty of men [727] who were no longer active in war. In later times, however, Mexican captives became specialists at the trade. Saddles were mostly of a modified Spanish type. They were generally made of American elm in three pieces: the bars or seat proper, the pommel, and the cantle. Each part was laboriously shaved down into the desired shape and carefully fitted. The pommel and cantle were made high with but slight pitch; the bars or seat were moderate in length so that the saddle was deep and narrow. Holes were drilled with a red hot awl, the joints daubed with glue, and then the parts were laced firmly together by means of green deer sinew. The joints were scraped and rubbed smooth, and the frame was smeared with an ochre paint. Over

[2] Informants: Kills Something; She Invites Her Relatives.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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this frame wet rawhide of deer or buffalo was stretched and sewed with green deer sinew. As the wet rawhide dried, it shrank on the frame snugly, making a tough and durable saddle. A small, soft bear skin or buffalo robe was used as a pad.[3] Women's saddles were deeper than those of the men, and the horns and cantles had longer horizontal projections decorated with fringes and brass-headed tacks and were painted red. 492

The stirrup was usually made of a single piece of green willow wood. On either side of the foot rest the wood was bent up and the ends brought together to form the sides and top of the stirrup. The ends were lashed in place with wet sinew, and then over this wooden frame green buffalo hide was stretched and sewed together with sinew. When riding without saddles, the Comanches sometimes used a pad, usually made of dressed buffalo hide.

Bridles or halters were made of plaited buffalo hair or strips of tanned buffalo hide. The hair bridle seems to have been the most common. No bits were used. A loop was formed just above the horse's nose, and the animal was guided by a pull on the rein or by pressure of the knees.

Pack saddles were constructed of two large, ovaloid pads made of two pieces of rawhide sewed together with a grass stuffing between them. These fitted against the two sides of the horse and were held together by two strips of wood which arched over the horse's back and also served as a base for lashing the load. The two pads came so far down and fitted so snugly against the sides of the beast of burden that no cinch was needed.

The Comanches, like most Indians, enjoyed a good smoke. Post Oak Jim thinks there was no smoking in the old days, and he is probably right. At least, a few centuries ago the Comanches had access to very little tobacco. This was changed after they had contact with Mexican traders. From them they obtained cured tobacco in large leaves, which they themselves cut into long strips and pounded to shreds and then added crushed sumac leaves. They smoked both cigarettes and pipes. Cigarettes were rolled in cottonwood leaves or leaves of catbriar or blackjack oak. Only in more recent times were cornhusks introduced. 276

[3] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 277, 296.

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276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called *ɔ'mɔɤɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the [462] hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

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The modern bows were approximately three feet in length, most of them made of wood, although there were a few sinew-backed or compound ones made of buffalo, elk, or mountain-sheep horn. The latter were highly finished and required more time to make. They were worth from six to twenty ponies each.[6] 411 321 [435]

Not all men made bows in the same way, each workman following the method he thought best. The Comanche country stretched over a wide area, and the best bow materials found in one section might not be available in another. Methods varied with time also. Yet, in general, the process was much the same from the Pecos to the Arkansas and from the Cross Timbers to New Mexico. In making the horn or compound bow, the horns were first thrown into warm water and allowed to remain until they became flexible. They were then straightened and strips of suitable width were cut or sawed. After the strips were filed, shaved, scraped, or rubbed down until the flat sides fitted nicely, the desired length was obtained by overlapping and gluing the ends of from two to four slices. Another piece of horn was then laid on the center at the grasp, where it was glued fast. The whole was then filed or scraped down until it was well proportioned. All the joints were firmly bound with sinew to give resiliency to the bow. Several weeks were required for a skilled workman to make a good, ornamented bow of this type.

Bows were sometimes, though rarely, made of a single piece of horn. A long piece, as nearly straight as possible, was whittled, scraped, and rubbed until it was quite thin. After being made pliable by heating, greasing, and working, it was lashed to a straight stick and left until dry and straight. It was then firmly wrapped with sinew, which was secured in place with glue. Bows of buffalo ribs were sometimes made by the same process. Such bows, however, were of little practical use.

The wooden bow was the common bow of the Comanches. It was made principally from the Osage orange, or bois d'arc. Some Indian tribes called the tree "smooth bow"; the Omahas referred to it as yellowwood, but the French gave it the name *bois d'arc,* by which it is best known. It was plentiful along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and in the eastern fringe of the Comanche country southward 322 411

[6] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 178.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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322 411 [824] into Texas. Bois d'arc is commonly recognized as one of the hardest, finest, and most durable of timbers. If it was not accessible, ash, white elm, ironwood, mulberry, or hickory were used, hickory being a highly esteemed bow wood.

When selecting bow wood, the Comanche chose a small upright sapling or a piece of timber with perfectly straight grain from a large tree. The heart of the tree was never used. The timber had to be straight and as free as possible from knots. It had to be seasoned or dried and not allowed to warp in the process. It was generally worked down to approximately the desired size while still green, since green wood worked more easily. Then followed the seasoning process, requiring weeks or months for completion. With fair use a properly made bow would last for many years, but since it might be accidentally broken at any time, timber in various stages of preparation was kept on hand. After the bow wood had seasoned, it was scraped and shaped to proper dimensions and rubbed with fat or brains to make it pliable. Then the stick was put aside, preferably in a warm place, to be worked again in a few days or weeks.[7] When worked to the proper finish, it was rubbed until it acquired a polish. Glue was spread over the bow, and fresh or wet sinew from the back of a buffalo bull or deer was applied. After the sinew had been wrapped, another coat of glue was applied and smoothed down by thorough rubbing. The bow was then laid aside until perfectly dry. In drying, the fresh sinew would shrink tightly to the wood and, with the glue, made the whole very strong and tough. A common wooden bow could be made in three days, but a week to a month was usually required to finish a fancy one.

411 381 Glue for bows and arrows was made from chippings from the rawhide of the neck of a buffalo bull, from the shavings cut from a buffalo bull hide in the process of thinning it down, or from horns and hoofs. These were boiled with water to make a strong glue. It was lobbed upon a smoothly whittled stick of mulberry or other wood and allowed to cool. The glue stick was carried in the bow case with the arrows for ready and frequent use. By softening in hot water it was ready as an instant mender for almost anything.

[7] This method is still used in East Texas for making handles for hammers, axes, shovels, and the like.

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Making an excellent bow string was a task for a specialist. The bow string was made of the sinew of the buffalo bull or deer, derived from the tendon which lies along either side of the spine from the shoulder blades to the hip bones. The tendon was shredded or subdivided longitudinally into fine threads of fiber. It has been estimated that each sinew had then ten times the strength of ordinary cotton thread of equal size. These sinews or threads were next soaked in glue water, and, while damp, several were twisted to form a strong, perfectly round cord of the same size and tension from end to end, and the ends knotted. Post Oak Jim said that he preferred bow strings made of horse-tail hair because "they didn't break and were not spoiled by moisture." Still, he thought bear gut was the best material of all.[8] 411 283

Arrows, next to the bow, were the most precious possessions of a Comanche. Much time was devoted to searching for arrows that had been shot. They were too hard to obtain and cost too much effort to be wasted. This was also true of points lost from the arrow shafts. Nevertheless, it is asserted on good authority that Comanches would never retrieve an arrow which had taken a human life, enemy or friend.[9] Great skill, patience, and judgment were required to make a perfect arrow. The old men who made the best arrows were highly respected for their special skill. Although there was a great difference in arrows, the proportions between the shaft, head, and feathers were quite definite. If these proportions were maintained, the arrow performed efficient and effective work in the hands of an expert bowman; otherwise, it was a failure. An arrow too light in the shaft would not fly steadily; one too heavy would not carry its force long enough. When a good, well-balanced arrow struck the mark, the feather end tilted upward. "The Cheyennes, Pawnees, and Pueblos don't know 411 [784]

[8] This description of bow-making is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something and Post Oak Jim; also, R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 348–49; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Fannie M. Hughs, *Legends of Texas Rivers*, 219; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *Frontier Times*, Vol. VIII (December, 1930), 141; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 412; Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 25–27; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 174; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Babb, *op. cit.*, 134; also, oral communication of others to Wallace.

[9] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 46.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4 (1933, 1945) 1952
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411 how to make arrows" is the opinion of Post Oak Jim. "Comanches and Wichitas make good ones."

411 322 Wood for the arrow shafts was selected and handled with the same care and patience as for the bow. Any hard, tough, straight-grained wood was used. Young shoots of the dogwood were preferred because of their straightness and freedom from knots. The second choice, but not nearly so good as dogwood, was mature ash. The young ash sapling was too pithy and soft. When neither of these was available, wild cherry, hackberry, or mulberry was used, although the hackberry required much straightening. Shafts were cut the desired length and roughly shaped, then tied in a bunch and hung near the fire place or in a dry spot to season.

When the arrow shafts had seasoned, a process which required ten days to two weeks if they were kept near a fire but much longer otherwise, they were examined by the arrow-maker for crooked places. Shafts not perfectly straight were made so. Crooked spots were greased and warmed so that the grease would penetrate readily, then quickly straightened with the hands or an implement devised for that purpose. The arrow straightener was made by drilling a hole slightly larger than that of the shaft in a buffalo bone or horn. The arrow was passed back and forth through the hole and bent until perfectly straight. Some men placed their arrows between their teeth to bend them into shape. Next, the shaft was scraped to proper size and taper, and made perfectly round. This was sometimes done by means of two grooved sandstone slabs with flat meeting faces. The arrow was placed in one groove, the other groove fitted over it. Then, holding the two stones together with one hand, the worker pulled the shaft back and forth. Most of the better arrows were grooved from the end of the feathers to the head of the arrow point. The Lipans had four straight grooves, but the Comanches usually made two straight black grooves on one side and two red spiral ones on the other. These grooves were cut with bone containing a circular hole into which extended a little projection from the margin of the hole, or with a flint with a semicircular notch and a projection. The shaft was then polished by rubbing and sometimes decorated with paintings or markings.[10]

[10] This description of Comanche arrow-making is compiled from statements by

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There has been much speculation about the meaning of the grooves. The most popular theory is that they permitted the blood of the victim to escape so as to weaken him. Another explanation is that the grooves symbolized lightning, which the Indians believed would make the arrows more surely fatal. It seems more probable that they were to prevent the shaft from warping. 411

The flight and accuracy of an arrow depended to a great extent upon the feathers. If the feathers were good and properly arranged, the arrow carried well. Those of the wild turkey seem to have been the most popular, but, when they were not obtainable, owl or buzzard feathers were used. Neither was affected by blood. Feathers of hawks and eagles were not desirable, since they were injured when wet with blood. Each arrow-maker had his own technique of winging the arrows. When the Cheyennes first began to wing their arrows, they used two feathers, but later changed to three. Some tribes used four. The Comanches used both the two- and three-feather winging technique. Some of the best-informed Comanches regard the two-feathered arrow as unsatisfactory, since it will not follow a straight line to the target. The feathers were taken from the wings, the stems split, the tip of the split stems dipped in glue, and the feathers bound in the grooves on either side of the shaft with a thread of sinew.[11] 411 237 411

In the distal end of the arrow shaft a notch was cut, or a cleft made, in which the arrowhead was set. Colonel Dodge believed that the Comanches placed the blade of the hunting arrow in the same plane with the notch for the string so that it would be more likely to pass between the ribs of the animal, which are up and down. For the same reason, the blade of the war arrow was at right angles to the notch, since the ribs of the human enemy were horizontal.[12] The head

informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *loc. cit.*, 141–42; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 179; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 349; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 178–81; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94. [322]

[11] Informant: Kills Something; also, Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 418–19.

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411 was held in place with glue and firmly wrapped with wet sinew, which in turn was glued and rubbed to a smooth finish.

411 The Comanches relied almost entirely on metal for arrow points
325 after they came in contact with the whites. Barrel hoops, bindings for boxes, even frying pans and similar pieces of metal furnished excellent material. The piece of metal was sharpened on one end and on both sides. After the point was sharpened, it was hardened by heating it in a fire and then dropping it while red hot into cold water. The Mexican traders not only supplied iron for the points but files with which to fashion and sharpen the arrowheads. Metal arrowheads became an important item of trade among most American Indian tribes.

> Hundreds of thousands were manufactured yearly by eastern traders to be exchanged for furs. They were put in packages of one dozen each, cost the trader six cents a package and were the means for obtaining enormous profits. Usually one package was exchanged for a buffalo robe.[13]

There were two general types of metal arrowheads, one for game and one for war. The game point had no barb and was easily extracted, while the war point was barbed and loosely attached to the shaft. Some war points had but one barb, which, when shot into a body and the shaft pulled, caught in the flesh, and the point turned crosswise in the wound, making it impossible to extract it without tearing or cutting.

411 Before the acquisition of metal, arrows were made of stone, bone,
324 or horn. Flint appears to have been the most popular, and some preferred it even after the introduction of metal. It has been claimed that wounds made by flint arrow points were more likely to be fatal than those of metal. The Comanches apparently did little grinding or polishing of flint. Indeed, the nature of much of the flint of the Comanche country rendered such treatment unnecessary. Lehmann has left an account of one method of making stone arrowheads, but whether it was Apache or Comanche is uncertain, the implication being that the method was common among both tribes.

[13] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 180.

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We threw a large flint stone, from two to six feet in circumference, into the fire. After the stone became very hot, small thin pieces would pop off; we selected those pieces which would require the least work to put into shape, and picked these pieces up with a stick split at the end; while these pieces were very hot, we dropped cold water on those places we wished to thin down; the cold water caused the spot touched to chip off, and in this way we made some of the keenest pointed and sharpest arrows that could be fashioned out of stone.[14]

All efforts of archaeologists to determine a Comanche-type flint arrow point have been in vain. In this connection Professor Mildred Pickle Mayhall says, "There are several mentions of distinctive points and shafts for different tribes but just what those differences were we do not exactly know. Poisoned arrows may have belonged to all the Texas tribes but there is little definite information about this save in reference to the Comanches."[15] The Comanches did poison their arrow points occasionally for use in war, by making an extract from a plant not known to our informants or by sticking them in a dead skunk.

The bow and arrow was exceptionally accurate up to fifty yards or more. The Comanche arrow shot from a good bow could wing a true flight for three hundred yards. It has been maintained on good authority that at a distance of from ten to fifteen yards, an arrow (twenty to thirty inches in length) could be driven completely through the carcass of a buffalo, providing it struck no bone, that an object the size of a doorknob could be hit by an expert marksman an average of four out of five shots, and that an expert Comanche hunter could kill twice the number of buffalo with bow and arrow as an American with a pistol.[16]

The superiority of bow and arrow over the old-type musket was recognized by the Comanches. When muskets first became known to them, they were all eager to obtain them. But when the novelty

[14] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 93–94.

[15] Mildred P. Mayhall, "The Indians of Texas: the Atakapa, the Karankawa, the Tonkawa" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas Library), 608–609.

[16] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–63, 233; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 296; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

of the weapon had worn off, they realized that it was inferior to the bow and arrow both in hunting and in war. The muskets had a greater range but a much slower rate of fire, they were difficult to load on horseback, and ammunition could be obtained only infrequently. As a result the Comanches were reverting to the bow and arrow when the introduction of repeating firearms turned the tide again.[17]

A buckskin band was worn on the wrist of the left arm to protect it from the bruising twang of the bowstring. The bow and arrows were carried in a skin case by a band over the right shoulder, and in wet weather the string was kept under the armpit to keep it dry. When crossing a wide stream in flood, the Comanche shot his arrows across before swimming his horse over.

The shield, next to the bow and arrow, was the Comanche warrior's most important weapon, and it was valued above all other things. Several days were required to make a shield. There were individual differences in its structure, but the basic pattern was always the same. It was made from the shoulder hide of an old buffalo bull, since that was the toughest portion. The green hide was heated over a fire or steamed over hot water and, while still hot, was rubbed on a rough rock in order to flesh it. Scrapers were used to finish the fleshing. Heating and steaming contracted and thickened the hide, and this process was repeated as many times as necessary in order to make the hide as thick as possible. A smooth stone was then used to rub and pound the hide to efface all wrinkles and make it smooth and pliable. One or more layers of circular pieces cut from it were then stretched flesh side out over each side of a circular wooden hoop, two feet or more in diameter, and sewed together around the edge of the hoop with rawhide thongs passed through eyelets punched around the edges of the layers of hide. The space between the layers, usually about one inch thick, was packed with feathers, hair, or paper to stop the force of arrows, bullets, or blows from other weapons. Charles Goodnight relates that one shield which he captured from a Comanche warrior contained a complete history of Rome.[18] Before discover-

[17] Ralph Linton, "Acculturation and Process of Culture Change," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, 474.

[18] J. E. Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *Plains-Panhandle Historical Review*, Vol. I (1928), 20.

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ing that paper was used for padding inside the shields, Anglo-American pioneers were quite puzzled at the Comanche interest in books. 411

The surface of the shield was stretched into a convex or saucer shape with the convex surface to the outside. A convex surface would readily deflect a blow. The shield was then hung up to dry. Sometimes the shield-maker would unlace the shield and remove the wooden frame, adding, of course, additional packing. This increased the safety of the shield, since a bullet could penetrate the wooden frame more easily than the packing.

A buckskin cover was usually fitted over the flint-like shield, much as a cover is drawn over a spare automobile tire. It was drawn in on the under side by means of a buckskin thong laced through eyelet holes around the edges. Through the hide itself were bored two pairs of holes, and through each pair was passed a loop or band of rawhide or buckskin. By means of these two bands the shield was fastened to the left arm near the elbow in such a manner as not to interfere with the free use of the hand.

After the shield had thoroughly dried and cured, it was treated by setting it up as a target, and if a bullet or an arrow pierced it when fired from a distance of about fifty yards, it found a place in the debris of the camp. In times of action the Indian manipulated his arm so as to make any blow strike the shield at an angle. Very few bullets fired from old-fashioned rifles would penetrate a well-constructed shield unless the bullet struck the surface perpendicularly, a near impossibility when the shield was in the hands of one expert in the art of using it.

The Anglo-American pioneers and soldiers who knew the Comanches well relate that their shields were usually adorned with three kinds of insignia. Bear teeth worn or painted on a shield indicated that the owner was a great hunter or had the toughness of the bear; scalps attached to or painted on the shield indicated its owner to be a mighty warrior, and horse or mule tails that he was an accomplished raider. The materials were attached by means of buckskin strings to the under side of the shield. Around the rim of the outside cover feathers were attached and held in place with sinew. Comanche informants maintained that there should have been an even number, usually four but possibly six or more. The arrangement made it pos-

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411 sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the
531 shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

411 Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physi-
778 cal but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the
[84] event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

At Work and Play

The father of Rhoda Greyfoot, who was a famous medicine man, had a shield, but Rhoda never saw it. "They were very precious about them," she said. 411 778

Painted shields usually had power, and the designs symbolized that power. If a young man wanted a new shield endowed with power and was willing to encumber himself with all the burdens and limitations that power imposed, he had three choices for obtaining it. He could ask a man who had a medicine shield for a share of his power, he could go on a vision quest himself to get instructions for the design from a spirit source, or he could ask a medicine man to procure a design for him.

In the first case, the young man would visit the owner of a medicine shield and smoke with him. Not until the pipe had been smoked would he make his request, for, having smoked with him, the shield owner must grant the favor he asked. The donor gave him some power, but he still retained his own power, too. The young man then had his shield painted by the donor as an exact duplicate of his own. If, however, the young man received instructions for the design from a spirit source, he would ask a "good artist" to paint his shield according to the vision. As for the third possibility—asking a medicine man to procure a design for him—Post Oak Jim gave the following account:

411 539 778

« « « A boy brought his shield to a peyote meeting and asked the leader for advice. He smoked and asked assistance. He was told to leave the shield by the door at the side of the fire tender.

After the midnight water ceremony the leader took the shield, put cedar on the fire, held the shield over it, and shook it. He gave it to the boy, who was sitting on the south side. He took the shield and made a circle. The leader said he would have directions for him in the morning, and the boy thanked him. [The leader can give directions at a meeting or afterwards.]

In the morning he told the boy to bring an artist and he would dictate the design to him. "The design will be all right," he said, "so don't be afraid. If you want to know about it, go to a lonely place some night, and the shield will tell you all about it."[20] » » »

[20] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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A Comanche woman, the wife of Milky Way, in 1872

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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411 A shield with power not only gave its owner the general protec-
NO6 tive influence due to its sacred character, but also endowed him with those qualities attributed to heavenly bodies, birds, mammals, and other living creatures from whom the design-giving vision came. It also might afford protection from the elements, for some shields were sacred to thunder and lightning.

411 The lance was another favorite weapon of certain Comanches. The use of the war lance has been associated with the horse, but it is evident that the tribes who came to occupy the plains in historic times were acquainted with the stone-headed lance as a hunting implement before they entered the plains. Two types of lances were used by the Comanches. One was a hooked lance, so called because the shaft was bent somewhat in the shape of the conventional shepherd's crook. The other was the ordinary lance, six to seven feet in length. It had a wooden shaft of bois d'arc armed in modern times with an iron or steel point in any shape which was convenient and easily made from the material at hand. Some lance heads were as much as thirty inches long by one inch wide, tapering to a point at the end away from the shaft. Previous to the acquisition of metal, the lance head was of chipped stone, often leaf-shaped. In either case, the head was bound to the shaft with sinew of rawhide thongs and glue in much the same way that the arrow point was bound to the shaft. The shafts of old-time spears were decorated only by a feather or a bunch of feathers attached near the butt end. Beaded shafts like the one on Quanah Parker's spear were a late fashion. Sheaths, which might or might not be decorated, were sometimes made for lances.

411 The battle spear was not a weapon for any ordinary man to carry.
554 It was never hurled javelin-wise but was always thrust from under the arm. If thrust overarm, it might hit a bone and break the point or frighten the rider's horse, according to Breaks Something. Only a brave man carried a spear, because it meant hand-to-hand combat. More than this, a spear carrier could never retreat and live to face his fellow warriors. There was no alternative for him but victory or death. In Breaks Something's opinion, the war lance ranked higher as a symbol of a war chief than any headdress, and warriors who carried the spear went without a war bonnet. His own brother, after the Battle of Adobe Walls, gave up his spear, and all his family was glad.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Big Looking Glass (Pianaronit), in 1894
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 111]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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At Work and Play

"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office. 411 554 [727 778]

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wɜpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon. 411

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were 517

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

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517 quite simple. Visiting, feasting, the dance, story-telling, and competitive games constituted their principal means of recreation and amusement. The Comanches were very sociable and spent much time visiting. Visiting and feasts furnished opportunity for the discussion of news and tribal welfare. The religious ceremonies were regarded by many as less an occasion for worship than an exciting and interesting social gathering.

Social gatherings in the evenings were filled with mirth, revelry, and enjoyment. Before the arrival of the white trader, the Comanches were noted for their abstinence from intoxicating drink. Most evenings were devoted to singing and storytelling, which was not only entertainment but education. By frequent repetition of stories, the [919] tribal history, traditions, legends, and ideals were perpetuated for the young. Older people seldom grew weary of repeating the stories or of listening to them.

517 On other evenings young men and women gathered around a fire which had been kindled in the village, and while it reflected its 535 dancing shadows against the yellow lodge-skins, they danced and chanted their songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beat of the drum. Those who did not participate in the dance sat on the ground in a circle, facing the musicians who sat in the center beating their small drums. Men and women dancers stood a short distance apart facing each other. When the music began, a man would select a dancing partner by placing his hands round her waist, while she clasped him in similar fashion. The affair lasted an hour or more. The Indian, who had been taught to dance almost from the time he had been able to lift his feet, danced with rhythm and freedom, and every movement was vivid and natural.

526 Competitive games continued from childhood to middle life, and when a person became too old to participate, he still enjoyed watching them.

When food was plentiful and no necessary jobs were pressing, a Comanche really liked to settle down for some good fun. Men and women alike were great sports; gambling was a passion. Their horse racing has already been described, but it was not their only athletic sport. The women liked to play double ball or shinny, a strenuous pastime, to say the least. They set up arrow-shooting contests to test

speed and distance skills. With the older men they threw arrows at 516
marks and at the wheel. The women also had a sport of their own: kick-the-ball. Younger men wrestled and in older times played at kicking each other. And adults of both sexes spent hours in games of chance. Then there were social dances of a purely recreational nature, storytelling, gossiping, and singing. A Comanche rarely had [157]
good reason to be bored, and with his usually extroverted personality his lust for life was strong.

Shinny and double ball were exclusively women's games among the Comanches. Lacrosse, definitely a man's game and important in the lives of the eastern Indians, was never taken up by the Comanche men. The two ball games played by the women were essentially similar in principle, but different in equipment required and in its use.

Ten women or girls to a side made up the usual team. The players, garbed in showy dress, were wont to gather on the ball field about mid-afternoon. If they intended to play shinny, two stakes were driven into the ground at both ends of a field a hundred or more yards long. Each player had a curved stick. The ball, made of hair-stuffed deerskin, was flattened and three or four inches in diameter. The rules of the game were essentially similar to those of our own shinny.

Double ball was a much faster variation of shinny. One stake at each end of the field formed the goal. A rawhide thong eighteen inches long was substituted for a ball. A hooked stick three feet long was used by each player to catch and throw the thong. The game started with a referee tossing the thong up between two centers as in basketball. The one who caught it had to throw it with her stick to a teammate, who ran toward her goal with it. If blocked by an opponent, she tossed it over her opponent and caught it coming down on the other side, continuing on her way, or else she passed it over to a teammate. The object was to maneuver into position so that the thong could be thrown at the stake. When it wrapped itself around the pole, a goal had been scored. This game, called *natsi'ɔ:et,* was the favorite of the Water Horse band, who were "tall, thin, and fleet of foot." When two bands gathered for games, they would bring up great bundles of goods for betting. They beat all other bands at *natsi'ɔ:et* until the others refused to play them.[24]

[24] Informant: That's It.

The Comanches

526 Shinny as a woman's game was practically universal among North American Indians, so it is hardly surprising to find it as a sport among the Comanches. Double ball was also a woman's game throughout most of the United States, except among the West Coast tribes, where it was played by men. Inasmuch as it was played by Paiutes and Shoshones in the Great Basin, the Comanches most likely enjoyed the game before their migration.

The lives and livelihood of the Comanches turned on their skill with the bow and arrow. Informal archery tournaments occurred on any festive occasion to test bow and arrow skills in several ways. One type of contest placed a premium on speed in fitting and discharging flights of arrows. The players took a certain number of arrows, which they held with their bows in the left hand. Each player in turn advanced in front of the judges and discharged his first arrow upward as high as possible. He then proceeded to discharge the others as rapidly as possible. Victory belonged to the one who succeeded in having the greatest number of arrows in the air at once.[25]

Shooting for the mark, called *wɜ'kɜrɜ*, was done in the manner of "bowls." Each contestant used four arrows. The first marksman sent out an arrow, near or far, as he wished. Then he and his opponent alternated in shooting their arrows. The closest to the mark arrow won the round, as in horseshoes. The loser of the round had the chance to shoot the target arrow on the next try.

Exactly the same game was played with throwing arrows specially constructed to be light and long with feathers trimmed closer than a bow arrow. This arrow game, when throwing for the mark, was known to the Comanches as *tir'ɔwɔkɔ*. Sometimes the players decided to throw for distance instead. In this case, they called the game *narɔ'tɔnɛ:lɜ*, and a good throw was considered to be two hundred yards—hardly a mean distance. Players and spectators alike bet on these games.

Young men like to play the wheel game, *atatsi*, as a more complicated sport of arrow throwing. Among the Crows the wheels collected by Lowie were nine and one-quarter and ten inches in diameter. The Comanches called for sharper marksmanship, because their wheels, according to informants, were only four or five inches

[25] Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 198.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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across. Otherwise, the construction of the Comanche wheel was 526
exactly like that illustrated by Lowie.[26] It consisted of willow rim with rawhide spokes radiating from a rawhide circle, one to two inches large, in the middle. The special throwing arrow, three to five feet long, was like the Crows' in having a forked feathered butt. It differed, however, in possessing a lashed-on barb of chinaberry, a hard wood, at the point.

The wheel game called for four players, two to a side. The teams stood facing each other, five or six steps from the starter, who rolled a hoop or wheel down the line between them. The players threw their special arrows simultaneously. If an arrow hit went through the center hole, its barb made it stick and the wheel fell down. Now the side that had hit the mark had the advantage, for the other side had to throw ordinary arrows at the center hole of the fallen wheel from the spot where the successful marksman had stood. Any arrow that failed to hit the center hole was captured and kept by the other side. Any arrow that hit the center hole was recovered by the thrower. Thus the team that first put its barbed arrow in the hole while the hoop was rolling stood a chance to win up to ten arrows while not having to risk a single one of its own. Players without much skill could agree to shoot for the spaces between the spokes instead of the center hole. Spectators bet on one side or the other, and when they got excited put up their own arrows to be thrown.[27]

The old kicking game played by the boys in the legend of the split of the Comanches and Shoshones, although remembered, seems to have been dropped as a sport. The women, however, were still playing kick-the-ball in 1933. Hopping on the left foot, they keep a rag ball in the air by "dribbling" it off the ground with the instep of the right. The idea is to get as far as possible before the ball is missed and falls to the ground. One or two girls or women play on a side, and good players can carry the ball seventy-five to one hundred yards. A variation is duration kicking in place, and in this a skilled player can keep the ball in the air two or three hundred kicks.

When it was too hot for much exertion, or at night when sports 524
were impossible, or at any time, if a person was too lazy or too old

[26] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, fig. 11, p. 102.
[27] Informants: Breaks Something; Post Oak Jim.

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524 for the more strenuous activities, there were the hand game, varieties of dice, and, in later years, card games.

One of their principal "parlor" games which was common to all the bands was known variously as "bullet," "button," and "hands." The players were divided into two parties who formed in parallel lines opposite each other or in a half-circle. A number of counters, usually sticks, were placed between the two parties and all must be gained by one side or the other before the game was won. The game was usually twenty-one points, though the players might agree upon any number. When all were ready, the players commonly sang one of the many gambling songs and several beat time, either on the ground with a stick, on a parfleche, or on small hand drums, or kept time with motions of their arms. During this performance, one player took the bullet, button, bone, or some other convenient object and, after moving his hands in time to the singing and making many gestures to confuse his opponents, thrust out his closed hands. An opposing player guessed which hand the object was in. The game could be varied by passing or pretending to pass the object from one player to another. If the guesser were successful, his party then hid the object. If during the manipulations the object were accidentally dropped, the opposing side took the object and a counter. The game was won when one side had possession of all the counters. This game could last all night or be concluded almost at once. Players bet on the outcome, sometimes staking all they possessed under the care of a neutral scorekeeper.[28] Excitement was intense as the "button" passed back and forth to the accompaniment of drumming and rhythmic hand-game songs. The winning of a game called for a special victory song.

Dice games were quite popular until replaced in recent years by card games. There were many variations. One form was played with small, square blocks of wood, each side of which was painted a different color. The bet was made on the color that would turn up when the dice were thrown.

Another form of the game, a favorite with the men, was played on the flesh side of a buffalo robe marked into sections with chalk

[28] Stewart Culin, "Games of North American Indians," B. A. E. *Twenty-fourth Annual Report*, 309; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 133; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 516; Battey, *op. cit.*, 326.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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lines. The dice consisted of two smooth sticks, each about four inches in length, flat on one side and curved on the other. The flat side was about an inch in width. The player held the two sticks between his thumb and forefinger and either tossed them up or dropped them on a flat stone resting in the center of the playing section. The points scored depended on the section in which the sticks fell. One tally stick for each point was taken from the pile by the winner. The player obtaining the most sticks won the game. The women usually varied the game slightly. They used twelve sticks, from six to ten inches in length. Any stick which fell and remained across another counted a point. The first player to get one hundred points won the game. 524

Another variation of the game, popular with the women, was played with a shallow wicker bowl or basket and six plum stones or flat pieces of bone.[29] The basket was six to eight inches in diameter, and the dice were marked in a way to make possible several combinations of colors. When several players were participating, each player bet with the opposite player. In making the throw, the basket was raised so as to toss the dice only a few inches high. Before they fell, the basket was brought sharply to the ground. Each player threw in turn. The women chatted and joked continually during the game.

The Comanches, like other Indians, had no moral inhibitions against gambling, so they went all out in their betting. After all, it was only an exchange of property between friends, and generous gift-giving was the custom anyhow. Husbands and wives were free to gamble each other's goods, and each was supposed to pay up the other's debts. Some winners, like Breaks Something, were compassionate, however. On one hunting expedition, according to Breaks Something's story, his band came upon another Comanche group and found some men gambling at dice behind a windbreak. One old man had won nearly everything and was looking for new game. Breaks Something cut in to play against him, putting up the cartridges he had brought for hunting: ten cartridges to a tally stick. He bet and won; bet and won. The old man went broke. He bet twelve hides his wife had not yet tanned. Then he bet her tipi and everything in it. Then his two horses. He lost everything he had. In desperation 525

[29] Culin, "Games of North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 54–55, 159.

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525 he offered to bet his sister. Breaks Something thought this was too much; he refused. The old man's "brother" (a classificatory cousin) broke in, "It's nothing; she's just like a dog." Whereupon Breaks Something agreed to allow twenty-five tally sticks value on the girl. He won her!

Next day Breaks Something sent his mother over to collect the goods he had won: the tipi and the girl, the horses, and everything. The women folk cried and said these were not the old man's to gamble. "I took pity on them," recalled Breaks Something. "I took pity on them and gave everything back to them except the blanket from the old man's back. So I lost my new-won wife."

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VI

From Cradle to Grave

THE Comanche infant was born into a world of adults who welcomed and cherished it. It was not looked upon as a nuisance or handicap, but rather as a valuable addition to the tribe. Girls were accepted, but boys were preferred. Some families made a practice of painting a black spot on the door of the tipi if a newborn child was a boy, as a means of informing the people that the tribe had been strengthened by the addition of another "brave." Although the motherly affection that was the child's due was bestowed upon both male and female, boys received greater care than girls from their mothers and more indulgence from both parents all along the line.

There is conflicting opinion about twins. The woman who bore twin boys might be honored; other parents might regard twins as unnatural. Sometimes the parents attempted to destroy one or both of them, particularly if one or both were girls, but the more common practice was to give one away if foster parents could be found. For fear her husband might destroy both, the mother would sometimes dispose of one and not inform her husband that she had given birth to twins. In the eighteen eighties Dr. George Holley discovered and saved an infant, which was one of twins, buried in sand by its mother. There is at least one other recorded instance of such a rescue.[1]

Infanticide also seems to have been practiced in case the infant was born deformed, diseased, or a weakling. The attending women

[1] Annie M. Barnes, *Matouchon: A Story of Indian Child Life*, 11.

847 and the medicine woman made the decision. If it was determined that the child was unfit to live, it was left out on the plains. If the tribe was on the move, it was left near the camp site; otherwise, it was carried a distance from camp and left to die. Well-informed observers claim that they never saw an idiot or congenitally deformed
854 Comanche in the early days.[2]

During its first days the child lay swaddled in robes in its mother's lying-in hut where it received constant attention. Soon after the mother left the hut to resume her daily round of tasks, the baby was put in its day cradle, or "papoose board," so that it could be stood out of harm's way or, if the mother was out gathering seeds or roots or on the march with the camp, it could easily be carried along on her back.

The cradle-board was either a sort of basket made of rawhide fastened to a flat, angular board or a soft buckskin sheath that laced up the front and was anchored to a back board. In cold weather the baby was wrapped in his cradle in blankets with a small opening left for breathing and for the dark, gleaming eyes. Getting babies in and out of their tight cradles to keep them dry would have been a great nuisance. The Comanches met this problem by bringing the little boy's penis out through an opening in the lashings and by providing a draining tube between the legs for a girl. Soft, dry moss was used to catch their excrement. Even so, the babies got wet and messy, but it was their lot to put up with it until they were transferred to the night cradle. Then they were washed, greased, and powdered—the powder consisting of pulverized dry rot of cottonwood. This soothing operation was done tenderfully and carefully. Bodily physical contact was thus restricted during the early months of life, and muscular activity almost wholly so. Such restriction was on a twenty-four-hour basis at first, for at night the young infant was rolled up in a stiff rawhide tube so that it could sleep on the robe between its parents without danger of being smothered if its fat mother rolled over on it. In this setting it enjoyed a snug, if not luscious, protective intimacy with both parents that was generative of strong security feelings.

Nine or ten months passed before the child was allowed out of the

[2] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 167; Babb, *op. cit.*, 140, 142.

From Cradle to Grave

cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back. 854 [482]

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was 553 [551] 753 551

753 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given
551 one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his
753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be ɒβɔyβita—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » »

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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the father. It might be named after its grandfather, uncle, or some other near relative. The person for whom the child, boy or girl, was named was expected to contribute a gift to his or her namesake. A good name was always chosen, though the child might be called by a nickname in common parlance. 551

Nicknames were obtained in the most haphazard way and might change at the will of associates. Greyfoot was called so because a woman got her feet covered with gray clay while crossing a creek. Even the most noted warriors were sometimes unable to control the disposition to nickname. Any unusual physical aspect or peculiar trait of character was almost certain to be seized upon. Thus Face Wrinkles Like an Old Man is an appropriate appellation for one informant. Frequently a nickname was given not because of the prospective bearer's idiosyncrasies, but after the behavior of his parental kinfolk. Such a name a boy retained until he had made a successful journey to war, a plundering expedition, or a hunt, when he received another name selected by himself or by a close friend as evidence of his newly won status as a man. Girls, however, did not regularly change their names at puberty.

Girls were unlikely to be named after the relatives of the mother, but rather after a relative of the father. Names thus remained in the family. The mother generally selected the name, which might be in commemoration of something she thought worthy. Girls, like boys, were called by nicknames. Married women did not take the names of their husbands, nor was there any equivalent of "Miss" or "Mrs." to indicate whether a woman was married or single. The name of a dead person was avoided and was not spoken in the presence of relatives for a long time, usually several years, other words conveying the same idea being substituted.

The training of children consisted almost entirely of precept, advice, and counsel. A baby soon learned that he would not have his whims gratified by crying. He was told to do, or warned to refrain from doing, certain things, not because they were right or wrong, but because they were to his advantage or disadvantage. He was taught that he would benefit by acting in a certain way. His pride and ambition were appealed to, and worthy examples among living men in the tribe were pointed out for emulation. Of abstract principles of 854

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right or wrong, as we understand them, the Comanches knew little or nothing. The approach to life was pragmatic. The child was not coaxed toward good with the hope of Heaven as a reward or frightened from evil by the fear of Hell as a punishment. Instead, he was shown by word and example that the respect and approbation of his fellow tribesmen were to be desired, and their condemnation and contempt were to be dreaded and avoided. He saw that the men who were brave and generous were applauded and respected. In Comanche society it was impossible to live a secluded life. The members were aware of the conduct of each person. Each was eager for the approval of his fellows and greedy for their praise, and public opinion promised the reward he hoped for and threatened the punishment he feared—lack of esteem among The People. This was their method of control.

The Comanches did not whip or otherwise bodily punish their children but directed them by persuasion and object lessons. However, they were, at times, frightened by threats. Breaks Something, when a small boy, annoyed his mother by whining for some mush she was making. She called in an elder classificatory sister, who simply dragged him into the tipi with a rawhide strap around his neck and threatened to hang him to the top of the tipi if he was not good. "I was really scared."

Discipline within the family usually devolved on an older sister—real or, preferably, putative—and youngsters really resented their bossiness. The Comanches knew nothing about Freud and his theory of the Oedipus complex, but they did know that parental dominance breeds resentment, and so, like most American Indians, when forceful discipline was called for, they turned the job over to a relative outside of the immediate conjugal family or to an imaginary bogeyman.

Old people covered their heads with a sheet to give a ghost scare to bad little boys and girls, and all youngsters had the fear put into them of *piamɜmpits,* Big Cannibal Owl, the mythological creature who lived in a cave on the south side of the Wichita Mountains and ate bad children at night.

As soon as she was large enough to walk, the girl followed her mother everywhere about the camp. She imitated her in all things,

playing at the tasks which her mother performed. She was given a doll, dressed usually in deer skin, which she took everywhere with her. She might be lucky enough to have a toy cradle and carry her doll on her back in the fashion of her mother. As she grew older, she learned to dress and undress her doll and to make for it the necessary articles of clothing. Little girls learned to ride almost by the time they were able to sit astride a horse and hold the reins. Although they never spent as much time as the boys in practice, they became good horsewomen, so proficient that often the white campaigner was unable in the midst of battle to distinguish men from women. 857

There was a very close relationship between a girl and her mother's sisters. They were not called aunt, but *pia,* "mother," and the relationship was that of a mother to her daughter. A woman called her sister's child her own and aided in its instruction. There was even less formality between a girl and her mother's sister than between the girl and her mother. It was the grandparents who spoiled the child. The maternal grandmother was the girl's favorite. She was called *kaku* and she in reciprocity called her daughter's children *kaku,* too. Their social positions were theoretically equivalent. The *kaku* was likely to be congenial and indulgent with the child, and the relationship was much more intimate than between mother and daughter.[4] 604 603

As a girl grew older, she was given small tasks. She was first required to carry water and, when still older, she began to go for wood. Parties of girls, sometimes accompanied by a few women, went out from camp to bring in the wood. They also went with the women to gather wild fruits, roots, and nuts. At about twelve years of age, the girl began to learn to cut out moccasins, to cook, to dress hides, to make and set up a tipi—all the things essential for becoming the wife of a warrior. 857 863

The passage of a girl from childhood to young womanhood was an important occasion in her life, and was hardly less so to her family and the tribe. But since there was little anxiety about becoming a woman and a girl was already well-prepared for womanhood, and since the Comanches were a work-a-day, unceremonious people, there were no puberty rites. Among well-to-do families the event was the 881

[4] For a detailed analysis of Comanche kinship relations and terminology see, Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship System," *loc. cit.,* 440–57.

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881 occasion for ceremonial feasting and celebration, and a daughter who was a favorite child in a well-off family might run over the prairie hanging to the tail of a fast pony so that she would be agile and active. This was the only magical activity associated with puberty. She was then ready to marry and become the mother of children and thus to contribute her part toward adding to the number and, therefore, the [582] strength of the tribe. By the time she was sixteen the chances are her marriage had been consummated.

868 A boy learned to ride almost as soon as he learned to walk. From earliest babyhood he was familiar with horses and their motions, riding behind his mother, clinging to her or to the horse's mane, or strapped to her saddle. He thus gained confidence, learned balance, and, by practice, learned to ride an old gentle pack horse; by the time he was four or five years old, he was expected to be able to manage a pony of his own; and by the time he was six, he was riding young colts bareback. Sometimes while learning to ride, he was bound on the pony by a rawhide lariat while another boy held the pony by another lariat and circled the pony about until the boy literally became a part of the animal. He received the criticisms of companions, father, mother, and other relatives and onlookers. If he fell, he was laughed at by the girls and others, but he did not become angry with his critics. Soon afterwards he had to help herd the ponies. He early became expert in the use of the rope for catching horses and henceforth spent much of his outdoor time on horseback.

603 868 By the time the boy was five or six years of age, he was given a bow and some blunt arrows and taught to shoot, usually by his grandfather. This was natural enough since the father was still engaged in war and hunting, while the older man had probably passed the period of active life and thus had the leisure to make bows and arrows and to devote a good deal of his time to the education of his grandson. Consequently, there developed between the two an intimate relationship whose pattern was one of indulgence and congeniality linked with the less severe forms of authority-obedience. The grandfather taught the grandson to ride, to shoot, to make bows and arrows, and the secrets of the hunt and the trail. He told him stories of his boyhood and early manhood, instructed him in the tribal history and traditions, legends and religion, and many other things

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *ɔk*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ara*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ara* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ara's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ara's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ara*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

He learned to approach game with patience, caution, and quietness; learned to take advantage of vegetation, of physical features, and of the wind; learned how to make a surround—lessons which would be valuable in real hunts when he grew up. He came to understand the signs of the prairie, how to observe the habits of wild animals, to know where they might be found, and how they reacted under different conditions.

A boy was allowed much liberty, and although his parents were firm, he was seldom scolded or punished. He was not expected to perform any menial labor about the camp and was always treated with great consideration, for "he is going to be a warrior and he may die young in battle." 858

The Comanche boy in his daily life was learning to be self-reliant, but at the same time his play habits were fostering manly comradery. Most of the daytime hours of the pre-adolescent boys were 857

[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

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spent in gang play. When a new camp was set up, they set out to find a good water hole in the creek where they could play all day. Following and baiting small birds and large insects fascinated them. Hummingbirds were shot with headless arrows having a vertically split foreshaft in which to catch the birds. Boys would spend all day chasing one bird, according to Skinny and Wrinkled, in a kind of concentration that boded well for the future hunter and tracker of men and beasts. Bull bats were shot with arrows having horizontally split foreshafts. Grasshoppers were shot with hummingbird arrows, and their hind legs were eaten for lunch.

The boys had great fun by tying two grasshoppers together with a short thread and then crowding about to watch them "wrestle." They would jump and jerk each other up short. The one that first fell on its back was the loser. They liked to catch "shit rollers," tie a piece of straw to a leg, and watch them fly, running fleetly after them as they followed their courses. They would stick a small straw up the anus of a horsefly and turn the insect loose—which perhaps showed how they felt about horseflies.

Small boys, who had no real arrows, made them of reed shafts with grasshopper legs for points and a ballast daub of mud stuck two inches from the point. They killed night hawks with slings and amused themselves playing with whirrers—two strings attached to a bone and pulled taut to make a whirring noise.

Although boys were by themselves most of the time, the younger ones now and then joined the little girls to play camp. On the sand by the creek they built small windbreaks and arbors. A play group leader was made "chief," and each boy chose a wife or wives. They all swam in the creek, gathered in ponies with the girls, and rode together. Some time was spent by the boys in hunting squirrels to bring into camp for their "wives" to cook, while the girls gathered berries, edible roots, and the eggs of turkeys, ducks, quail, and prairie chickens. All this swag made for good make-believe feasts.

The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. "One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife," said Post Oak Jim.

When younger boys and girls played together (but not when they were playing camp), there were several forms of joint games.

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A hilarious favorite was "grizzly bear." For this, a mound of sand, called the "sugar," was fashioned. Then one child was dragged around by his heels to smooth a circle around the "sugar." Outside the circle all the children formed a queue, holding to each others' waists and facing the mound. The leader was the "mother" protecting her young from the "grizzly," who was played by a child inside the circle. His part was to reach out of the circle and seize a child, but the mother protected the children by swinging the line back and forth. At last one child was caught and subjected to the penalty of being tickled ("eaten") by the bear in the circle. After that, players would break out of the line and try to dash in to steal some "sugar" from the grizzly's store and get out without his catching them. As each was caught, he was tickled, and the game went on until the "sugar" was all stolen or all the children were captured. 857 526

In another group game the children all sat in a row with their feet straight out in front of them. An old man had to join them in the fun. He would advance with closed eyes and feel up and down the row until he decided to choose one child. This one he picked up by the feet, head hanging down over his back, and carried him around in a circle back to the row. The other children asked the "It" many questions: "Do you have a horse, a saddle, a belt, etc?" The given answer was always "Yes." At last they rushed forward and took their playmate off the old man's back, crying that they were going to eat the old man. So they tickled the old fellow with joyous cries.

Other times they took pieces of old hide to the tops of hills. While some of the children rode on the hides, the others pulled them bouncing down with ropes. "Guess over the hill" (*nanip'ka*) was another favorite. Two older boys would organize the game. The boy who was "It" went over the hill; another stood guard at the top to make sure he did not spy while the other children hid under robes or blankets. When called by the guard, "It" came and tried to guess the names of the hiders.[6]

On rainy days all was still; the children lay quietly at home in their family tipis, for they were superstitiously afraid of thunder and lightning. Winter was the time for the telling of stories; not summer. 857 [821] [535]

[6] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

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As boys began to approach adolescence, there were a couple of years when they drew away from girls and ceased to play their childish games with them. They ran loose in gangs, racing, hunting, wrestling, and swimming. As their fathers stole stock, they rustled food from the camp. At night they liked to go armed with ropes and cut out riding horses from the herd to joyride on the prairie. If anyone discovered them, all they had to do was to get off and scatter. They were not encouraged by adults in these escapades; neither were they scolded. Their high spirits were tolerated, for that is as a Comanche should be, and marauding youngsters at night were a useful guard against enemy raiders.

As the boy grew into adolescence, the normal Comanche pattern demanded extreme brother-sister avoidance, even to the extent of isolating the unmarried adolescent boy in a separate tipi set up behind his parents' lodge. Here he prepared to receive power away from the contaminating grease of cooking utensils, while he was also isolated from incestuous temptation. The brother and sister could never sit close to or touch each other.[7] This social tabu was elaborated to the point where a young man might kill his sister without suffering any social disgrace or punishment if she insisted on violating it.[8]

If an older boy became unruly, disrespectful, or insolent, some of the older men made him the subject of cutting sarcasm. It usually was on such an occasion that the youth could not withdraw or save his face. This form of punishment was successful in most cases. Eventually, the youth learned to conduct himself with dignity and in accordance with the social norm set by his elders. Occasionally there was a wrangle between children, but they were allowed to fight it out to the amusement of the onlookers.

About the time a boy retired to his own tipi, he went out on his first real buffalo hunt, and should success crown his first effort, it might be an occasion for some kind of celebration. Usually a boy learned to hunt buffalo before going on the warpath. When he had shown his ability as a hunter, he was ready and eager to go on the warpath, for most boys wished to be brave and to win war honors.

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[8] Informant: Kills Something. Kill Something's brother-in-law shot his sister for entering his room after he had warned her not to enter.

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But he must first make his medicine or obtain supernatural power through a vision visitation. When the moment came to fight, a boy was given every opportunity to distinguish himself. His first expedition normally occurred about the age of fifteen or sixteen. He told his father or older brother that he wanted to accompany the fighters on a raid. They were pleased, but if they thought he was not ripe and gave him a rebuff, he went sulking to his bed where he lay, head covered with his robe, refusing to eat, until his father said, "All right." His father gave him a good horse to ride only when he went into battle and another to ride while upon the trail. If he proved himself a distinguished warrior, he was likely to become a war leader, and if his success continued, he might be made a war chief by his fellow braves. 881

After the boy had made a success, the Give Away Dance might be held in his honor, when the father gave out presents, usually one or more horses, in honor of the occasion.[9] The dance was announced several days ahead. At the appointed time the drummers took their position facing east in the center of the circle of spectators. The honoree was certain to dance, and other young men who wished might do so. The father, mother, other relatives, or anyone else who wanted to honor the young brave pitched presents at his feet during the dance or led up horses. Blankets and horses appear to have been the most appropriate gifts. Sticks were used to represent horses. Anyone of either sex who wished could grab the gift, and it belonged to him who first snatched it. A man with power was unlikely to grab. To do so revealed to the spectators that he had lost faith in his power or had given way to greed. No man would ever desire the people to think either of him. Sometimes the host announced the name of a recipient of a gift without giving the others a chance. It was not uncommon for a family to give away until it was poverty stricken. It enhanced social prestige and indicated a belief that the giver had strong power. Consequently, he was more likely to have a stronger following on the next raiding or war party. In 1945, when the veterans returned from World War II, Comanches put on Give Away Dances for their returned heroes, just as they did of old.[10]

[9] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 26–28.

[10] Informant: Kills Something.

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593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This 572 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints,* which is the same word as "friend."

882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe. 582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

In fact, girls were often married off to middle-aged men who could give a good bride-price. The average age at marriage for girls is said to have been sixteen, while for boys it was twenty-five to thirty. 582

Although youngsters were not subject to moral censure for sexual activity, it was not encouraged. Boys, during the period of their pre-adolescent gang life, ignored the girls to a great degree. At adolescence, when they got their own tipis, they became positively bashful. It was proper for girls and women to make sexual advances, but not for a well-mannered boy. "Boys seemed to stay pretty much to their tipis," said Post Oak Jim. "It was the girl's place to come to them." Bolder, unmarried older girls might crawl in a boy's tipi at night to initiate him in lovemaking. In the dark these girls commonly kept their identity anonymous, for it would not help their reputations to be known. 836

The Comanche pattern of social conduct, in theory, prohibited young couples from being seen together. In response to the query of what would have happened if they had been found together, informants replied, "It would have been too bad." In practice, however, they did find opportunity to be in each other's company. More romances probably began where the girls went for water and wood than any other place. When a young lover became fond of a girl, he waited near where she might pass. When she approached, he stepped toward her, watching for an encouraging sign that his attentions might be welcome. If she was not interested, the girl made the fact known through her actions, and he went away much mortified. If the girl were favorably inclined, they agreed by a sign, mutual understanding, or orally on a time and a meeting place. If no older people were near, they might spend a while together. Again, they might agree to meet after dark. Sometimes a girl allowed a boy to come to her tipi. The more bashful boys lay outside, whispering to the girls inside, but they might be bold enough to crawl under the tipi and lie with them. More often, however, the girl crawled out and went a short distance away with her suitor. Supposedly no one else knew, but informants felt that certainly the girl's mother must at times have been aware of what was taking place. Most courting was done when the girl slipped out of the tipi and met the boy at night.[12] 836 584

[12] Informants: Medicine Woman: See How Deep the Water Is. Statements by Marcy, Dodge, Parker, and others are substantially in agreement.

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584 A youngster whose heart was too faint to approach a girl on his own account sought out an old and distantly related woman and put his plight to her. It was up to her secretly to arrange a tryst with the girl of his heart. Thomas Gladwin reports that this service was supplied by a boy's sister, but our informants specifically denied this possibility.[13] "It would make people too suspicious." Furthermore, it seems quite unlikely that a sister would be sent on a mission with sexual implications.

It was after they had got over the first pangs of adolescence that vain young men took to the *tuiβitsi* pattern of showing off. It was a show-off for the girls collectively, however, for no Comanche boy could decently reveal a public display of interest in one girl.

It was good tactics for a young man who had fallen in love with a maiden to seek the acquaintance and to cultivate the friendship of her brother, or some other near relative, or the person who controlled her marriage. If the suitor and the girl's brother were together on the warpath, the suitor might give the brother arrows or a horse and in various ways try to make things easy for him, addressing him as *nɜmɜata*, "our children's uncle," i.e., the brother of my offspring's mother—a subtle hint of things he hoped to come.[14] This could lead the brother to speak a favorable word at home in behalf of his friend—of his bravery, his strength, his ability as a hunter or raider, and other commendable qualities. He might even extend an invitation to the friend to come to his family's lodge. The suitor was also likely to offer the girl gifts, including horses, in an effort to win her favor.

583 When a suitor had decided that he wanted a certain girl for a wife, he made a present to the girl's brother, her father, or her guardian. The most acceptable gift was a horse. In a few cases a boy was known to work (hunt or raid) for the family of the girl he wanted for a wife for as much as one, two, or three years.[15] In any event, sons-in-law were obligated to provide meat for their wives' parents. There was also love medicine known to certain practitioners who could be [832] induced to charm the girl on behalf of a petitioner so that she could not resist his suit.

[13] Thomas Gladwin, "Comanche Kin Behavior," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. L (1948), 73–94.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Informant: Kills Something; see also Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 183.

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Under the system of contract and sororate and levirate marriages which prevailed, a girl was often bestowed upon a man many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement. Although it was a common belief among the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison, many young people sought love-mates of their own choosing: adultery, desertion, and wife absconding were rife and lead to a lively legal picture of strife and process. 584

In any case a man was not likely to press his suit unless given encouragement by the maiden or by her family. If he gave presents to her brother or father or worked for them for a time, he would eventually be asked why he had made the gifts and what he was looking for. Then he would reply that he wanted the girl for a wife. Some informants insist that when the request was made of a girl's brother in this fashion, the brother had to consent—"It was the law." He knew what the man was after and should not have taken the gifts if he did not intend to grant his request. Others say that he had to consent only in case the two were on the warpath at the time the request was made.

In most cases the suitor did not himself ask for the girl directly, but secured a mediator, in the person of an uncle, an aged relative, or a friend, to make an offer to the parents or brother as compensation for their daughter or sister. The messenger took horses or other goods to the lodge of the girl's parents. After some polite and aimless talk, he came to the point, then left forthwith, without getting an answer, so as to avoid the possible embarrassment of a refusal to his face. Sometimes the father or brother made the decision; sometimes they would call in other members of the family. The girl's wishes might or might not be respected in the matter, for she must accept the husband chosen for her. Informants maintain that a father or a brother had a legal right to kill a girl who refused to accept a husband they had selected. If the suitor was rejected, his horses were simply turned loose and driven back to his herd; if accepted, they were driven to the herd of the girl's father or brother. This was sufficient announcement of engagement.

Occasionally a boy brought the horses to the door of his prospective

584 bride himself and waited near by without saying a thing to see if his gift were acceptable. Of course, the girl and her family knew from whom the proffered gift came even if the owner were not visible. Sometimes the girl was dressed up and brought out of the lodge right away and handed over to the suitor, who came forth to accept his prize when he saw that his gift was accepted. At other times the suitor tied his riding horse at the maiden's lodge door and waited out of her sight. If she wished to reject him, she merely turned the horse loose, but if she drove it to the herd, the act signified her willingness to accept the owner and was symbolical evidence that she was willing to take charge of his horses and other property. This simple ceremony seems to have been used frequently even after the herd had been placed in front of the girl's door.[16]

585 In most cases there was no further ceremony. The bridegroom took the bride to his tipi. There was no necessity for any religious ceremony, no demonstration. If circumstances permitted, there might be feasting and, occasionally, dancing. There is evidence that an occasional marriage did receive official sanction either from the chief, who had the announcement made to the camp, or from the council. The scanty evidence available does not make clear whether these were customary practices of specific bands or whether it was a matter of individual taste, as a public or private ceremony in our own society.

Another form of ceremony which has been reported is that after the horses had been delivered and accepted, the bridegroom killed one of the least valuable, removed the heart, and hung it at the door of his betrothed. After the bride roasted and divided it into equal parts, it was eaten by the couple. The heart of a buffalo or other animal could be substituted.[17]

583 When a girl learned that a rich suitor whom she did not care to marry was about to propose, she might elope with the man she loved. Couples occasionally eloped when the boy was poor and unable to

[16] This description of obtaining a wife is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something, See How Deep the Water Is, and Medicine Woman; also, Battey, *op. cit.*, 328; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32; Daniel A. Becker, "Comanche Civilization," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I (1923), 250; Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowas," *loc. cit.*, 231–33; R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 49; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 177–79; Agent Charles Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-33, p. 414).

[17] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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furnish enough ponies or other articles of value to satisfy the parents of the girl. In such a case the relatives and friends of the boy might supply the necessary ponies to soothe the dishonor suffered by the wife's parents, or the young husband himself might later secure sufficient ponies and present them to her parents. After this he was in no danger, for when the customary gifts were sent, the marriage was made valid and the disgrace wiped out. Elopement, however, seems to have been unusual, especially in earlier times, and couples who did elope were socially ostracized to some extent.

The giving or paying of horses and other gifts for a bride was a development in the lives of the Comanches that came with prosperity. People who have goods are interested in them. The pattern was general throughout the plains in the last two centuries, and the Comanches fell in with the practice. In their earlier days of Shoshonean poverty it is unlikely that such marriage customs existed. For some Comanche boys and girls the old Shoshonean way of getting married was enough. If a couple slept together all night, they were considered married. One unscrupulous lad, known to That's It in the Water Horse band, took advantage of this fact to "frame" a girl and win her as wife.

« « « He hid his leggings under the chosen girl's bed blanket. Then he set up the frame in a gambling game. He went in and lost so that he did not have enough to pay all his losses.

He said, "Well, I have some money in my leggings," and he asked his friend to go to the girl's tipi and get them. "They are under her blanket."

His friend went over and asked the girl's father for them. He didn't know a thing about it.

So the boy went right in and pulled the leggings out from under her bed. The father then called in the girl and asked her what about it.

"I didn't know you were married," he said. She denied it, but her mother said, "Well you are old enough; you might just as well go live with your husband!" » » »

Although sleeping together was not the ideal way to get married, it was, nevertheless, idealized. Several of our Comanche friends thought such marriages were happier than the arranged ones. "In an

583 arranged marriage the wife is likely to become angry on the least provocation and leave." Such precipitate action is explained partly by the fact that girls were given to men much older than they. "If parents give a daughter to an older man, she doesn't like it. If they do it once, nothing is said. If they do it often, people don't like it; they talk."[18]

Occasionally an up-and-coming youth who was industrious and showed promise as a warrior was sought out by a father or brother and asked to marry a girl in their family. Such a man was usually a captive; a fullblood Comanche would consider it disgraceful for him to accept advances from the girl's family. The father or brother in such a case took gifts to the prospective bridegroom. Here there was direct action—no sending of intermediaries or hiding out of sight. If the young man accepted, the girl was brought to him that night, and her parents provided most of the household necessities.

595 All these steps were possibilities in a first marriage. In addition, the Comanches observed several forms of affinal marriage; i.e., marriage to a relative by a previous marriage. The levirate and sororate were the strongest of these. The number of wives might run anywhere from one to six or more. It was a normal pattern for a man to take as wives the younger sister or sisters of his first wife and any women he might have captured or girls who grew up as captives in the tribe. Sororal polygyny was used by parents to induce a son-in-law to observe zealously his economic obligations to them. His reward was a second sister to wife. The contract was frequently made while the child was still quite young, even before she reached teen age. Although such a wife was treated as a child, she shared the privileges of a wife.

Polyandry as practiced by the Comanches was attenuated in form. It was a practice which might also be called "anticipatory levirate" and consisted in brothers' lending each other their wives. "One is really her husband, of course." Sexual jealousy between brothers was socially deprecated. "A man loves his brother; he knows that if his brother dies, no one can replace him; he gives him everything he can," explained That's It. "A brother therefore sends his wife over to him occasionally as a gift. She cannot go of her own free will or

[18] Informant: Breaks Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also 595
expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, [634]
demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a 593
marriage group, which established relationships with another mar- 595
riage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although 601
individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *ap'*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bɛt*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *aɾa*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *'paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *ḳumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's 597
brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

581 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

mother-in-law tabu in Comanche society, probably because of the old Shoshonean system of pseudo cross-cousin marriages in which a boy married the step-daughter of his father's sister, thus equating mother-in-law with paternal aunt. The absence of the avoidance practice is entirely sensible, since a boy had been accustomed to treating his mother-in-law as a preferred aunt. The same relationship held for a girl and her father-in-law. The Comanches had given up the pseudo cross-cousin marriages, but the terminology and its accompanying attitudes carried on. This patterns of social conduct was quite in contrast with that of some of the other Plains tribes. Among the Cheyennes, who were neighbors of the Comanches, for example, a man never spoke to, or knowingly went near, his mother-in-law until late in life when he had presented her with a war trophy. A Comanche mother-in-law could talk or even joke with her son-in-law, although extreme familiarity was carefully avoided. The normal pattern in Comanche society was that a son-in-law should respect and help his mother-in-law. In case of an attack on the camp, a son-in-law was expected to protect his mother-in-law. In case he failed to do so, the sympathy of the group was with the abandoned mother-in-law, who could order her daughter to leave him, as in the case of the woman whose son-in-law refused to give her his horse when they were being chased by the Tonkawas. "When we get home, you don't live with my daughter any longer," was her dictum. A hunter felt obligated to share his game with his wife's parents. A father-in-law had the privilege of ordering the dissolution of a marriage when the son-in-law gave personal offense to either parent-in-law.

In polygynous families many of the secondary wives were captives whose lot in the household was that of "chore wives," helpers to the first wife. If the wives were all sisters, the oldest one usually continued as "boss," even as she had among her sisters before her marriage. This fact explains why the Comanches thought sisters made better multiple wives. There was less possibility of friction developing because a younger wife challenged the supremacy of an older one. One wife was always favored and was free to be her husband's constant companion. She was called the *paraiβo*, "chief" wife. The favored wife usually escaped much of the hard labor and drudgery which fell to the lot of other wives. She carried her husband's shield

on the march, unless menstruating, when he carried it himself. In fact, however, plural wives tended to reduce the domestic drudgery of all through a sharing of labor.

A man with only two or three wives and not too many children kept them all in one tipi. An important man's wives ordinarily lived apart, however, each woman having her own tent for herself and her children. Among the poorer families when wives were sisters, they sometimes used only the one tipi and possibly one bed for a time, but they always constructed separate tipis as soon as possible.[20] The opening of these tents was on the main tipi which was occupied by the husband. Long buckskin strings, attached to the buffalo mattress of each woman, were laid under the fold of the tent into the tipi of the husband so that he could instantly summon any one of his wives.

Comanche women were not very prolific, and death of the mother at childbirth was not uncommon.[21] The average birth rate seems scarcely to have exceeded two children to each woman, and it was a rare case when there were more than three or four born to one woman. Births were far apart, and the newborn were usually small. Many women were barren. Contraceptives were unknown to the Comanches, but abortions were practiced by beating the belly with stones. Hard physical work and constant horseback riding also apparently induced abortions so early in pregnancy that they went unnoticed.

Giving birth to a child was ordinarily a simple affair. Cases have been reported of women on the trail dropping behind the group, giving birth to their children, and then after a few hours rejoining the group on the march.[22] Under normal conditions, however, natal preparations were made. If a woman had her own tipi, she might use it; but if it was used by other members of the family, a separate lodge was constructed. In the summer it would be of brush about eight feet in diameter and six or seven feet high. Inside the lodge the earth

[20] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[21] R. N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society *Bulletin*, I (1929), 63.

[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

was made soft. Two pits were dug in the ground, one for the after- 844
birth and the other for heating water and steaming. One or more stakes about four feet long were driven into the ground by the bed for the patient to grasp as an aid in delivery. A supply of sage was brought in and hot coals were prepared. A medicine woman, middle-aged or older, was in attendance. One or more additional women were likely to be on hand to give assistance. No men came near. The woman normally lay on the bed, but when the pain seemed unbearable she walked around or squatted over the hole to grasp a stake. An attendant might try to aid nature by grasping the patient around the abdomen and exerting pressure. Hot rocks were placed against her back, and she was required to drink hot water or hot soup.

When births were prolonged and stubborn, a medicine man was 845
called in to take over. We have accounts of the actions of two medicine men who were called in such cases; one had buffalo power; the other, otter. The husband of Holding Her Sunshade, when called, asked for a buffalo hide with the tail on it. He drew a white "path" down the center of it with his fingers and placed it as a door on the childbirth tipi. The mother and father also had to wear buffalo robes with tails and the hair on the outside. The doctor entered the tipi holding a buffalo tail. He waved the tail in the mother's face and then made a motion as if he were going to vomit. He was bringing up his power. Next he breathed his power into the patient's mouth and spit in the midwife's hands, had her rub them together and rub the patient's abdomen. His power was now on her and inside of her. His work was done, and he walked around the fire and out the door. "The child should be born when he puts his second foot outside the door. He was successful, and although the family was poor, they gave him their best horse."

The otter medicine man, known to Post Oak Jim, worked a little differently. He had a tabu against any other pregnant woman's being about. His method was to pull his otter skin through his teeth from left to right, after which he drew the skin down the front of the woman's body. He fanned down her whole body with an eagle feather. He then fanned her lightly above her head. A medicine song was sung, and he was ready to leave with a flying leap through the door. "When his feet hit the ground outside the tipi, the child will be born."

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845 The magical associations of buffalo hides with tails is not clear, but the effect of otter medicine is obvious. Otters like to slide down slippery mud banks. With similar ease the child will slide out. A conception of the birth lodge as a symbolic womb is also there. Just as the medicine man emerges through the door (vagina), so will the child.

846 When the baby was born, the doleful cries and monotonous songs of the attendants immediately changed to rejoicing. After the umbilical cord had been cut, the medicine woman wrapped it and hung it in a hackberry tree when one was convenient. If it was undisturbed before it rotted, the child was supposed to have a long and fortunate life. The medicine woman carried the afterbirth and threw it in a running stream (the purifier that nullifies power). The baby was bathed and wrapped in soft rabbit skins and placed in its cradle-board. The number of days the new mother remained in bed was set by the attending midwife. In recent times, ten days is considered the customary time needed for recovery, but there are cases on record where the woman had had serious difficulty and yet was on her feet going about her way before an attendant had washed and wrapped the baby. During the entire time of confinement no man except a doctor entered her tipi. The grandfather, however, always came right away to ask the sex of the child. He stood outside the lodge, and if it was a boy, the women within would call, "*ɛhaitsma*" ("It's your close friend"). If a girl, they simply say, "*ɜsamop'ma*" ("It's a girl"). The new mother was not allowed to eat a single bite of meat; "it makes blood and would cause hemorrhage." Each day sage was burned over the coals to purify the tipi. One of the first things the woman did when she got up from her bed was to bathe in running water. A proud father usually made it a point to give away something. Normally his generosity was limited to the first person who came to see the new baby. If it was a boy and the father well-to-do, the gift would be a horse.[23]

841 During menstruation a woman went into confinement. If her husband had medicine (and what man did not?), she could not sleep

[23] This description of childbirth is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman, Kills Something, and Post Oak Jim; also, House, *op. cit.*, 59; W. T. Corlett, *The Medicine Man of the American Indians* (report of a frontier surgeon stationed at Fort Sill in 1869), 269.

in his tipi, for menstrual blood nullifies all power. If she had no tipi of her own, she moved in with her parents ("the medicine of old people was too weak to be harmed"). When an article in her tent was needed by someone, it was set or pitched out the door, and no one entered against the occupant's will. During the time, she ate no meat; it would make her sick at the stomach and cause her to flow more. She could not wash her face because that would make her get wrinkled before her time; nor could she touch or comb her hair because it would cause her to get gray young. At the end of her period she had to bathe in a running creek, no matter how cold, even if it was frozen over, before she could go back to her husband's tipi. No man could eat from the same dish or drink from the same cup as she until this had been done. An unmarried girl had to observe approximately the same restrictions. After menopause all female tabus were removed; the woman was now physiologically equal to man.

All societies recognize at least three age groupings, child, adult, and old person. The Comanches, for their part, recognized five age groups:

ona:—a baby	*ona:*—a baby
ʈuinɜp'—a boy up to adolescence	*tuepɜt*—a girl up to adolescence
ʈuiβitsi—a young, unmarried brave	*naiβi*—an adolescent girl
ʈɛnap'—a grown man; also *muwɔ:* (a substitute term used by some people who had to observe the tabu on the use of the name of a dead relative when *ʈɛnap'* had been used as a personal name.	*hɜβi*—a grown woman
tsukup'—an old man; also, *naʔaβɔ*, a joking term of familiarity.	*pu'stɜ*—an old woman

The physical difference between child and adult is easily recognizable, and the passage from childhood to maturity is marked by physiological events which make it possible to date it, exactly for

girls and less definitely for boys. However, the physical passage from childhood to maturity does not necessarily coincide with the social transfer of the individual from one status to the other. Although the actual transition was made more quickly in Comanche society than in our own, where both men and woman remain legally children until long after they are physically mature, clear-cut lines of division between the various groupings were lacking. Age classes were lacking. In the change from boyhood to manhood, for instance, the real test was whether the boy was able to follow the strenuous life of a warrior.

The tendency for societies to emphasize the individual's first change in age status and largely ignore the change from adult to old age is due in part to the difficulty of determining the onset of old age. But in certain societies the change from the adult to the old status is made more difficult for the individual by the fact that the patterns for the new status require a different personality. This was true in Comanche society. Although society provided for old people fairly well and treated them with respect, there is abundant evidence that the transition was a difficult one for most individuals. "A brave man," said the Comanches, "dies young."

Women were able to make the change with less difficulty than men, and the line was more clearly discernible. During and before the menopause there were a number of social tabus or restrictions. They could not remain in the same room with a medicine man. Afterwards they were released from restrictions pertaining to the supernatural, and henceforth could handle sacred objects, obtain power through dreams, and practice as shamans.[24]

In the case of men, the ascribed status for old age differed radically from that for adults. The adult male was a warrior, vigorous, self-reliant, and aggressive. He took what he could get and held what he had without much regard for the abstract rights of those weaker than himself. A ready willingness to arbitrate differences or to ignore slights was a sign of weakness resulting in loss of prestige. The old man, on the other hand, was expected to be wise and gentle, willing to overlook slights, and, if need be, to endure abuse. It was his task to work for the welfare of the tribe, giving sound advice, smoothing down quarrels, and even preventing his tribe from making new

[24] Informant: Medicine Woman; see also Linton, *The Study of Man*, 119.

enemies. Young men strove for war and honor; old men for peace 887
and tranquility. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it 888
better to be killed in action than to adjust themselves to the status ascribed for old age and to eventual death on the sick bed. When waning physical powers forced them to assume a new role, many did so grudgingly, and those who were able to keep strong medicine attempted to hold the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their career, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The old men could and did kill young men by malevolent magic. "It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old."[25]

Old men who were no longer able to go on the warpath had a 887
special tipi, called the Smoke Lodge, wherein they gathered at the [345]
end of the day to smoke and talk. No boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members, and apparently no invitations were sent to prospective members. When one became old enough to be interested primarily in the past, he merely started going to the meetings. The men were free to come and go as they liked. If the camp was not permanently located, the men merely gathered at a convenient place and sat in a circle smoking and talking like a bunch of old gaffers about the cracker barrel. In permanent camps they had a lodge.

Each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of the leader. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, no word could be uttered. Absolute silence prevailed. The leader sat opposite the door. The firetender, a captive, sat next to the door, to the right as one entered. The leader lighted the pipe, and then offered invocation. He held the pipe up and prayed to the sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground as an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of the process the silence was broken, it was necessary to start anew. When the pipe was prepared, the firetender crossed directly to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the men could

[25] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 118-21.

887 lapse into conversation. The pipe was passed among them and smoked until it burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they dispersed for the night. The fire-tender left first; the others followed in procession, treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make nonceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The conversation dealt with matters both trivial and serious. The men exchanged ideas and related the latest camp gossip. They narrated deeds which they had performed in their younger days and stories which they had heard. They engaged in coup-counting games by forming sides and each relating a coup which he had gained. The losing side might have to furnish a feast the next day. At other times they spent the evening asking each other dishonorable and embarrassing questions. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the warpath without meeting the enemy?" They were beyond struggling for prestige, and they made light of the prime-of-lifers to whom prestige meant so much. And although they discussed tribal matters of moment, they had no authority.

887 In earlier times the Old Men's Smoke Lodge was respectfully
592 treated, but in later days they received some rough handling by practical jokers among the boys. The most common prank was to close the smoke flaps of their lodge and smoke them out. Once their old war robes with painted coup pictures were slashed by boys. Another time pranksters put excrement in the doorway and covered it with dirt, knowing that the old men always took off their moccasins to enter their sacred lodge. Yet another time, boys stood outside the door and smeared foul stuff in their hair as they came out. And once, as the old men were going through the pipe-lighting ritual and could not holler out, they backed a colt through the door and made it kick and buck. "It tore things up and the old men were awful sore. They began to talk about what they should do to the young men when they caught them, what law they should give them, but one old man spoke up.

"'Now you old fellows,' he told them, 'you were boys once.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.' "[26]

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed.

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely.

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before

[26] Informant: That's It.

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the natural warmth had left the body of an adult, the knees were bent upon the chest, and the head bent forward to the knees. A rope was used to bind the limbs and body firmly in this flexed position. The corpse was bathed, the face overlaid with vermilion, and the eyes sealed with red clay. The corpse was dressed in the finest apparel obtainable, relatives and friends furnishing some of their own for the occasion. It was laid upon a blanket, and relatives and friends were usually permitted to take a final look at the deceased. The blanket was then folded around the body, this again tightly corded with a rope or thongs of rawhide. The body was placed in a sitting posture upon a horse. A woman riding behind, or one on either side of the horse, held the body in position until the place of burial was reached. A few near relatives and friends accompanied the body to its final resting place, wailing and weeping on the way.

The preferred burial place was a natural cave, crevice, or a deep wash among the rocks of the highest accessible peak, or in the head of a canyon, preferably to the west of the lodge of the departed. If such a place could not be found, a hole was made just large and deep enough to contain the body, or the body was set upon the ground and a pen of poles and rock erected around the grave. In either case the body was deposited in a sitting posture or on its side, facing the rising sun, and the grave was covered with rocks, sticks, and dirt, apparently with no special system or arrangement. The ideal burial place of a medicine man was high on the south side of a hill or slope—if possible, at the spot where he had received power.

During the last half of the nineteenth century the Comanches, especially those living on the Red River, away from the mountains, occasionally used scaffold or tree burial, a method commonly practiced by the Cheyennes and other Plains tribes. In such instances the body was placed in a tree and made secure by means of ropes or rawhide thongs which bound it to the branches above and below the corpse. The elevated burial was also made by binding three poles together and raising them in tripod fashion, the crossing made as high as practicable, and the body bound securely to the poles above the point of intersection. The reason for the elevated burial was to protect the corpse from wolves and other predatory animals, but it seems to have been used by the Comanches only when a satisfactory ground burial

place was not readily accessible. In the elevated burial the body was extended at full length, hands to the sides, and placed on robes or blankets, which were then folded closely over it, and the bundle bound with ropes or thongs of rawhide passed many times about the whole. In a few cases war parties buried their dead comrades in a water hole. Buffalo bones or skulls, stones, or something of an identifying nature were sometimes used to mark the spot of burial.[27] 764

When an old person died, or one whose services were no longer useful, there was little mourning and that for only a short time. On the other hand, when a young man of established fame and prestige as a warrior and hunter was killed, the mourning was intense and prolonged. The name of the dead was not mentioned. To do so was a mark of disrespect, for it revived memories and made relatives and friends prolong their mourning. For a like reason, friends and relatives avoided passing in sight of the grave, and if the band ever came back to an old camping place where a relative had died, his kinsmen began mourning all over again, but "the second mourning was not so severe; the dead can't see them so well." Female relatives testified to their grief by wailing, moaning, and howling. They tore off or removed their customary apparel and wore rags or skin aprons only. They gashed themselves across the face, arms, legs, and breast with a knife, glass, or flint until they sometimes fainted from loss of blood, and then kept the wound raw and irritated for months. Often they cut off their hair, an ear, or a finger. The present explanations for such self-imposed torture is that the pain diverted their thoughts from their grief, but among the Shoshones and Comanches there was a time when women were killed on their husbands' graves, and self-torture may have been accepted as a satisfactory self-immolation. Black paint supplanted the customary red and yellow smeared upon their copper-colored faces. 765 [304]

Sometimes they built a fire and held a funeral dance by marching

[27] This description of Comanche burial is compiled from statements by a number of informants; also, Parker, *op. cit.*, 137; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 53, 132, 162, 170; H. C. Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," B. A. E. *First Annual Report*, 99–100; Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 42; Lee, *op. cit.*, 152; Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 56; Babb, *op. cit.*, 142, 144; Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*, 74; James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West*, 33.

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765 around it while singing a doleful song. Some would remain at the grave, mourning and refusing to eat, until relatives forceably took them away. The period of intense mourning was probably from three to fifteen days' duration. Afterwards they might continue to go out from camp at sunrise and at sunset to mourn and "feel lonely" (if in summer, until the leaves fell, or if the winter, until the leaves reappeared). Although a year was considered to be the socially prescribed period of mourning for a close relative, in actual practice no set time was established. A well-to-do widow of three years who came to Marcy's camp in 1854 was still mourning her loss. It was reported that she went out every evening from camp to howl and cry and cut herself with knives. She had separated herself in a measure from the tribe and joined a group of seven other widows who were also still mourning their losses.[28]

Men sometimes cut off their hair ("they thought a lot of their hair") on one side of the head, usually the left, when a close relative or friend died or was killed. Like the women, they occasionally cut their own flesh. They smoked and prayed, and for a few days offered the first morsel of food at each meal to the supernaturals for the benefit of the dead.

768 Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of the dead gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that of the estate. Articles of intimate personal usage belonging to the deceased were buried with the corpse—ornaments, trinkets, gun, lance, bow and arrows, axe, knives, pipe and tobacco, cooking utensils, and tools for dressing skins. However, an object of especial value might be held out to be given to a comrade or a dear friend of the deceased with or without his request. Possessions with medicine power were either destroyed by throwing them into the river or by placing them in a tree where they would rot. Even the tipi in which the dead person—man, woman, or child (but not a baby)—lived was burned along with the less important articles. At the funeral of a prominent warrior or member of a well-to-do family, the dead person's horse was given to his best friend or it was slain near the grave. The saddle and bridle were placed in the grave with the corpse. Several horses might be killed, even an entire herd, amounting to as many as three

[28] Parker, op. cit., 102.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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hundred or more of the deceased's best. A more economical practice, which was made to suffice in later days, was simply to shave off the manes and tails of the horses and mules which belonged to the deceased and deposit the hair at the grave. Those who did this were considered stingy, however.[29]

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could establish a claim by providing property of their own to be buried with the deceased.[30] Agent Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief wailed until they received sufficient gifts from the deceased's relatives to induce them to desist. "For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[31] For the parents, mourning continued until an enemy scalp was brought in.

When people so rendered themselves destitute, they were dependent on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went on a raid to obtain horses and start life anew. In the course of time someone was likely to provide a lodge or help make one, and the family settled back to normal life. The death of a prominent member of the band

[29] This description of Comanche mourning is compiled from statements by several informants; also Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 286; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 152, 157; Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 24; Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 99–100; Lee, *op. cit.*, 152; Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 56; Babb, *op. cit.*, 108, 110, 136–38, 144; Wm. Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," Ethnological Society of London *Journal*, Vol. II (1850), 271; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374–75; Ole T. Nystel, "Three Months among the Indians," *Frontier Times*, Vol. V (October, 1927), 41; Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K–33, p. 440).

[30] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K–33, p. 417); Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 120–23.

[31] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 132.

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generally caused the entire village to be moved. It is possible that this practice sometimes served to check the ravages of disease, but its ostensible reason was to get away from the place of death, even as the tipi was destroyed.

Death was not feared by the Comanches. It was ever present and they lived in violence and danger. But the dead caused them great anxiety. They were extravagant in the manifestation of concern. Thus, life, which was received quite casually and with mild pleasure, was closed with extreme emotional outbursts.

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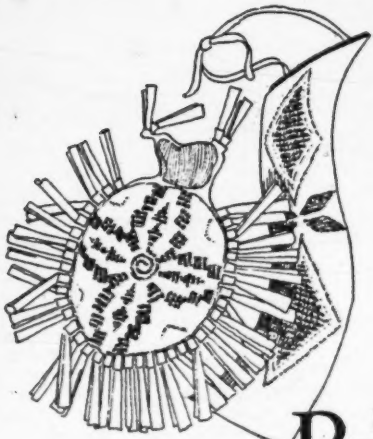

VII

The Search for Power

RELIGIOUS practice among the Comanches consisted primarily of socially recognized patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. There were patterns for both individual and community ceremonials, but unlike religious practices in our own society, group participation was extremely limited in extent and importance. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, the observance was a matter of individual concern. There was no religious organization, no theocracy, no priestly class, no dogma. Every man could be his own priest and his own prophet—the individual interpreter of the wills and ways of the spirits. A direct revelation without priestly go-between was the panacea for human ills and aspirations, the one secure basis of earthly goods.

Every Comanche consumed with ambition set forth in quest of a vision from which power (*puha*) was to be derived. His power, or medicine as it is generally called, came in a mystic visitation, a dream phenomenon or hallucinatory experience; the Comanches did not confuse an ordinary dream with a revelation. Visions came only when sought and under certain stringent conditions. Dreams were interesting experiences, and hardly more. Bad dreams did not portend bad luck unless the dreamer revealed them within four days.

The vision was fundamental in the guardian spirit complex. Certainly it was to the Indian an unquestionable means of obtaining power. Its authority was absolute. Psychic experiences were socially recognized and regarded as the very cornerstone of cultural life. The

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experience gave an individual a feeling of significance, a "thrill" of greater or less intensity. Among the tribes east of the Rockies, the emphasis was upon the vision induced by hunger, thirst, purgatives, or self-laceration; while west of the mountains a widespread attitude regarded the vision as unsought, involuntary, a thing of predisposition.[1] The Comanches recognized both forms. They retained a Shoshonean residue (the unsought dream) and had acquired the Plains method of reaching out for power. Power might come as an unsought blessing, but that was not sufficient; hence a Comanche strived for it by courting the aid of the supernaturals in the traditional way but without self-torture.

The vision was sought on continually recurring occasions: for mourning, for warpaths, for revenge, for curing disease, for success in hunting and raiding. Men who became especially noteworthy for their success in healing, procuring desired weather conditions, or en-
[756]
suring a successful chase or war party, came to be singled out as medicine men, *puhakst*. The supreme test of power was whether a revelation worked. The Indian was a pragmatist. Not everyone who claimed supernatural gifts was signally successful. Either the medicine was not strong enough, or the protégé did not carry out commands accurately, or the vision-seeker had been maliciously deceived.

The selection of a man's medicine was the most important and sacred event in his life. Growing up with a firm belief in the all-sufficiency of personal visions, young men sought them without any prompting from their elders. From the stories of renowned contemporaries o. mythical heroes they had learned that this was the way to make their mark. In later life there was usually some special reason, such as the desire for vengeance or worry over a sick child, that drove a man to seek supernatural aid. In any case the Comanche followed a well-established pattern.

The initial vision quest was made about the time of puberty, before the youth had gone on the warpath for the first time. The vision-seeker was usually prepared by a local medicine man for the desired experience. As a form or symbol of purification, the candidate was required to bathe, in a preliminary step to seeking relations with the supernatural.[2] It was necessary for the candidate to possess four things:

[1] Ruth Benedict. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*, 23–26.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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a buffalo robe, a bone pipe, tobacco, and the material for producing a light. Clad only in breechclout and moccasins, he set out to find a place far enough removed that people would not disturb him, and still near enough to camp that it would not be too difficult to return when weak from hunger. He stopped four times on the way, each time smoking and praying. The spot selected was a solitary place at the top of a hill, or perhaps the site of a grave of a famous warrior or, more especially, of a medicine man who had had the kind of power the candidate desired. Medicine Bluff in the Wichita Mountains was one of the favorite locations. 787

The candidate preferred a position on the south slope where he could see both east and west. As darkness approached, he smoked and prayed for power, for good power, and that he might use it for good. He covered himself with the buffalo robe at night as he lay facing the east, and he had to keep his head covered the whole night through. Rising at daybreak, he faced the east to receive the benefit of the power radiating from the sun. He was required to fast during the vigil, but unlike some Plains people, inflicted no self-torture. The Comanche was confident of himself as a man: he was reverent toward the power-giving spirits, but he felt no need to debase himself before them, to lacerate and mutilate himself in sacrificial appeasement. He was quietly humble before the sources of spiritual power, but he saw no call to demean himself in lamentation and self-pity. He called not for mercy; for him there was no Siouxan self-objection as in the opening plaint of a Winnebago on the vision quest: "O, spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you." For him, no Arapaho wails: [785]

Father have pity on me,
Father have pity on me,
I am crying for thirst,
I am crying for thirst,
All is gone—I have nothing to eat,
All is gone—I have nothing to eat.

The Comanche on the vision quest might suffer the inner turmoil of anxiety and apprehension; yet he lay quietly waiting for

[2] Informants: Kills Something; Yellowfish; also, Ralph Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVII (1935), 424; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 176.

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what might come. He was not arrogant toward the helping powers—far from it—he was grateful for the help they could extend to him. He knew that he could not well do without that help, but was confident that it was forthcoming. The spirits were beneficent. They gave of their power, not in compassion but in altruism.

The regular pattern called for the candidate to remain at his solitary watch for four days and nights, but the quest might be prolonged. He remained until he received a vision, or else abandoned the quest to try again at a later time when conditions were more propitious. The vigil was completed with a vision or hallucination which made known to the candidate his personal and individual magic medium, the mysterious bond between him and that supernatural power which would henceforth act as the helping guardian of his destiny. A wind rustling through a pass or the timber, the bark of a dog, the howl of a wolf, the scream of an eagle might end the quest and send the candidate home to offer thanks to his newly found guardian spirit.

The newly acquired guardian spoke and understood the language of his ward and possessed special attributes or powers which it could transfer. On the fourth night of his search, Yellowfish heard a voice as distinctly, he vows, as if some person were standing near and speaking to him. "Tomorrow morning go take a bath in the creek below, and then go towards the east until you see a one-year-old buffalo coming across a ravine." He followed the instructions minutely and met the one-year-old buffalo crossing the ravine. Thereafter Yellowfish possessed the medicine of the one-year-old buffalo.[3]

During the revelation, the guardian spirit emphasized certain tabus and procedures which his ward must carefully follow; otherwise the medicine either would not work or would cause evil. Medicine is power, and power is not to be handled casually. Among tabus commonly noted was one in connection with medicine men's eating certain foods, or at least eating them only under certain conditions. Should anyone walk behind a medicine man while he was eating, he was certain to become ill or lose his power, unless he had "heap big medicine."[4] All medicines had to be protected from grease and the ill effects of menstruating women. Eagle medicine men could not per-

[3] Informant: Yellowfish.
[4] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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mit anyone to pass behind them while they were eating because an 784
eagle is upset by such an act. Post Oak Jim, in explaining this, said 787
that he once had two captive eagles who took to eating back to back so as to prevent this possibility.

The newly gained power was generally referred to as "making 778
medicine." The identification of certain powers was a life-and-death secret. Without the consent of this power, the possessor could not talk about it. The possession of power entailed serious responsibility, lest it cause harm rather than good. The owner must have faith, otherwise his power might not work. Practically every power carried with it one or more songs which the possessor had to learn and which were usually revealed during the visions. The possessor of strong medicine could, therefore, have quite a number of songs which he had to be able to sing at all times. It was not unusual in a Comanche camp to see a medicine man go out from his tipi after the evening meal, lie flat on his back, and to the music or time of a rattle sing his songs over and over again.

By association, medicines were usually similar in some respects to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the bestowing guardian spirit. Therefore, the medicine bag which contained the material substance that served as a medium for consultation with the guardian spirit was likely to contain a great variety of objects identified with its source of the power. Among its contents might be a handful of sweet grass, certain herbs, a deer's tail, a bird's claw, small stones, the gristle of a bear snout, the dried maw of a buffalo, the skins of certain animals, particularly the buffalo, bear, or otter, plumes of certain birds, beaver oil, a smooth, round, hard ball sometimes found in the stomach of a buffalo, and so on without end. Each had a use; the sweet grass was protective; the herbs possessed healing power; the bird's claws inspired dash and courage; the stones brought health and long life since they do not wear out; the small ball from the buffalo's stomach, which this animal was believed to have swallowed, not only added great strength to its possessor but rendered him invincible in battle. These stones were reported to have been as much as three inches in diameter.[5]

[5] Battey, *op. cit.*, 332–33; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 162.

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178 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[75] 237 [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakat* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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should be offered to a comrade. Good health was the other great boon sustained by power. Curing and health-giving medicines should also be shared. To the Comanche this meant not only that a medicine man ought to use his power to protect, cure, and serve his fellows, but that he should also teach them how to use it themselves, if they so desired. Thus it was that a medicine man who was asked for power could not very well refuse. If he smoked the pipe that was brought to him, he was contractually bound to deliver some of his medicine.

A famous old Comanche medicine-man warrior was Bear Claws Marks on His Shield (*masitɔrɔp*). From Post Oak Jim we have a detailed and formalized account of a transfer of his power.

« « « The mother of a boy may arrange for the boy's first medicine. A boy's mother went to the wife of Bear Claws to ask for the power. This woman told her what her husband would want—the sort of horse, blankets, bridle, her husband would prefer.

No matter what it was going to cost, they were going to have that medicine.

The mother then told the boy's father what was needed. The father loaded a horse with the proper gifts and tied the horse a short distance to the east of Bear Claws' lodge. He walked around the tipi from east to south to west to north in the usual ritual pattern and then entered the door. There he offered his pipe to the medicine man and spoke of his desire.

Bear Claws prepared to perform the ceremony. He had his wife raise a new tipi on the south side of the camp. He enlisted a young brave with good arrows and another with a good spear. They stood with Bear Claws at the rear of the tipi.

The boy was standing outside the door. He circled about the tipi around the south to the north, and passing through the door, he did the same thing inside. Dressed only in his breechclout, he assumed a stooping posture, facing northward, from his position just south of the door. Bear Claws sang a bear medicine song. Then he blew across the room four times. Now he was ready to tell his arrow assistant to make his shot. He had worked up his power and sent it over to the neophyte. Using his knee to bend the bow, the archer took three

156 practice pulls; on the fourth he let the arrow fly at the medicine seeker. The steel pointed arrow struck the boy. The point was bent, and the arrow flew up toward the top of the tipi.

The spear man's turn was next. He ran up to the neophyte, took three practice jabs, and thrust with all his force on the fourth. The spear point was bent, but the candidate was not fazed.

During all this action, the boy was grunting like a bear. It was proven that the power of this medicine was very strong.

Next the boy gave his new shield to Bear Claws, who painted it like his own with bear claw marks—stripes of blue paint applied with fingers of the hand and running vertically. Bear Claws gave the boy his instructions: "When you are using this medicine, ride a horse with yellow skin and a black mane; look up to the clouds; you will see that when the rain falls, it does not hurt the body; bullets will be like that to you; in battle, ride across the firing line four times from left to right." » » »

Post Oak Jim did not acknowledge that he was the boy who received the power; however, we suspect he was on two counts: first, he had intimate knowledge of the reputed details of the event; and, second, he claimed invulnerability to bullets. Once in a saloon shooting, according to his story, he was hit in the mouth. The bullet knocked out a couple of teeth. "I just spit the lead out. Like that. It didn't really hurt me."

In this account no mention is made of a general principle laid down by a number of informants and substantiated by several other cases of power transfer. The medicine man did not give the power itself. He merely prepared and instructed the candidate so as to make him ready for the power. The neophyte, after instruction, had to go out in the regular way to get a vision bestowal of the actual power from the guardian spirit who controlled it.

A medicine man not infrequently preferred to share his power with a close friend or relative—brother or wife—without his seeking or wanting it. He could even be importunate about it. Breaks Something had such an experience with his own elder brother.

« « « He wanted me to have his medicine. Twice I refused

him, because I didn't want the tabus. He could not eat beef heart or leg muscle. 756

When I was a young man, still living with my mother and two sisters, my brother and his wife lived in another tipi. Early one morning my brother's wife called to me from outside my lodge. She said my brother wanted me in his tipi—for me to bathe in the creek and come over.

I heard my brother singing in his tipi. I bathed and went in. There I found him sitting at the west side of the lodge; he told me to sit on the north. He was painting his face. Then he started to paint my face in the same way according to the dream he had had in the night. I did not want his medicine, so I did not go through with it.

When I got married, I had a daughter. Then my brother forced his medicine on me. "You need it especially, now," he said. "If anyone gets sick in your family, you won't have to hire another medicine man. It will save you goods and trouble."

So my brother called me in again. He took a stick and bent it in a circle, making a little medicine wheel about this big [two inches]. He strung white beads and covered the wood of the wheel with them. Then he fastened two strings of beads across the middle, like spokes, with one string lying down at the bottom. He fastened this to my side medicine lock. He also gave me an eagle feather to wear.

My brother said the medicine would come to me in a vision. I would learn how to use it there. When I felt my power, I could swallow that ring.

I knew this medicine would be bad for me; it was borne out later.

When I was coming home from the hospital at Anadarko after I had cut my leg while cutting timber on Washita Creek, a Kiowa invited me in to eat. I was very weak. Another Kiowa was with me. That first Kiowa's wife got the meal while we rested.

When we sat down to eat, we had beef heart. I could not eat it. It was the same with my friend. Our host tried to call our attention away, so we would eat the meat. He joked with us.

I had a piece of bread, and I stuck it in the meat gravy twice. Right away I noticed it. Cold chills ran up and down my back. The woman came to take away the dishes; she said, "These men aren't hungry. They would not eat." The Kiowa ate no meat or gravy whatever.

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When I got home, I felt all right for three nights. On the fourth night I got a pain in my stomach. A knot formed there, so I decided to go see my brother from whom I had received that medicine.

It was about sundown when I got there. I told him I was sick. His wife removed all dishes and cooking things.[6] Then he told me to sit at the west side of his tipi. We smoked. He got up and stood at the foot of his bed where I lay. He held eagle feathers over me and prayed; he was finding out what was wrong. When he was through, he sat down and told me I should not eat beef heart.

I said, "I haven't eaten any."

He knew better, and said the beef heart had formed a knot in there. He would cure it early the next morning. We went to sleep.

When I came out the next morning, I found they had a sweat lodge already built and a fire burning outside. We went in. My brother told me to squat on the west side, but I could not bend over; I could only lie down, facing the fire, with my head toward the sun.

Four times his wife brought in hot rocks over which he dropped water while singing. I nearly smothered in the steam. I wished I were somewhere else. My sister-in-law opened the door to let in a little air for a minute. Then three more times she brought in rocks on which my brother poured water. He sang. Finally, picking up the last red hot rock in his hand, he rubbed the knot in my stomach with it. That rock felt like ice to me.

"This rock has power," my brother said. "It will melt the knot and pain away."

When I staggered out of the sweat lodge, I could not see at first, but after I rode to the creek and lay in the water to cool, I found the knot was gone and I had no more pain. » » »

This situation reveals a nice example of psychosomatic compliance with the dictates of a dogma: violation of a medicine tabu causes illness or death. Breaks Something got ill on the magic fourth day. His cure combined thermotherapy—a sound technique for muscular-vascular relaxation—plus partial removal of the guilt through the therapeutic services of the power giver. The cure was not permanently effective, however, for the stomach pains, beginning with a numbness

[6] This was a precaution against tabued contamination by grease or greasy things.

in the legs, came back a month later and have recurred at intervals ever since. Breaks Something now relieves himself by lying on his stomach over a grass hummock. He thinks he will never get over the effects of eating the beef-heart gravy. It would seem to be apparent that from his not wanting the power and his conviction that it would be bad for him, he saw to it that he suffered the ill effects he predicted for himself and masochistically "revenged" himself on his brother, who forced the power on him. 756

Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that the Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of medicine. Because of the onerous nature of the tabus, a man who had power could, if he wanted to be rid of it, go back to the place where he had his vision; there he thanked the guardian spirit for his blessing, saying that he no longer wished to use the medicine. Having thus returned the power to its source, he took his amulets and paraphernalia to a stream of running water for disposal. He was then free of the power and its tabus.

The sharing of power between medicine men led to the spontaneous formation of simple medicine societies of no more than twelve persons. Division of a power among a greater number so weakened its strength that it was believed to be useless. All the members of a medicine group possessed similar amulets and painted their shields alike. They made medicine in the same manner and observed the same tabus. Of course, this practice applied only to the medicine they shared in common. Individual members could also have their individual medicines.

The original procurer of the power was the society leader. Of course, he was a great medicine man. On his death, the surviving members chose a successor from among their members.

It was always proper to approach a practitioner through an intermediary when seeking a cure or a share of his power. For example, Bear Claws' wife was used. Wives were preferred for this role by many Comanche medicine men for the simple reason that their wives served in the manner of medical technicians and office assistants. (Note the role of Breaks Something's sister-in-law.) These women

knew the "way" of the medicine. Other medicine men preferred to be approached through a particular friend, who was usually the formal friendship partner. This overcame the handicaps connected with a wife, who in her menstrual period was barred from associating with the medicine. Some busy medicine men, like Breaks Something, preferred also to set up a medicine tipi separate from the living quarters. Like the adolescent tipi of the boy, it was always free from greasy and menstrual contamination. "My office," Breaks Something, not without a touch of humor, likes to refer to his old medicine tipi.

The acquisition of medicine power by a Comanche woman was always through the indulgence and aid of her husband, although no Comanche woman could make medicine on her own until after menopause. "It is impossible for a single woman to get power," according to the observation of She Invites Her Relatives. Even a married woman who had her husband's power could use it only after his death. "A brave warrior, if sensible," she proclaimed, "will show his wife how to use his medicine, so that when he dies, she can use it in his place and keep his clientele." As an afterthought she added, "He will do this only if kind and sensible." Then, after his death, the wife could go to his grave to receive his power. His guardian spirit might come and give it to her. Extremely solicitous medicine men sometimes instructed their wives and took them out to the lonely place where their power had been received. The wife could then get the power directly from the source.

She Invites Her Relatives was instructed in the medicine of her husband, but she refused to seek the sanctioning vision. "My husband wanted me to have it, but I did not want it. It had too many tabus. It might have killed me."

The procuring of the services of a medicine man has something of the nature of a contract in it. It was expected that the doctor would receive four articles in return for his efforts. He, on his part, was expected to make a gift of a part of his receipts to the intermediary through whom he was approached. And because he was an important man on whom the obligations of generosity bore heavily, other people could "horn in" on the gifts he received. "They might even ask him for his gifts before he went to make the cure. It depended upon how much nerve they had. He could not refuse them."

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Sometimes, if no cure was effected, the family of the patient withheld the promised gifts, but "an honorable medicine man would forget it." A mean medicine man could retaliate with sorcery, but in the opinion of Post Oak Jim this was quite unusual. It was felt by the Comanches that if a doctor tried his best and failed, it was still the honorable thing to give him his fee. In the case in which Been to See His Son (*patuawu'nikwai*) received a fine horse for doctoring a sick man, the patient subsequently died. Been to See His Son was riding this horse in a race one day when a disgruntled relative of the deceased patient demanded the return of the animal. Upon being refused, he pulled out a pistol and shot the horse dead. Been to See His Son did nothing.[7]

The cures effected by the Comanches included the use of pharmaceuticals, mechanical manipulation, thermotherapy, and psychosomatic therapy. Various medicine men used one or another or all of these techniques in accordance with the nature of the illness and the dictates of their guardian spirits.

The crude psychosomatic effect of tabu violation in the case of Breaks Something has already been described along with its cure by means of heat therapy and suggestive ritual. Two brief case histories of simple hysteria also illustrate the process.

« « « Wolf medicine makes a person invulnerable to bullets. You can't kill a wolf with a gun; only with a bow and arrow.

The father of a girl named She Blushes (*ɛkarɔ'to*) was killed in battle. She went out alone to mourn by a tree. A wolf came along and attacked her. She tried to escape up the tree, but the wolf got her and pulled her down. She cried for help, and the wolf ran away, but not before it had bitten her.

The wolf bite made her insane. When people touched her, she howled like a wolf. They sent for Not Enough to Eat (*kewɜ'tsəmi*). He had wolf medicine.

He told some men to track down the wolf and bring it in to remove the medicine. They went out with guns and shot at it. Yet they could not kill it until one warrior shot it with an arrow. When they skinned the wolf, they found powder marks on the skin from

[7] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

the bullets that had hit but not hurt it. After they skinned it, they painted its nose red as directed by the medicine man. Then he told them to hang the skin in the tipi doorway with the head hanging toward the inside.

Right away the girl quieted down from howling. Not Enough to Eat then doctored her. She came to and asked for a drink.

He asked for a gray horse, a saddle, a blanket, and a bridle in pay. He also got the wolf skin, which his wife tanned for him. He painted the picture of a wolf on it and used it as a shield cover.[8] » » »

In yet another situation a woman showed hysterical symptoms for which the cause was unknown, according to *Kowino*.

« « « They took her to a peyote meeting to try to cure her. She ate peyote. During the night she was delirious—out of her head—so they went for another doctor. He wasn't able to help her, and she said she was not going to live until morning.

They sent me to get *Pihune*. When I got to his tipi, I found he was not at home. I went looking, and I found him with some other men, gambling. I told him my mission.

"Oh, must we hurry?" he asked.

"Yes," I told him. "Right away." So we rode back together at a lope. *Pihune* called for me to stop.

After a while, when he caught up to me, he said, "This thing is not really serious. That woman is not really sick. I knew you were coming for me. I know from a dream I had what is going on, and I knew the route we would have to take to get there. Now when we get there and that woman is talking out of her head, you tell her that I am no real medicine man. Tell her that I have no power. Tell her that she really isn't sick at all and that I am just a fake who is pretending to cure her."

When we arrived in the tipi where the woman lay, I gave *Pihune* a smoke. Then he asked for a drink of water before he started to doctor her. She watched him closely while he worked. She called him an untruthful man—no doctor.

"Yes, you are right," he confessed. "I have no power at all. How-

[8] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

ever, you take a drink now, and you will come out of your delirium." 155

However, she refused the drink and started to fight him, so that I had to hold her back. She called him a liar again. He just told her to drink and she would get better. He was finally able to give her two drinks. Right away she began to quiet down.

When she was calm, he laughed at her, chuckling, "Now I have cheated you, and you have come to. I do have power."

She got well. There was nothing more to do, so that night *Pihune* left.[9] » » »

The tables could also be turned on a medicine man who carried his "monkeyshines" too far, however. Breaks Something told of a medicine man who, whenever he had the notion that someone was working against his medicine, would climb up the poles inside his wife's tipi and growl like a bear. It was his bear power protesting. This was all very well, except for one thing. He was so heavy that he broke several poles. These "fits" of his began to come so often that his wife ran out of poles. At last, she had to trade a good horse to an Arapaho or Cheyenne for some more poles.

He had a close friend who, when he heard about it, asked the wife of the medicine man what could be done to break these "climbing spells." She confided that her husband had told her to have someone shoot him when he was in a spell. So the friend went home to get a gun. He loaded it and put a spear in it (bear medicine gives immunity to bullets). He came in the tipi and asked the wife if she was sure that she was right. Yes, she was sure. "Go ahead and shoot," she replied. Just then the husband stopped his growling and called down from the top of the tipi that she was wrong. He promptly climbed down—and, says Breaks Something, "He had no such spells after that."

For simple ailments some medicine men used direct, practical techniques. As a preventative of croup, children were given necklaces to wear made of beads strung alternately with bisected segments of the ring cartilages from the windpipe of a turkey. When they were choking with actual croup, because an adult's finger is not long enough to reach down the throat to open the obstructive passage, a thong

[9] Informant: Kowino.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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755 wrapped with sinew and softened in water was pushed down the throat to clear it.[10]

752 Although buffalo medicine was worked to cure bloody wounds, especially gunshot wounds, mechanical tourniquets were used when necessary. Surgery was also relied upon. Slope tells of a battle casualty whose intestines protruded from a belly wound. A medicine man stopped the bleeding by putting his buffalo tail in his mouth and blowing on the wound. He then pressed the intestines back into place, and after burning the spines off a prickly pear cactus, split it. The open surfaces of the cactus were pressed against the flesh on both sides of the wound to compress it. It was then bound up and left to heal.

757 For patients with rheumatism or headaches some doctors dug a trench and heated it with a fire until the ground cracked. Raking out the fire, they laid a bed of sage, poured cold water on to steam it, and felt to see that it was not too hot. The patient lay down in the trench and was covered by a buffalo robe or blanket for a good baking.

For toothache they heated tree fungus and held it to the aching jaw. Cavities were treated by stuffing a dried mushroom of a certain variety in the hole. A laxative was made by boiling the cambium layer of the willow tree. Healing by means of herbs was practiced by men and women alike, whether professional doctors or not, just as was the case with whites in pioneer America. Almost every man and old woman had a bundle of medicines peculiarly his own, the secrets of which were known only to the owner. One such remedy used by a doctor was about as follows. With the liquid obtained from boiling certain herbs, he bathed the patient. With a paste derived from the liquid he also painted dog tracks on the patient and on a large dog.[11]

Some of the owners of medicines were supposed to have learned of the various medicinal plants by means of dreams or through some mythical hero who went out on the prairie with the individual and pointed out various plants for use in treating diseases. Fasting was a
752 common treatment for most ailments. The Comanches are credited with "being expert in curing gun-shot wounds, and in the treatment

[10] Informant: She Issues: Her Relatives.
[11] Informant: Medicine Woman.

of fractured limbs, which they bandage with neatness and good effect," 152
but they did not attempt amputation. If blood flowed too freely, it was checked by packing the wound with grass. Likewise, it is claimed that they had one or more good remedies for rattlesnake bites. Several formulae were concocted from roots and herbs, but possibly the most effective treatment was to cut out the injured part and then suck the wound to draw out the poison. A poultice made of prickly pear leaves was applied to check inflammation and was a common remedy applied to wounds, as in the abdomen case just cited.[12] The prickly pear poultice is still a home remedy in our own society.

Petroleum was also considered to be an excellent healing salve. A Comanche chief once took Thomas C. Battey to a place on Medicine Creek, Oklahoma, where there was a "heap of medicine—good, black medicine." It was oil on top of water.[13] Near by, on top of Adams Hill, they found a heavy exudation of petroleum which they used as a salve on the sore backs of their horses.[14]

The "madstone" or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of the leg bone of the 755
giant prehistoric mammoth, believed by the Comanches to be bones of *piamʒmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison.[15] In case of internal pain, some doctors treated by cutting the patient where the pain seemed to be and then attempting to suck out the pain or evil spirit. The sucking was done through a small horn prepared for the purpose, which was placed over the incision. The doctor would spit out whatever he sucked from the wound. The clever medicine man might show the patient some small stones, which he had placed in his mouth, and pretend that he had sucked them from the wound with the aid of his spiritual power, claiming that the stones had been the cause of the pain.

[12] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 233; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 129; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 56; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 242.

[13] Battey, *op. cit.*, 189.

[14] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 99.

[15] Informants: Medicine Woman; Yellowfish. Medicine stones are still in use among the Comanches.

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757 The vapor bath or sweat lodge was used extensively in medical treatment as in the cure of Breaks Something.

787 Beyond curing and lending their protective power to others, the Comanche medicine men served to make rain and as seers. The rain-making medicine of Big Bear called for the use of an outside tail feather of a black eagle. With his power it was necessary only to dip the feather into water and sprinkle towards the sun four times. "A cloud will soon appear and shortly it will rain." Big Bear overdid it once when living in a tipi northeast of Cache, Oklahoma. He made medicine for a rain with some wind in it. Came a cloud. It grew bigger. Then came rain and a big wind that blew his tipi down. "His wife got after him for not asking for a nice, soft rain."[16]

787 A seer might be called upon to learn the fate of overdue war parties. In one simple method the medicine man "dreamed" on it and gave the answer in the morning. The other method was a regular séance. Post Oak Jim's account of such a séance is as follows.

« « « A war party was gone for a long time; they wanted to find out about it.

The medicine man had them clean up a nice place on the ground for a special tipi west of the camp. He selected about seven special men to go in with him. The camp was ordered to remain quiet. He had a fire built, and they went in just before midnight. They smoked and told the medicine man what they wanted to know.

He told them to put out the fire and close the smoke vent from outside.

Then he put on his blanket and went out into the night. He made a call. From way off an answer came back. He called again; the answering call was closer. He called a third time; it was closer yet. On his fourth call the answer was near by.

Then he re-entered the tipi and sat down.

"Everyone remain quiet," he told them. "The ghost is coming. That was his call."

The ghost, in the form of a bird, lit on top of the tipi. They could hear it was heavy.

From inside the tipi, the medicine man talked to it. "What we

[16] Informant: Slope.

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want to know is what has become of these people on the war party. 787
You are wonderful. You know everything.

The answer came in a clear voice—

"They are all killed."

A sickly man with them asked if he would get well.

"You will die in the fall," came the answer.

Then they asked the bird who he was. It was the spirit of an evil medicine man who had died of tuberculosis.

After a while one of them went out to open the flaps of the tipi.

He came back in to light the fire.

They could hear the ghost calling as he went. That was all. » » »

This is the Algonquian spirit séance without the shaking of the tent at the visitation of the spirit. Inasmuch as the northern Shoshones did not have this rite, it is probable that it was borrowed from the neighboring Cheyennes.[17]

Ghosts did not generally bother the Comanches, but the Co- 775
manches definitely were uneasy about them. The tabu on the use of the names of dead people has already been mentioned several times. Hunters, raiders, and campers often saw and heard groups of people who were there one moment and gone the next. They were ghosts who haunted battlefields or scenes of annihilation.

Ghosts gave great power to the men who could stand up to them. Such ghosts appeared either as bare-bone skeletons or as bloody, scalped spectres waving long knives. Several stories are told of men who were chased all the way home from their vision vigils right into their own tipis by terrifying ghosts, who came with the rising moon.

Not all ran away, however. Slope knew one who got ghost power.

« « « A bunch of Comanches camped near a haunted spot. They asked a young man to go down to the spring for water. He just stalled around.

"Are you afraid?" They asked him.

He said he wasn't, so he took up a cow paunch and started for the water, thinking about ghosts. He heard something behind him; then he felt arms about his neck; he could see only bones—no flesh on

[17] Cf. K. N. Llewellyn and E. A. Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way: Conflict and Case Law in Primitive Jurisprudence*, 91.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Buffalo Hump
Courtesy National Archives

[facing p. 174]

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775 them. He dropped the paunch and seized the arms fast, so he could carry the ghost on his back.

The people heard him coming. They heard the squeaking of the bones.

"Coward, what are you doing out there?" they called. "Bring us that water."

He just threw the skeleton in at them. They all fled and fell in a heap. The ghost disappeared.

That night it came back to the young man. It gave him medicine.

"You will be hard to hit," it told him. "Bullets will never kill you. Keep a ball of white clay with you. When there is going to be a fight, paint yourself white all over."

"Never go into the battle first. Wait until your friends retreat. Then go right in."

The next day the party went on. They made a good raid on a herd of Mexican horses, but the Mexican pursuit caught up with them. The battle started. He went off to one side to prepare himself. Another young man came up to ask for the protection of his medicine. He gave him some and told him how to wait.

At the right time, they charged, and they turned the tide by killing several Mexicans. After that he became a famous warrior. » » »

754 Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis. In a
775 case of epilepsy, recounted by Breaks Something, a medicine man with power over ghosts was called in. He looked at the patient and said, "This disease has nothing to do with ghosts; it is not in my line; must be something else." He could not help this sickness; it seemed to be something inside of the sick man.

776 Another source of great power for the Comanches, and Shoshones, too, lay in the "little men"—the *nɜnəpi*. They were believed to be no more than a foot high. They were armed with little shields, bows, and arrows, which killed every time they shot. They also threw little spears with points made of alligator spines. The Comanches say that the *nɜnəpi* made all the little stone arrowheads that they found all around. A few daring medicine men sought power from the little men, but most people did not want to possess it, for it was too dangerous: a man might kill someone when he did not want to kill.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Horse Back (Kiyou)
Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[facing p. 175]

The Search for Power

The Shoshone notion that *nɜnəpi* power gives Herculean strength (a little man can pack a deer on his back) seems to have been dropped by the Comanches. At least, it was not mentioned. 776

Comanche religious beliefs and practices, although they were socialized, remained almost wholly individualistic. Group rituals were few and far between until the introduction of the peyote cult. 796

Of group rituals practiced in the mid-nineteenth century by the Comanches, we know of only two—the Beaver Ceremony and the Eagle Dance. The Sun Dance was not tried until 1874, and that, apparently, no more than once.

The Beaver Ceremony is known as *pianahuwait,* "Big Doctoring." It was performed under the direction of a powerful beaver medicine man assisted by others with beaver power. Other people joined in the ceremony to share in its general effects of well-being, although the cure was held only at the request of a family who had a member suffering from tuberculosis or sorcery. 796 755

An extra-large tipi was raised and carefully prepared inside. Placed erect in the very center of the lodge was the trunk of a cottonwood tree, which reached to the top of the tipi. Slightly to the east of the pole, toward the door, was the fireplace. North and south of this were dug two elongated ponds, filled with water and edged with willows. They were beaver ponds. On the outside of each pond a little effigy mound of earth was made in the form of the beaver facing westward.

Just outside the tipi, to the south of the entrance, was dug a pit two feet deep by six or seven feet long, with the long axis running north and south. At the edge of the northwest corner of the pit (the corner nearest the door of the medicine lodge) was set a vertical pole, ten feet high, from which an eagle feather was hung.

When the ceremony began, the patient was laid at the extreme western edge of the tipi, with two women assistants to the doctor taking their places to the north of him. The doctor worked from the south side of the patient. A group of song leaders filed in to their places at the south side, and a band of drummers sat along the edge of the tipi in the southeast quadrant. Spectator participants filled all the remaining space to the east and north.

In the cure, the fire was lighted after the patient was brought in.

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796 755 The medicine man, dressed according to the dictates of his medicine, approached the tipi from the east, swinging a bull roarer (*yuane:*[18]) as he came and calling to the people, inviting them into the lodge.

After circling the tipi in the clockwise direction, he leaped into the pit from the east; on climbing out on the west side, he was ready to enter the lodge.

All persons who wished to be spectators (everybody was welcome —sickly or puny ones were most likely to participate) gathered around. They first had to remove all metal objects from their persons; then they circled the lodge and jumped in and out of the pit as the medicine leader had done. After entering the lodge, anyone going to sit on the north side had to circle the fire clockwise to get there.

Now the ceremony began. The medicine man ordered the music to start. The drummers gave four beats, finishing with a yell. The song leaders followed with four special beaver medicine songs, after which the medicine man dismissed the singers, who moved over among the drummers.

The time had arrived for the invocation of the pipe. The assistants (the women who had summoned the medicine man) filled the pipe. They lighted it with an ember offered from the fire by a spectator. Each took a puff before handing the pipe to the medicine man. He drew four puffs of smoke and prayed according to the dictates of his medicine. The pipe was now returned to the women, who cleaned it and laid it on the ground before them.

The medicine man next took up his feathers. First they were dipped in the north beaver pond; next in the south. Circling as always in the clockwise direction, he returned to the patient, whom he fanned with the dripping feathers. The two assistants once more filled and lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the medicine man. He smoked as before. When he had done, he again passed it back to the assistants for cleaning.

Now standing at the feet of the patient, the doctor worked over him with herbs. When he had finished this process, he flung off his buffalo robe and shinnied up the cottonwood tree to stick his head

[534] [18] *Yuane* means "warm wind," the soft whirring noise of the bull roarer. It consists of a flat cedar board "in the shape of a beaver tail" swung above the head by means of a thong attached to a handle. In battle it was whirled, or else carried close to the shield for power to stop bullets.

out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). 796
Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed 755
of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak 796
Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by 755
Kɔwino, a Yɛp Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at- 184

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 67.

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796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
755 here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent mem-
796 ber of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat. since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

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Each dancer carried in his right hand a rattle, decorated with feathers, paint, and beads; and in his left hand he carried a wand or fan prepared from the wing feathers of an eagle. The dancers were young eagles attempting to leave their nest and parental care in order to soar away, masters of the sky. The dancers did not sing, but attempted from time to time to imitate the cry of the young eagle. When a dancer lagged or wearied, the leader either blew his eagle-bone whistle as a warning for him to speed up or reinvigorated him with new power by waving the eagle fan above him. When the music ceased, the dancers dropped on their knees and sat back against their legs to rest, but the moment the music resumed they sprang to their feet and began dancing again.

Between dances a warrior would rush into the circle and recite an outstanding coup or deed which he had performed. At the close of his recital a deafening applause of yells, drum beats, gourd rattles, and the stamping of feet went up. These speeches were like pep talks to encourage the young dancers to acts of bravery. During the dance, the warriors of the girl's people rushed up and made a sham attempt to recapture her. In actual practice they rushed in and recited some coups of their own. These recitals had to be true, because the power of eagle medicine was so strong that misfortune would befall any who on this solemn occasion falsified the facts. Spectators looked on in reverential silence.

About mid-morning, the mother of one of the dancers brought water for the participants and set it down near the circle. The leader drank and then offered the water to the dancers, each drinking in turn and passing it to the one on his left. After the "failure" of the girl's relatives to recapture her, they brought in presents, which they deposited before her in the circle. Relatives and friends of the dancers might also provide some of the gifts.

The medicine man retained a portion of the presents and gave the others to the dancers. One informant had received a horse when he danced. Not infrequently a dancer went through the ceremony without gaining power. "There had to be something inside stretching and pleading, reaching and grasping for power, if it were to be obtained."

The dance ended shortly before midday. No ceremonial departure

787 796 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 224 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 796 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

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cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

276 796 on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

796 The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

[177] The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

first foods. All informants hasten to emphasize that it is not an original Comanche rite and that it has seldom been used by them. According to observers, the Comanches did not follow the customary procedure and ritual of their neighbors, but adapted the ceremony to their own fancy and practical situation. The ceremony was sponsored by the village headman, who secured the services of a prominent medicine man for the occasion. Instructions were issued, and at the appointed time all the people of the camp gathered at the accustomed meeting place. During the afternoon, the medicine man mixed his herbs and roots and boiled them until he had a thick broth. When the mixture was ready, he scattered his coals and addressed the people who had seated themselves around him in the customary fashion—the principal men immediately around him, the young warriors just back of them, and the women and children on the outside of the circle. He told them of the benevolence of the Great Spirit who had given them food in season and exhorted his listeners to be thankful for it. 796

After he had finished speaking, the people joined hands in two circles, one inside the other, and danced and sang to the accompaniment of drum and rattle. After about thirty minutes the headman had them line up and file past the medicine man, who gave each in turn a spoonful of his medicine. Stubborn children were compelled to swallow by holding their chins up until the medicine went down. The medicine was a strong purgative used for cleansing the system before eating the first green corn of the season.

That night or the next evening a number of fires were kindled near the circle, and the women roasted a quantity of green corn, which they piled on buffalo hides. After the roasting was finished, all the people sang and danced. When the dancers wearied, they sat in a circle, and the medicine man again addressed them. At the close of the address, he stood over the piles of corn and with his hands and eyes lifted toward the sky prayed for the Great Spirit to continue to give his people strong power. The people then ate the corn and returned to their lodges.[23] [262]

So it was that the Comanches sought and manipulated power. 000 If religion is the complex of man's interrelations with the supernatural

[23] Lee, *op. cit.*, 155–57; Barnes, *op. cit.*, 66–68, gives a disappointing account of a ceremony witnessed by the Reverend John Melville.

3 Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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powers in which man believes, the direct, personal search for power and the control of power is the essence of Comanche religion. What of his conception of the universe? Did he believe only in spirits? Had he no conception of higher deities? In a vague and poorly defined way, Yes. This concept we shall attempt to formulate in the next chapter.

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VIII

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

NO subject is more difficult to treat than one which deals with the beliefs of a people concerning abstract matters. It is not easy to learn from intimate associates their inmost religious ideas; it is obviously much more difficult to determine the beliefs of an alien race speaking an unfamiliar tongue and having a wholly different inheritance, training, and point of view.

The Comanches have often been designated as the skeptics or unbelievers of the plains. This conclusion has been based largely upon the fact that they had comparatively few well-established visible and externalized customs of religious meaning such as were found among other Plains Indians. Since their religion was largely individualistic, there was, as there is among our own people, great diversity of faith and feeling. They had no dogma and no professional priestly class to formulate a systematic religion.

It was not in the nature of the Comanche to be introspective. Nor was it in his nature reflectively to state his motives or ways of acting in formulae. The Comanche was oriented to see things as isolated episodes, not as a patterned unfolding of a great scheme.

We have already seen that the Comanche took the spirit beings with whom he had formal contact pretty much for granted. He hardly bothered at all to concern himself with the nature of the universe beyond them. It is to be expected, consequently, that the vague

771 and scanty information that is available will reveal divergent and conflicting opinions concerning the supernatural.

Comanche religion was exceedingly simple, highly vital, and based on no more than casual attempts to explain satisfactorily the mysterious operations of nature by which he was confronted every day.

775 After burial, according to the somewhat fanciful account of an adopted Comanche, the spirit of the departed warrior mounted the spirit of his slain pony, his ghostly quiver of bow and arrows at his back, the spectre of his lance in his hand, the shadow of his shield on his arm—to gallop skyward, followed by his phantom herd loaded with ghostly possessions heaped by his relatives and friends in and about his grave. Straight into the sun and the pastures of the Happy Hunting Ground he sped, there to remain an extended time. But eventually, after an excursion in celestial pastures, the spirit of the departed must be reborn of the Earth Mother and return to keep up the population and power of the tribe.[1]

There is no doubt that the Comanches had an unwavering faith in a future existence. As to the nature of their after world, their accounts are fairly uniform. Their after world was generally conceded to be beyond the sun where it sets in the west. It was modeled after the imperfect reality of their everyday existence with all the disagreeable features absent, for all things there were perfect. It was a "valley ten thousand fold longer and wider" than their own valley (this specific reference was probably to the Arkansas), covered with groves, streams, and meadows. There was no rain or wind; the climate was always mild and the water cool. There the great chiefs of all the Comanches held their assemblies, and they and all the warriors were young. They followed the chase, but the war whoop never penetrated those sacred realms. There was no darkness there, for the Great Spirit was everywhere. In this heavenly valley there would always be plenty without the necessity of expending much energy or effort to obtain it. The "shade" of the Comanche could there experience to the fullest measure all the pleasures the material body had experienced or hoped for while on earth. There were buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope in abundance; pounded corn was forever at hand; and horses were fleeter than the wind. Beautiful birds warbled

[1] Hobbs, *op. cit.*, 33–34.

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from the treetops for his entertainment. And to add further to a condition conducive to a supremely happy after life, there was no suffering or sorrow there. 775

The Comanches knew that all this was so from what they thought was genuine observation. Death and resurrection were not uncommon. The mothers of Post Oak Jim and Slope both died, visited the land of the dead, and returned to life, because it was not yet their time to depart.

« « « My mother died from a fever. An iron grey horse was waiting for her. She got on and rode away.

After awhile, she came upon a travois trail. Many Indians had passed that way. The horse noticed something by the smell and trotted off down the trail neighing.

She came to the top of a high hill. There she looked to the west; the sun was low. Below her she saw a big camp in a grove of tall cottonwoods by a clear creek. The land looked so beautiful. Lots of Indians rode around on horseback. There were women playing old-time games [shinny].

Two men on horseback left the group and began to race toward her. As they approached, she heard them whooping and guns shooting. As they came, she was thirsty and got down to drink from a near-by spring. Scooping up the water, she splashed some on her face. It felt cool.

Then she came to. Her husband was blowing on her face, making a medicine. They gave her water and food; she felt better, got well, and lived a long time. » » »

That was Post Oak Jim's story. Slope's story, told quite independently, reveals the same simple belief. This was the experience of his grandmother, *Ya:ai,* who finally died in 1890, after a long life.

« « « When my grandmother was young, she got very sick. A medicine man worked on her, but he could accomplish nothing. Her time had come. So she died. People began mourning. They buried her possessions.

She started walking toward the other world. At last she came towards a creek bordered with tall cottonwood trees in which was

775 a big camp. Just before she got to the camp, she looked ahead and saw a large herd of horses. As she came closer to the horses, she saw a man approaching her on horseback. As he came nearer, she saw he was a relative long since dead.

Then she noticed a certain grey horse which had died and which had belonged to her family. The relative roped it for her and told her to mount and hurry to get on, as they had to get along.

She tried to mount the horse, but it balked. The man kept urging her to hurry, but the horse kept balking and balking. She couldn't get there.

Finally, she came to while still trying to get on the horse.

She opened her eyes. She saw people weeping for her. She told them she had come back. She was alive again. She lived a long life after that. » » »

Although Comanche ideas were fairly harmonious concerning the nature of the after world, there was some uncertainty about who might be eligible to enjoy its pleasures. Some early observers thought the Comanches had no idea of accountability; that they believed they would all go to Heaven (except in special cases, as when one happened to be so unfortunate as to lose his scalp after death). Such was the concept generally held by their neighbors on the plains. Among the Cheyennes the "Brave and cowardly, good and bad alike go there. All who have died are equal. After death there is neither reward for virtue nor punishment for sin."[2] On the other hand, nineteenth-century observers flatly reported that the Comanches did believe in future rewards and punishments.[3]

The Comanche's religion taught him that it was his duty to be courageous, to be brave in battle and faithful to his comrades in arms, to be generous to his friends, and to walk upright among his tribesmen. For that he would reap the reward of existence after death. The warrior who died in the fray and the woman who died in childbirth

[2] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, II, 91.

[3] Interesting comments on Comanche religion are found in these volumes: Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 57; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 258, 260; Battey, *op. cit.*, 331; Lee, *op. cit.*, 153; Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," *loc. cit.*, 267; Rister, *Border Captives*, 26; Glisan, *op. cit.*, 74; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 102–103, 178, 180–81.

were expected to receive special consideration on arriving in the 775
eternal home beyond the sun. Mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, leaving the victim free of their effects in the after world. But the spirit of the bad, the lazy, the coward, or the thief would be driven before the Great Spirit into a region that was barren, cold, and desolate, with rugged and sterile mountains infested with noxious animals and insects. There game was scarce, meager, and unsavory, and the soul had to wander through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain.

Our own Comanche informants revealed no such notions at all. Nor do the Shoshones have any such conception of post-mortem immanent justice. We suspect these assertions should be taken with a grain of salt, if not rejected.

Believed limitations of immortality included loss of scalp, strangulation, death in the dark, and mutilation. If the scalp were taken after death, the Comanches looked on life as annihilated. A scalp removed before death, whether by accident or design, affected immortality not in the least. To preserve the scalp on the head of a dead comrade was of more consequence than the preservation of one's own life; while by the same token, scalping a foe was of much greater merit than simply sending his spirit out of this world into the next, whence it would eventually return to plague the Comanches anew. "Dot" Babb [829]
says the Comanches did not scalp a Negro since they believed he had no soul, but they might kill him to prevent his killing Comanches. But the dance leader's scepter, given to Ralph Linton in 1933, had several scalp symbols on it—tokens of scalps taken by its original owner—and a couple of them (colored differently) were pointed out to represent Negro scalps.

Fear of strangulation arose from the belief that life (spirit or [763]
"soul thing") issued from the mouth at the moment of death. Thus if death occurred through choking, the passageway was closed and the spirit, unable to free itself, remained in the mortal body and was forever imprisoned in the ground at burial. Next to fear of strangulation came the fear of death in the dark, for the spirit that left the body in the dark might be unable to find its way to the after world and thus wander forever in darkness. Although the majority believed that mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, there were some who

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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775 believed that such indignities as the body suffered after death, other than the removal of the scalp, permanently affected the spirit or shade. Thus, if the feet were cut from the body after death, the unhappy spirit was forced to dispense with them henceforth.

The Comanche who failed to approach the camp of the after world well mounted might also be refused admission into those celestial pastures. A current legendary story taught the importance of providing the deceased with a good mount. Once an old Comanche died who had no relatives or worldly goods. The villagers, concluding that almost any old nag would serve to transport him to the next world, killed at his grave an old, ill-conditioned, lop-eared horse. A few weeks after the burial of this friendless one, he returned, weary and hungry, riding the same old worn-out horse. He first appeared at a neighboring camp of Wichitas, where he was well known, and asked for something to eat; but his sunken eyes and his strange appearance frightened all who saw him, and they fled from his presence. Finally, one bolder than the rest placed a piece of meat at the end of a lodge pole and extended it to him. Shortly afterwards, he appeared at his own camp, creating even more dismay than in the Wichita village, so that the entire camp moved to Rush Creek, not far distant from the present site of Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Some of the Comanches, however, were bold enough to question the unwelcome, ghostly visitor about his reappearance among the inhabitants of the earth. When he had come to the "gates of paradise," he told them, the people would on no account permit him to enter upon such an ill-conditioned beast as he rode, and thus in sadness he had returned to haunt the homes of the greedy, stingy people who had not properly provided for him. Since then, no Comanche has been allowed to set out for the after world without a steed which would do honor to the rider and his friends.[4]

821 The nature of the cosmos was only vaguely conceived, and contemporary Comanches have no notions what the people thought about it in the old days, if they had any thoughts at all. The Comanches, so far as we can tell, had no star lore, and only the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-deities.

[4] Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 100.

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Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

Nineteenth-century observers of the Comanches (Dodge, Neighbors, Babb, Burnett, and others) attributed a strong belief in a Supreme Deity to the Comanches, whom they generally addressed as the Great Spirit, but at times as "Our Sure Enough Father."[5] The Great Spirit was a vague, omniscient, all-powerful being, who was credited with creating and governing the earth, sun, moon, and stars. He was the chief god, the creator, the first of all addressed in prayer, and to him the first smoke was offered. The person who prayed looked upward and perhaps held his hands toward the sky. While some maintained that the Comanches believed that the Great Spirit dispensed good and evil, life and death, at his will, others insisted that they believed also in an Evil Spirit who was the antithesis of the Great Spirit. The supposition was that there was eternal conflict between the Great Spirit leading the forces of good and the Evil Spirit controlling the forces of evil. It was argued that the unhappy thought of a father who, though all powerful, permitted ills and sorrows to afflict his children, was forever irreconcilable with Indian philosophy. So strongly did the Comanches feel about the subject of the bad god, says Colonel Dodge, that it was practically tabu as a subject of conversation—a reticence shared by other Plains Indians, but which gave rise to the supposition that the Comanches did not believe in the negative element. The Evil Spirit was not equally powerful with the Great Spirit, however, for he shared with the Great Spirit in control of the earth only. Believing as he did in the immortality of the soul, the Comanche could not conceive of god rivalry in a perfect world. Hence for those who adhered to the philosophy of a dual power, much of the individual outward religious forms revolved around invoking the aid of the Great Spirit and appeasing the wrath and enmity of the Evil Spirit.

Through the medium of a host of inferior evil spirits, the Evil Spirit, it was claimed, brought about every mortification or disaster—droughts, disease, hunger, distress, and discomfort—and was the author of unhappiness, sorrow, and defeat. He made such animals as the panther and venomous serpents, reptiles, and insects for the injury of man.

Although there may be some question as to the source of all the

[5] Babb, *op. cit.*, 44.

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776 bad and evil visited upon man, there was none as to the source of all that was good and beneficial in life. Through the medium of a host of inferior spirits, the Great Spirit brought about all that was good or beneficial to the Comanches, such as health, peace, plenty, and happiness. He aided a worthy warrior in all his undertakings, delivered his enemies into his hands, protected him from danger, privation, and pain, and provided all good and pleasurable things. All good and useful animals were made by him for their use. All their success in hunting was the result of his benevolence. They thought that if they lied to the Great Spirit, or displeased him, he would withdraw his guardianship, allowing them to die or suffer other punishment.

773 The origin of the Comanches was credited to the Great Spirit, according to the early reporters. In one version, another race inhabited the country before them, but a great flood of waters covered the whole earth, and the inhabitants, whom they supposed were white, saved themselves from being destroyed by turning into white birds and flying away. After this the Great Spirit sent down to earth a secondary spirit to create the Comanches. When first made, the Comanches were imperfect. The spirit returned to the Supreme Being and told what he had done. Thereupon, the Great Spirit directed him to return to the earth and complete his work by giving intelligence to the beings he had created and to instruct them how to live. The secondary spirit carried out the instructions. He taught the Comanches how to make the stone arrow points and knives of stone and bone for cutting. He taught them how to put the arrow points on shafts, showed them how to make a bow, and how to use the arrows for shooting. He told them that the buffalo, deer, and the elk—all the animals that are on the earth—were for their use. He taught them to make fire by rubbing two sticks or by knocking together two hard stones until the fire started.[6]

Another account of the creation of the Comanches as told by a long-time adopted Comanche warrior, although differing somewhat in details, likewise credits the work to the Great Spirit. According to this story, the Great Spirit collected the dust from the four corners of the earth to make man, so that when man died the earth would not refuse him a burying place by saying, "Thou hast not been taken from me, hence I cannot receive you in my bosom." When the Great

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Spirit created man, the earth shook and trembled and said unto the Great Spirit, "How can I feed the vast multitudes of man that will issue from the first created?" And the Great Spirit replied, "We will divide the maintenance of man; you will feed man during the daytime with all that you produce, while when the night will come, I will send my sleep upon man, and he will rest, and he will be fed by me with the peace of slumber, and he will awake refreshed in the morning." 773

The Great Spirit took eight parts to form man: the body from the earth, the bones from the stones, the blood from the dew, the eyes from the depth of the clear water, the beauty from his own image, the light of the eyes from the sun, the thoughts from the waterfalls, the breath from the wind, and the strength from the storms. The first man was of such gigantic size that his head reached the skies and his eyes looked from one end of the earth to the other, but menial labor and unwholesome food diminished his size and made him vulnerable.

After the Great Spirit had created man, he ordered all of the inhabitants of the spirit world to go and prostrate themselves before man as recognition that man was the greatest of the Great Spirit's creations. All obeyed the command except one, who as a result of his failure to do so was cast out from the spirit world and made to roam around on earth. To seek revenge, this demon took refuge in the tooth of the serpent, the fang of the spider, the legs of the centipede, and in other poisonous animals, insects, and reptiles to torment and harm man on earth at every opportunity.[7] [825]

Inasmuch as the Shoshones and other tribes of the Great Basin had some conception of an otiose Supreme Being, who in the minds of some was equated with Wolf, the big brother of Coyote, it is not unreasonable to accept the basic validity of these early nineteenth-century descriptions of Comanche beliefs in a Great Spirit. Wolf was wholly beneficent; his acts of original creation made all things perfect and good. Coyote, the mischievous Til Eulenspiegel of Shoshonean folklore, was the spoiler of all things, however. His was the role 773 776

[6] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.

[7] Narrated by Herman Lehmann, Comanche captive, who became a respected warrior and member of the tribe. Jonathan H. Jones, *A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes*, 199–200.

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773 of the transformer who undid the good works of his big brother.
776 He brought hardship, travail, and effort into the lives of men. He represented the force of Evil as we conceive it—and yet the Shoshones in no way thought of him in his relationship to Wolf as a conflict of good and evil. Coyote was not bad; he was no more than wantonly mischievous.

When we consider the writings of the early whites among the Comanches on the Great Spirit and the Evil One, we are plagued by serious doubts. We cannot but feel that they, who lived in a time of great religious conviction in this land, projected something of their own ideas of what the Comanches ought to have believed into their descriptive accounts.

At any rate, the old Comanches living in 1933 who served as informants for the Santa Fé Laboratory group revealed only the slightest vestiges of such ideas. The Great Spirit was only occasionally mentioned by them; none showed any concern with the problem of evil. Coyote, in the folk tales recounted by these later-day Comanches, had moved almost entirely from the realm of myth and legend to assume a position of no more than a power-giving animal—except that the old Shoshonean tabu against killing coyotes retained a good deal of its force. The transformer tales, except for the Comanche story of the release of the buffalo, were lost, one and all. What remained of the old Coyote folk tale and myth cycle was only that part which told of Coyote as a harmless bungler and trickster. And the hero in all these tales, as told by Slope, Post Oak Jim, and That's It, was no longer Coyote but Fox, Coon, and Bob Cat. As for the Creation, the typical attitude was expressed by Post Oak Jim: "We never gave much consideration to Creation. We just knew we were here. Our thoughts were mostly directed toward understanding the spirits."

776 The Comanches were not quite certain of the relationship existing
801 between the Great Spirit and the Sun. Sometimes the two were closely associated, while at other times a distinction was made between them. Robert S. Neighbors makes a clear distinction, saying that they offered the first puff of smoke to the Supreme Being, the second to the Sun, the third to the Earth, and so on to the lesser objects of

[8] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.
[9] Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," *loc. cit.*, 268.

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veneration in whatever order they might choose.[8] Bollaert states that the Great Spirit was supposed to live in the Sun,[9] but other accounts have it that he lived beyond the Sun. Some Comanches explained that he was so far distant in the sky that they could not hear him speak, and that when they wished to communicate with him, they were obliged to do it through the medium of the Sun, which was nearer and which they could see and converse with. Josiah Gregg thought that the Sun was their principal deity. His conclusion was based partly upon the fact that the Comanches, when preparing for a campaign, ceremoniously placed their arms in the early morning on the east side of their lodges that they "may receive the blessing of the fountain of light at his first appearance."[10]

Apparently the Sun represented the visible medium through which the Great Spirit revealed himself. No doubt the Comanches found it extremely difficult to separate the two, and in their worship of the Sun were paying humble reverence to the Great Spirit at the same time. Their veneration of the Sun cannot be doubted. To this fact practically all those who have commented on Comanche religion have left testimony. It was certainly the most dominant single feature of Comanche belief. The Sun was worshiped as the primary cause of all living things. Contrary to Agent Neighbors' statement, most informants insist that the first puff of smoke was blown toward the Sun. "Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the Sun . . . ," explained That's It, in describing the conditional curse. His religion taught him that the Sun was his father, and he addressed it as such in prayer. "He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore, 'early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!' The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you.' "[11]

The conditional curse appears to be typical of the reverential attitude toward the Sun; it is called *taβeβekʌt*, "sun-killing." E. Adamson Hoebel has recorded several similar cases where the defendant appealed to the Sun, who knew all and could pass and execute judgment.

The Sun, however, was not the only body worshiped. Next after

[10] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 438.

[11] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 89–90; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

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the Sun, the Earth was named in prayer. It was worshiped as "Mother" because it was the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life. The Earth was the mother not only of men, but of animals. The mother is the natural protector of the young. The buffalo, by loosening the earth with his horns and pawing or rubbing the loose earth upon his body, and the Comanche, by praying to it and covering himself with paint taken from it, each calls the attention of his mother to her child. It has been said that some Indians would not kill a person while he was digging in the earth—while he was making his medicine, for it might be too strong; but he would distract the attention of his intended victim; then when he looked up, they were on equal terms.

Mother Earth was implored to make everything grow which they ate, that they might live; to make the water flow, that they might drink; to keep the ground firm, that they might walk upon it; to make certain herbs and plants grow, that they might be able to heal the sick; and to cause the grass to grow on which the animals fed. The Great Spirit put the Earth here and put them upon it. Without the Earth nothing could live; there could be no animals or plants. Such reverence for the earth was not unique with the Comanches, but was common among the Indians of the plains. The Earth was addressed in prayer after the Sun and, like the Sun, was regarded as having power to look down on earthlings and pass and execute judgment.

> Smoking to the power, he first addressed the Sun saying, "You, Father, know the truth of the matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall." Then to the earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you." Whereupon he gave his pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.
>
> She swore to the powers, "Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true."[12]

Needless to say, not all those who invoked the judgment of the

[12] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 100.

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powers had great faith in the fulfillment of their prayers. In this particular case the woman later admitted that she did not believe in the power of the Sun and had lied. Yet, the many cases remembered by the people where divine judgment had been implored and executed upon the guilty party is evidence that the philosophy was strongly implanted in Comanche society.

The Moon also had the quality of a deity. "She is the Mother—as is the Earth." She was particularly the guardian of the raid. A group of Comanche marauders bent on stealing horses laid a rope on the ground and sat within it. They made smoke to the Moon, praying, "Mother, if it be your will, let this rope take many horses."[13]

Although Sun and Earth and Moon were active in the affairs of men, they were akin to deities and as such were above individualized pity. They gave no personal power and did not come forth as guardian spirits. They were tribal deities who loomed pre-eminent in an individual's consciousness, except when ousted from that position by a special spirit to which a Comanche looked for protection and guidance. Comparison of the latter in strength with the Sun and Earth did not spontaneously arise. It became significant only when and if there was a clash of interest; and then the assurance with which a Comanche relied on his individual patron against the rest of the universe was amazing. Yet there is little suggestion that the visitants were sent by higher authority. They conferred bounties in their own right. The supernaturals might come to loggerheads on behalf of their mortal protégés, or again they might co-operate to aid a favorite. Nothing prevented a man from gaining power from several supernaturals. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed the power to assume various forms. The transformation from one being into another could be instantaneous, and the reverse process could occur as suddenly. The guardian spirit was most likely to confer on its ward a blessing or power corresponding to its own natural gifts.

The spirits dwelled in springs, in rivers, on the prairies, in the hills, or in high bluffs. Any phenomenal object of nature was likely to be the residing place of a spirit.

A place was told of, far to the north, where there were always

[13] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

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clouds which the sunlight never penetrated. This was the home of a powerful spirit that brought the winter. He came in a cloud, forcing the Sun back, and as he approached, he spread the cold over the country. Then in the spring the Sun grew higher and higher and told the spirit of the cold to move back, for he must heat the earth and make the grass and all other things so that the Comanches could prosper.

The thunder often appeared as a great bird, somewhat like an eagle, but much larger. The Thunderbird made the thunder and lightning and storm and rain. It was dark blue, or showing the color of cut lead like a thundercloud, with red zigzag markings extending from its heart to the tail and wing tips. It went south at the approach of winter and returned from the warm country with the Sun, bringing the heat and the rain. In its talons the bird carried arrows with which to strike its enemies; therefore, the Indians believed that the eagle on our coins is a Thunderbird. Its shadow was the thunder cloud; it produced lightning by rapidly opening and closing its flashing eyes; thunder was the sound made by the flapping of its enormous wings; and the downpour which followed was from the lake carried on its back.

The Thunderbird supposedly had its dwelling on some high mountain or rocky elevation difficult of access. It discharged arrows, but they could not be seen even when they killed people or animals. Although the Thunderbird myth was common to most Plains Indians, the Comanches have given it variation. They had evidence other than thunder and rain of the existence of the great bird. They told of a spot on the upper Red River where the grass remained permanently burned off over a space having the shape of a huge bird with outspread wings. They claimed that the Thunderbird once alighted there. A hunter shot and wounded a large bird which fell to the ground, but because of its large size, he was afraid to go close enough to kill it. He returned to camp for help. When his party approached the ravine where the bird had fallen, they heard thunder and were blinded by terrific flashes of lightning coming from the ravine. While attempting to approach nearer, one of the hunters was struck dead by a flash. Realizing that their victim was the Thunderbird, the rest became frightened and fled back to camp.[34]

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Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

The Comanches had great fear of thunder and lightning. It gave them no power and was dangerous in a way that the Sun, Earth, and Moon were not. It was malicious and wantonly prone to tease mankind. "In a thunderstorm you have to remain quiet; you must not say anything to thunder and lightning, as it has no pity." 776 821

They were afraid, but they were Comanches and they did not like to be pushed around. So every now and then one of them got defiant.

« « « I was out riding once when a rainstorm came up. I got off my horse and got down among some weeds and put my head down. The thunder was making noise all around. Finally I decided it was making fun of me—lightning and thunder likes to make fun of someone—so I got on my horse and made a war whoop in defiance. Then I ran away. The lightning struck right near me. I got away, but thunder and lightning has no pity. » » »

This was Post Oak Jim's personal experience. He reverted to the same theme later on. His lesson impressed him greatly, but it was reinforced by what happened to one of his friends.

« « « Thunder and lightning has no pity for them who talk back. We were out in a bunch branding. When we were eating our breakfast, a thunder shower came up. A tough guy, who was with us, went out and shot at the lightning with his gun to show that he was not afraid. The lightning struck and killed him. » » »

A belief of more recent days is not to look in a mirror when it thunders. The lightning may look in, too, and strike you.

Like most prairie tribes, the Comanches greatly revered the buffalo. It has been reported that the dry buffalo head was their idol. Before the entrance of a sweat-lodge there was likely to be a buffalo skull. Out on the prairie might be seen the skulls of buffalo turned so as to face the main camp, the idea being that the guardian spirit would direct the herd to move in the direction the skulls were facing. 776 825

[14] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *loc. cit.*, 968–69.

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Sometimes when they were ceremoniously smoking, after puffs had been blown to the Great Spirit, Sun, and Earth, a puff was blown to a near-by buffalo skull with a prayer that it provide the people with meat to eat and skins for their lodges and clothing. At times they prayed to the buffalo in general to range where hunting would be good.

Sometimes buffalo talked to a person. Although in Cheyenne mythology it was only the buffalo male that talked, in Comanche mythology it could be either male or female, old or young. A buffalo might turn into a human being and through its supernatural power reveal the location of the herd to the people or otherwise perform good deeds. A Comanche story which has survived not only is interesting but explains how the guardian spirits functioned through the medium of the buffalo.

« « « Once when a party of Comanches went on a buffalo hunt, they were accompanied by a young boy. He was a handsome child, and his family, who were well-to-do, dressed him in the finest regalia and provided him with the best of equipment and a swift horse. When the hunters charged and scattered the herd, the boy selected and followed a small group which contained a beautiful young calf. The boy selected this buffalo for his kill. His first arrow hit beneath the lowest rib. He shot again, and again his arrow found its mark, but the buffalo did not fall. The boy decided to retrieve his arrows, but the buffalo ran into a stream and stopped in the middle of it. The boy would not go into the water because he did not wish to spoil his fine clothes, so he abandoned the chase.

Ordinarily a buffalo shot as this one had been would die, but through its supernatural power the young buffalo maintained life, as it had fallen in love with the boy. It rejoined the herd and in time gave birth to a calf. The boy by means of the two arrows was father of the calf. The other members of the herd would not play or associate with the calf. The calf noticed that the other calves stood around their mothers and fathers, and he wondered about his father. When he asked his mother about his father, she explained to him that his father was "one of those who eats us, and it was I who desired that he be your father." The calf then insisted on seeing him, even after

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his mother warned that they would be killed should they upon the long journey meet scouts from his father's people. They traveled by night, and after many days came in sight of the village. The mother told the calf to do as she did. She rolled herself about on the ground, and there stood a woman dressed in a buffalo-robe with peg holes or eyelets about the edges. The calf rolled on the ground and became a handsome boy, wrapped in a beautiful yellow calf robe. Then the woman told the boy to go forward to the center of the village; there he would find his father and his relatives in his tent. The boy found everything just as his mother had said, and told his father his story. His father remembered the incident, and asked for the boy's mother. They went for her, and the father said that both were to live in his house. The woman returned the two arrows to the father and cautioned him not to drink from any stream except as she directed.

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The people in the village were starving. As soon as the buffalo woman learned of this, she took a piece of dry meat and fat and gave it to the man. Although the portion was small, he satisfied his appetite without consuming it all, and passed the remainder to another. When they had all eaten their fill, a portion of the dry meat still remained. When the father again spoke to the buffalo woman about the plight of the tribe, she directed every family to pack a parfleche as if it were full of dry meat. When morning came the parfleches were full of dry meat. After they had again eaten, she directed them to break camp and follow her. She led them to a herd of buffalo, and they made a rich killing. They were aware that the strange woman was the cause of their success; also they noticed that neither she nor the calf boy ever ate.

Some time had passed, and the Comanches were prosperous. One day the father of the buffalo calf, while traveling across the prairies, became very thirsty. He remembered the warning given him by the woman, but thought he would merely wet his mouth. As he did so, there occurred a great confusion in the camp, and the people saw the woman and the boy, who had been instantly transformed into a buffalo cow and calf, fleeing from the camp. The father was very sad, for the woman had made him very prosperous through her supernatural power. Likewise, the people were sad, for they had learned to love the buffalo woman and the calf-boy."[15] » » »

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The coyote was regarded by the Comanches as a brother, who often warned those who possessed power to speak and understand its language, of impending trouble. "Coyote medicine was for knowing things ahead or in the future."

When Skinny and Wrinkled was staying with an old man north of Medicine Park, Oklahoma, the old fellow asked him one night, "Well, have you heard from our friend yet?" Skinny and Wrinkled had heard nothing. The old man admonished him, "Well, you better listen hard now. I believe he is coming around pretty soon."

Not long after, they were talking one night when the dogs began to bark. The old man told Skinny and Wrinkled to shut them up. "I believe there's our friend."

Sure enough, there was a coyote howling.

"I could not interpret what he was saying, but the old man could."

"You better start saving up your bread," was his version of the message. "He says there is going to be a hard winter this year. We aren't going to have much to eat."

That is the way it was, according to Skinny and Wrinkled. The winter before, the Comanches had more flour than they knew what to do with. That winter there were hardly enough rations to give them what was due them.

The coyote also predicted good fortune. One night a coyote howled, and at breakfast the mother of Skinny and Wrinkled said it was telling the tribe that they were all going to get a lot of money soon. Her husband, who was quite a skeptic, laughed and said, "How do you know?"

She insisted, however, and warned, "You wait and see. If the old man talks again before the week is out, it sure is coming true."

On Friday they heard him again. The very next day there were checks for $180 each at the agency for every member of the tribe.[16]

If, when the Indians were on a journey, a coyote jumped up before them, looked at them, and barked or howled, they would likely change their course and travel no farther in that direction that day. A friendly spirit in the form of a wolf was warning them of danger,

[15] Gene Weltfish, "The Man Who Married a Buffalo Wife, A Comanche Story," *Caddoan Texts* (*Publications* of the American Ethnological Society, XVII), 218–23.

[16] Informant: Yellowfish.

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and they must heed the warning. The enemy was generally found just where the coyote told them.

Eagles possessed power in matters concerning war. Because of this power their feathers were attached to shields, worn tied in the hair, and during the later period they were placed on the war bonnet. Owing to the protective power of the bird, those wearing the feathers believed that they would not be hit by either bullets or arrows.[17] When eagle feathers were attached to the shield, it could not be pierced by either bullets or arrows. The Comanches secured a part of their feathers by taking young eagles from their nests and keeping them in captivity. (Young eagles were easily kept by tethering them by the legs to a pin driven in the ground.) After the eagles had reached full size, they pulled out the tail feathers. War whistles were made from wing bones of eagles.

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The deer had much power which might be used for good or evil. It had the power to cause or cure disease. It could say to its favorite: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground, there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." At times it was a helper in love affairs. Possibly because the elk had great vitality and was hard to kill, it was credited with having great strength which could be transmitted to those whose guardian spirit it happened to be. The bear possessed power to cure wounds. The skunk possessed great power. Doctors used its hide to hold their medicine. Men tied its tail to their horses' tails in war. For a member of a war party to kill and skin a skunk while on the way to attack was likely to nullify some of the most powerful war medicine.[18] The roadrunner had the power to reinvigorate and give speed, since it was a speedy bird. The owl was unpopular, for it brought bad news, but the Comanches never shrank nearly so much with fear and horror at the sound of its hoot as did the Kiowas. The wolf gave power to walk barefoot on the cold snow. Medicine men who had this power painted the flesh between their toes red like that of the wolf. And if a person would howl like a wolf before eating red haws, there was no danger of foundering on them.

In like manner, in an ever lessening degree, practically all animals

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This was the reason attributed by the leader for the failure at Adobe Walls.

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776 and insects were attributed certain powers by someone. One of the
825 very few animals known to the Comanches which never gave supernatural power was the horse. Although of extreme economic value, horses had no place in the ceremonial life of the tribe; nor did they ever appear in visions or significant dreams except as incidental details. This was also true of the dog. It would seem that the dog and horse, as everyday parts of the Comanche household, were too profane to be thought of as power givers. Man had control of them. Givers of power had to be outside his realm of dominance.

776 Just as animals, birds, and insects might be guardian spirits, so
823 was any unusual phenomenon of nature likely to be the abiding place of a spirit. Some of these places, because of the extraordinary power of the spirit abiding within, became rather famous among the Comanches. One such place is Medicine Mounds.

Medicine Mounds are a line of rounded hills in Hardman County, Texas, between the Pease and the Red rivers. They are rather conspicuous, the cones rising about 350 feet above the surrounding plain. Flanking them to the west is a gully-washed scar of an ancient buffalo trail. On the top of the highest of the four mounds is a flat cap rock, a protector against erosion. It was believed by the Comanches to be the dwelling place of a powerful and benevolent spirit.

A Comanche medicine man first discovered its great power when once his band came to hunt in the vicinity of the mounds. He had a young and beautiful daughter who was ill of fever and was growing weaker day by day. Her father had sucked worms and evil spirits out of many a brave and many a squaw, had chanted away the pains of many a girl, and had smoked the weakness from many a boy, but he could not cure his own daughter. He had rattled his gourd all night long while he prayed and chanted. From his medicine bundle he had prepared cures, while the moon was dark and while it was full. He had mixed and tried his formulae in every way he knew. He had consulted other medicine men. But all without results. One morning he came out of his tipi and in despair was gazing silently into the distance when suddenly his eyes came to rest on the rock-capped peak of the highest mound. Here was a powerful spirit that could help him, he thought. So without touching water or food, he went apart to pray and fast until the spirit should send him a revelation. At length

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it came. He was instructed to take his medicines to the high rock and there mix them so that the power of the good spirit should enter into them. He prepared the medicine as directed by the vision, gave it to his daughter, and then again went out and prayed to the mound spirit—prayed with the patience of those who live under the sun, and watch shadows, and note day by day the greening and the browning of the grass. At length he heard the voice of his daughter. He bounded into the tipi. Her eye was bright, her color almost healthy. She had slept deeply, she said. From that hour she mended steadily and soon was able to return to her work.

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Thereafter this medicine man made regular visits to the mound, made offerings to the mound spirit, and performed his cures through its aid. The fame of the mound spirit spread. Other medicine men came. From the gypsum waters of a spring at the base of the mounds, the ailing Comanches came to drink. The spirit came to be a protector for the Comanche bands. Here it could view the country for miles around, and from this lofty point directed arrows of hunters to the vitals of buffalo and deflected those of enemies shot at his wards, the Comanches. And today the name of the four extraordinary hills lined against the ancient buffalo trail that runs down to Pease River remains as a testimonial of the associations they had for the native people who lived by and vanished with the buffalo—Medicine Mounds.[19]

Medicine Bluff is another place commemorated in name and held in great reverence by the Comanches as being the abode of a powerful, benevolent spirit. It is located in Comanchería at the confluence of Cache and Medicine Bluff creeks. The two creeks empty into Red River and are overlooked by a precipitous bluff—Medicine Bluff. It is a mile in length, forming a perfect crescent, rising at once from the bed of Medicine Bluff creek, which flows at the base of the perpendicular scarp, to the height of 310 feet. The surface of the face of the bluff is perfectly regular and smooth. Moss covers the sides with a garb of pale green. The greater portion of the face is perfectly bare, though at some places a few stunted cedars have found lodgment in the crevices. From the rear the bluff presents three knolls, the center one being the highest. Mount Scott, about eight miles dis-

[19] J. Frank Dobie, "Stories in Texas Place Names," *Straight Texas*, 32–34.

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tant, stands forth with its pyramidal outline like a sentinel guarding the eastern gate of the Wichita Mountains.

There, from the bluff, according to a Comanche legend recounted by Thomas Battey, a powerful spirit looked over and cared for his people, saw that game was abundant and that his children were prosperous and happy. Comanche medicine men erected a cairn about six feet in height upon the summit of the principal knoll. Here the sick repaired or were brought by their relatives or friends, and here they were left to its invisible and subtle power. Especially those who were past the cure of the medicine men were deposited on the altar and left to be disposed of by the spirit. If the sick had not offended the supernatural powers, they were suddenly healed and returned to their kindred. Sometimes they were transported bodily to the after world. But if they were notoriously bad, they were allowed to die, and the ravens descended from the air, and the wolf came up from the valley and devoured the body, and the bones were gathered up by the Evil Spirit and deposited in the land of terrors.[20] At times the vicinity of the bluff became suddenly lighted up as by a great fire. The dews of night, the rain, and the wind circled about the spot of the altar at the very summit, but none of these agencies of nature trespassed, and the patient was thus left sheltered better than in his own tipi.

To the spirit was attributed the power of resurrection. Once an old warrior, who had long lived among the women of the village, having ceased to hunt or go on the warpath and having been turned out to wait his time to join his fathers, had struggled to the top of the bluff to die and be borne away to the after world. Each night after his departure, when darkness covered the face of nature, the awe-stricken people of the village below observed a great blaze, as if a fire had been built to alarm them. On the morning after the third night, a young man equipped as a warrior was seen descending the bluff, along the trail to the village. He approached the chief's lodge and sat by the fire. The warriors gathered around, but no one recognized him and so remained silent, waiting for him to speak. Lighting his pipe, decorated with beads and feathers of strange birds, the stranger, after all had made the ceremonial smoke, began his story.

When he had reached the top of the hill, he could see the village

[20] We read this to be un-Comanche-like embroidery supplied by Battey.

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and hear the laughter of children, the mourning of his kindred, and the barking of the dogs. He could see the buffalo and deer in the distance, and the young warriors in all their pride and strength. Then he asked himself, "Why do I live any longer? My fires have gone out. I must follow my fathers. The world is beautiful to the young, but to the old it has no pleasures. Far away to the setting suns are the hunting grounds of my people. I will go there." After these words, he had mustered all he could of his failing strength and leaped into the air from the giddy height before him. He knew no more of the woes of life. He was caught up in midair and transported into a smiling country where there was no rain and no wind, where the great chiefs of all the Comanches were assembled. They were all young and chased the buffalo and feasted. There was no darkness. The Great Spirit was everywhere and everybody was happy.

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The story captivated the minds and imagination of the listeners, and the strange young warrior became at once an oracle and a big medicine man in the tribe. His counsel was all-powerful, and his abilities to cure were considered infallible. Reverence for the bluff was enhanced; and in the years that followed no Comanche would ascend to the summit of the hill except for a most sacred purpose. When white soldiers fired shots at the cliff to hear the echoes, the Comanche guide, Blue Leggings, was horror stricken, and he refused to scale the peak with the soldiers, saying, "Me no sick!"[21]

At times a young man, eager to take the warpath for the first time, ascended to the sacred spot in quest of his vision. Having provided himself with a shield, in accordance with ceremonial instructions the youth proceeded to the highest point of the bluff, remaining for three successive days. A part of the ceremony included presenting the face of the shield to the rising sun each morning, as if warding off an arrow or a spear. The sacred surroundings of the place and the Sun, the emblem of the Great Spirit, casting its rays upon the shield were supposed to endow it with supernatural protective powers.

On principle no Comanche worshiped the entire animal life or physical phenomena of his country. But accounts of recent and legendary visions prove that no wild species or type can be ruled out as a possible source of power. The world view precluded nothing from

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[21] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 98.

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776 the range of the mystically potent, but the individual consciousness ascribed power to a relatively narrow selections of beings, their identity being determined by chance experience.

To discuss Comanche religion in terms of a definite pantheon would therefore be preposterous. Comanche "gods" were not clear-cut beings with sharply defined cosmic or social functions. Divine power was not concentrated in a few major personalities, but diffused over the universe and likely to crop up in unexpected places. A Comanche did not first envisage a god and then worship him; he started with the thrill, with the sense of a supernatural agency, and objectified his emotional stirrings. There were, nevertheless, certain supernaturals that appeared rather frequently both in ritual and in visionary experiences, notably the eagle, the bear, and the buffalo.

Religion and ethics were largely divorced. The really vital social canons had no supernatural sanctions. When a vision-seeker called upon the supernaturals to favor him, he hardly ever stressed his moral worth, but his desire for aid. What he pleaded for was not moral elevation, but some material benefit; and it was compassion that animated his patron in granting it. Often, to be sure, the visitant laid down rules of conduct, but they had no bearing on social considerations. Good intentions were no safeguard against the consequences of transgression. A man who unwittingly broke rules imposed upon him had to bear the brunt of the catastrophe, for ignorance of the "law" was no safeguard against punishment.

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IX

Government and Law

IN a society as simple and as homogeneous as was that of the Comanches there is little need for the development of governmental institutions. Add to this the extreme individualism of the Comanches, and a situation exists in which neither social needs nor ideology work to stimulate the development of government. Consequently, Comanche government was at a minimum, legal precepts were rudimentary, and the enforcement of the simple substantive law remained the responsibility of individuals rather than of officials.

Just as the Comanche made no attempt to organize a philosophy of religion or to systematize a conception of man's place in nature, so he made no attempt to generalize or formalize the rules underlying his legal system or the constitutional structure of his state. For instance, when That's It was asked about the Comanche peace chiefs, he said, "I hardly know how to tell about them. They never had much to do except to hold the band together."

To the Comanche, law was not an expression of social policy, but rather a series of individual responses to threatening situations. Descriptively we can note the Comanche point of view. Analytically we are not content to stop at this level. The Comanches had more law than they themselves recognized.

Ralph Linton has expressed that thought in these words: "Different cultures show a tremendous amount of difference in the degree to which their patterns are consciously formalized. My experience

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671 with Polynesians and Comanches illustrates this: Polynesians can give you practically an Emily Post statement of what proper behavior should be on all occasions, whereas Comanches, when asked how they do anything, immediately answer, 'Well, that depends.' They genuinely think of behavior as a range of unlimited, individual, freedom of choice, although when you take a series of examples of behavior, as Hoebel did, you actually find quite a high degree of uniformity. But you have to check Comanche behavior to arrive at this."[1]

In other words, to learn about Comanche law, it is necessary not to talk about "law" when doing field work with the Comanches, but rather, through utilization of the case-law method of legal recording and analysis, to accumulate a sizeable body of case histories of dispute situations from which the regularity of legal patterns can be abstracted.[2]

Before presenting the facts of their law, it is necessary to describe the nature of the Comanche state.

642 The basic principle of Comanche political organization was the constitutional separation of civil and military leadership. For a warlike people this separation was quite remarkable, although, of course, it was a general North American Indian practice for which the Comanches cannot be singled out for credit.

622 The peace chief was known as *paria:βo* and each family encampment had its *paria:βo,* whom we shall call either "peace chief" or "headman." There was reluctance on the part of the Comanches to accord him formal recognition, but genuine recognition of his powers was reflected in the attention given to his advice and in the general subordination to his influence. It was one of these family headmen who was elevated to the position of head peace chief of the band; the remainder of the chiefs functioned as an advisory council for the band as a whole and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen to their own group of followers. The chief, or headman, was chairman, so to speak, of the group. He was *primus inter pares.*

There is no explicit way of saying how a man became a civil

[1] Ralph Linton in S. S. Sargent and M. W. Smith (eds.) *Culture and Personality,* 123.

[2] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians,* 181.

chief. When asked, "How did you *select* your peace chiefs?" That's It, misunderstanding the phrasing of the question, answered with a touch of annoyance, "We did not *elect* them. We were not like you white people, who have to have an election every four years to see who is going to be your leader. A peace chief just got that way." His idea was echoed quite independently by Kills Something, who said, "No one made him such; he just got that way." 622

A peace chief rose to his position of leadership by combining generosity, kindness, evenness of temper, wisdom in council, and knowledge of his territory with good sense and the ability to speak persuasively on matters at issue. The man whose advice was most consistently followed was a peace chief for his group. He emerged gradually as a leader, and when his ability to influence his group was surpassed by that of another man, he ceased to be its *paria:βo*. Another had taken his place. The position was not competitively sought, at least not openly, for aggressive behavior was not part of the pattern of action of the man who was acceptable to the people as a peace chief. He epitomized the ideal of order and tranquility, not strife.

Josiah Gregg observed a tendency for sons of chiefs to acquire the position with more than average frequency, but explained that it was not due to any established rule of hereditary succession or legal pattern, but rather that it resulted from the fact that sons of chiefs, by virtue of the training and example set by their fathers and the expectancy of high standards within their families, attained the qualities of the chieftain. Competition was open, and the office was granted on performance solely.[3] Our own data confirm Gregg's penetrating perception. Here we see the roots of the hereditary principle as it can arise in any society. We would add that not only are the sons of chiefs more apt to act in the chiefly pattern, but the chief is merged to some extent in his family, and people get used to looking to that family for leadership. The son, who is identified with the father, tends to become the focus of leadership expectancies.

The authority of a peace chief, as has already been indicated, lasted only so long as he was able to maintain it. His position was more nominal than positive, more advisory than compulsive. The man made the office and not the office the man; he perforce relied

[3] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 343.

622 more upon personal influence than upon delegated authority. In addition to the qualities of kindness, generosity, and wisdom in tribal affairs, physical fitness, a record for dash and daring, valor, and firmness, whether in camp or in battle, were also desirable characteristics of such leaders, but were not absolutely prerequisite to the attainment of office.

While it was not necessary for a man to have a war record to become a peace chief, it was not uncommon in later years for a war leader to achieve that rank. Certainly one who had attained leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill, either in the chase or on the field of battle, had added prestige. The peace chief was usually a man whose raiding days were over, although he might occasionally take to the warpath, designating someone to act in the capacity of civil chief during his absence.

When a man emerged as a civil chief, he had become a kind of revered patriarch. To all the band he was "father." The People were his "children." Although he wisely refrained at times from intervening in disputes, there were times when his judicious words brought satisfaction to both parties. Judge he was not, but mediator he seems to have been at times. It was in situations where the problem was a question of what ought to be done that the civil chief was important. That his advice was followed means no more than that his ideas appeared to be right and proper. He spoke the custom. Under no circumstances did a civil chief have the power to order an adjustment to be made. He had no power over the life of any member of the tribe. His influence was limited to internal and civil matters only. No peace chief had authority to prevent by force a war party from taking the trail. His only really definite power was that of deciding the time and place of camp moving.[4] The chief who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but the readjustment would take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure. Should the chief disgrace himself by an act of cowardice or maladministration, the band might quickly depose him and elevate another.

[202] An important peace chief had his personal herald or camp crier, who served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news
All comments of the chief.

[4] Informants: Kills Something; That's It.

and comments of the chief. Each chief kept a staff of young men to 622
serve him as aides and counselors. These young men protected their chief at all hazards; they risked their lives to rescue his body from the enemy, for it was a great honor to be chosen as a bodyguard to a civil chief. It was customary in the larger camps to send two of these young men out each day to circle the countryside looking for signs of enemies in the vicinity.

There is some difference of opinion as to the relative power of civil and war chiefs. The bulk of the evidence indicates that the head civil chief was superior to the war chief in theory, but that if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war chief vigorous and popular, the authority of the civil chief would be more theoretical than real.

Important policies were determined in council. In theory, at least, 623
the council was supreme, but its decisions were often indefinite. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority, for, as in most Indian tribes, it was thought that agreement should be unanimous. The council was composed of all the old men of the tribe who had shown exceptional ability as warriors, leaders, or guides. As in the selection of chiefs, there was no formal procedure for admission; one "just got that way" because of his achievements. During the later period the authority of the counselors might be indicated by the "sun-rayed" buffalo robe dropping regally from the shoulders, even on a hot day, and by the feather war bonnet with its plumed train worn at times by members whose military achievements entitled them to wear it.

Within the council, experience and rank were usually given preference. The talking was done principally by the older men—those with the greatest experience. After the elders had stated their views, middle-aged men expressed theirs, and even younger men might speak a few words. Boys were generally allowed to attend the meetings, but only as respectful listeners. For them to intrude opinions in weighty matters was to invite scorn and ridicule; consequently, they maintained silence. They learned by watchful listening. If either the young men or the boys were called upon to speak, they did so with moderation and with a feeling of pride that they should be so honored. They wished to prove themselves first by action, then by

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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speech. In this school of training, qualities of restraint, dignity, and reserve were generated which enabled them to become respected counselors in later years. Women sometimes attended the meetings and on rare occasions were permitted to speak,[5] but these appear to be exceptions to the normal pattern. The final decision was made by the recognized members in good standing, generally by acclamation.

Any principal chief had a right to call a council meeting of his own band. A joint council of two or more groups could be convened, provided the separate chiefs of each band concerned called a meeting. There was no regular tribal council or head tribal chief, and it is doubtful that all the bands were ever brought together in a single assembly. The first assembly of chiefs representing all the bands that was convened, in the belief of Echo of the Wolf's Howl, was at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1867.

Usually the subject of the council meeting was known in advance and had to some extent been privately discussed. The members were informed of the meeting by the official crier or messenger, who also had the duty of filling the official council pipe. The entire meeting was conducted with strict formality and with a degree of courtesy that could hardly be exceeded. When all the members had assembled, a few minutes of silence ensued, during which time the council pipe was passed from one to another around the circle of counselors as an invocation to the Deity to preside. When this part of the ceremony was completed, one of the older men arose and introduced the subject at issue. His remarks were followed by a brief silence for consideration before a second speaker began. Each counselor spoke or politely declined as his turn came. Questions were considered carefully and deliberately, especially if important, and frequently considerable time elapsed before a decision was rendered. During the meeting, members might consult each other as well as address the group as a whole. Sometimes there were vast differences of opinion among the men, yet each was heard gravely and respectfully; and no matter how earnest the debate might become, no man ever interrupted the speaker, nor did anything like wrangling occur.[6] The Comanches had no

[5] Rister, *Border Captives*, 28–29.

[6] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 235; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 130.

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Roberts' Rules of Order, but their procedure was on a very high level of parliamentary decorum. 623

Such a council was held in 1843 to decide the fate of the ambassadors sent by President Sam Houston of the Republic of Texas to invite the Comanches to discuss a treaty. Each speaker, as his turn came, delivered a vociferous oration, but was never interrupted. When all who were entitled to speak had finished, the head chief, whose turn it was, remained silent, and no one moved or spoke from noon until four o'clock. Either the chief was pondering the weighty matter or seeking by his silence to impress upon his audience the importance of the decision before the body. When he spoke, he gained such support that when the vote was taken the ambassadors were spared.[7]

The council considered such matters as moving the camp, undertaking a tribal war, making peace, seeking an alliance with other tribes for the purpose of proceeding to war against a common enemy, the selection of the time and place of the summer hunt, community religious services, the disposition of spoils belonging to the band (but not of spoils acquired by a raiding party), the allocation of supplies to widows and the needy, and the regulation of trade with outsiders.

When any important decision had been reached, it was announced by the camp crier, who, mounting his horse, heralded the news as he rode through the village. If by any chance the decision was not in accord with public feeling, the action was likely to be modified. In practice, however, this seldom happened, for public sentiment had been well ascertained before the council met. The older men were always slow to take any radical action. [202]

Decisions of councils generally were regarded by the warriors as sacrosanct. Punishment for violating these decisions was certainly neither common nor necessary. The warriors obeyed more from fear of arousing the anger of their chiefs and the displeasure of the supernatural powers than because of any respect for authority in the abstract. The nomadic character of the Comanches, however, made it impossible for the chiefs to keep in touch with their warriors at all times, and when a warrior committed an offense, his punishment, so far as the chief and council were concerned, usually went no further 687

[7] M. M. Kenney, "Tribal Society among Texas Indians," *The Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association, Vol. I (1897), 31.

than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, headmen, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

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A heroic and possibly legendary story of the making of a war chief in the Water Horse band, full of the flavor of the Comanches, was told by That's It. It reveals his influence and reflects Comanche marital and legal attitudes.

« « « There were two young brothers about sixteen and twenty-five years old. Neither was a medicine man.

In the old days lots of trouble began over women. The oldest brother was out wandering about the camp one day when he met a young woman coming down a cow trail. She proposed to him that they go on the warpath. They had seen each other at the dances; she wanted him and had plotted the meeting.

"I am a young man," he rebuffed her. "I take orders only from my people. You are beautiful and married. If we do this thing, there will be trouble."

Later she accosted him in the same spot.

"For a young man, you're an awful coward," was her taunt.

This made him kind of sore. He answered her, "Well—you come at sundown with your stuff. I shall be here with two horses."

Her husband was in the habit of having some old men in for a smoke in the evening. He told her to clean up the tipi. When the old men were all there, he told her to bring the fire stick and then to lie down and listen.

While she was lying there, the sister of her lover came over with a rare blanket, which she slipped to her under the edge of the tipi.

After a while she told her own sister she was going out to get some air. Putting the blanket over her head, she walked right by the men smoking outside.

One of them remarked, "My, there goes a boy with a beautiful blanket."

She met her lover at the rendezvous and they made their get-away.

In the morning her husband missed her. He went up to the boy's tipi and asked his father where the lad was. He got the answer that they did not know; he had not been in all night.

"Well," said this man, "he has run off with my wife." The father told him he was sorry, and the husband went away.

Later on, when nothing was seen of the couple, the husband came back again.

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701 "What is it you want," he was asked.
539 "I want *nanɛwɔkə* (damages)," he declared.

The father agreed to this, telling him that he could have his pick of all their herd. The younger brother gave his assent, too, saying, "That is all right, if only you leave my favorite."

The husband laughed, "That's just the very horse I want."

"Well, in that case, it's just as good as yours. But I won't give it up until my brother comes back."

His mother pleaded the same thing, so finally the husband agreed to let the whole matter of the settlement rest until the elder brother returned.

Before long a war party was being organized.

The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. "It is good," he said. "And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people."

When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him.

A couple of nights later they set up a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there, he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zigzagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hilltop.

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The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, *"ahe!"* The others came and took the scalps.

It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a Scalp Dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses.

The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory, he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other.

Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

"Now," said the youth to one of his followers, "you do as I have just done." Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example, they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased

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them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while, when the Comanches got tired, they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

They got ready and set up a buffalo-hide tipi painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words,

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"This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead."

Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, "This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends."

The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him.

Ten years later (he was then twenty-nine), he led another big raid—this time to the Mexican border. They attacked a small camp beside an elbow-shaped hill. What they did not notice was that there was another camp—a big one—around the crook of the elbow. They met a lot more resistance than they expected. The Comanches were driven off, their leader surrounded and forced into a draw. He fought fiercely and killed a good many of the enemy until they went away and left him. He was himself shot in the legs.

After he had recovered his strength, he followed slowly after his companions. He traveled eleven days, but could not find them. The eleventh day, he put in at a creek at sunset. He climbed a hill to look about. On the other side he saw some horses and located the smoke from a fire. Leaving his horse behind, he stole up on the lone lodge—a brush hut. He listened and heard a man speaking to a woman. Their talk was Comanche!

He took off his weapons and walked up to them. The man greeted him. He invited him in; he fixed him up with new clothes and gave him a blanket to sit on. This man was an old man; he was living out all alone with his family. He was glad to have some one to talk to him. Supper was served up right away. When it was finished he said, "Now we'll tell stories."

The chief remarked that his host had been telling his wife that

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he was going to shoot a hawk to get some feathers for their boy. "Well, I have some feathers over there in my bundle. Go get him some."

The man was pleased with this offer, and he told his wife to get some of them. When she opened the visitor's bag, he was surprised at all the war materials in it; he saw he had a war chief with him. He wanted to know who he was, so he asked his guest for the name of his father.

"Well, my father is nobody," was the reply he received. "But I got these feathers"—and then he told of all his war deeds that his feathers represented. He also told how his brother ran away.

Then this lonely man knew that here was his own brother. They were happy to be together again.

The older brother asked what had been done about the *nanɛwɔkə* for the wife he had. He learned that it had never been settled because he had never come back to the band. Now was the time to go back.

Together with his younger brother, the chief, he started back to look for their people. His wife and children were with them.

When, at last, they approached the camp, they were met by a lookout. He told them to wait where they were while he rode into the camp to warn their parents. The chief had been given up for dead; his family was in mourning for him. His mother fainted when she heard the good news, but she recovered and washed the caked blood from her gashes. She dusted herself all over with red powder. She was overjoyed.

Then the two brothers came in; after thirteen years the family was reunited. The old man, the father, traded four horses for two large tipis—he got them from a Kiowa who was present. These were the new homes for his sons.

They were waiting for the old man, whose wife the elder brother had stolen, to come up and collect that *nanɛwɔkə*. They wondered why he did not come.

The younger brother, the great chief, told his older brother he would have to give his wife back. "If you can't get another wife, I shall take care of your children myself."

Their mother talked to the older brother.

"Your brother is a big war chief now," she admonished him. "What he says must go."

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So they sent down for the old man to come up. He did not want to go, but one of his wives urged him into it—he now had four wives. 101

The young chief dictated the whole thing. When the old man came into the tipi he told him to sit between his brother and his wife. The old man hesitated. He was afraid. 539

"It is all right," he was assured by the elder brother.

When he was seated, he hugged the children and was very pleased.

"We are going to give you back your wife," the chief told him, "Tomorrow when you come back, we shall have a feast here. Bring one of your wives. Then when we have eaten, you can take this woman and her children to your lodges."

The old man and the woman were not as one once again until they were on their horses and ready to go the next day.

Thereafter the old man told the two brothers to pitch their tipis back of his. "We are brothers now. My wives are yours any time you want. Just for the asking." » » »

On the raid or warpath the leader of a war party was in supreme control of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be expected, but a warrior seldom refused to obey his leader. It was said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that disobedience might bring disaster to the party. The leader did not use force or punishment. If a man did not trust the ability and wisdom of the war leader, either he did not join or he separated himself from the party. A warrior followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere. This, be it noted, was also the procedure when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. 726

The powers of the war chief included determining the objectives of the raid, designating the scouts, deciding upon the camping places and periods of rest, appointing the cook and water carriers, formulating the general tactics of attack, ordering the expedition to turn back, making a truce with the enemy, and dividing the booty.[9] 726 624

[9] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25.

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701 The warriors of most of the Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting societies or military fraternities. These organizations were secondarily arms of the tribal government or, at least, they functioned as strong pressure groups.[10] The Comanches, however, in keeping with their lack of internal segmentation, possessed only the slightest trace of military fraternities. Informants explained that their societies were something like a combination of our present-day army regiment and lodge organization. Their dearth of historical data and the paucity of material, combined with the lack of information on the part of contemporary Comanches, indicates that the associations were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. There is no evidence that they played an important role in social control and government.

642 Such formal government as existed was limited to the activities of the peace chiefs and war leaders, who acted separately or through the medium of the band councils. The Comanches, like almost all of the tribes east of the Rockies, militarists though they were, wanted no military *junta*. They knew the value and need for constitutional separation of civil and military power. From their point of view, that government was best which governed least.

671 The law system of the Comanche tribe was primitive but dynamic —and exciting. It lacked the maturity and balance of the Cheyenne way. It was crude and lacking in juridical subtlety, but it was fluid, inventive, and colored with its own ideals of justice.

Comanche law-ways functioned without benefit of courts. As might well be expected, in view of the ambiguity of powers of the political chieftains, there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. Comanche law was neither legislated nor judge-made. It was hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct.

It was almost exclusively a system of private law—a law in which the responsibility for instituting legal actions rested with the aggrieved party—a law in which the aggrieved and his personal supporters had

[10] J. H. Provinse. "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Society," in F. Eggan (ed.)., *Social Organization of North American Tribes*, 341–449.

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to push the process to its conclusion, or nothing would be done at all to provide relief or redress. 671

Nevertheless, a system of law it was. It was absolutely sure that certain forms of wrongs would be prosecuted. There were proper procedural patterns to be followed in the prosecution of a case. There were quite specifically understood sanctions to be applied to the different categories of offenses. And if the defendant was adamant beyond the point of reasonableness, he was, after due process, subject to a violent attack upon his person.

The essence of law, whatever specific forms it may take from one social system to another, comprises regularity, force, and official authority. Comanche law-ways had all those essential attributes.

"Dot" Babb's statement that on the whole there was little infringement on the rights of others among the Comanches, that they did not fight, quarrel, and commit murder as did the white man,[11] is contrary to the facts as we know them. The Comanches were most litigious, not, it is true, from any love of going to law for the savor of it, but because they were extreme individualists given to crowding each other in the unceasing struggle to outrank each other in personal prestige. A man could climb the social ladder by piling up a war record at the expense of enemies, and this was the legitimate way. But he could also reach toward his goal by aggressively challenging the status of a rival through stealing his wife, or seducing her, or taking his horse. This was the illegitimate way. It was illegal, but it was also customary enough. Forty-five cases of old-time legal actions arising from adultery and wife stealing alone were recorded from Comanche informants by one of the authors in his study of Comanche law-ways. Of these, twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three were cases of simple adultery. 681 577 674

If the Comanches were lawless, it was not through an absence of law, but rather because of a reckless tendency to break the law in the face of certain and severe penalties. Seven of the forty-five erring wives paid the death penalty: four for running off with another man, three for committing adultery. Of the remaining twenty adulteresses, five were mutilated by their husbands: four had the tips of their noses cut off and one had the soles of her feet slashed so that she could not 684

[11] Babb, *op. cit.*, 102–104.

684 walk. A cut nose was a social disgrace which was extremely difficult to live down. However, since these public marks had a tendency to decrease the value of a woman should the husband transfer her to another man, erring wives were not always disfigured. Nevertheless, Colonel Dodge reported seeing one Comanche woman with four separate gashes in her nasal organ,[12] while Kills Something claims to have known a woman with five. These were all legal penalties which it was the privilege-right of the husband to impose.

As for the offending male correspondent, in every case save four, he had, in conformity to law and custom, to pay damages to the husband. Comanche law required the aggrieved husband to prosecute. Public opinion forced him to, for if he held back, he would stand as a lily-livered coward before all The People. No man risked that. Thus, although the aggrieved husband was in fact prosecuting a wrong against himself, he was also put in a position of maintaining the public standards, whether he wanted to or not. He was in a sense a public prosecutor as well as the protector of his own private interests.

627 The payment of damages loomed so large in the interests of the
681 Comanches that they coined a word for it—*nanɛwɔkə*. Such settlements were ideologically in sets of four different kinds of articles: horses, guns, blankets, and clothing. More often than not, they were paid only in horses, numbering from one to ten. Almost inevitably the demands of the husband, if he was a warrior of any consequence, included the favorite horse of the defendant as essential to his satisfaction. His personal prestige had been hurt by the affront, and it was his intent to re-establish it by forcing the aggressor into the humility of giving up that which was most dear to him. It was more than a "money" equivalent that was sought, for it was all part of a prestige battle.

627 In initiating the procedure, since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. The case was carried to the offender wherever he could be found. The aggrieved could prosecute by accosting the defendant himself, stating the offense and the amount of damages necessary to satisfy him; he might send a third party to prosecute for him; or he might send or accompany a group who stated the charges and then negotiated.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 304.

Prosecution procedure was by bargaining. The defendant was seldom confronted with witnesses. The aggrieved had to ascertain the guilty party before he took steps against the defendant. In wife-absconding the presence of the woman with the absconder was sufficient evidence. In case of adultery, evidence came from witnesses or by confession of the wife. When the evidence was obtained and the guilty party had been revealed, the defendant could then be confronted. The bargaining normally began with the guilt accepted by both sides. When the defendant denied guilt, the legal prosecution of the case was ended unless proof of guilt was at hand. The aggrieved might take extralegal steps by committing some act of violence, but that would likely lead to retaliation.

It was possible, if the absconder was afraid of the erring woman's husband, for him to place himself under the protection of an outstandingly brave warrior. This made his chances in the bargaining much better. As another possibility, the aggrieved was allowed the privilege of obtaining the aid of friends. A show of force on the side of the plaintiff was a strong factor in checking illegal action. Such an institutionalized procedure made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

Cases were opened with formal politeness and smooth words. The defendant was told the charges and what must be given in damages to satisfy the plaintiff. Ordinarily the negotiation took place outside the door of the defendant's tipi, since the defendant was usually aware of the nature of his visitor's business and did not invite him inside. The damages rendered were those which the defendant agreed to give and which the aggrieved agreed to accept. There was no judge to set the amount, nor was there any rigid customary code regulating the amount of damages in accordance with the degree of wrong, except as it placed a ceiling of ten horses on any settlement. Only by agreement could the case be settled. Naturally, if the defendant were a brave warrior and the plaintiff a timid soul, the compensation would be low. If the aggrieved were a brave warrior, the defendant might acquiesce to the first demands. Damages were also concluded in accordance with the wealth of the offender; the prosecutor "stuck" the defender for the most he believed he could squeeze out of him.

The Comanches

627 Although it was unusual to resort to fighting and killing over the loss of a woman, society theoretically recognized the right of the offended male to take the life of the offender if he refused to make settlement after guilt was established.

Should the accused deny his guilt, either party might appeal to the supernatural powers as a way out. When accused by an irate husband, one informant denied that he "had broken the law." His accuser proposed that they make smoke and call on the Sun. The informant smoked and then addressed the Sun: "Sun, if what I say is not true, strike me dead. If I am not guilty, strike my accuser dead." When he heard these words, the accuser withdrew his charges and thereby ended the whole affair.[13]

It was, as we have already noted, incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. If he demanded damages and received a satisfactory settlement, his claim upon his wife could be released, thus making legal a divorce and consequently freeing her to change her marital status. In case of divorce or separation, the children legally remained with their father. In many cases the husband took the wife back.

[587 684] A woman who remarried after the death of her husband without first getting a verbal, but formal, quit-claim from her husband's youngest brother was technically guilty of desertion; her new husband was subject to *nanɛwɔkə* demands, and he had to pay up.

Breaks Something was the unwitting victim of such an action, as his own account shows.

« « « Mexican was a friend of Touched with a Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched with a Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me. They were Mangy Coat and Atsaci. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her.

They answered, "We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched with a Closed Fist and this woman is his wife."

[13] Informant: Kills Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

"No," she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.

I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

Atsaci answered, "We want that horse or none."

I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, "All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough." I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaci I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

"What?" he said.

I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my "daughters" (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. "If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love."

Then Mangy Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaci wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

That was what I wanted. Atsaci was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

He mumbled, "Well, it's up to Mangy Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say." Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a gray mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that gray horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money.[14] » » »

The role of intermediaries in damage-seeking actions is the most

[14] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 56–57.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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interesting theoretical aspect of Comanche law. A really strong man pressed his own cause. Yet in the nature of the Comanche scheme of things, the wife-stealer or adulterer was frequently a man of more aggressive courage than the husband he victimized. Men who had brothers to rally to their side could muster their aid as a matter of course. For some men of weak families this was not always possible, however, although if they failed to collect even token damages, neither they nor the tribe would consider them worthy of being Comanches. It was socially required that they act, yet by themselves they could not do so. In the crude legal genius of the Comanches this was recognized as an impossible demand upon some men; hence they devised a way out that could be used without disgrace. Any man of faint heart could call upon a great warrior to act as his surrogate, his champion at law. His response was assured; no warrior of reputation would have it imputed that he was afraid of any other man. He stood ready to pit his prestige against the aggressor on behalf of any weaker plaintiff. He received no fee or compensation in kind for risking his life in intervention. The *nanɛwɔkə* that he wrested from the defendant went to the plaintiff. The reward of the champion was the praise of the people and added luster to his name.

The case of Red Crooked Nose (*ɛkamuʔawa*), as given by She Invites Her Relatives, reveals the champion in action; it also displays the suicidal *beau geste* of the Comanche who died honorably against the enemy, so to recover in perpetuity the prestige he had lost when outfaced within the tribe. He also set a check against unreasonable overpenalizing of future defenders. Comanche law was law with limits, as is any good law system.

« « « The wife of Red Crooked Nose absconded with a young, good-looking warrior. In the raiding party were four other men and another woman. For two years the pair remained away, and no one in the main camp knew where they were living. But one day some hunters found their camp and reported it to Red Crooked Nose. He was determined to get his wife back, but he had few war deeds to his credit. So he asked a brave, well-known warrior to go with him. The warrior consented to go.

When they reached the absconder's camp, the woman saw them

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coming and ran to her young husband, saying that she wanted to stay with him. But when the young man saw Red Crooked Nose's champion he said, "Against such a man I have no chance to keep you."

So they met outside the tipi. Red Crooked Nose picked up a quiver of arrows belonging to the young man, but his wife told him, "Put them down. You can't do any better with them than their owner can."

Food was offered the newcomers, and they stated their mission. They said that they would accept no damages in place of the woman, that Red Crooked Nose needed her to care for their young child. So the young man ordered her horse brought, upon which was a good saddle, a silver-braided bridle, and good blankets. He told the woman to dress up. He told her, "Take everything nice that belongs to you. This old man can't get things like these for you."

She gathered all her belongings, including fifteen horses. She was ready to start back with them, but she cried pitifully to have to leave her young lover. After they started, she lagged behind sullenly.

They had gone. The young absconder broke camp. He mounted and rode on past them. As his horses ran by, Red Crooked Nose killed one of them and called upon his party to take the meat he had shot for them. Then the owner of the dead horse scorned him, "My feelings aren't hurt. I can get plenty of horses—like the grass, so many!" and he rode on.

He knew that Red Crooked Nose would not have dared to kill his horse without the warrior as protector.

While stopping one night, they heard that enemies were coming. The women were sent on. The men prepared for war. Before the battle started, the young man donned his best war paraphernalia. With his feathers flying, he rode past the camp of Red Crooked Nose. He fought conspicuously and was killed.

The champion saw him go down.

He called to Red Crooked Nose, saying, "It was we who caused him to be killed. I know you are a coward, but you have to go and walk in front of the enemy to protect us while I carry off his body."

Thus they took the young man off the field and put his body on a horse. When the woman saw his body brought back, she tore her dress apart, slashed her body all over with her knife, and cut her

627 hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way.[15] » » »

In a few rare instances an inversion of the institution of the champion was employed, as in the case of the husband who was so afraid of the warrior who stole his wife that he sent an *old woman* to try to get his wife back for him. The absconder said he was going to keep the woman, but he sent back a horse loaded with goods in her place.[16]

Whether by force or by insinuating himself upon the grace of the great aggressor, Comanche law and custom guaranteed compensation to a husband, if not necessarily the return of his wife.

627 682 For murder, however, there was no adjudication or compromise. Indeed, the murder of a fellow tribesman was most unusual, but it sometimes happened. In such an event, the *lex taliones* was invoked; the punishment of the murderer was primarily the concern of the murdered man's relatives. The case was not closed until the kin of the dead man had taken the life of the murderer. But the privilege of a revenge killing might not be recognized by the kin of the murderer. Kinsmen could legally strike back.

However, kin organization was weak; the principle of kinship liability was not sufficiently pronounced to result in feud. There was no ruthless taking of life of whoever happened to be related to the murderer. The kin feeling was strong enough, however, to induce the kin of the murderer to protect him for some time. As long as vigilance was maintained, an attempt on the life of the murderer was unlikely, for legal right usually gave way to determined resistance. In actuality it was extremely unlikely that a murder resulted in a deadly clash between groups of kin. Tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the responsibility for obtaining justice rested with the relatives and friends of the dead. This is the first principle of collective liability.

[15] *Ibid.*, 62–63.
[16] *Ibid.*, 53.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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A group might intervene to stop a fight, yet it had no legal authority to do so. The offended party, if disposed to compromise, had the privilege of accepting a commutation and releasing the murderer, according to David G. Burnet's observation in 1824.[17] This was seldom the case, however, and by mid-century, if our informants are correct, it was out of the question. Comanche law was hardening through the decades in this one respect. The murderer might flee the camp to another band and thereby escape vengeance for an indefinite period, if he was lucky. Whether or not any kind of settlement was reached, the man who had done the killing was usually more or less ostracized by his fellows. It made no difference how prominent the man might have been or how good his family, should he shed the blood of a fellow tribesman, a stigma was cast over his family and his relatives shared in the disgrace. The matter was not only talked about, but might even blight the lives of his children after his death. 627 682

Those who committed murder were often men of great bravery whose success in war and whose standing in the tribe had made them somewhat arrogant and impatient of those who did not do as they demanded. Other men committed murder in revenge.

In Comanche law the killing of a murderer by the kinsmen of the victim was a privileged act. *It did not lead to feud.* A killing called for a counter-killing. And there it stopped. The society at large and the kin of the murderer also recognized and granted the privilege-right of the execution of the murderer by the hand of his victim's brothers. This made it a truly legal sanction. No single case contravening this norm in action is remembered by any Comanche informant. The Comanches in this remarkable (in the light of the usual feudal tendencies of primitives) self-imposed restraint raised this aspect of their law to a higher than ordinary level for people of their general cultural attainments.

Favorite horses were so endowed with personality that killing a man's favorite horse was akin to killing his brother. The owner might, and sometimes did, kill the horse-slayer in return.[18] 627 [685]

A wrong committed by one member of a kin group against an-

[17] Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154.

[18] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–72.

627 other individual within the same group was not punishable in the same way as a wrong done by an out-grouper. Public opinion might be strongly antagonistic to the wrongdoer, but the settlement of even murder was not considered a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore, murder was essentially a wrong and only vaguely a crime. The family group or kin could punish a member of their own group. There does not appear to have been any definite custom. What happened inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on personality and temperament.

627 One variation of the in-group character of in-group action was the privilege-right of the husband to kill his wife. For this, retaliation 562 appears to have been abnormal. The legal position of woman was largely that of chattel, and upon marriage she passed from the original family to the husband. That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a husband killed his wife—their genetic relative—can mean nothing else than a true relinquishment of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme marital bond. The kin of the erring wife might plead with the husband or offer him gifts to prevent the killing, but there was nothing to compel him to accept them and forego meting out punishment. Furthermore, society recognized the right of a brother to kill his sister who, disregarding the recognized social pattern of brother-sister avoidance, came into his presence in violation of his wishes. The brother-in-law of Kills Something shot his sister for such an offense.[19] Apparently, in such a case the killer suffered no social disgrace.

The privilege-right of a husband to kill his wife was paralleled by his privilege to handle her most cruelly in an attempt to force her to name a suspected lover. He could take her out to a lonely spot and choke her until she informed. Or he might prefer to hold her prone over a fire, slowly lowering her closer and closer to the flames, until she in anguish confessed and named her lover. There was no device in Comanche law by which a husband with a grievance could seek an impartial judgment on the alleged male miscreant in the case. Guilt had to be certain before the legal suit could begin. When there was doubt as to the facts, the hapless women were the goats.

[19] Informant: Kills Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Men also killed their wives at times when they suffered chronic ailments and medicine cures had failed. A case is reported of a chief who cut the throat of his wife, who had been ill for a long time, to avoid the inconvenience of caring for her. After making "medicine of preparation" to fit her for a happy reception in the land of spirits, he took her life, though mourning her untimely death. Such deeds were rare, however. 627 734 562

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered "mean" by the people. Yet, if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through coups, there was little to stop him, except that new wives became more difficult to get. On the other hand, attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare indeed. 627 562

Of acts taking on a criminal tinge there was only one category—excessive sorcery. Among other Plains tribes violation of the communal buffalo-hunt rules, i.e., going out to hunt alone or beating the signal for the mass charge, was one of the most severe public offenses. The military society police in charge of the hunts were wont to handle any such miscreant roughly. But the Comanches were the great exception. 627 754

Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easy to come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of violation of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride.

Sorcery that got out of hand was another matter. The Comanches were only slightly plagued by witchcraft. As Ruth Benedict once observed, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."[20] Ralph Linton has emphatically reiterated that only old men, who could no longer compete on a warrior basis, turned to 754

[20] In conversation with Hoebel.

754 black magic as a means of defending their positions when their physical prowess had failed.[21] Ideally, a Comanche male who had passed beyond fighting age should have emulated the peace chief in behavior. Most men relaxed and did so. A few whose egos were too strong did not; from medicine men they transformed themselves into evil medicine men.

It was not necessary that they learn any new formulae of black magic to achieve their evil purposes. All they had to do was to direct their once-good powers to antisocial ends. Instead of healing the sick, they used their powers against victims of their jealous spleen to bring them sickness and death.

"The life of a young man was very dangerous," said Breaks Something in discussing sorcery. "If he hung around the wives of a medicine man, he would be jealous and paralyze the young man's legs."

"My grandfather had four wives, but none of them ever ran away or got into triuble," observed Rhoda Greyfoot in a reflective mood. "He was a great medicine man, and other men were too much afraid of him to bother his wives."

In the youth of Herman Greyfoot, his band harbored a "crazy young man, who was harmless, just wandering about on foot; he never rode a horse." He lost his mind "because he paid too much attention to the wife of a medicine man, who witched him."

As the young warriors expressed their rivalry in coup-counting, older medicine men expressed theirs in occasional formal medicine jousts. There is extant among the Comanches a legendary account of one such "battle of sorcerers."

« « « Arapaho and Cheyenne medicine men used to use their power in an evil way. Once, when the Comanches and Cheyennes were camped together, the Cheyennes pointed out a medicine man who was using his power to cause deaths.

A Comanche medicine man heard about this, and he decided to go and see the Cheyenne. He got on his war horse, which he rode without a bridle, and rode over to the camp of the Cheyenne medicine man.

The Cheyenne came out and greeted him; he asked him what

[21] Linton, "The Comanche," *loc. cit.*, 67.

he wanted. The Comanche answered that he wanted to smoke. So the Cheyenne invited him into the tipi and sat down on the north side after putting the Comanche on the south, next to the sun. 754

Then the Cheyenne got his long pipe. He filled it with tobacco, and lit it with a coal from the fire burning in the center of his lodge.

"How should I pass this pipe to you?" he asked his visitor.

"Oh, any way is all right," the Comanche answered, as he took it with both his hands. He smoked, inhaling four times. On the fourth draw the Cheyenne poison went right into him. He could feel it.

He blew in the pipe before handing it back to his Cheyenne host. Then he rubbed his own belly, and blew a yellowhammer feather out of his mouth and into his hand.

"What does this mean?" he asked the Cheyenne. "I found this in the stem of your pipe."

"Huh, I don't know anything about that," was the answer that came back. "You may do anything you want with it."

Now it was the Cheyenne's turn to smoke. He drew three puffs. On the fourth puff he felt a pain in his side. He wiggled and blew. Out of his mouth and into his hand came an eagle feather.

"What do you mean by this?" he demanded of his guest.

"Why, I don't know anything about that," came the innocent answer from the Comanche. "That must be your feather; it's your pipe."

"Well, here, I give this feather to you." The Comanche's turn to smoke came again. He smoked three times. On the fourth smoke he felt a pain, and he blew out a black bug.

"What is this?"

"Why, I don't know," his host answered. "It must be yours."

"No, its not mine. It must be yours; this pipe belongs to you."

Now the Cheyenne smoked again. On the fourth puff he blew out a tarantula.

"What is this?" he asked in wonder. "It must belong to you."

"Oh, no, that bug isn't mine. That is your pipe you are smoking. That bug must belong to you."

Then the Comanche took his fourth turn with the pipe. He smoked three times. On the fourth puff he felt a terrible pain, and he blew out a cockleburr. The Cheyenne said he did not know a thing about it.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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The Comanche medicine man handed the pipe back to him for his fourth turn. This time, on his fourth puff, a barrel cactus lodged in the throat of the evil Cheyenne medicine man. It lodged there. He blew and blew, but he could not get it out.

"Well, this has been a nice day," said the Comanche. Then he mounted his horse and went home.

When he was back at his lodge, he heard cries arising from the Cheyenne camp. The medicine man had died; he had found a medicine man with better power than he had; he had died of the cactus in his throat.

The next day the Cheyennes brought the Comanche medicine man a horse loaded with presents. They were thankful to him for killing their bad medicine man.[22] » » »

As a note of caution the reader is reminded that this is a Comanche and not a Cheyenne story. As such it projects Comanche attitudes upon the Cheyennes. The Cheyennes knew sorcery, but it was an exceedingly minor factor in their lives—more so than in the case of the Comanches. The Cheyennes had smoking tournaments, but only for coup-counting bouts. Cheyenne old men inverted the warrior ideal of their youths to try to outdo each other in burlesquing war honors by boasting of "dishonorable" deeds. But they did not engage in sorcerers' rivalry.

The Cheyenne old men could laugh serenely at themselves, because their place in life was secure. The Comanches, who never achieved lasting security of personal prestige, could not stomach self-ridicule. They turned the coup bout into the sorcerers' duel for old men.

Most Comanche sorcery was, of course, not done in open contest. A sorcerer simply willed an illness upon a victim with his power, or he shot in a feather or other thing secretly. His victim could be an object of sexual jealousy or merely a rival medicine man toward whom he bore a grudge. Or it could be a woman who had at one time rejected him. A sorcerer might also use his power to kill a man in order to get his wife.[23] In a few cases the sorcerer had nothing against his victim of which he was consciously aware. It was simply that his

[22] Informant: Breaks Something
[23] Informant: Kills Something.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Quanah Parker's children, in 1892

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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754 power had shown him a victim in a dream, and it was believed, if this occurred, that the sorcerer had to kill the person or his power would kill him instead.

The sorcerer would be revealed in the diagnosis of a medicine man when he was called in to cure. "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." When the sorcerer was announced, it was usual for the brothers of the sick person to pay him a visit in order to ask him to remove the power. In most of the specific cases of which we have accounts, the sorcerer denied his guilt. Then his petitioners either went away and engaged their own medicine man to counteract the witchcraft or they threatened bodily injury to the sorcerer. If their curing doctor was strong enough and was willing to go on with the case, he turned the power back, and the sorcerer died of his own malefactions.

The sorcerer who maintained his innocence, when threatened with force, in each recorded case immediately forestalled further legal steps by throwing the whole affair over to supernatural judgment. He swore his innocence with a conditional curse. If he was guilty he was killed by powers of the Sun and the Earth. If he survived, his innocence was accepted as proved.

The sin for which he died was perjury before the supernatural powers. The penalty was not imposed by man, but by the "gods."

Isolated instances were not, therefore, legal offenses.

754 Excessive and repeated sorcery was another matter. It built up a condition of social anxiety that led to a fairly dispassionate and quite 683 deliberate execution of the sorcerer by general consent. In two instances, sorcerers were lured into ambush on the pretext of engaging them to make cures. In one of these cases the sorcerer was assassinated by two delegates chosen by the people. In the other, he was shot just as he left the tipi.

In a third case, the members of the Those Who Move Often band were afraid to assault a dangerous sorcerer, so they contrived a successful ruse to cause him to break his tabus. Thus they destroyed him.[24]

Many forms of social conduct which are considered abnormal in

[24] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Case 23, 89–90.

The Comanches

848 Many forms of social conduct which are considered Abnormal in our own society were not considered criminal by the Comanches. Their attitudes toward illegitimacy, which seems to have been rare, show no vindictiveness, although the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father.

Premarital sex relations were common, but in case a child was born as a result, the father usually married the mother. The father could claim the child at any time.

835 Incest, which consisted of sexual relations between two persons within three degrees of relationship, was tabu, but there was no legal control. The few men who were known to have committed incest were called *posa*, "crazy." Beyond this, there was only informal ostracism—and more sneering references. Thus, when Pointing to the Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet, his own sister refused to address him as *monapə*, "son-in-law," which would have been the respectful and proper thing to do, had it been a proper marriage. The People did not let it pass, however; they made it a point always to refer to him, her elder brother, as her son-in-law.

The Comanches actually had strong feelings against incest—brother-sister avoidance was enjoined on this basis—but they felt no need to impose strong sanctions against it. Most men were too concerned with the maintenance of their personal prestige to mar it with such an act. And perhaps more important is the fact that Comanche supernaturals were in no sense projected images of a rewarding and punishing father. Incest was not a sin against the gods any more than it was a crime. There was no need to punish the offender in order to protect the community from supernatural wrath. The act remained an offense against good taste, nothing more.

839 Rape, except upon captives, occurred infrequently and was not part of the general pattern. Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. But before the advent of the white race's demoralizing influence, Comanche women rated high in chastity.

674 577 Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently, it must fall into the vague class of unapproved, abnormal acts which were outside the scope of the law. Generosity was so highly valued that he who had need of something had only to indicate his desire, and he would receive it as a gift.

Government and Law

Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics, the institution of land tenure, the disposition and inheritance of property, the treatment of chattels, and the obligations of contract form the most important aspects of civil law. Yet among the Comanches these had almost no significance. The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly, nor communally. One may speak of their country as being merely communally occupied. There are no records of any disputes between the bands over hunting grounds. The external boundaries of the Comanchería were not firmly fixed, but vaguely felt. Allies and friends were welcome to hunt and visit, but other outsiders entered on peril of their lives. 423 674

Wealth for the Comanches centered largely in horses, as has already been shown; horses were individually owned by both men and women. They were acceptable as a medium of exchange and could be used as payment of obligations in damage suits. Women, too, might be listed in the category of chattel property—first of father and brother and later of husband. Dogs must also be included under the heading of private property. They abounded, but after the acquisition of the horse had little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and sentries. The idea of liability for the acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite; nor could damages be collected for injuries received from a kicking horse. 674 422 [675]

The Comanches owned a number of captives who were chattel property until adopted as brothers by their owners if they were boys or married by their captors if they were girls. There were a few personal slaves held by blood covenant by individual warriors. They were generally captives, Mexicans forming the bulk of the number. A blood ceremony, according to Josiah Gregg, was performed with blood taken from a vein on the back of the captive's hand or arm. The ceremony was repeated whenever ownership of the slave changed. The slave had the right of life, food, and protection, since no one dared molest the property of another, and the owner could sell or transfer him at any time to whomever he chose.[25] There are indications that the Comanches captured and sold slaves merely as articles 422 567 [675]

[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

567 [422] of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even 641 [727] respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test 422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made, 424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation, 428 their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

herd at the death of the owner was prejudicial to tribal interest, for, since the animals were freely lent, several people might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts, and they would be seriously handicapped in hunting and in war if the animals were killed. Also, in case of food shortage, horses were food. By 1870 it had become customary to kill only the deceased's favorite mount and to distribute the remainder of his horses among the surviving relatives and friends. No absolute rule governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was often hard feeling among the heirs. The culture apparently was moving toward a settlement of the problem through bequests and recognition that certain relatives and close friends had the right to take their choice of the property, but the lines were not yet clear.[26]

Although there seems to have been no absolute consistency in rules of disposal, property appears to have passed to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. She could not retain all the property herself. The first outside claim could be that of the deceased's best friend. He was entitled to the favorite horse, if it was not slaughtered at the grave. During the later period, a man often expressed the desire that his horse be given to a specified friend rather than slaughtered. Surplus horses went to the wife, father, mother, brothers, and other relatives according to the degree of relationship. Outsiders who had no personal claim to share in the estate could establish an obligatory claim either by providing property of their own to be buried with the person or by being helpers in mourning who "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop."[27] If death occurred in battle, the amount of wailing and the value of goods demanded in payment might be increased.

Contract occurs when a party assumes a definite and limited obligation by virtue of agreement. The contractural arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. Included among Comanche contractural agreements were the transfer of medicine powers, curing, the obligation to lead a revenge war party, occult prophecy, sorcery for hire, and hiring a specialist to help in the making of material objects such as arrows, saddles, and tipis. In the making of most con-

[26] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 297.
[27] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 133–34.

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675 tracts there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The most common method of sealing the contract was by offering smoke. If the second party took the smoke, it was an acceptance and the deal was closed. The failure of one of the parties to meet the terms of the contract terminated the contractural obligations of the other. In cases where such a procedure worked an injustice on one of the parties, the legal procedure followed the same general pattern as in other cases of disputes—if the aggrieved party felt inclined to act. He was, however, under no social pressure to proceed, as was the man who had suffered impingement on his rights as a husband. The contract situation rarely involved prestige rivalry and did not contain the spark plug that ignited legal action as in the highly charged adultery and wife-absconding situations.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Warfare

THE motives which led the Comanches to go to war were plunder, love of fighting, a desire for glory as a means of achieving personal status, eagerness for revenge, and a determination to take and afterwards to hold free from all trespassers, both white and red men, the hunting grounds of the South Plains. Their bravery and their desire to win prestige for themselves inspired them to take many risks. Prior to the introduction of the horse, Plains warfare was sporadic and not bloody; but the introduction of the horse furnished all the Plains tribes a new and strong motive for war, for by war men might acquire something of great value and they now had the mobility with which to strike at each other. Concomitantly with the horse came another new factor: the pressure of the whites on the eastern frontier, setting in motion a chain reaction of tribal displacements that caused group after group to fight for a place under the western sun. War became the pattern of life; the military cult became the ideal of the aspiring young man. The old peace chief ideal still survived, but it was destined to be overshadowed by the ideal personality type of warrior.

War honors provided the basis of the whole system of rank and social status in Comanche society. Consequently, the life of the male came to be centered around warfare and raiding. The men were all warriors. War was regarded as the noblest of pursuits, one which every man should follow; and from earliest youth boys were taught

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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to excel in it. They were taught that success in war brought in its train the respect and admiration of the men, women, and children of the tribe, and that the most worthy virtue for a man was bravery. They were taught that death in battle, aside from being glorious, protected one from all the miseries which threatened later life and were inevitable to old age.

The Comanches, in conformity with the general Plains pattern, adhered to institutionalized procedure in giving social recognition of war honors: the practice of counting coup. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, after it had been socially and publicly recognized as worthy of distinction. In some respects it was a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement. It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him at a distance with an arrow or a bullet. Since the quality most highly esteemed was courage, striking an enemy thus gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not necessarily do so. To scalp an enemy was not especially creditable, for anyone could scalp a dead man; hence scalping was only of secondary importance. But if the scalping were done under danger, it was considered worthy. How much of the scalp a Comanche took depended upon circumstances. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he were pressed for time or the situation were very dangerous, he seized only what he could get. The scalp was a trophy, proof of success to be used in the Victory Dance, and it was also desirable as a decorative fringe for shirts, shields, and tomahawks.

The bravest act that could be performed was to count coup on a live enemy. When hunting, if a dangerous animal was killed or wounded, boys and young men might race to see who could be the first to touch it, just as women sometimes raced to see who could be the first to touch the first fallen animal in a buffalo hunt. The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines or as drawing blood from an enemy in hand-to-hand combat. In addition to the standardized honors, any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by the Comanches.

Contemporary Comanches tell a tall tale of two warriors who

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went on a coup-seeking expedition to see which was the better man. They traveled until they came to a Ute camp.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said one.

After dark, he drew his blanket over his head and sauntered into the Ute encampment. From within one of the lodges he heard the songs of a hand game in progress. Protected by his disguise, he walked right through the door to join the spectators. Nobody paid any attention to him. Casually and slowly moving about, he touched one after another of all the Utes in the lodge. When he had touched them all, he strolled out and rejoined his friend.

"He had counted coup on twenty enemies at one time. It was a great deed," said Post Oak Jim.

His friend was put to a real challenge. They traveled on, it is said, until late the next day they came to a lone ranch homestead.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said the second Comanche. When the lights were out in the cabin, he crept forward. He entered the little house and found the rancher and his wife sleeping together in their bed. With all the stealth he would have used in untethering a picketed horse before the lodge of an enemy chief, he lifted the sleeping woman from the side of her unsuspecting husband. Without wakening her, he brought her to the side of his friend. Together they took her back to the main camp. The People said this was the greatest coup of all. No Comanche had ever done anything like that before!

It sometimes happened that a man, if he had been ill for long without hope of recovery or if some misfortune of such significance that he no longer wished to live had befallen him, determined to give his life by some daring act of bravery against the enemy. This was suicide, but a socially recognized way of ending one's life in a most honorable manner. He went out in one grand coup.

A daring exploit was not of itself in the strictest sense a coup. Rather it was the raw material for one. If unrecognized, the deed remained only a matter of individual memory, for only recognition in due "legal" form turned the deed into a coup. It often happened that an exploit claimed by an individual was unwitnessed, not believed, or claimed by one or more other warriors. The man who believed he had a right to claim a coup made a strong fight for recog-

721 554 nition of his deed. Other than securing witnesses or presenting circumstantial evidence in support of his claim, he might take a formal oath that what he claimed was true. It is evident that in the confusion of battle a man might believe himself entitled to honors claimed by others. At the first opportunity after the fight, the chief called the warriors together, preferably before they arrived at the main camp.[1] But the procedure varied from band to band and according to circumstances. One account has the leading warriors seat themselves in a semicircle. Near the opening of the circle was placed a buffalo hide. Some of the Indians danced to the beat of drums. A warrior rode into the circle, stopped suddenly, and plunged his spear in the buffalo hide. Music and dancing stopped, and the warrior under oath narrated in detail the circumstances connected with the deed which he claimed as a coup. When he had finished, he dismounted and joined his comrades in the semicircle, and the dancing and drumming were renewed. Then a second warrior was called upon. The same procedure was continued until each claimant for honors had told his story. Those seated in the semicircle either publicly recognized the deed as a coup or rejected the claim.

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A scout who was out alone sometimes ran unexpectedly into an enemy, perhaps killing or counting coup on one. In such a situation there was no one to witness his deed; it was necessary for him to attest its truth. If he was a member of the Water Horse band, he did so by taking the buffalo-chip oath. On returning to the band, he signaled that he had important news. Before entering the camp, he waited for all the warriors to assemble. They all lined up in a row behind three or four buffalo chips, which were stacked on end, tipi wise. When they were ready, the scout rode in and speared a chip for each man he had killed or struck. With each blow he cried, *"A:hel"* If he had counted no coup, he merely walked around the pile and then [T17] scattered it as a sign that the news he was bringing was true. The false asseveration of a coup brought bad luck and death.

554 The Comanches recognized two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Cheyennes counted coup on an enemy three times, while the Arapahos touched four times. In battle, members of one tribe counted coup

[1] Informant: Yellowfish.

without reference to what had been done by those of another allied tribe in the same fight. Recognition of plural coups on the same victim was, of course, an efficient way of providing enough coups to meet the cultural demands of the society. It is worth noting that the warlike Comanches engaged sufficient enemies to make unnecessary as great an inflation of the currency of war prestige as that of their neighboring tribes, but in later days they devised a method to spread their coups around. The first man to touch a fallen enemy with his weapon or hand uttered the cry, *"A:he"* ("I claim it"), thus receiving credit equal to or greater than that which accrued to the man who had done the actual killing. If a bow or a gun had been used to bring down the enemy, the second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.[2]

Opinions are somewhat at variance as to why the Plains Indians counted coup. Robert Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. From one angle, he says, Plains Indian warfare "loomed as an exciting pastime played according to established rules, the danger lending zest to the game. The primary goal was to score, only the loss of kindred prompting reprisals on a major scale. Whenever men fight for glory, practical ends become secondary."[3] George Bird Grinnell sees in it a cultural survival of the old feeling that prevailed before the Indians had missiles, when they were obliged to fight hand-to-hand with sticks, clubs, and stones. Under such conditions only those who actually came to grips with the enemy could inflict injury and gain glory. "After arrows came into use," he continues, "it may still have been thought a braver and finer thing to meet the enemy hand-to-hand than to kill him with an arrow at a distance."[4] The game aspect and the survival elements are both a part of the complex, but more important is the functional adjustment of an institution to a social end. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed, and the numberless opportunities afforded for coup-counters to boast of their exploits were strong ego builders and the sort of social device that could not but encourage men to fight and fight recklessly.

[2] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 22.

[3] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 222.

[4] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, II. 36.

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554 424 A coup was regarded as a type of incorporeal property, which could be transferred by the owner to a comrade in public ceremony. The practice may have emerged only since the advent of the reservation, when the restrictions upon fighting imposed by the whites made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanches devised the transfer technique. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be present. After the dance had continued for a time, the host, walking to the center of the ring, called a halt. There, in the presence of all the people, he narrated the details of a coup, swearing to the powers that the deed was his, and concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ———." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness that it is mine." The drum was struck a resounding blow. If those present gave their assent, the transfer of the coup was complete. The coup was bestowed only upon brave men; it could be neither sold nor inherited.[5]

721 The prosecution of warfare was a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war or raiding party, for there was no legal authority to restrain him. Although a vision was not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, it was in many cases the effective stimulus. Should a man inexperienced in warfare and without an established reputation attempt to organize and lead a party, he would be unlikely to secure a following. A young warrior was usually content to serve under others until he had gained experience. He must know when and how to attack and how to retreat without loss of men when the fighting went against him. On the other hand, a man whose qualities of bravery and leadership had been demonstrated in combat seldom found any difficulty in mustering a following when he announced his intention to go on the warpath. Nobody would risk leading a party without power. He may have received it through a vision or a dream. When a man declared that he knew how, he certainly felt that he did, else he would be afraid to say so. It was for each individual to determine for himself whether his own and the leader's power was working for success.

Warfare

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Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a war or raiding party made medicine to determine when and where the raid should take place. Then he called his friends and some older men into his lodge to discuss the matter. After they had eaten, a pipe was filled and the host made known his plans. Those who did not care to join the enterprise let the pipe pass without smoking.

If the leader had received sufficient encouragement from his guardian spirit and his comrades, he put on his war paint and all his war paraphernalia. During the afternoon he began to drum and to sing war songs in his tipi. Some of the men going with him were already prepared, and it was only necessary for them to go over and join the leader in the drumming and singing. About sundown the party mounted their horses and paraded through the village to enlist other volunteers. The parade signified that the party was leaving that night. The warriors paraded the village four times in single file, singing war songs. There were as many parades as there were leaders planning to take out a party. Men who had performed the honorable act of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle danger rode double. This was a method of giving public recognition for meritorious service. No onlooker could forget this ever present obligation or the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it.

When the party was a popular one, men, women, and children turned out to join in the singing and to encourage the warriors. Young maidens sometimes serenaded the lodges of popular warriors whom they wanted to join the party, chanting the victories of ancestors and the valor of contemporaries and imploring or goading them to join.

Both maidens and old women who promoted a successful raiding party expected a horse or other plunder for their efforts. During the period of preparation, shields belonging to volunteers hung by day on racks before the warrior's doorway to absorb the all-powerful medicine of the sun. Each rack was either a lance or a tripod of three lances.[6]

The night before departure, the War Dance was held. If the leader was going forth to avenge the death of a friend, it was also

[5] Informant: That's It.

[6] Informants: Yellowfish, See How Deep the Water Is, Kills Something, and Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; see also Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Babb, *op. cit.*, 107–108; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 24; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, I (June 5, 1824), 177.

726 called a Vengeance Dance. The dance did not begin until dark, and it ended in time for the party to take its departure before day, although the Comanches did not rely on dancing to arouse the war spirit of the group as much as some of the other Plains Indians. The tendency of the Comanches to make a decision quickly and to leave the same night as the dance were additional factors tending to eliminate unnecessary details. As darkness settled over the village, the people gathered around a fire, leaving an opening in the circle toward the proposed objective of the party. The volunteers were attired in all their war dress and paint. Only braves leaving on the raid could dance, but each was aided by a woman partner. A dancer might carry a rattle, but it was not essential. The warriors danced when they felt the urge, unless ordered to dance by a whip wielder. Sometimes there was little actual dancing. The spectators formed a circle outside the dancers, and joined in the singing.

The War Dance in some respects compares to the modern college pep rally preceding a football game. Some songs were merely musical [533] and without words. The songs with words were known by most people. Popular love songs, of which there were many, were sung. It is very difficult to render the songs into English without sacrificing the rhythm, but a sample verse of a popular song goes as follows:

Going away tonight;
Be gone a long time.
While I'm gone,
I'll be thinking of you.[7]

The dance would be interrupted at intervals by an old warrior, who approached the drummer and announced that he wanted to tell a story while the dancers rested. Having received recognition, he would recite the details of a coup which he had gained and take an oath that what he told was true. "Sun, Father, you saw me do it. Earth, Mother, you saw me do it. Do not permit me to live until another season, if I speak falsely." When the speaker finished, he was given an enthusiastic ovation: a mingling of war whoops, drum beating, gourd rattling, stamping of feet, and clapping of hands. Be-

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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fore the noise subsided, the drummers would strike up the next war song and the dancing would be resumed, shortly to be interrupted again. Dancing warriors might occasionally interrupt the dance to narrate exploits of their own. Finally, the leader spoke of the necessity of the war party and its aim, and ended by appealing to his followers to display their accustomed courage while on the raid, that their people might be proud of them and not consider them cowards.

Shortly afterwards, the leader silently and without ceremony left the dance. The dance continued for a time, but occasionally a warrior and a maiden quietly slipped away into the dark for a few minutes together before parting, for the Comanches enjoined no continence, although they must not be seen leaving together. There might be several parties going out under as many leaders. In such a case, instead of having so many War Dances going at once, each party might end its dance in a short time and make way for another leader and his party. The leader had previously designated a rendezvous outside the village, and after the dance, the warriors returned to their lodges to get their horses and equipment; then silently they stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way.

Under no circumstances could the War Dance or departure occur in daytime. That was bad medicine. On one occasion a group of warriors held their dance and left during the day. Not a single member of the party returned. The case was never forgotten nor repeated.[8]

Each man who gathered at the rendezvous had provided himself with arms, lasso, food, clothing, a robe if the weather was disagreeable, and horses. The food consisted of dried meat, in sheets or pounded fine, and mesquite meal. Both were very strengthening, packed well, and were convenient to carry. This food was taken only as emergency rations, for they were expected to subsist on the flesh of animals killed along the route.

When the raiders planned a quick thrust at the enemy and a hurried get-away, they left their women, children, and lodges at the main camp and traveled as unencumbered as possible. The leader and men with sacred shields might each take along a woman to help with their equipment, but they seldom exercised the privilege. It was not uncommon, however, for some women to accompany them for the

[8] Informant: Yellowfish.

726 fun of a little fighting; they could snipe with bows and arrows from the fringe of the fray, although Rhoda Greyfoot says they never went on the "hardest" raids. For a married woman to join up with some man who was going on the warpath was, as has already been shown, the commonest manner of absconding.

When the entire band intended a series of onslaughts upon a distant enemy (three to four hundred miles from headquarters was a commonplace distance for a raid), they not infrequently took women along. The women carried small lodges and a few supplies to set up a temporary camp, the preferred location being one which provided a convenient place from which to strike at the enemy and was at the same time far enough removed to be safe from pursuit. Although the Apaches took their best medicine men along and the Kiowas included in the party a buffalo doctor who had power to heal wounds and an owl doctor with power to tell what was going to happen, the Comanches encouraged their medicine men with the greatest healing power to remain in camp and care for the wounded as they were brought in.[9]

723 487 A war party carefully studied and mapped any unfamiliar country that it expected to traverse. All those needing information about the route and the terrain were assembled and instructed by the well-informed elders. After they were seated in a circle, a map was plotted on the ground showing rivers, hills, valleys, water holes, and any other identifying or unusual features. Then a line was drawn to represent the route planned for the first day. From a bundle of sticks, marked consecutively beginning with "one," a stick with a single notch was stuck at the point where the party was to camp at the end of the first day's journey. When the novices had committed this much to memory, the second day's journey was illustrated in the same manner. Instruction continued in similar fashion until it was felt that each man could follow the route satisfactorily. Thus a group could usually traverse without difficulty a region entirely new to members of the party. It is reported that one such instructed party, none of whom were over nineteen and none of whom had ever been in Mexico, were able to travel from their main camp on Brady's creek, Texas, and raid as far as the city of Monterrey without mishap and

[9] Lehman, *op. cit.*, 38, 148; Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 35.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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with no other guidance than the instructions furnished before starting out.[10]

The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained with the party. The legal governmental powers of the leader have been considered elsewhere, but for the sake of clarity some repetition here is essential. The men obeyed their leader implicitly and willingly. Each knew that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. If, on the other hand, disaffection did set in, the disgruntled warrior and those who sided with him merely withdrew to go their own way.

It was the duty of the leader to determine the objective of the raid, to plan the routes, to determine the camping places and the periods of rest, to designate the scouts, to appoint the cook and water carrier, to plan the general strategy of the attack, to divide the booty, and to order a retreat or make a truce with the enemy.

One or two scouts were kept from a one-half to a day's march ahead. A war party rarely traveled at night by choice, and the men rode without much talking, steady and quiet, all intent on where they were going. About midday they stopped to rest and water the horses. At night they camped, preferably in a grove near fresh water. If they were in enemy territory and a hill was available, the war party circled gradually up and around the hill until it reached a camping spot halfway up the hill on the side opposite the direction from which it had approached. The leader sent two sentries to the top of the hill, and the rest of the party slept soundly through the night. An enemy following their trail was exposed on the side of the hill under the view of the sentries in plenty of time to warn the sleeping encampment.

The leader carried a sacred pipe. When the evening meal was over, the pipe was formally filled, lighted and, after the usual offerings to the spiritual powers, passed to each warrior in turn. Then the leader talked to his men, telling them of the country, the best routes, and the safest places of retreat, giving them advice and telling them how

[10] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 414, from an account by Pedro Espinosa, a Mexican-Comanche warrior.

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726 they should act. Sometimes they sang. Perhaps before going to sleep the leader sang a spiritual song—a prayer to the guardian spirits for help and wisdom. Occasionally the leader might carry the pipe and have the men dance at night along the route. Ishatai carried the pipe around and had each society dance every night while on the way to Adobe Walls in 1874.[11]

War parties are difficult to distinguish from raiding parties, for the Comanches conducted both in much the same manner. The distinction rested for the most part in the stated objective of the undertaking, although a raiding party, if confronted with enemies, would fight; and a war party was not likely to pass by a chance to make off with horses or booty.

721 Only the vengeance party moved with a singleness of purpose. The Comanche parent who had lost a son to the enemy "never rested in his mind until he had an enemy scalp to make things even." If he was still of a fighting age, he could seek a scalp or organize his own vengeance raid. But if this was beyond his abilities or if the aggrieved person was a widow who had lost a son or a husband, he or she would take a pipe to a war leader and offer smoke. If he accepted, the war leader bound himself to organize a vengeance expedition. He had a camp crier announce the project to all the camp. "The young people don't care if they get killed on this raid," he cried for all to hear. "They want revenge."

With the taking of a single scalp, the revenge raid accomplished its mission and was inevitably turned back by its leader, even if bigger prospects were near at hand. One scalp was all that was necessary for the Scalp Dance, and this was what they were after.

726 In their most destructive raids, the Comanche war party proceeded to some convenient point within striking distance of the settlements to be raided and established a temporary camp in which they left most of their supplies, horses, guards, and women. The leader sent out scouts to gather information. If their report was favorable, he informed the warriors of the plan of attack. The party often broke into a number of small bands, and the destructive work was begun. The preferred time was the period following the full of the moon. They

[11] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish's father went to Adobe Walls with Ishatai, and afterwards told him the details of the raid many times.

never by choice made an offensive attack in the dark; they never raided when the moon was a crescent with the horns pointing upward, for the moon was then "full and running over" and there was the likelihood of rain, after which their trails could be easily traced on the moist earth.[12] They struck swiftly on moonlight nights or surprised undefended, isolated settlers by day when circumstances were favorable, killing or capturing their victims and driving their stolen animals back to their rendezvous, where they were attended until such time as they could return to the main camp. When approaching the camp or settlement, the warriors separated and entered it by pairs or small groups. If an enemy dog barked, the raiders tossed it a piece of meat to quiet it. The older, experienced men cut loose the more valuable horses and led them out, while the younger men gathered up the loose animals. At times it was understood that the horses taken by each man were to be his own; at other times, they were common property to be divided by the leader of the expedition. By means of signals, the raiders kept in touch with one another and would reunite when they had completed their foray or when considerations of safety demanded. 726

Frequently, of course, the Comanches engaged an enemy prepared to offer resistance. One simple strategy was to send forward a small party on swift horses to lead the enemy into an ambuscade. Sometimes this plan was successful, but often those hidden in ambush were unable to restrain their eagerness and rushed out too soon, causing the stratagem to fail. Although the leader planned the attack, when the battle began each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his own medicine and his personal inclinations. 723 726

As a rule the Comanches relied upon surprise, upon the effect of a sudden and furious dash, accompanied by an unearthly, blood-curdling war whoop. They avoided a pitched battle when they were matched by an equal or greater number. They preferred to surprise a much smaller party. If the enemy was not surprised or put to flight at once but stood his ground, the wedge-shaped mass of Comanches quickly assumed battle formation. The wedge turned into the shape of a huge ring or wheel without hub or spokes, whose rim consisted 725

[12] Julia Estill, "Indian Pictographs near Lange's Mill, Gillespie County, Texas," Texas Folklore Society *Publications*, IV, 105.

P25 of one or more distinct lines of warriors. This ring, winding around and around with machinelike regularity and precision approached nearer and nearer the enemy with each revolution. As a warrior approached the point on the circle nearest the enemy, he dropped into the loop around his horse's neck on the side opposite his target and discharged his arrows from beneath the neck of his horse while traveling at full speed. If his horse was shot down, he generally hit the ground on his feet, and holding his shield in front of him for protection, he shot from beneath it. Such strategy not only provided a difficult target for the enemy, but it gave the Comanches opportunity to reload while riding the circle safely out of danger of enemy fire.

One purpose of the Indian was to draw the fire of the enemy prematurely, and then to charge him while he was reloading. In this type of attack the bow proved not inferior to the musket. For a time the Comanches were eager to get muskets, but their inferiority for this mode of warfare was soon recognized. Muskets had greater range, but a much slower rate of fire, were difficult to load on horseback, and required ammunition which could not always be obtained.[13] Not until the whites adopted the use of the revolver were they able to cope successfully with this type of Indian strategy.

The Comanches never received a charge and rarely met one. If charged, the line immediately in front of the charge broke and melted away, reforming on either flank of the enemy to continue the attack or break again when charged. In one battle with a superior force of Utes the Comanches let the Utes chase them fifty or sixty miles, engaging and disengaging themselves while they traded ground for freedom of action. Occasionally a young warrior, anxious to display his bravery and gain prestige, might leave the line and dash dangerously close to the enemy. The attack might continue until the ponies gave out or the enemy fire became too hot, when they withdrew to attempt another surprise.

Naturally, when the attack occurred on rough terrain or where there was timber, brush, rocks, or holes, the strategy had to be altered. A common procedure in such a position was to leave part of the horses at a safe distance and then approach the enemy with two riders to a horse. While circling the crucial spot, the extra warriors slipped

[13] Linton, "Acculturation and Process of Culture Change," *loc. cit.*, 474.

off the horses, if possible unnoticed by the enemy, whose attention was distracted at the time. While the riders continued to draw the attention of the enemy, the dismounted warriors slipped silently to a position from which they could strike a mortal blow.[14] Another plan of strategy was to take up a position in a creek valley where there was a thicket of bushes and stunted trees and where the low, steep banks of a meandering stream afforded a measure of protection. In such a place their concealment was so complete that it would have been difficult to believe any Indians were there had it not been for the twang of a bowstring or the swish of an arrow. In such a position they were known to have fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow. 725

When a comrade was killed or wounded, the Comanches endeavored to retrieve his body or carry him to safety if he were still living. Two Indians riding abreast, one on each side of the prostrate warrior, would reach down and take hold of the warrior as they passed, either dragging him to safety or swinging him up beside one of them. If he could not be removed by mounted comrades, he was sometimes lassoed and dragged to a spot where he could be recovered. 726

To the white man the Comanche appeared to be a cruel, savage warrior. But in all fairness it must be remembered that he knew nothing of the white man's code of war and his so-called humanity. He could not take many prisoners for the simple reason that he had no prison to hold them and perhaps no food to sustain them. He killed the men, took the women when he could, and adopted into the tribe children who were too young to run away. His courage was superb. Since he gave no quarter, he asked none in return. Sometimes, when the fight became desperate, a warrior dismounted and took off his moccasins in token of his resolve never to retreat.[15] Even when surrounded, with no hope of escape, he always refused to surrender and fought as long as any strength remained in his body. 727

Although it was not their custom to torture unfortunate enemies, at times when the Comanches became unusually angered, they resorted to extreme forms of barbarism in seeking revenge. For the most part, the treatment an individual captive received depended on

[14] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 380, 381.
[15] Informant: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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the personal character of his captor. Slope knew of a man who regularly castrated his boy captives, crucified one prisoner, and killed a Navaho because the victim was diseased. Adopted captives who became warriors are reputed by the Comanches to have been more cruel than the Comanches themselves. The father-in-law of Breaks Something was adopted, and it is said that he more than once threw captured babies into the air to catch them on his spear. Rhoda Greyfoot's father, the feared medicine man, turned loose the first Mexican boy he took to tend his horses, "because it was too much trouble teaching him the language." Thereafter he let his captives go or gave them away. On one occasion, when a war party of Comanches surprised a small group of Tonkawas roasting a Comanche warrior preparatory to a ceremonial meal, they scalped the Tonkawas, amputated their arms and legs, cut out their tongues, and threw the mangled bodies of both living and dead upon the campfire, piled more wood on the fire, and while the victims moaned for mercy as the grease and blood ran from their cracking bodies, they danced around the fire.[16]

Although most accounts of the Comanches are filled with stories of the atrocities they committed, these wandering nomads of the plains often revealed kinder aspects of behavior. They had great admiration for any white who exhibited bravery in combat with them and always spoke with great praise of such men afterwards. Those captives whom they admired and who accepted their way of life were treated usually with great consideration and received a liberal share of anything their captors might possess.

In 1933 there lived with her seventy-five-year-old daughter, not far from Indiahoma, Oklahoma, a remarkable old woman of ninety years. She was Carrying Her Sunshade. She was a Comanche captive who had been taken from her home in old Mexico in the eighteen fifties, when she was a little girl of six or seven. The rest of her long life had been lived as a Comanche, and at fifteen she had borne her first child, the daughter who seventy-five years later was still living a hale and hearty existence with her mother. A fragment of the old woman's autobiography as taken by the Hoebels offers a first-hand account of personal experience of a Comanche captive

[16] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 156.

Warfare

« « « My former home was near the highest mountain in Mexico. I do not remember my parents' names or who they were. 727

The Comanches were raiding our country from the top of that mountain. They had already taken some of my friends when they came down to the school one day. They rode around the school on horses and threw firebrands into it. As the children ran out, they snatched them up and carried them off. The teacher they killed. It was the custom of the Indians to cache their stuff up on that mountain when on a raid; also to leave their captives up there when out gathering more.

I was captured in the summer by a war leader, *Tɔyɔp,* who was himself a captive—it's funny they had no pity on their own people. I was sitting in my grandmother's arms on a log outside our house. An Indian came and pushed our fence down. He rode up, grabbed me from my grandmother's arms and put me behind him on his horse. I was the only one in my family who was captured, for my parents were gone that day.

When it was nearly night, we joined up with some Indians. They came on a boy sheepherder, whom they killed, and they ate his lunch. Then they rode on toward the high mountain. It was a four-day trip, and when they ran out of food, they killed a horse. When we finally got there, it was raining hard, and I went to bed soaked. As soon as we had entered the camp, other Indians had run up and snatched off my earrings and clothes for souvenirs. Other little captive girls told me not to be afraid. "They won't really hurt you," they said.

The next morning the sound of a wagon moving at the foot of the mountain was heard. Four men were sent down to see about it. Then we heard shots. After a while the scouts came back, bringing some food and Mexican blankets. I knew from this that they had killed some more Mexicans.

It was a big camp there on the mountain, and we stayed there quite some time while the Comanches made some more raids about the country. They didn't seem to be the least bit afraid. We captive girls had to eat by ourselves so we would not disturb the men's medicine.

On the last raid, all the Comanches went, including the women. They left all us captive children in charge of one man, himself a captive. He cooked a whole horse for us, and we ate as much as we could.

The Comanches

727 When the raiding party returned with more horses, they all got ready to go back north. It was probably in September.

Each family camp left when it got ready, driving off its own bunch of horses. *Tɔyɔp,* my captor, had about thirty people in his camp. He was not satisfied with his horses; he wished to capture more; so his bunch stayed behind. Everybody had gone, but a man named *Wahaɔmɔ* came back to get something. As he rode by me, *Tɔyɔp* said to him, "We are going on another raid. This girl is in the way, so we are going to kill her."

Wahaɔmɔ felt sorry for me. He thought of his own children; his wife was dead. So he picked me up and put me on his mule. He gave *Tɔyɔp* a few arrows, and *Tɔyɔp* gave him three blankets, plus one for me to ride on.

[839] On the route we passed a girl lying in the road about to die; she had been raped. Later we passed a boy captive—dead.

Wahaɔmɔ told me no harm would come to me. "When you grow up, you'll be my wife," he said. His wife was dead and his niece was running his camp for him. He told his niece to be good to me (sometimes the women were very mean to captives); he told her to look after me so no men would harm me.

One night when we were camping and my captor was out looking after his horses, a young brave came along and pulled me out there [839] against my will. He lay down and exposed himself, and I saw he had a diseased scrotum. I didn't do anything. I just stood around.

Then my captor saw me and ran to me. He scolded that fellow and took me back to camp. After that he always took me along when he went places. I was tied on a horse, and he led me with him.

We were still traveling when we came to a camp of Kiowas. *Wahaɔmɔ* sent his niece and me to get some food; we were pretty short of it. He dressed me in a blanket and painted my face. We looked for the largest lodge and went there.

"Are you a warrior's wife?" they asked.

"No," I told them, "I'm only a captive."

Those Kiowas loaded us up with dried meat. They also told us there was a large Comanche camp not far away. When we got there, we found the fires still smoking at the old camp place, but they were gone.

All the next day we followed their trail until we came upon them at dusk. It was the main Comanche camp that my captor had been seeking; his wife's parents were there. I noticed that their hair, and that of his sister, was already long. He must have been gone on this raid for several years. 727

He led me into their tipi—all fixed up with blankets—and he bade me sit down at the west side (my regular place was next to the door). The women of the family struck me with whips, as was the custom on the arrival of a new captive in camp.

My job was to care for his children. The little crippled one I had to carry on my back; the other one I led about. Wherever they went to play, I had to go with them. [732]

Wahaɔmɔ slept regularly with his former wife's younger sister, *Puki*.

That winter a party left on a hunting trip to get some more meat. In their absence we had trouble keeping the horses. A big snow storm came up and completely buried some horses. In the main camp we were short of wood and food. The captive boys had to dig paths in the snow and dig for frozen horses for us to eat. They fed the living horses cottonwood shoots; the bark is good food, but it was frozen and cut the horses' mouths. After the horses had eaten the bark, the captive boys brought in the twigs for fuel.

The hunting party was out for nearly a month on account of the storm. They lost many horses, and they nearly starved to death. Still, they brought back a little meat. The people out on the party invented snowshoes made of woven sinews. One man on snowshoes shot an animal with an arrow, and when he ran up to it, he slid right past it. Others borrowed his snowshoes, because they didn't have enough sinew to make shoes for all the hunters. [481]

That was a hard winter.

Wahaɔmɔ taught me to hunt during the next spring. He had not yet married me. He was just kind to me. His wife would take a stick out of the fire and poke it at me out of jealousy to scare me and make me cry, but her step-children would help me against her.

By the fall of the second year I knew the language and was familiar with the customs. » » »

The Comanches

727 Captive white children were generally initiated into the tribe by a series of terrifying experiences in which the Indians tried their courage by brutal treatment and threats of destruction. They would sometimes be tied to a stake while their captors, with slashes and menacing gestures, punctuated by hideous yells, threatened to cut them to pieces, shoot them, or even burn them at the stake. Some of these unfortunate children never lived to recount their experiences. If the victim survived the initiation to the satisfaction of his captors, he became a slave and was compelled to do menial tasks, like Carrying Her Sunshade. If he proved his mettle according to Comanche standards, better days awaited him. He would likely be adopted as a member of a chief's or warrior's family. Later he was permitted to take part in raids and battles. If he proved a brave fighter, he might become an honored and respected warrior and rise to any position open to a natural-born Comanche. The captives, mostly Mexicans, who did not become warriors tended the horse herds and practiced such specialized industries as gun repairing and saddle-making. The captive woman who made a dutiful and faithful wife and the captive man who had won war honors were sometimes publicly honored.[17] Ordinarily the Comanches refused to surrender a captive without the payment of a reward. Some of the more responsible chiefs tried to stop the taking of white women and children as captives, and some went so far as to buy captives from other Comanches and liberate them. Some of the most hardened warriors are known to have wept because a captive of whom they had become fond returned to his own people.

574 All the accounts agree that a Comanche felt obligated to lodge, entertain, protect, and feed, even to his last morsel, any person, regardless of nationality, even though it might be his bitterest enemy, who happened to ask for lodging.

726 When a Comanche raiding or war party found itself hard pressed
202 by an enemy force too large to resist, or if it feared pursuit, it divided and subdivided its forces until each fleeing warrior left a separate trace and pursuers found it impossible to follow the trail. Scattered Comanches were adept in communicating with one another through means of signals. After a night raid when the warriors knew them-

[17] Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 421; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. 1 (May 22, 1824), 163.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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selves to be in close proximity, they communicated by imitating an owl or a coyote. Writing of one occasion when the members of a party had become separated during a night raid on the settlements, one of the raiders said, "When all was quiet we hooted like an owl for our missing companion; when he failed to answer, we knew he was dead."[18] They would build fires and surround them with blankets, forcing columns of smoke to ascend as signals. Different numbers of columns had various meanings. Mounds of stones were arranged to indicate routes followed and the time of the moon when they were arranged. When buffalo bones were available, they were certain to be used to convey messages to comrades. Herman Lehmann has left an interesting paragraph on signaling.

> We found buffalo bones and on them pictures representing a fight with the white people. On some bones properly arranged were the pictures of seven men pierced with arrows, also a wagon burning up; the bones pointed upward. Twelve bones peculiarly arranged represented twelve days journey. We traveled twelve days and saw smokes a long way apart in a row pointing westward which indicated that the Rangers had made it too hot for them and they had gone on west.[19]

The scattered warriors would seek some point where the chances were good that their trail would be discovered. Providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded without breaking, they placed upon it the information which they wished their comrades to have, then striking a hatchet deep into the trunk of a tree and withdrawing it, they placed the bark in the incision, the outer part pointing in the direction they had taken.

After an expedition the Comanches normally had plenty of mounts, and they kept going night and day at a high rate of speed until they believed themselves out of danger of pursuers. On one occasion they kept going so long that one captive "began to think they had quit eating."[20] During a fast retreat, old, slow, and weak

[18] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 64.

[19] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 119.

[20] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 35.

726 horses that fell behind were abandoned. No time was lost hunting for food. If necessary, old horses were killed and consumed. Captives who retarded the speed of the retreat might be abandoned or killed. To avoid surprise, they stopped to rest for only an hour or two and then moved on again, making three or four such stops within a day. To discourage pursuit, they would take a route on which they knew there was no water. When they became very thirsty, they killed horses and drank the blood. The meager supply of water carried in buffalo paunches was rationed, well guarded, and conserved for the children and women when they were along, or for wounded warriors. Clinton Smith declares that on one occasion the warriors did without water until their throats became too swollen for them to swallow readily.[21]

After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war-bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear-guard actions. The leader designated two men to remain on fast horses some distance behind, yet close enough to signal, in order to watch the back trail. They sometimes set fire to the grass to blot out their trail against both men and dogs, or they emptied pouches of skunk musk on the trail to prevent dogs from following in pursuit. After the advent of the white trader, the rear-guard scouts carried field glasses.[22]

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727 When raiders had put two or three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. They needed rest and the wounded required attention. In most cases there were spoils to be divided, and the division was made as soon as convenient. The leader's eyes had been open to industry, willingness, and bravery. He noted or was soon told of the actions of his followers while in battle. Unless previously agreed otherwise, to the man who had excelled he allowed first choice of the horses to be divided. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his services as determined by the chief, the cook usually having high priority. The leader took his pick of what remained. The succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Liberality was

[21] *Ibid.*, 60.

[22] Interment: Yellowfish, see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 34, 39, 40.

[23] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 142–43.

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one of the surest forms of insurance against ill fortune, for where one had given he could legitimately expect a return. 727

In theory the leader could retain as much of the loot for himself as he wished.[23] Actually, leaders rarely kept more than a small share for themselves and often gave all the loot to their followers. Success in war, with its attendant spoils, was believed to be due to the leader's medicine, that is, his supernatural powers. Such power came and went capriciously, and its presence was revealed to a man by a subjective reaction which he could immediately recognize. If the leader kept the bulk of the spoils, that act was tantamount to a confession that he felt his power was waning. He was keeping what he could, because he knew that he might not be able to get more. The selfish leader was likely to lose prestige and have difficulty in recruiting his next war party. If he gave freely, it showed that he knew his medicine was strong. It is said that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, was not always liberal toward his followers; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses for himself. Some of the warriors refused to go on raids with him for this reason.[24] If a man on a raid was killed before the spoils were divided, his heirs were not included in the division, but if he had personally taken any horses singlehanded, they were supposed to be turned over to his family.

About the time of the Civil War, when the cattlemen were pushing westward beyond the line of settlements across Texas into the Comanche country, Texas cattle became an important article of plunder. Stolen cattle were exchanged for goods with the *Comancheros,* or traders from New Mexico. Cattle constituted a commodity easily procured and transported, and they could be obtained in almost unlimited numbers. The Comanches felt that if only the raiders could succeed in driving off enough of the intruders' cattle, it would discourage further encroachment into their country. There were regular meeting places where traders with their cart-loads of commodities met the Comanches to trade for horses and cattle. So abundant was the trade that it was reported in 1867 that the territory of New Mexico was "filled with Texas cattle."[25] In exhange for these cattle the Co- 727 439

[24] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Whitewolf.

[25] A. B. Norton (superintendent Indian Affairs, New Mexico) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1867, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1867, 194–95.

manches received ammunition, knives, calico, coffee, arrow points, tobacco, whiskey, and gewgaws. An idea of the enormous extent of this trade may be gained from the fact that in 1867 Charles Goodnight found six hundred head of his cattle, which had been stolen sometime before from his range near old Fort Belknap, on Gallinas Creek in New Mexico. He was firmly convinced that at least three hundred thousand head of Texas cattle had been stolen and sold or traded to New Mexicans during the Civil War. A later and more conservative estimate by another Texas ranchman set the loss for the two decades preceding 1873 at one hundred thousand head.[26] Most of these cattle were driven to New Mexcio by the Comanches and their Kiowa allies. The most active band of Comanches engaged in plundering cattle was the Antelope of the *Llano Estacado.*

If a returning war or raiding party had been unsuccessful, it was customary to bury those who died on the road. They laid the deceased in a crevice or shallow grave and piled rocks over it to prevent the corpse's being disturbed by predatory animals. The warriors separated upon approaching the main camp and, with their faces painted black and the tails of their horses shaved, dropped into it one by one quietly and without fanfare. If several warriors had been lost, the entire camp broke forth in a pandemonium of wailing; recent captives were in danger of being abused, tortured, or slain; violence and frenzy reigned supreme. The female relatives of slain Indians were expected to evidence their grief by shrill lamentations and self-torture, continuing the demonstrations for weeks, months, and even years. They cut their legs and arms and cut off finger tips and hair, painted their faces black, and piled ashes on their heads. Usually they tore down the tipis of the dead warriors and destroyed or gave away their property. "A war leader will always comfort the survivors of a casualty on his party," said Post Oak Jim, "and will sometimes give them a horse or other gift."

A successful returning party timed its arrival so as to enter the village during the morning hours; they halted on an elevation a short distance from the village and sent a messenger ahead to inform the

[26] J. E. Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas*, 26: C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, 82, n.73.

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people. It was usually one of the youngest members of the party who carried the good news.

While waiting for the people in camp to make ready for the occasion, the victorious warriors put on their war paint and war dress. The horses were rubbed with grass so as to look their best. The death of a warrior after he had counted coup did not prevent the celebration, for it was considered an honor for a person to count coup first and afterwards be killed in the same fight. His relatives joined in the dance. When the people learned that the party had returned, they were greatly excited and expressed their exultation with shouts and yells. All was joy in the village. The women sang songs of victory as they went forth to greet the returning heroes. An elderly, respected woman, carrying a long lance or a slender scalp pole, might lead the parade to meet the warriors, and the victorious warriors might honor her by fastening their scalps to her lance or pole. On other occasions the leader of the party was allowed the honor of being scalp bearer. At other times, it would be the member of the party who had most distinguished himself on the raid. But more often, each warrior was permitted the honor of flourishing his own scalp pole. The scalps were tied to the point end of the lance, and the latter was held with scalps up as they rode into camp. In the absence of a lance, a tomahawk would serve. He who had achieved the greatest success in the raid was entitled to tie the scalp lock on which he had taken first coup to the lower lip of his horse. This signified disdain for the enemy.

The scalp when taken might be small, only a little larger than a silver dollar, but like any piece of fresh skin it stretched greatly. Many Comanches preferred, however, to take the whole skin of the head. The preparation of the scalp took place as soon after it was taken as convenient, the same day if possible. Preparation was a ceremonial procedure, and young warriors who had never before scalped an enemy were taught to prepare the scalp under supervision. Smoke was made and a prayer offered to the spiritual powers before the work on the scalp itself was begun. The flesh was shaved from the skin. A willow twig was secured and bent into a hoop, somewhat larger than the scalp, and the ends were lashed together with a sinew. The margin of the cleaned scalp was then sewed to the hoop, the sinew threads being pulled taut in order to stretch the scalp. The proper

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Ten Bears, in 1872

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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procedure in sewing was from east to south, to west, to north, to east, or in the same direction in which a Comanche entered a tipi. The hair was oiled and combed, and the scalp-loop attached to a slender pole. The other end of the pole was stuck in the ground and the scalp was allowed to dry. Lances, tomahawks, and shields were sometimes used instead of poles.

With the scalp poles high, so all could see, the warriors led the parade into the village. The leader and any other person receiving special recognition led the way. Behind them were those who had shown the greatest courage, counted coups, or performed creditable acts. The remaining warriors came next. On both sides and in the rear were the relatives, friends, and other villagers, who had come forth shouting, yelling, and dancing. They sang songs in which they mentioned the names of their favorite heroes. On entering the village, the warriors turned off as they came to their own lodges, turned their horses and weapons over to a wife, mother, or sister, and went inside to rest and prepare for the big Victory Dance.

When there were scalps it was a Scalp Dance; if only plunder and captives had been taken, it was a Victory Dance. There was little difference except for the presence of the scalps. The dance was likely to continue all night, and when the victory had been a brilliant one, dancing and feasting were apt to be kept up for several days.

These dances varied from band to band, and even within the same village, but certain characteristics were evident in all. The dance took place in the center of the village in the evening following the return of the successful war party. The villagers put up a large pole in the center of the dance circle. The scalps were attached to the pole. Wood was gathered and stacked in a conical pile with dry grass beneath, so it could be easily fired. The fire was lighted after dark when the singers and drummers, old or middle-aged, had arrived and seated themselves near the scalp pole. Both men and women painted and dressed for the occasion. Black was the predominating color for women; red for men. Men entitled to wear war bonnets donned them. The men and women dancers at times formed in lines facing each other, each line dancing forward and backward; a moment later they formed a circle, dancing around the scalp pole and the musicians. At intervals the spectators joined in the singing.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Mumshukawa

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[facing p. 271]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Captives were bound and placed in the center of the circle, possibly tied to the scalp pole. Frequently one of the dancers left his position and in pantomime killed and scalped the captive. Sometimes captives were tortured by the dancers, even to death. When the dance began, the singing was low and the dancers moved in a slow to moderate pace, but as it continued, the pace was accelerated and the singing grew louder. The dance continued from two hours to two or more days, but normally terminated before the light of day.[27]

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The contemporary Comanche Brush Dance still retains some of the features of the old Scalp Dance.

In 1933, at a Brush Dance put on by *Mʌmsɜkɔ*, the men and women danced back and forth in the old way before a tall pole on which Old Glory flew.

"That used to be a pole for scalps. At sunset we will bring down the flag," they said. "The man who brings down the flag has to be a good warrior. He has to tell about a coup first."

In each Comanche band there was a dance whip-holder. His whip was a wood blade with a serrated edge, and upon it were carved scalp symbols for the owner's victims. At the end of the whip were two short otter-skin lashes. In the old days there were one or two of these, owned by the bravest men in the band.

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At any dance, the owner of the whip, which is called *pianɜ'ɜpai'i* (big whip), may stop the dance and recite a coup, ending his recital with a sun curse upon himself in testimony of its truth. He is a kind of master of ceremonies at the dance. He can dance up to any lounging spectator and point his whip. That person has to jump right in and dance—or be whipped.

Sometimes a warrior who could not dance for certain reasons wished to be excused; nevertheless, when the whip was pointed, he had to get up and dance. Then he could recite his strongest deed. The whip wielder next countered with his. If his deed was as good as the warrior's, the brave had to dance the rest of the time; if not,

[27] This account of the return of a successful party is compiled from statements by informants Yellowfish, Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old, and See How Deep the Water Is; also, Nystel, "Three Months among the Indians," *loc. cit.*, 38; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 359–60; Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 27–28.

727 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.
535 On the fourth day of *Mʌmsɜkə's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated
554 part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

who felt worthy and desired to accept the responsibility it imposed upon the wearer. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Usually the bonnet was made by friends of the warrior and presented to him as a token of esteem. The acceptance of a buffalo-scalp bonnet was a serious matter, for the people afterwards expected him to prove himself really worthy of their confidence. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. After the surrender of the Comanches at Fort Sill, Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man hung his buffalo-scalp bonnet in a tree, never to wear it again. "A man who is beaten has no right to wear such a thing," he said. 701 554

Women sometimes made a war bonnet in secret to bestow upon a braggart whose words spoke louder than his deeds, and the presentation was made in public at an opportune moment. The recipient of such a war bonnet had to live up to the obligations of that war bonnet or else lose it and become an object of ridicule and scorn. [626]

The Comanche war leader was under obligation never to retreat except under certain conditions which were well understood, and then only when the other warriors were safe first. He protected the rear as they retreated. The war bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanches to be protected at all costs, "just like the flag." The mere fact that he assumed such responsibility made the war leader a rallying point for all other fighters. The war-bonnet wearer could be rescued with honor by a fellow warrior who dared to dash in and carry him from the field. It was also the duty of a war leader to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and thereby cause him to lose his status and right to wear the war bonnet if judged guilty. If a war-bonnet wearer cast off his bonnet and fled, he lost his right to wear it, and all other men would address him as *paβi*, "elder sister." An aspirant brave who wished to obtain the status of war leader might immediately do so by dashing in and recovering the bonnet. He hung it on a bush and protected it all day in the face of the enemy. At sundown, if he charged the enemy four times, the bonnet and all its honors and obligations were his. The lower-rank bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto.

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet

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Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet
701 wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military
554 fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less de-
575 scending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

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under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28] 701 554 575

Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*. 701

Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him. 701 726

There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

The Comanches

701 888 « « « This *pukutsi* was going through the camp, singing as usual.

An old woman stopped him and said, "*Pukutsi,* I want you to kill me a buffalo. I need the hide to use for my saddle; I have no boys to get one for me."

He went and was gone from the camp for a long time. Finally he came back at night with the whole skin of a Pawnee, even with hands and feet still on it, and he hung it up like a man standing there against her arbor.

Some man saw it there and called in to her in her lodge, "That *pukutsi* is back. Your hide is out here on the arbor."

Early in the morning she got up and went out to get it. That human skin frightened her. Then that man came by and told her she should not have asked a *pukutsi* to do such a job. "He is afraid of nothing."

"Well, I didn't ask him to bring me an enemy," she complained. But that's the way it is with *pukutsi.* You ask them to do one thing and they do just the opposite.

When she got over her first scare, the old woman jumped up and down and sang. She had an enemy scalp, which she kept. » » »

728 648 The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a matter for the chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own party on his own authority, but such a peace was not binding upon other members of the band or upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon consent of the war leaders, the council of elders, and the head chief. Tribal peace could be attained only when agreed upon and recognized by all the bands.

For all their devotion to war, the Comanches accepted the fact that a people cannot fight everybody on all fronts at once. The home base had to afford some measure of security for hunting and everyday living. Thus the Comanches worked out a sort of national policy of defensive alliances with their more powerful neighbors to their north, keeping their southern, western, and eastern frontiers open for far-ranging aggressive action.

Peace with the Kiowas was cemented in 1790 through the good offices of a mutual Spanish friend.[29] No details of this step are known,

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but it established a co-operative alliance that grew into the firmest of intertribal friendships, unbroken to this very day.

The Kiowas and Comanches together achieved peace with the Cheyennes in 1840. The details of the steps leading up to this agreement have, from the Cheyenne side of the picture, been recorded by Grinnell[30] and analyzed by Llewellyn and Hoebel.[31] Earlier in this book we described the gift exchanges that signalized the binding of the peace. From 1840 on, there were no disturbances between the Comanches and Cheyennes, although between these tribes there never developed the close symbiotic relations that characterized the Comanche-Kiowa ties.

Back to back, territorially speaking, the Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche combine formed a hard, solid core of security from which each tribe could push its warlike activities against outsiders.

There do not seem to be any accounts or memories of how the Comanches established peaceful relations with their eastern neighbors, the Wichitas. Perhaps they never regarded these people as objects of aggression.

Sporadic and limited peace gestures were made toward the Utes and Apaches in later years. They were never the consequence of a national policy but rather of individual motivations, as the following accounts indicate.

« « « Once there were a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble. They came upon a bunch of Utes and started a fight.

There was a captive Ute woman with the Comanches whose son was a Comanche warrior. Because she got scared for her son's safety, she rode out between the fighters, holding up her hands and calling for them to stop.

"I am on both sides," she cried. "I am a Ute. My son is a Comanche. I don't want my kinspeople to be killing each other."

One of the Ute chiefs rode up to her. The woman held out her hand, but the Ute chief would not accept it.

[29] Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa," *loc. cit.*, 162–65.

[30] Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 60–66.

[31] Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 91–94.

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He said, "No, not until I know if your chiefs have sent you."

Then her son, who was a war chief, rode up. He was willing that they should stop fighting. And so a truce was made.

The two bands went into camp, the Utes on one side of a hill, the Comanches on the other.

Some Comanche hunters returning to their camp did not know about the truce. They came upon a Ute, whom they killed and scalped. Then they went right on into the Ute camp by mistake, singing the Victory Song and carrying his scalp.

The chief of the Utes calmed his people. "This is a mistake," he told them. "It is all right. We are at peace. We shall not get mad about this thing."

So the Comanche hunters went back and found their own camp.

When he heard the news, a Comanche chief went over to see the Utes. "This was a mistake," he told them. "However, it is not necessary to do anything about it. One of our men was killed in that battle we were having. Things are now even."

The Utes agreed.

The next day a council of ten Ute chiefs came to the Comanche camp to visit the Ute woman, and they found that she was a sister to one of them. They took her and her family back to the Ute camp to visit her parents, who were still living. There they gave her a special tipi with an antelope skin tied to a pole as a special sign.

At the end of four days, the Utes said, "Four days are now up. Now we shall separate."

The Utes wanted the Ute woman's son to stay with them. At first he refused, staying alone when the camps moved, to decide what to do. Finally, he took the Ute trail.

He came to the Ute camp and asked for their chief. The chief invited him to dismount, and told his wife to serve him a supper. The Comanche captive, his mother, was sent for to interpret. He told the chief of his desire to become a Ute.

This chief replied, "All right, you can be my son. But these Utes are bad. They might kill you sometime."

The Ute chief made him his son, and he named him *Wasape Sɜmanɛɛ*. After a while the chief gave him a pack horse and sent him back to the Comanches.

Our people renamed him *Patuwa Sɜmɛno,* Ten Bears.[32] » » » 128 648

Greyfoot added a poignant scrap of detail as an epilogue to this account. The son of the Ute chief was dying of an incurable illness. He was not old enough to go to war, but his father wanted him to die the glorious death of a warrior. He did not want to see him waste away to nothing.

Acceding to the chieftain's wish, Ten Bears and a friend dressed in their war regalia, ready to meet the enemy. The sickly boy was dressed for war. In a pantomime of battle Ten Bears and his friend killed him. The Ute chief, in thanks for honoring his son, gave the boy's horse and clothing to them. That was when Ten Bears returned to the Comanches.

Except for the Kiowa and Cheyenne relations, Comanche peace pacts were touch and go. The temporary Ute peace could have been destroyed in the making by the Comanche hunters' killing the Ute had not the Ute chief been a man of power and forbearance. The delicate nature of such negotiations and the low level of mutual trust is revealed in Slope's account of a Tonkawa peace overture.

« « « A Comanche girl had died. Her mother wanted to leave the tribe so that she would see no more Comanche girls. There were only seven left in the family.

They were camping all by themselves when they were attacked by the Tonkawas, those man-eaters. Four of them were killed, and the mother and two of her children were captured.

After a year had passed, the Tonkawas decided they wanted peace with the Comanches, so they sent thirty warriors to escort the woman back to the tribe.

When they came to Comanche territory, they made a camp, and a Tonkawa chief and one warrior set out with the woman to look for the Comanches.

A Comanche war party, including some Kiowas, met them on a hill top. The Tonkawa signaled for friendship, so the Comanche leader came right up and shook hands before anything was said. The woman was glad. "This is what the Tonkawas want," she said.

[32] Informant: That's It.

The Comanches

648 728 While they were talking, some of the Comanche and Kiowa warriors drifted on and found the Tonkawa camp. The group on the hill heard a shot fired.

"Well, it's too late," said the Tonkawa chief, and he whirled his horse and rode off. The Comanche woman, who had become his wife, took a spear and scattered the Comanches. Thus the Tonkawa chief got away.

They started a general fight right then, the Tonkawas beat up that Comanche-Kiowa war party that day. They chased the Comanches a long way.

One Tonkawa was outstanding. The brother of Eagle Tail Feather shot his horse, but he was not hurt. » » »

X648 728 The Comanches seldom took the initiative at treaty-making with the whites; rather, it was the whites. In later days the preliminary procedure in getting the Comanches to make a treaty was about as follows: An agent acting under orders from Washington decided that a treaty was desirable. He then went into the Comanche country to visit with as many of the bands as he could locate. He told them that the "Big Chief" wanted to make peace and be friendly with them; that he hoped to see them at a certain time and place, probably in the vicinity of a trading house. He made a number of promises, gave a few presents, and got some Indian messengers to carry the news to other bands and tribes. If the chiefs promised to come in, and some nearly always would agree, preparations were made on a grand scale for the assembly.

Quantities of beads, hatchets, mirrors, fine combs, matches, cloth, and other articles which the Indians desired or needed were provided. A company of soldiers was sent along (in Texas, Texas Rangers, if available), commissioners to make the treaty, and the agents. By the date set, the council ground was alive with activity, but most of the time the only Indians present were those who hoped by their early arrival to secure more than their share of the spoils. A Comanche seldom kept an appointment on time; to do so sacrificed a measure of his independence. Some of the Comanche bands would not appear at all, because they had no confidence in the white man's treaties or in their own ability to achieve a diplomatic victory over

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them in council. An agent might work for months to bring the Indians into council and have all his efforts thwarted by a wild rumor set afloat by some unscrupulous trader. The Indians who did come were fully armed and dressed in all their war paraphernalia and paint. Both the white and the red men tried to make as formidable an appearance as possible to impress the other. The Comanches usually maneuvered in such a way as to make a test of the good faith of the white man. Some Comanches failed to show up for fear of the intentions of the whites. *Huwia,* who was a medicine man, was instructed to go to Fort Sill to attend a council to be held with an army officer. He was afraid to go, because he feared a trap, and *Tsi:vas* went in his stead. The People then elevated *Tsi:vas* to the chieftainship for which *Huwia* had been in line.

Dealing with the whites on other than a war footing taxed all the abilities of the Comanches. Bull Elk (*paruwa kum*), who was the top war chief of the Antelope band, turned his chieftainship over to Wild Horse and Black Mustache when the Comanches were placed on the reservation. He said he did not know how to deal with the white man.[33]

Finally, when all was ready, the council convened for business. Matters were conducted with much gravity, on the part of the white men in order to impress the Indians, and on the part of the Indians because gravity in council was in keeping with their nature. The chiefs, commissioners, and other officials seated themselves in a circle. Behind stood the respective warriors of each group, fully armed. The peace pipe was ceremoniously lighted and passed around the circle from lip to lip in silence. After it had made the round, the commissioner or agent made a talk in which he stated the purpose of the council, reminded the Indian that he had been making depredations upon the white people, expressed his love for the red man, and made known the overwhelming power of the Great Father. Then the Indians were urged to state their side of the case and to tell the whole truth. If they had been wronged by the white man, the commissioners wished to know it, and if they themselves had committed acts of hostility, they were to confess.

Then the Indians spoke, always with simplicity and often with

[33] Informant: Eagle Tail Feather.

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X648 728 impressive eloquence and beauty. (Knowing that they would likely have to speak in public council at some time, the Comanches had trained themselves to speak well. Before delivering a speech, if there were opportunity, the speaker spent much time in preparation and rehearsal.) He represented himself as a man of peace, but he made it understood that he wanted no encroachment of either red men or white men upon the vast expanse of territory south of the Arkansas River which he considered his own. He did not want it disfigured by soldiers' camps and "medicine homes." His country was small enough already. There was time enough to consider reservations and the building of homes when the buffalo were gone, and there were plenty of buffalo if only enough to supply the Indians' needs were killed. As to trusting to the agents for food, he had no confidence in that. He called attention to the "white" Indians, those who had come in contact with the whites and had made treaties in accord with white man's wishes. Formerly they had been powerful, but now they were weak and poor. He had little respect for them, for "They are an old dirty, inefficient-looking set, hardly capable of managing their own affairs," who had degenerated to the point where the Comanches had no desire to associate with them. The speech of Ten Bears, of the Ute peace episode, who spoke for the Comanches at the Council of Medicine Lodge Creek in 1867, may well be given in full, not only because it presented the case of the Comanche well and forcibly, but also because it is a masterpiece of oratory that would be a credit to one trained in the classroom.

X648 728 539 My heart is filled with joy when I see you here, as the brooks fill with water when the snows melt in the spring; and I feel glad as the ponies do when the fresh grass starts in the beginning of the year. I heard of your coming when I was many sleeps away, and I made but few camps before I met you. I knew that you had come to do good to me and to my people. I looked for benefits which would last forever, and so my face shines with joy as I look upon you. My people have never first drawn a bow or fired a gun against the whites. There has been trouble on the line between us, and my young men have danced the war dance. But it was not begun by us. It was you who sent out the first soldier

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and we who sent out the second. Two years ago, I came upon this road, following the buffalo, that my wives and children might have their cheeks plump and their bodies warm. But the soldiers fired on us, and since that time there has been a noise like that of a thunderstorm, and we have not known which way to go. So it was upon the Canadian. Nor have we been made to cry once alone. The blue-dressed soldiers and the Utes came from out of the night when it was dark and still, and for camp-fires they lit our lodges. Instead of hunting game they killed my braves, and the warriors of the tribe cut short their hair for the dead.

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So it was in Texas. They made sorrow come in our camps, and we went out like the buffalo bulls when the cows are attacked. When we found them we killed them, and their scalps hang in our lodges. The Comanches are not weak and blind, like the pups of a dog when seven sleeps old. They are strong and far-sighted, like grown horses. We took their road and we went on it. The white women cried and our women laughed.

But there are things which you have said to me which I do not like. They were not sweet like sugar, but bitter like gourds. You said that you wanted to put us upon a reservation, to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls. I know every stream and every wood between the Río Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over that country. I live like my fathers before me and like them I lived happily.

When I was at Washington the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours, and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers, and the sun, and the wind, and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. Do not speak of it more. I love to carry out the talk I get from the Great Father. When I get goods and presents, I and my people feel glad, since it shows that he holds us in his eye.

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If the Texans had kept out of my country, there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live in, is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that, we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The whites have the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die. Any good thing you say to me shall not be forgotten. I shall carry it as near to my heart as my children, and it shall be as often on my tongue as the name of the Great Spirit. I want no blood upon my land to stain the grass. I want it all clear and pure, and I wish it so that all who go through among my people may find peace when they come in and leave it when they go out.[34]

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After both the Indians and the whites had talked too much and told a good many lies along with a great deal of truth, the treaty would be drawn and signed by the white men. The Indians made a mark opposite their names, which were phonetically written, after a fashion, by the white men. Yet there is no evidence to indicate that the Comanches were ever convinced that it was best for them to sign. Presents were distributed and the council ended. The Comanches returned to their buffalo tipis and the whites to their cabin homes, but neither had any confidence that the other would do what had been promised.

[34] Ten Bears, Comanche chief, "Speech," October 20, 1867, "Record Copy of the Proceedings of the Indian Peace Commission Appointed under the Act of Congress Approved July 20, 1867" (MS, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington), I, 104.

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XI

The Lords of the South Plains

WHATEVER may have been their disposition in earlier times, the Comanches were constantly in conflict with certain of their neighbors on the Great Plains. When they lived in the forks of the Dismal River and in Nebraska, they engaged in incessant warfare with the Pawnees, their neighbors on the east. The Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Dakotas were pressing against Comanche territory from the east and north.

The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches were migrating southward at the time. These people are known to have lived at one time as far north as the Yellowstone country, from which they may have been driven by the Cheyennes and the Dakotas. At any rate, they drifted southward, clashed with the Comanches, and for many years there was war between the two tribes.

There is a Kiowa tradition explaining their southward migration. The Kiowas lived where it was very cold most of the year—far beyond the country of the Crows and Sioux. They knew nothing of ponies, but used dogs to carry their burdens. In time one of their men went far to the southward where he was taken prisoner by a band of Comanches. The latter took council to put him to death, but one of the headmen prevailed upon the others to spare him, for if they treated him well, he might later befriend some Comanche who might fall in with his tribe. It was then decided to send the Kiowa home with honor. He was given a pony, saddle, and bridle, which became objects of general admiration and envy among his own tribes-

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men. The returned traveler gave his tribesmen a glowing description of the country he had visited. It was a land where the summer lasted nearly all the year and was stocked not only with large game but also with large herds of ponies. So intrigued were the Kiowas with the report that their council unanimously decided to follow the old man to the country he had seen. Accordingly, upon the opening of the following spring, most of the Kiowas commenced their migration to the southward until they encountered a party of Comanches, who made war upon them.[1]

During the course of the ensuing Comanche-Kiowa conflict, the Comanches gradually drifted south of the Arkansas River. In the manner described in the previous chapter peace was achieved in 1790. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches thus became the friendly northern neighbors of the Comanches. Other frontier relations of the Comanches have already been indicated, but it is pertinent to restate them here in more detail.

On the extreme northwest were their kinsmen, the Utes. Throughout the years from 1727 to 1786, the Utes and Comanches fought constantly, except for sporadic and localized truces. The Jicarilla moved westward at this time and no longer formed a barrier between these hostile tribes. The Utes formed an alliance with the Spaniards, and the two co-operated in attacks against the Comanches. When, in 1786, the Spaniards succeeded in making peace with the Comanches, the Utes persuaded the Jicarillas to join with them in a defensive and offensive alliance against the Comanches and Kiowas.[2]

The Cheyennes and Arapahos appeared in great numbers along the upper Arkansas River about 1820. War broke out immediately thereafter between them and the Comanches. The failure of the Comanches at the decisive battle of Wolf Creek in 1838 left the intruders firmly entrenched beyond the northern border of Comanchería.

To the east and northeast of the Comanche country were the Osages, a tribe of the Sioux family. A band of these Indians drifted as far south as the Arkansas River about 1802. They were less numerous than the Pawnees, but more formidable because their associ-

[1] Battey, *op. cit.*, 104–105.

[2] M. K. Opler, "The Southern Ute of Colorado," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, 162–63; A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 68–77.

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ation with the whites and immigrant civilized tribes enabled them to possess firearms. However, the Osages had already begun the process of ceding their territory to the United States. In 1818 they had transferred a portion of their lands comprising a large part of what is now the state of Missouri and the northern section of Arkansas, and in a few years the Cherokees from east of the Mississippi settled in part of that territory. By 1825 other concessions had reduced the Osages to a small area along the Neosho River, and the area east of the Comanches came to be occupied largely by more advanced Indians from the east. Wars interspersed with periods of peace occurred between the Comanches and the Osages until the groups were brought under government control.

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From the Washita and Red River valleys southward almost to the location of Austin, occupying a strip of territory about two hundred miles wide, were the Wichitas or Pawnee Picts, the Wacos, and a few Tawakonies and Kichaies. Estimates made in 1824 gave this whole group a population of 2,600. They were Caddoan stock, but were generally friends and allies of the Comanches, and their attitude toward the white people was governed largely by their powerful friends from the plains. In fact, by 1840, the Comanches occupied this country jointly with these weaker tribes. There grew up a considerable trade between them, the Wichita village on the Red River becoming the trading center.[3] The Comanches exchanged Apache slaves and horses and mules for French weapons and Wichita agricultural products. To the east of the Wichitas were remnants of other tribes belonging to the Caddo family. From time to time, these bands, pressed upon by white settlers, drifted over to the middle Brazos region; and Caddos, Anadarkos, and Ionies (Hainaies) were living along the border of the Comanche country after the eighteen thirties.

The Tonkawas, who formed a separate linguistic family, lived in central Texas. The coming of the Anglo-American settlers drove them westward and northward, and they were forced to occupy the country along the Llano and San Saba whenever they were not suffered by the colonists to reside closer in. By the time of the Republic of Texas, they numbered but a few hundred. Their later enmity with the Comanches was proverbial.[4]

[3] H. E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, I, 47.
[4] J. T. DeShields, *Border Wars of Texas*, 275.

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The Comanches

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The tribe which suffered most at the hands of the Comanches was the Apache. The Apaches, like the Comanches, were composed of a number of bands, ranging along the whole southern and western border of the Comanche country. The most important were the Mescalero and the Faraon, along the lower and middle Río Grande, and the Jicarilla on the upper Río Grande and in the mountains to the east. The Lipan band occupied the country along the San Saba, Llano, upper Guadalupe, and Nueces rivers, and occasionally it retreated into New Mexico or across the Río Grande into the northern Mexican states. The enmity between the Apaches and the Comanches had its beginning with the southern migration of the Comanches. The two became implacable foes, and warfare prevailed between the two tribes most of the time to 1875. On the plains the Comanches were victorious, but in the hills and mountains the Apaches were able to resist successfully.

As early as 1706 the Spaniards in New Mexico reported the collapse of Apache power northeast of the province, and thirteen years later they stated that the Jicarilla were in full retreat before the Comanches. By 1748 the sweep was complete, for the Jicarilla had been driven from their ancient lands.

Coincident with the attacks upon New Mexico, the Comanches hammered the Apaches southward in Texas. To mark the beginning of the southern advance, they defeated the Lipans in the early eighteenth century in a nine-day battle on the Río del Fierro, a stream which seems to have been the Wichita River.[5] As a result of this and other victories, the Comanches came to occupy their southern range. Other Apache relations can best be discussed in connection with relations with the whites.

The Comanche migration southward no doubt checked the French expansion to the southwest as well as the Spanish advance to the northeast. French goods had begun to reach the settlements in northeastern New Mexico as early as 1706. By 1718–19, La Harpe, Du Tisne, and other traders were edging westward along the Red River, while Bourgemont in 1721–23 lived among the Missouri tribes and schemed to open up trade with New Mexico. However, the Comanches blocked French attempts to reach New Mexico, because they

[5] Bolton, *Anthanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, I. 25.

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were loath to see them arming their Apache enemies. They waged war against the Jumanos, allies of the French, far to their east and pushed them back. By 1746 the Comanches had defeated the Apaches of northeastern New Mexico, and there was no longer any reason to fear the expansion of French trade. In fact they would benefit most from it. Consequently, they made peace with the Jumano and allowed the French to open the Arkansas River route to New Mexico. 648X

Toward the Spaniards in New Mexico the Comanches adopted a policy of war or peace according to whether plunder or trade appeared to offer the greater remuneration. The Spaniards aided the Jicarilla against the Comanches on the ground that the Jicarilla were Christians. From time to time the Spaniards made punitive expeditions against the Comanches, but the "Nomads of the Plains" always returned to attack and plunder the settlements. Don Juan de Padellao attempted to crush the Comanches in 1717. With a powerful force disguised as Indians, he surprised and killed many and took several hundred prisoners, some of whom were taken to Spain. They were later returned to Cuba, but were unable to survive the hot, damp climate. In 1748 and 1749 the Comanches were admitted to the fair at Taos, but even the reciprocal need of trade did not prevent hostilities. Within three years the government was fighting them again. The Spaniards were aware of the advantage of the Comanche barrier against French-English intrusion, and it was for this reason that they followed a relatively lenient policy.

After the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1762, however, the Spaniards set out to reorganize the defenses of their northern frontier. The Marquis de Rubi, who inspected the northern frontier for this purpose, recommended that peace be established with the Comanches in order that they might be turned against the Apaches. This policy was executed in New Mexico by Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in 1786. Since there was no longer any French trade, the Comanches desired to trade with the New Mexico settlements and to receive Spanish aid against the Apaches. In accordance with the treaty of 1786, the Spaniards set out to erect the village of San Carlos de los Jupes on the Arkansas River for a group of Comanches. They spent nearly seven hundred pesos on the project. Artisans built houses, and farmers were sent to teach the Indians to farm, but the Comanches

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abandoned San Carlos almost before it was completed. The Spaniards could not make pueblo Indians of the Comanches, but from that time until they were compelled to give up their nomadic existence and come into the reservation, the Comanches were comparatively friendly with New Mexico. Their wrath was vented upon the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Texans to the south.

Before the Spaniards had reversed their frontier policy, the Apaches in Texas, hemmed in between Spaniards and Comanches, turned to the former for an alliance against their more fearful enemy, the Comanches. The Spaniards, wanting to expand their frontier and carry the gospel to the Apaches and not realizing the tremendous strength of the Comanches, established a mission and a small presidio about one hundred miles from their outlying post, San Antonio, on the San Saba River near present Menard. The Apaches never could find time to attend the mission and be converted, but they were glad to have the Spaniards bolster them in their losing struggle with the Comanches.

The Comanches did not long delay paying the newcomers a visit. In March, 1758, they attacked the mission and killed several persons. In an attempt to avenge the insult, the Spaniards were disastrously defeated the following year on the Red River near the present town of Ringgold, Texas. As a result of the defeat, Spanish extension into Comanchería ended. Throughout the rest of the century Comanche attacks on the Spanish settlements became almost a matter of regular routine, and their operations were extended south of the Río Grande.[6] They overawed the feeble garrison and village of the Spaniards at San Antonio, often thronging the streets and squares with insolent bravado and defiance or raiding and plundering, as fancy dictated.

As in New Mexico, the report of the Marquis de Rubi was followed by an attempt to make peace with the Comanches in Texas. Rubi recommended that the Spanish settlements on the East Texas frontier be abandoned, that strong garrisons be maintained at San Antonio and at La Bahía, and that the San Saba mission be abandoned. The recommendations were carried out for the most part, and in 1785 the Spaniards succeeded in drawing the Meat-eater and Wasp

[6] Wm. E. Dunn, "The Apache Mission on the San Saba River, Its Founding and Its Failure," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII (1914), 379–414.

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bands into a formal treaty of peace in return for a huge quantity of presents. The Spaniards, however, were loath to furnish them with guns and ammunition which they desired, and as a result, the Comanches continued to steal Spanish horses and to trade them to the New Mexico settlements or to other tribes of the North for the articles they wanted. The treaty furnished the Spaniards some relief, but it was not until the close of the century that the declining power of Spain, in a final effort to hold dominion over Texas, succeeded in overawing the Comanches for even a brief time. With the appearance of the Anglo-American traders in the early nineteenth century, the Comanche-Spanish relations became more openly hostile.

But neither were the Anglo-Americans able to keep peace with the Comanches, for they were bold, aggressive, and intolerant, and they had little understanding of the Indian or sympathy for him. Until about 1820 there was little contact between the Comanches and the Anglo-Americans, but about that time traders began to push west and settlers moved into the Spanish province of Texas. In 1825 a trading expedition of Americans visited and traded with the Comanches on the Clear Fork of the Brazos.[7]

When the eastern Indians were removed to Indian Territory, the Comanches objected to encroachment upon their hunting grounds and threatened a war of extermination. The United States government on its part decided to attempt a policy of peace. In 1832 a large number of Comanches met Sam Houston, an agent of the United States, to discuss the possibility of peace. As a result of this apparently good beginning in council at San Antonio, the United States in June, 1834, sent an expedition from Fort Gibson to invite the chiefs to the fort for a general council. A Comanche village was found about ten miles north of present Fort Sill, but the chiefs insisted on holding the council in their own country and refused to return with the expedition. Finally, a group of Comanches and Wichitas were persuaded to attend a council at Camp Holmes on the Canadian. A group of their headmen met the United States commissioners on August 24, 1835, and concluded a treaty whereby the Indians agreed to share their hunting grounds with the eastern tribes, citizens of the United States

[7] M. M. Kenney, "The History of the Indian Tribes of Texas," in Dudley G. Wooten (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685–1897*, I, 763.

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were permitted to pass and repass through their country without molestation, and restitution was to be made by either party of property stolen from the other.[8] Although both parties remained friendly for a time, the treaty proved of little value, for they soon forgot it.

Meanwhile, it was the Anglo-Americans in Texas whom the Comanches had come to regard as their real enemy. The first Anglo-Americans in Texas were not seriously troubled because they settled largely outside the Comanche land range, and the Comanches preferred to direct their raids against the Mexican settlements. They continued to take horses from the Mexican settlements and to sell them to Anglo-American traders, and the advantage of these transactions tended to keep them friendly toward the white man.[9]

But gradually the Anglo-American settlers in Texas scattered fearlessly over the face of the country; each one built his cabin and plowed his field wherever his fancy dictated, without much regard to means of defense beyond his individual arms and without apparent desire for near neighbors. They brought with them a superior breed of horses, much larger, stronger, and more enduring than the neglected breed which had grown from Spanish stock. Such a situation made it easy, attractive, and relatively safe for the Indians to take horses and scalps for trophies. It invited raids.

The year 1835 marks the beginning of the hostile raids against the Anglo-American settlements in Texas. During the Texas Revolution most of the Southern bands remained relatively quiet, but a group of Northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies made a destructive raid on the Texas frontier in May, 1836.[10] In the spring of 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the Comanches. He found those near the settlements friendly, but those along the upper Brazos, Wichita, and Red rivers apparently hostile. Texas President David G. Burnet, who had lived with the Comanches and understood something of their loose tribal organization, appointed Major A. Le Grand to visit the Northern bands and negotiate a treaty with

[8] M. Stokes and M. Arbuckle to Secretary of War, September 15, 1835 (National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Western Superintendency file, Washington); Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Doc. 452*, II, 435–39.

[9] Mary Austin Holley, *Texas*, 155–58.

[10] This was the attack on Parker's Fort in which Cynthia Ann Parker was captured.

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them. Major Le Grand made contact with the Indians, but they refused to enter into a treaty agreement.[11] 648X

President Sam Houston of the Texas Republic then urged a system of regulated trade as the best means of bringing about better relations with the Comanches, but Congress ignored the President and proceeded to enact laws for the protection of the frontier.[12] Although no open war occurred for a time, there were a few irregular conflicts. In 1838 the Wasp band asked for a treaty of peace, but insisted on a definite boundary between themselves and the Texans which would give them undisputed possession of the country north of the Guadalupe Mountains. The Texas commissioners refused to discuss the boundary question, but it was agreed that a general council should be held at San Antonio. At that meeting the Comanches again insisted on recognition of their right to certain lands and, further, on a ban against trading posts in their country, but again the Texas government's refusal to concede that right prevented any formal peace agreement.

While the negotiations around San Antonio were going on, Noah Smithwick accepted the invitation of a band living on the Colorado River, near the present site of Austin, to come to their village to talk peace. He spent some time at their village and persuaded them to visit President Houston. The result was the treaty of May 29, 1838, but it contained no provisions of consequence other than a promise that an agent would be appointed to protect the Indians and supervise the trade among them. The treaty was never ratified by the Senate.[13] The failure of the agent to maintain contact with the Indians, plus the failure to establish the trading house, made it appear to the Comanches that the Texas government was not keeping faith with them.

President Mirabeau B. Lamar, who succeeded Sam Houston in 1838, favored an aggressive war of extermination against the Indians. In fact, war already existed. The continued westward expansion of the whites had angered the Comanches more than ever and had left the white settlements less protected. The Texas Congress promptly

[11] H. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, II, 228ff.

[12] H. P. N. Gammel (compiler), *Laws of Texas*, I, 1480.

[13] Anna Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI (1923), 23.

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provided for a system of frontier forts, authorized the placing of over a thousand men in the field, and appropriated one million dollars to be used in the defense of the country.[14] There were some raids and counterattacks during 1838, but the following year was generally quiet.

Early in 1840, three Comanches appeared in San Antonio with a request for peace. As a result, twelve Comanche chiefs met with Texas commissioners on March 19, 1840, at Bexar, where General Hugh D. McLeod was in command. In the course of the proceedings, the Texans demanded that the Comanches give up their white prisoners. This they refused to do. A body of troops was then brought into the council room to intimidate the Indians. In the fight which followed the twelve chiefs were killed. The struggle was shortly transferred to the grounds surrounding the council house, and there twenty followers of the chiefs were slain. The Council House tragedy provoked severe retaliatory raids by the Indians and destroyed whatever confidence the Comanches had in the integrity of the Texas government. The success of the Texas militia at Plum Creek in October and Colonel John H. Moore's surprise attack on a Comanche village, probably as far in the interior as Colorado, Texas, where the Comanches felt secure, were decisive in discouraging the Comanches. During the remainder of Lamar's administration the Texas settlements were comparatively free from Comanche raids.

In his message to Congress in December, 1841, President Houston indicated that his administration would return to the pacific policy of his first term. He recommended that trading posts be established along the frontier, that traders be allowed to traffic with the Indians at these posts, and that a force of some twenty-five men be stationed at each. He further recommended the making of treaties with the Indian tribes, declaring that when the latter found that the Texas government was disposed to treat them kindly, confidence would be restored and the interest of trade would keep them quiet. He firmly believed that with less than one-fourth of former appropriations he could procure and maintain peace with all the tribes on the Texas borders by this method.

Messengers were sent out early in the following year to inform the Indians of the change in policy, but the Comanches were dis-

[14] Gammel, *op. cit.*, II, 15–20, 29, 30, 78, 84–85.

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trustful and remained away from the councils. Finally, Houston sent a commission composed of J. C. Eldredge, Hamilton Bee, and Thomas Torrey to find the Comanches and bring them into council. The Indian guides believed that the Wasp band chief, known as Paha-yuca, was camped on the headwaters of the Brazos, but he was found in August, 1843, on the upper Canadian River. The commissioners did not receive a very friendly reception. This was the occasion mentioned in Chapter IX when the Comanches debated all day in council the fate of the peace messengers. At one time the voice of everyone in the council except that of the principal chief favored putting the envoys to death. Paha-yuca, after detaining the council for many hours, brought over a bare majority to respect the flag of truce. The messengers were dismissed with a negative answer, but Paha-yuca expressed a desire for peace and promised to attend a peace council at a later date.[15] However, Paha-yuca controlled only a small part of the Comanche bands, and it was too late in the year for the commissioners to make contact with the other bands.

After more unsuccessful efforts, the general council finally convened at Tehuacana Creek in April, 1844. After some delay, the Comanches arrived. President Houston attended and conducted the proceedings. A mutual pledge of friendship was made and the Texans agreed to establish official trading houses and to appoint Indian agents. The Comanches were to cease plundering, and certain provisions pertaining to warfare were agreed upon in case war should again develop. The Comanches also agreed to attend a council once each year. In return, the Texas government promised the Indians presents from time to time. But the main question, that of a satisfactory boundary, could not be settled. The Comanches refused to accept President Houston's proposal, and he in turn refused to accept their demands. Trading houses were established by Houston at Bird's Fort (near Fort Worth), at Comanche Peak west of the Brazos in Hood County, and at old Fort San Saba. The Comanches and other tribes came regularly to trade their peltries for such goods as they fancied, but peace was not maintained for any considerable time. The Texas government was not strong enough to prevent expansion; the Comanches would not have been satisfied with anything less than a

[15] Kenney, "The History of the Indian Tribes of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 769.

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complete cessation of frontier extension. Moreover, the treaty bound only a part of the Wasps and none of the other Comanche bands.

President Houston's hope of peace was not realized, for the Comanches came in only when it suited them. His pacific policy achieved some worthwhile results, but it did not solve the Comanche problem for even the time being. The Indians continued to fight the Mexicans, and in passing to and from Mexico they came in contact with the Texas settlements and committed a number of depredations along the trail. Reports of peace with the Texans, together with a scarcity of buffalo on the northern range and a plentiful supply near the Texas settlements, caused many of the Northern Comanches to drift south near the settlements. By 1845 relations were again strained. The outbreak of hostilities began when a group of renegade Delaware Indians, whom the Comanches regarded as allies of the whites, murdered some Comanches. Depredations on the settlements followed. As a result, most of the chiefs remained away from the next annual council, but the Wasps soon afterwards came in and agreed to keep the peace.

After annexation to the Union, the people of Texas believed that once the protecting arm of the United States had been extended to their frontiers, their Indian problems would soon be ended. On the contrary, however, troubles with the Indians continued for another thirty years. The federal government set out at once to establish a uniform and consistent policy toward the aborigines. Through its agents and soldiers it sought to control the Indians, protect the frontier, and avoid clashes; but there were too many factors beyond its control. It could forbid the Indians' entering the settlements, but it could not prevent the whites' going into Indian country whenever they desired. Also, the ineffective tactics of the army on the frontier caused both Indian and settlers to be impressed more with the weakness of the government than with its strength. In some instances costly forts were built where temporary camps would have sufficed; frequently the posts were manned by infantrymen who were helpless in a contest with mounted Indians. Many officers and troops were strangely ignorant of the rudiments of warfare as carried on by Indians of the plains.

To achieve its purpose of establishing peace, the federal govern-

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ment in January, 1846, sent commissioners to meet the Indians. So few Comanches appeared for the first council meeting that another was set for the following April. Although late in arriving, the Indians gathered in large numbers in April at Tehuacana Creek. It was the most representative council of the Wasps that had yet assembled, but they were the only division of the tribe represented. A treaty was signed whereby the Wasp band agreed to accept the jurisdiction of the United States, to trade with licensed traders only, to surrender culprits on demand, to restore all horses that might be stolen in the future, to co-operate in the suppression of the liquor traffic, and to give up all captives. The government of the United States on its part agreed to permit no whites to go among the Indians except with a pass from the President, to establish trading houses near them, to furnish blacksmiths to repair their arms and utensils, and to present to the Texas Indians signing the treaty presents to the value of ten thousand dollars.[16]

The Comanches were not entirely pleased with the treaty. They wanted to have a boundary established between them and the whites. That was no simple matter, however, for by the terms of annexation, Texas retained ownership of its public lands and the United States could not guarantee the Indians permanent rights to any part of it. Failure to make such a guarantee appeared to the Comanches as merely one more example of broken faith. Whites continued to enter the Indian territory in violation of the treaty, yet the Texans were unwilling to allow the Comanches to pass through their settlements on the way to attack the Mexicans. Because of the outbreak of war with Mexico, the government of the United States hesitated to place soldiers of its regular army on the frontier, but when it appeared that Indian trouble was imminent, it authorized the government of Texas to raise companies for frontier defense. Before the end of Governor J. P. Henderson's term in December, 1847, nine such companies were in the federal service along the frontier.[17] No doubt they were a strong persuasive force upon the Indians to keep the peace.

However, to Robert S. Neighbors, who became special agent for

[16] *United States Statutes at Large*, IX, 844–48; Kappler, *op. cit.*, 554, 557.

[17] R. N. Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, 202; see also Clarksville, Texas, *Northern Standard*, January 22, 1848.

the Indians of Texas in the early part of 1847, belongs much of the credit for the period of comparative peace along the Texas frontier. The tireless efforts of this patient and tactful agent gained the friendship of some of the great old Comanche chiefs, who seriously endeavored to preserve the treaty. They restrained their warriors from acts of hostility, and at times when it appeared that they would be unable to prevent the outbreak of disturbances, they removed with their followers far away from the white settlements. The friendliness of these groups tended to restrain the Northern bands.

Agent Neighbors continued in the Indian service under the federal government, until his death in 1859, except for the period from 1849 to 1853.

About the time Neighbors left the Wasps in 1849, the Southern Comanches suffered from a siege of smallpox and cholera which carried away a large number, including their head chief. From that time on, the Wasps had no common leader. Congress had not appropriated funds for presents, and the Wasps intensified their raiding both in Texas and in Mexico. The Comanches maintained that they had not ended their war against the Mexicans, regardless of which side of the Río Grande they lived on. The chiefs also insisted that the depredations against the Texans were carried out by irresponsible young men who could not be restrained, so matters drifted from bad to worse, and by 1851 war appeared imminent. Agent John H. Rollins decided that a new treaty might help the situation. He signed a proposed treaty on December 10, 1850, practically a duplicate of the old one. One new concession made by the Comanches was that they would not go south of the Llano River without the approval of an army officer.[18] Although the Senate failed to ratify it, some of the Northern Comanches were angry at the Wasps for making the treaty, and they began to make depredations on them. They also turned up for the few presents that were distributed and were dissatisfied that they did not receive more. The tension was lessened somewhat in 1851 when Congress made annuities available for the Texas Indians.

Confusion was also increased by the great amount of trespassing

[18] J. H. Rollins, special agent for Texas, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 22, 1850 (National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Treaties, Talks, and Councils file, Washington).

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across Comanche territory in the years following the discovery of gold in California. Some three thousand persons crossed by way of the Canadian River route, making a trail through the heart of the Comanchería.[19] A road from San Antonio or Austin to Fredericksburg, thence north to the head of the main Concho, westward to the Pecos, and from there to El Paso cut across the southern Comanche range.[20] Many emigrants, rather than follow the regular routes, cut overland wherever it seemed most convenient. The movement of so many whites across their country increased the distrust of the Comanches, and they grew more and more hostile.

At the same time, white settlement continued to encroach upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The pressure of the settlers forced the more eastern Indians like the Wichitas, Wacos, Tawakonies, Tonkawas, and Lipan Apaches west into the Comanche range. A more serious problem still was the coming of the partly civilized Indians—Delawares, Shawnees, Seminoles, Cherokees, and Kickapoos—which the United States moved from their homes east of the Mississippi to new lands along the eastern border of the Great Plains. Groups of these Indians became wanderers and hunters. Sometimes the Plains Indians united against the eastern intruders. On one particular occasion in the spring of 1853, a great party estimated at 1,500 warriors, composed of Comanches, Osages, Apaches, Kiowas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes, undertook to wipe out all frontier Indians found on the plains. The Great Plains force met about one hundred Sauk and Fox Indians near the Kansas River and received a humiliating defeat, for the Sauk and Fox were armed with rifles while the Plains Indians had very few firearms and most of those inferior in quality.[21]

Comanche hostility to the encroachments was intensified because the buffalo were becoming more and more difficult to find and kill. There was not enough game for the border Indians, white hunters, and Plains tribes combined. When the supply failed, the white men

[19] R. P. Bieber, "The Southwestern Trails to California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XII (1925), 360.

[20] Clarksville, Texas, *Northern Standard*, February 16, 1850.

[21] Whitfield to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 27, 1854, 33 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen Exec. Doc. 1*, Part 1, No. 29, 298. A Cheyenne version of this fight is given in Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 80–92.

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and the border tribes had other means of subsistence, but the warriors of the plains had nothing left.

The United States government was not willing to resort to open warfare on the northern frontier without first attempting to restore amicable relations by negotiation. For this purpose Thomas Fitzpatrick was sent to the frontier. Fitzpatrick, as sole commissioner for the United States, on July 27, 1853, signed a treaty with the Comanches and their Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache allies. The United States reserved the right to build roads, to establish depots and posts, and to protect emigrants passing through the Comanche country. As compensation for these concessions, the federal government was to distribute among the Indians merchandise, provisions, agricultural implements, and other goods to the amount of $18,000 annually for a period of five years, or as long as the President deemed necessary and proper. On their part, the Indians pledged themselves to cease their attacks on the emigrants and frontier settlements, to restore all captives they held, and to refrain from any further raids into Mexico.[22]

This treaty did not solve the problem any more than the others. Like the previous ones, it was not kept by either of the two contracting parties. The Indians captured and killed citizens of the United States and continued their raids into Mexico. They did allow the construction of the military posts, if they were strongly protected during construction. On the other hand, the government made no effort to build roads in the territory or to protect the Indians, but it did send supplies, most of which were of little use to them.

Meanwhile, the United States government already had begun to assume the responsibility of a forceable keeping of the peace on the frontier. When it withdrew its forces from Mexico in 1848, dragoons took the place of state troops on the frontier. In 1849 the army began to put into effect a permanent plan of defense. Eight outposts were established from Fort Worth, at the site of the modern city of that name, to Fort Duncan, at Eagle Pass on the Río Grande. The posts were to serve in controlling the Indians and preventing them from harassing the settlements.

22 "Treaty between the United States and the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache Indians in 1853" (original draft dated November 19, 1853, and treaty as ratified by the Senate, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

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So rapid was the advance of settlement, however, that within less than two years the line of frontiersmen's cabins had passed beyond this cordon, and a new series of forts was established about one hundred miles west. Beginning with Fort Clark near the Río Grande, posts were erected at strategic points in or near the Comanche range to the northward. These included Fort Chadburne, Fort Phantom Hill, Fort Belknap in present Young County, Fort Arbuckle in the valley of the Canadian, Fort Mann, and, later, Fort Atkinson far out on the Arkansas River. The garrisons, it is true, were small, but the fact that there were always some troops present caused the Indians much annoyance. By 1855 the frontier line of settlements ran roughly through the Texas counties of Grayson, Denton, Parker, Palo Pinto, Eastland, Brown, Lampasas, Burnet, Gillespie, Kendall, Bexar, and thence southeast to San Patricio.

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A close correlation existed between the number of troops stationed on the frontier and the extent of marauding operations by the Indians. During 1853, for instance, there were 3,265 soldiers in Texas, the greatest number at any time before the Civil War, and the frontier was comparatively tranquil. During the following year, after many troops had been withdrawn and the country between the Colorado and Red rivers was left defended by only four small companies of infantry and two of dragoons, conditions became so bad that a call was made for state troops.

In an effort better to provide for the Indians and to co-operate with the federal government in restraining them, two reservations were established in Texas in 1855. The act of establishment authorized the general government to survey and set up reservations out of twelve leagues of land, to be selected from any vacant lands within the state. The amount was pitifully small, but the state insisted that caring for the red man was a federal problem and thought the grant to be quite generous. Surviving members of the Caddo, Anadarko, Ioni, Waco, Tonkawa, and Tawakoni tribes, totaling about one thousand, were located on an eight-league reservation at the junction of the Brazos and Clear Fork rivers near Fort Belknap. The second reserve was located on the Clear Fork, in what is now Throckmorton County, where Camp Cooper was later established. There were collected here by 1857 about 430 Comanches of the Wasp band, or not

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much more than half of that band. The remainder stayed at large, and some united with the Northern bands and became even more troublesome.[23]

Conditions near the Indian country improved greatly in 1856. The change may have been due in part to the reservations, but more likely it could be traced to the presence of the great number of competent military men stationed on the frontier, plus the fact that since game was becoming scarcer, the Comanches broke up into small thieving and marauding bands. More than ever, small squads of irresponsible warriors carried on their operations without restraint. But, most significant of all, retreat into the heart of the plains country no longer offered security. Heretofore white men had considered this northern and western region impenetrable, and in its semiarid fastness the Comanches had felt secure. But during 1858 both the Texas and the federal forces penetrated to the Comanches' farthest retreat with sufficient strength to destroy the Indians wherever they set their lodges. Three times during 1858 the Comanches were defeated north of Red River. Thus it seemed to the Comanches that on every front they were met by aggressive foes; the hand of every white man was against them. In despair they huddled their families together near the agency on the Arkansas, while they sent their young warriors in small parties to harass the settlements from Red River to Corpus Christi. A German settlement twenty-five miles from Fredericksburg was completely broken up, and the citizens of Kerrville had to organize a company of rangers on their own initiative.

In spite of the loyal aid given by the reservation Indians, the whites of the frontier charged that the reservation Indians were taking part in the raids, and they demanded that they be removed from Texas. The evidence available does not sustain the charges of the white settlers, but bloody conflicts had provoked in them a hatred for the red man that made them blind to reason. Angry settlers threatened the lives of reservation people, and only the presence of federal troops prevented a massacre. To avoid catastrophe, the federal government in July, 1859, at a council held at Fort Arbuckle, granted the friendly

[23] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1854, 158–66; R. N. Richardson and C. C. Rister, *The Greater Southwest*, 283.

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Indians a tract of land near Anadarko in the Leased District.[24] In the late summer of 1859, the Indians of both reservations were removed to their new home. However, since reservation Indians had not been engaged in the raids, relocation of the reservation did nothing to solve the Indian problem.

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Dissatisfaction with conditions on the frontier led to the defeat of Hardin R. Runnels and the election of Sam Houston as governor of Texas in 1859. Houston had made a campaign promise to quiet the Indians, and he proceeded with an ambitious program for defense. By a series of orders he authorized the raising of ranger companies, until by the end of March, 1860, more than five hundred men were in active service. He also authorized the chief justice of each frontier county to raise a company of not more than twenty-five minute men, and for a time in 1860 twenty-three such companies were available for service. In addition to the state forces there were 2,651 federal troops in Texas in 1860 and others were on their way.[25] With such forces available, the state of affairs which had existed along the frontier could not long have continued but for the outbreak of the Civil War and the consequent slackening of the merciless pursuit of the red men by the whites. With the outbreak of civil war the frontier was temporarily forgotten and the center of diplomacy shifted north of Red River, although the people of Texas continuued to pay in blood and plunder.

The Comanches were not a factor of great importance during the war as far as either the government of the North or South was concerned. They forced both the Federal and the Confederate governments to maintain military forces to watch them, but neither government cared to spare the men and money necessary to fight Indian wars. In order to avert such a conflict, both North and South made overtures to the Indians. The Comanches, on finding themselves sought after by both governments, accepted peace with one or the other, as it suited their convenience. Neither side tried to use them against the other, but each attempted instead to hold them as passive allies so as to prevent their joining the foe.

[24] The Leased District was land leased from the Choctaws and Chickasaws. It was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the west by the one-hundredth meridian, on the south by the Red River, and on the north by the Washita River.

[25] Richardson, *Texas*, 205.

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The Confederate government was the more successful in diplomatic dealings with the Comanches during the first few months of the war. In May, 1861, Albert Pike was appointed by President Jefferson Davis as special commissioner to treat with the Indians west of the Mississippi. His task was made easier, since the United States government had been virtually at war with the Kiowas for two years and their annuity goods had not been delivered to them.

Pike was acquainted with the Comanches and was well aware that peace with them would mean that troops could be withdrawn from the Texas frontier to be used in the East. So, with the aid of the Creeks, who were friends of the Comanches, he induced the latter to meet him at the Wichita agency on August 12 and 13, 1861. He there negotiated two treaties, one with the Indians of that reservation and the other with the "Comanches of the Prairies and Staked Plains." The treaty with the Indians of the agency included, among others, the Wasp Comanches; and the treaty with the prairie Comanches included four bands, the Those Who Move Often, Yep-eaters, Meat-eaters, and a remnant of the Liver-eaters (*Tanima*). More than a dozen chiefs signed the treaty on behalf of these wild bands. Every important band except the Antelope had a part in these treaties, and it was probably the most representative gathering of Comanches ever assembled up to that time.

The treaties, however, did not differ widely from those the United States had made with them in former years. Each side was to give up the prisoners then held, and the Comanches were to be paid for theirs. The Confederate government was to maintain at least one agency in the Leased District. The whites promised to furnish the Comanches with supplies until they should become self-sustaining, as well as with cattle to enable them to start herds. "The Confederate states ask nothing of the bands of the Nerm [Comanches] except that they prepare to support themselves, and live in peace and quietness."[26] In short, nothing was asked of the Comanches except that they should no longer be Comanches. This was too much to expect of the restive Lords of the South Plains. As long as there were buffalo to chase and unprotected ranches to despoil, it would take more than

[26] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1861, 634; *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series IV, I, 542–54.

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their crude marks on a piece of paper to hold them to such an agreement. 648x

The agent was instructed to do everything possible to make the reserve inviting to the Indians, and in the autumn of 1861 the Confederate Congress voted $64,862 for the Comanches in order that the government might comply with its treaty obligation. But the prairie Comanches never came to the agency except occasionally to ask for presents. Agent Mathew Leeper provided well for the agency Wasps, but the Comanches off the reservation did not envy their reservation brethren; nor was Leeper able to keep all the Wasps on the reservation. The relations between the Confederate government and the Comanche bands practically collapsed with the destruction of the Wichita Agency in October, 1862, by a band of Delawares and Shawnees in sympathy with the Union government. The Wasps then took up their abode in the Wichita Mountains.[27]

The treaty, coupled with an effective frontier defense, resulted in a marked decline in raids along the Texas border. But with the collapse of Comanche-Confederate relations in the latter part of 1862 and a simultaneous decline in the efficiency of frontier defense because of reduction of personnel and the lack of good horses, conditions became much worse than before the war. Cooke, Clay, Jack, Palo Pinto, Denton, Montague, Wise, and Parker counties suffered most heavily from attacks. The Indians drove off more than ten thousand head of cattle, which they sold to Yankees, doubtless contractors for the armies. By 1864 the attacks were fewer but heavier.[28]

The federal agent had withdrawn from the Comanche country at the outbreak of the war, but in August he returned and made an armistice pending the negotiation of a permanent treaty. The Comanches saw no reason why they could not be friendly with both governments, one along the Arkansas and one in Texas. Two Comanches, one Apache, and four Kiowa chiefs were consequently taken to Washington, where they signed a treaty on April 6, 1863, agreeing to make perpetual the agreement signed at Fort Atkinson on July 27, 1853. The Washington treaty defined more clearly to the Indians

[27] *War of Rebellion, Official Records*, Series IV, II, 335.

[28] Cf. W. C. Holden, "Frontier Defense in Texas during the Civil War," West Texas Historical Association *Year Book* (1928), V, 16–31.

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the matter of staying away from the Santa Fé road, and in return the United States was to furnish the associate tribes $25,000 in annuity goods. The treaty, however, was never ratified.[29] The failure of Congress to ratify this treaty may have been largely responsible for the outbreaks that followed the generally peaceful years of 1862 and 1863. Comanches had drifted in from the south to receive a share of the anticipated presents and annuity goods, and although most of the chiefs said they intended to adhere to the treaty of Washington, it is believed that there was formed in the autumn of 1863 an alliance of the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches of the South with the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Sioux of the North. Widespread disturbances occurred in 1864. Numerous attacks were made along the route to Denver. Emigration was stopped and much of the country was depopulated.

These attacks were largely the work of the Cheyennes and their allies, but the Comanches and the Kiowas were active along the Arkansas and to the south of it, particularly along the Santa Fé Trail. Finally, a punitive expedition under Christopher (Kit) Carson was sent against the Comanches. The Indians, principally Kiowas and a small number of Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, and Arapahos, gathered at Adobe Walls on the Canadian River to resist him. Since they greatly outnumbered the whites, but for two howitzers, Carson's force might have been overwhelmed.[30]

While the army was planning further campaigns against the Southern Indians, the Comanche and Kiowa agent, Colonel J. H. Leavenworth, persuaded authorities in Washington that more could be accomplished by following a policy of kindness and peace than by war. Leavenworth was able to get Comanche and Kiowa chiefs to a council in August, 1865, at the mouth of the Little Arkansas.[31] There the Indians agreed to cease all acts of violence or injury to the frontier settlements and to travelers on the Santa Fé road, or other lanes of travel, and to remain at peace. They further agreed to meet in council

[29] "Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche April 6, 1863," and "Resolution of Senate" relating to the treaty (MSS, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Treaties, Talks and Councils file, Washington).

[30] *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, Series I, XLI, Part 1, 939.

[31] J. H. Leavenworth to General John B. Sanborn, August 4 and 10, 1865, *ibid.*, XLVIII, Part 2, 1164, 1176.

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with commissioners of the United States in October. Accordingly, on October 18, 1865, a treaty between the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches on the one hand and the United States on the other was signed at the mouth of the Little Arkansas, at approximately the present location of Wichita, Kansas. 648

Like all preceding treaties with the Comanches, the agreement was defective because some of the bands were not represented. The Meat-eaters band did not sign except by proxy, and the Antelopes were not represented at all. The great chiefs of the Yep-eaters, Those Who Move Often, Liver-eaters, and Wasps were there. The commissioners reported that "six of the nine bands which compose the Comanche tribe" were present. By the terms of the treaty, the Kiowas and Comanches who signed agreed to remove within a territory whose boundary, beginning with the northeast corner of New Mexico, was to run southward along the eastern boundary of the state to its southeast corner, thence northeastward to a point on Red River opposite the mouth of the North Fork, thence down the Red River to the ninety-eighth meridian, thence due north to the Cimarron River, thence up the Cimarron to the southern boundary of Kansas, and thence westward along this line to the place of beginning.[32]

The purpose of the United States in making the treaty was to secure peace with the Indians, to stop their attacks on the overland wagon trains and on the frontier settlements, to secure the release of prisoners held by the Indians, and to confine them to a narrower range. The government succeeded for a time, but, as usual, neither the government nor the Indians kept the agreement. The Indians determined to keep the Texans from encroaching further upon their domain; the Texans disputed the Indians' claim to any portion of the territory within their state.

By slowing up emigration into and across their territory, the Civil War gave the Indians a breathing spell, and if they were not more numerous, they were more insolent and desperate at its close than at its beginning. For a few months after the breakup of the Southern armies, state troops managed to afford some protection, but the federal government refused to allow the Texas government to protect

[32] Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 891–93. The commissioners could not legally award any area within Texas.

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the state frontier, nor would it do so for a time. The Comanches and their allies were not slow to learn of the unprotected condition of the frontier, and raids became so destructive and frequent that in some places the line of settlement was driven back a hundred miles. The country west of a line drawn from Gainesville to Fredericksburg was abandoned, except by a hardy few who moved into stockades. Although Sheridan refused to allow Governor Throckmorton to raise the thousand rangers authorized by the legislature, the Governor's persistent efforts to have the federal government place a part of its troops on the Texas frontier did meet with a measure of success. Before the end of the year, two regiments of cavalry were covering the line from the Red River to Fort Clark on the Río Grande. During the next two years the army established, with some modifications, the old cordon of posts it had maintained before the war, but the soldiers were inexperienced and ineffective and the policy was defensive rather than offensive.

Meanwhile, the federal government had turned to treaty-making again. Although officials at Washington did not realize the extent of the depredations, they were aware that affairs in the Indian country, north of Texas as well as in Texas, were not satisfactory. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1866, agents were sent to investigate. They reported that a large part of both the Comanche and the Kiowa tribes were flagrantly violating the treaty of the Little Arkansas; and that they did not even come in to receive their annuity goods, goods which were of inferior quality, the blankets being "hardly fit for saddle blankets." The majority of the army officers were charged with "utter ignorance of the Indian character and of the proper method of dealing with Indians." The report recommended the establishment of permanent agency headquarters with adequate buildings for residences, officers, and storehouses, and the prompt delivery of annuity goods that would be useful to the Indians. It was believed that there would be an outbreak of hostilities in the following spring unless precautions were taken.[33]

As a result of the investigation, in June, 1867, Congress authorized

[33] Charles Bogy and W. R. Irwin, special agents, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 8, 1866 (National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Treaties, Talks, and Councils file, Washington).

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a peace commission to correct the causes of Indian complaint by securing a lasting peace. This necessarily meant the segregation of the Indians at points remote from the settlements and lanes of travel.

The commissioners met the Indians somewhere near the present site of Medicine Lodge, Barber County, Kansas, and on October 21, 1867, signed a treaty. The treaty was proclaimed August 25, 1868. It was the last ever made with the Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches, and was the occasion of one of the last old-fashioned Indian gatherings. Both whites and Indians made great display. The commissioners distributed many gifts; food and coffee were free and plentiful so that no time might be wasted by the Indians in preparing food. When the council opened, the Indians were told that they had been violating the treaties and were urged to state their side of the case. Satanta of the Kiowas was the first to speak. Warlike and arrogant, he scorned the suggestion of houses or schools or labor. Ten Bears of the Yɛp-eaters spoke for the Comanches. His presentation of the Comanche point of view, a fragment of which we have already quoted, is a masterpiece of logic and oratory. He had seen the numbers and wealth and power of the white man on his visit to Washington two years before. He believed in the friendship and good intentions of the government, and to some extent he understood that it was unable to stop the westward drive of its people. He knew that the proposals represented an alternative between refuge on the white man's terms or utter destruction. But he pleaded that the United States leave the Comanches unmolested.[34]

The treaty provided that the Comanches and their Kiowa allies should refrain from further attacks on the whites, permit the construction of railroads and other roads, as well as military posts, in their country; and that they should accept an agency, schools, farms, a physician, and a carpenter—none of which they wanted. They were to be furnished implements, seed, and instruction in farming—over which they were not enthusiastic. The government agreed to provide annuity goods as may "seem proper to the condition and necessities of the Indians" for a period of thirty years. The Comanches, Kiowas,

[34] "Record Copy of the Proceedings of the Indian Peace Commission Appointed under the Act of Congress Approved July 20, 1867" (MS, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington), I, 109, 104–106.

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and Kiowa-Apaches were restricted to an area bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River westward to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb, and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of the Red River, and on the south and west by Red River and its North Fork.[35] It included the present counties of Comanche, Cotton, Kiowa, and Tillman, and parts of Grady, Stephens, and Jefferson. This area of only 5,546 square miles was small indeed compared to the vast Comanchería of old. The Lords of the South Plains were about to become the wards of the federal government.

[35] Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 977 ff.

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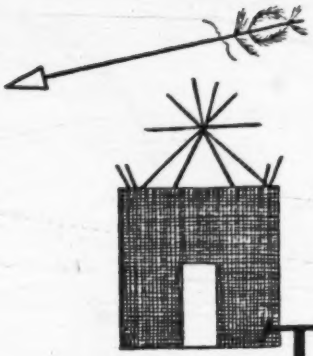
XII

On the Reservation



THE reservation assigned to the Comanches and their allies by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 was a beautiful country of 2,968,893 acres carved from lands ceded by the Chickasaws and Choctaws in 1866. Although the greater portion of the old reservation is wide, rolling plains, the topography ranges from level valleys to mountainous terrain. Slightly toward the northwest the granite masses of the Wichita Mountains lift abruptly, wrapped always in purple haze. Beautiful streams carry away the water drained from their heights, and in the grassy flats deer and buffalo once abounded. Small blackjack trees cover the hills in the northern part of the reservation, while cottonwood and elm, with sparsely scattered oaks and pecans, are found along all the streams and in low spots where water collects. There is a wide variation of soils—mainly flood plain, second bottom, colluvial, high terrace, and residual. The highest point is Mount Scott in the Wichita Mountains, which has an elevation of 1,800 feet, while along the Red River valley the elevation is about half as much. The average elevation is 1,262 feet above sea level. The average precipitation for a thirty-five year period ending in 1937 was thirty-one inches. The average date for the first killing frost is October 30 and the last in the spring falls on April 3, thus providing an ample growing season.

There is no evidence that the Indians were ever convinced that it was best for them to deed away the greater portion of their lands, but the treaty signers probably realized that if they refused they would

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receive no annuity goods and would have to fight soldiers besides. Even so, only ten Comanche chiefs representing the Yep-eaters, Those Who Move Often, and Wasps signed the treaty. The powerful Meat-eaters and Antelopes did not sign. Probably a third of the Comanches were not represented at all, but in the end they had to accept the inevitable. They all became reservation Indians.

The conduct of the United States Indian Service and the military forces after the treaty was signed was such as to puzzle the Indian's mind. The treaty was ratified in Washington in 1868, but the government was slow in meeting its obligations. It failed to send troops to protect the agency and maintain order among the Indians who gathered near by. As a consequence, neither life nor property was safe in that vicinity. Nonresident Comanches gathered near the agency, demanded food and presents, and plundered the reservation Indians. The agent, because of either fear or disgust, deserted his post. Those Comanches who in times past had frequented the region of the Arkansas Valley left for their old haunts, while other bands took to the *Llano Estacado* where they had been wont to roam in earlier times.

The first annuity day finally arrived on December 30, 1868, and great numbers of Comanches came in to Fort Cobb on the northern edge of the reservation for the occasion. But by that time the Cheyenne war had broken out along the Arkansas and to the north of that stream, and the military authorities feared that the Comanches and their allies might joint the Cheyennes. To prevent such a possibility, they escorted those who had gathered on the northern edge of the reservation southward to the vicinity of Medicine Bluff. There they established Fort Sill near by on Cache Creek for the purpose of holding the Comanches and their cohorts in check. The first stake of the new post was set on January 8, 1869, and shortly afterwards Colonel W. B. Hazen located the agency site three miles from the post. One small adobe building had been provided for the agency plant when Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1. This became the headquarters for the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches.[1]

While waiting for the new agent to arrive to replace the deserter,

[1] Supt. W. B. McCown, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1935, 4 (Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko). The Wichita and Affiliated Bands were also there, but they soon became so annoyed by the thievery and wildness of the prairie Indians that they moved north of the Washita. They were granted a separate agency in 1872.

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Colonel Hazen started to train the Comanches as farmers. But most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food. He had intended to use it for fencing, plowing, buying fruit trees, and constructing houses and schools. He hired a white man to plow up a tract of land near the agency and plant corn, melons, beans, and squashes as a starter, but the Comanches and Kiowas were not interested, except to plunder the fields. After eating the green watermelons and getting the "Devil inside my belly," they were even less desirous of agricultural pursuits, for they thought farming bad medicine.[2] The more independent Comanches, approximately 1,500 of an estimated population of 2,416, remained off the reservation, but some of them were willing to come in whenever goods and presents arrived. Even while they were waiting for a distribution, troops from New Mexico struck them in the very heart of their range in the dead of winter at a time when the majority were trying to obey the instructions of their white guardians.[3]

Because of its failure to deal satisfactorily with the Indian problem and because of fraud, the Indian Office brought upon itself so much criticism that, in 1869, Congress, in an effort to correct some of the abuses charged against the Indian administration, authorized the President to organize a board of Indian commissioners, who were to exercise joint control over appropriations with the Secretary of the Interior. This new body became at once a dominant force in determining the Indian policy of the government. Simultaneously, President U. S. Grant made another important change in Indian administration by appointing Quakers as Indian agents and employees. Other denominations were, however, allowed to participate in the Indian work, and most agents, teachers, and employees at the Indian agencies came to be nominees of some church or religious society. This was the era of the Peace Policy.

On July 1, 1869, Lawrie Tatum, an unimaginative but courageous and sensible Quaker, took up his duties at Fort Sill as the agent of the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches. Tatum felt that God

[2] Agent Lawrie Tatum, *Annual Report*, August 12, 1870, 41 Cong., 3 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 1*, Part 4, No. 94, 725.

[3] Agent W. B. Hazen, *Report*, 1869, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1869, 338–96; Agent J. H. Leavenworth to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 21, 1868, 41 Cong., 2 sess., *House Misc. Doc. 139*, III, 5–7.

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had called him to this new work, about which he knew nothing, and declared that the necessary information would come to him as needed! The Friends believed that kindness and honesty would solve the Indian problem, but not all the white elements in the picture were Friends. The Friends proposed to make the Indians secure in their legal rights, to locate them on the reservation, and to assist them in agriculture and the arts of civilized life.[4] They strongly opposed the use of military forces against the red men and forbade the troops to attack them on the reservation. They were, on the other hand, allowed no control over the Indians who failed to come on the reservation.

Tatum began his work with the firm conviction that such a policy would succeed, but he soon came to the conclusion that force was the only kind of treatment that some Indians understood and respected. From the very beginning, he found that soldiers were necessary to control the Indians on issue day and that nothing short of armed force would command respect. Without the presence of the army, the reservation became a sanctuary for marauders, and raids into Kansas and Texas continued. Farming operations did not turn out well, nor could the majority of the Indians be induced to come on the reservation.

Mow-way (Shaking Hand), a Meat-eater chief, whose natural inclination was friendliness, expressed the view of many of the prairie Comanches when he said, "When the Indians in here [the reservation] are better treated than we are outside, it will be time enough to come in." Chief *Taßenanlka* (Voice of the Sunrise) told Special Commissioner Henry Alvord in 1872 that he would rather stay out on the prairie and eat dung than come in and be penned up in a reservation. W. S. Nye says that because he proclaimed his sentiments in a stentorian voice, the Commissioner and everyone else in a radius of a quarter of a mile knew that he meant what he said. And this was the man who died of a heart attack while running to catch a train at Anadarko, Oklahoma, years later.[5] In 1869 the government sent less annuity goods, much of the annuity money being withheld to pay for depredations, and the Indians concluded that it was more

[4] Tatum, *Annual Report*, August 12, 1869, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1869, 385–86.

[5] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 205.

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profitable to raid and to obtain a new treaty, for treaty meetings always meant presents and a liberal supply of goods.[6]

Hence it came about that during 1870 the Indians were especially insolent and defiant. Colonel B. H. Grierson was busy building Fort Sill early in the year and paid little attention to the Indians. When some prairie bands moved near the farms on Cache Creek, he thought they desired to begin farming, that they realized that the buffalo were disappearing. But he was wrong. They had no idea that the buffalo would not be sufficient; all they intended was to plunder the reservation.

In June the Comanches sat in council with the Kiowas during their annual Sun Dance and the question of peace or war was discussed at length. Prevailing sentiment was for peace, but some of the chiefs were determined to have war. After the council, a number of bands stayed out and organized raiding parties which went to harass the Texas frontier until checked by cold weather. Voice of the Sunrise insolently sent Agent Tatum word that he wished the soldiers from Fort Sill would come out and give him a fight. But it was the Kiowas rather than the Comanches who molested Fort Sill during the summer, stealing horses and mules, shooting cattle, and plundering fields. They took seventy-three mules from the corral at Fort Sill, and Colonel Grierson was unable either to catch the culprits or to ascertain who they were. Late in the summer, the Indians told Grierson and Tatum that they would not disturb Fort Sill any more that season. "The white people need not sit trembling in their tents, peeping out to see if our warriors are coming. You can now send your horses out to graze, and your men out to chop wood." These were the favors granted to the fort where five hundred men were under arms.[7]

When the Indians began killing the agency commissary beeves, Agent Tatum put soldiers on guard, but some visiting Quakers, horrified at seeing soldiers at the agency, forced him to remove them to the fort. Tatum then attempted to restrain the Indians by withholding half the rations as punishment. But at the very same time, the policy of giving one hundred dollars' reward for the return of each white captive only encouraged the Indians to raid for more victims.

[6] Tatum, *Annual Report*, August 12, 1870, *loc. cit.*, 725–28.
[7] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 150.

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The experience of 1870 proved beyond doubt that as long as game was plentiful and the Indians could secure arms and ammunition from the traders, they could not possibly be kept on the reservation without the use of force. This was borne out by the number of audacious raids which occurred in 1871. Best known is the Salt Creek "massacre" of May, 1871, when a band of Kiowas attacked a wagon train between Jacksboro and Fort Griffin, killing seven teamsters. For the Indians the time of the attack proved unfortunate. William Tecumseh Sherman, commander of the Army of the United States, and R. B. Marcy were at Jacksboro on a tour of inspection to see for themselves whether conditions were as bad as reported. The Indians were followed to the reservation and the raiding chiefs arrested, tried, convicted of murder, and sentenced to be hanged; but Governor E. J. Davis of Texas commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

The incident was instrumental in causing the government to abandon its peace policy. In fact, Tatum himself requested that the Meat-eaters and Antelopes be forcibly brought to the reservation. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie, who was in Texas and unhampered by the Quaker peace policy, led an expedition from old Camp Cooper northwest up Blanco Canyon against the Comanches under Quanah Parker. MacKenzie, however, was unsuccessful, for the Comanches, after holding the troops at bay, moved out upon the *Llano Estacado,* and cold weather prevented the soldiers from following them. The prairie Comanches had not even been punished.

During the winter months of 1871–72 the Comanches remained quiet. All except the Antelopes came in for rations. But when the grass became green and the ponies fat in the spring of 1872, the young warriors of the wild bands could not be restrained from their perennial raids. The principal reasons for this year's outbreak were the urge for personal glorification and prestige, the desire to obtain revenge for relatives killed by whites, the slaughter of the buffalo by the whites, and their determination not to live on the reservation. On a June night a young warrior of the Meat-eater band, named *Teneβɜka* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), and four other warriors under cover of a thunderstorm raided the government corral at Fort Sill and got away with all fifty-four horses and mules that were inside.

None of the group were ever apprehended, and when Gets to Be

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a Middle-aged Man was visited by Ralph Linton, E. A. Hoebel, and G. G. Carlson of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933, he was most suspicious of them. He thought they were government spies sent to get evidence against him. In all the intervening years he had given Fort Sill a wide berth. But when Professor Linton arranged a peace gesture with the commandant of the fort, the old Comanche accepted the invitation to be the honored guest at a dinner and receive his "pardon." 648x

In the eighteen seventies the Quakers resorted to their peace policy again. Two councils were held in an effort to persuade the wild bands to make peace and come on the reservation, but the Indians either did not show up or were defiant. Representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes joined the whites in a council at Fort Cobb in July in an effort to persuade the wild bands that the buffalo would soon be gone and that they must take up the white man's ways lest they starve. But the Comanches refused to believe that such a calamity was imminent; if such a danger was impending, they would abstain from killing the buffalo for a year or two. Meanwhile they could manage to subsist on cattle stolen from Texas.

When the peace efforts of the summer failed and raiding continued, the military campaigns were renewed, this time with much greater success. In September, Colonel MacKenzie set out from near Fort Griffin. On September 29 he surprised and destroyed a camp on McClellan Creek near the mouth of Blanco Canyon, taking a large number of prisoners and three thousand horses and mules. The Indians stampeded and recaptured their animals the following night, but the spirit of the band was broken. Although they refused to go to the agency at once, they assumed an attitude of humility and gave assurances of friendship. Shortly afterwards they sent representatives to offer to exchange captives for the return of their own people. During the winter of 1872–73 the wild Antelope band camped near the agency at the present site of Lawton, while the other Comanches were north of the post on Chandler Creek, and the amount of raiding was negligible.

The use of the military against the Indians aroused Quaker sentiment against Tatum, and the days of his service were numbered. Although Tatum insisted that the Indians had made progress towards

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passivity as a result of the punitive measures against them, his co-religionists did not share his views. On April 1, 1873, he was succeeded by J. M. Haworth, a thoroughgoing Quaker and a firm believer in the Peace Policy. Haworth's first act in accordance with his convictions was to remove the military guard which Tatum had kept at the agency. In its place he tried using an old Indian to perform police duty on issue day, but in May he found it necessary to ask for a night guard.[8]

In the spring of 1873 when the government was surveying the reservation lands, some of the Indians feared that the land was about to be divided for settlement. This led Comanches to join the Kiowas in their annual Sun Dance on Sweetwater Creek. The Kiowas were considering going to war if the chiefs Satanta and Big Tree were not released. In June, Haworth released the prisoners taken by MacKenzie in 1872, hoping that it would keep the Indians quiet; but no sooner had the prisoners been released than the Comanches renewed their destructive raids into Texas and Mexico. However, some of the chiefs attempted to keep their renegade warriors in hand and brought in to the agents the stolen horses. Despite this action the raids into Texas continued during the winter of 1873–74.

Heavy rains interfered with freight service at the agency in the spring of 1874, and at a critical time the agent was forced to issue half-rations. The rations were so meager that the Indians on the reservation had to kill their horses and mules for food. The Indians at the agency became unruly and joined with the outside bands to hold a tribal medicine dance. This was a new thing and portended evil.

The backs of the Comanches and their neighbors, the Kiowas and Cheyennes, had not yet been broken, but they were deeply disturbed and desperation was settling in their hearts. The old way was not yet gone, but it was slipping rapidly away from them. They were ripe for a movement of nativistic revivalism.

On the West Coast, among the Indians of California and Oregon, similar conditions prevailed. During the long period of Spanish occupancy the Indians of California had not found their way of life too seriously disturbed. But 1849 had come and two decades of American

[8] Agent J. M. Haworth to Lt. Col. J. W. Davidson, May 9, 1873, "Kiowa Military Relations" (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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influx. The Oregon Trail had been opened, and in the seventies the Prophet Dance, a cult of revival of old ways, was sweeping the Northwest.

The Comanches had no contact with this remote phenomenon, but their crisis was similar. Through all their time they had felt no need for tribal integration, but now it was stand together or go under.

As so often happens in the history of oppressed peoples, a messiah came forth in answer to the need. This was none other than a young and as yet untried warrior–medicine man, *Ishatai,* Coyote Droppings. Coyote Droppings gave evidence of strong powers. He was immune to bullets—not in itself an outstanding trait, for many great warriors had over the years been possessed of such medicine. More significant was his claim to have "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[9] This was unusual. Also, he had, as had other medicine men before him, brought back the dead from the After World. He had power all right. But what really gave him prestige was his successful prediction that a comet which was attracting much attention early in 1873 would disappear in five days and would be followed by a summer-long drought. These things are reputed to have occurred in accordance with his prophecy.

In their despair the Comanches were willing to turn to him for the kind of leadership their established chiefs could not give. When he belched forth a "wagonload" of cartridges and swallowed them again in the presence of several Comanches, they believed that they had really seen this thing. Word spread that Coyote Droppings had such powers as no other Comanche had ever before possessed.[10]

In the hard spring of 1874 the Prophet felt that the time had come for the great endeavor. He announced that the Comanches should gather for a tribal Sun Dance. They should make a great medicine and save themselves. The call, according to R. N. Richardson, "was widely heralded, and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red River near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred per cent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered

[9] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement,* 373.
[10] Battey, *op. cit.,* 302–303.

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threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—i.e., "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole. 648x 795 [727 641]

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sekwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material. [777 574]

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

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could only escape by dodging into the lodges where the mounted Mud Men could not follow them.

The clowns performed no police functions at the dance, as do the Pueblo *koshare*,[12] for the Comanches had no use for tribal police. Neither were they an intrinsic part of the dance itself, as are the *koshare*. They provided a simple comic relief in the serious activities of the Sun Dance preparations; they were a light-hearted gesture in an act of desperation—the inauguration of the Sun Dance for the earthly salvation of the Comanche way of life. As soon as they were done with their clowning, they returned to the creek to cleanse themselves so that they could be back in time for a more serious drama—the sham battle.

While the dance lodge was being finished, a group of warriors went down to the creek to build a symbolic fortified enemy encampment of a circular rail fence. When all the work on the dance lodge was finished, a scout who had served as a real scout went out to find them. He rode back to the main camp signaling the discovery of enemies. All the warriors in the main camp prepared as if for battle, and together they sallied forth to the attack, women and children following to see the show. In the assault on the enemy camp each man attempted to re-enact his own great war deeds before the eyes of the woman and children, who, according to Post Oak Jim, "got scared by the real way they seemed to fight." When the enemy was destroyed, the whole tribe marched back to the camp singing the Victory Song.

It is most probable that the rail-enclosed mock enemy camp was not intended to represent an Indian encampment. Plains Indian villages were not stockaded. Could this have been the white settlement at Adobe Walls, Texas, with its surrounding adobe enclosure, that the Comanches were going to annihilate as soon as the Sun Dance was over? If so, this dramatic by-play was a projective wish-fulfillment of their plan to destroy the whites who were destroying them, just as the symbolic buffalo hunt was a wishful recapture of the herds that were no more.

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is

[12] E. C. Parsons and R. L. Beals, "The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Maya-Yaqui Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVI (1934), 491–514.

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the integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one. 182 648x 795

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing. 648x 795

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles. [534]

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days. [535]

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[13]

[13] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

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In keeping with the lack of masochism in their approach to the supernatural, the Comanche Sun Dancers made no effort to torture themselves by hanging from the center pole with rawhide thongs through their breasts, as did the tribes to the north. Nor was there any dragging of buffalo skulls around the lodge by means of thongs passed through the back muscles. The only self-denial was of water and food for the duration of the dance, and even this was mitigated by chewing the bark of the slippery elm and a bath in the creek each night.

Visions came to some individuals who fainted in the course of the dancing—an important feature of the Sun Dance for most Plains tribes. In their dances the Comanches did not bother to make vision-seeking a primary interest, however. It was not the reason for which they were dancing. They were dancing to revive the power of the tribe, to weld themselves into one cohesive unit that would launch forth on the great military venture that would sweep the whites from all their land. That was what Coyote Droppings had brought them together for. That was why they were dancing.

There had been much strong talk by Coyote Droppings before he had got the Sun Dance under way—inflammatory talk. Coyote Droppings preached that the Caddos, Wichitas, and other tribes who had accepted reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being. Was this what the Comanches wanted? It would be their fate, he warned them, if they gave in to the lures of the government to get them on the reservation. But he knew, he exhorted his tribesmen, from his visits to the Great Spirit, that if they would all turn to the warpath and annihilate the whites in one fell swoop, the buffalo would come back in numbers. The People would flourish and once again they could live the old life—powerful and prosperous as they had been of yore. These things they could do, he assured them, because he in his great power would share his immunity to bullets with them all. Over them he would shed his protective mantle. They could not fail. They would have the Sun Dance and then go to war. That is why they danced, all except the Wasps, who went back home to Texas when they heard this strong talk in which they had no faith and which they felt boded no good. A few other small groups also pulled out before the dance, being either too prudent or too skeptical to follow the path of the fiery prophet.

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Although a few of the Comanches refused to accept the Prophet, a host of Kiowas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes fell under his spell. They were ready for the great "putsch."

On the day after the Sun Dance was finished, a large party of Comanche and Kiowa warriors "charged" the great Cheyenne camp which stood near by at the head of the Washita River. They were lead by Coyote Droppings and four war chiefs. When their charge was done, the Cheyennes charged in turn, and that evening all the warrior societies of the several tribes danced. "There was much excitement," notes George Bird Grinnell.[14]

The next day they took off for Adobe Walls, an old trading post built by William Bent's men in the eighteen thirties on the South Fork of the Canadian in Hutchinson County, Texas. It was now a center of operations for the later buffalo hunters. It was to be the starting point of the war of extermination. At daybreak on the morning of June 24, the attack was made by a long line of Indians in such numbers that "the noise of the horses' hoofs was like thunder."

Twenty-six white men stood inside the houses. Two were sleeping in a covered wagon outside the walls. With the men in the post was one white woman. It so happened that most of the men had been working all night on the repair of a roof beam, and so they were still up and around when the Indians charged. It also happened that they were armed with new large-bore, long-range buffalo rifles. They were resolute and stout-hearted. In the first charge they killed two Cheyennes and a Comanche. One Cheyenne charged within the walls and was killed. The others turned back and milled around. They charged again and again throughout the morning, and although there were more than enough warriors to overwhelm the little party in the adobe houses, it was not the Plains Indian way to take a bastion by storm.

Coyote Droppings, his naked body painted yellow, sat throughout it all upon his white horse on a distant hill. A Cheyenne father who had lost his son in the fighting taunted him with a dare to go down and bring out his son's body, if he really had immunity to bullets. He refused to move. As though to mock him further, a long-range shot from one of those deadly rifles knocked a member of his party from his horse as he sat with the Prophet watching the fiasco.

[14] Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 312.

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Early in the afternoon the discouraged Indians gave up. They had killed three white men—they who with the Prophet's protection were going to scour them from the earth. Nine of their own number had been killed and a number wounded. Not a very sanguine battle as battles go in the histories of nations, but it was a crushing spiritual defeat for the Comanches and their friends whose hopes had been so falsely raised. Coyote Droppings had no real power.

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But the fighting on the Southern Plains was not yet over. The defeat at Adobe Walls did not check the war spirit, for the Indians plundered and raided for a time over a wide area—Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. In order to distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians, army officials issued an order for all friendly Indians to place their camps on the east side of Cache Creek. Many Kiowas and a large majority of the Comanches failed to obey, and the military regarded them henceforth as "hostiles." One group of the Those Who Move Often band, not wishing to surrender or to remain out on the prairie where they would be attacked, went to the Wichita agency to seek protection. Hearing of their presence there, the army officers went to demand their surrender as prisoners of war. An incident during the parley led to a fight and was the opening signal for new campaigns. Other Indians now joined the renegade bands, and probably one-half of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Cheyenne tribes were openly hostile during the early autumn of 1874.

Meanwhile, in July the government in Washington had given its consent for the army to attack the Indians in their own territory and to subdue them wherever they offered resistance to constituted authority. The outbreak of 1874 had put an end to the Peace Policy. From all sides, troops poured into the Comanche and Kiowa range. Colonel Nelson A. Miles moved south from Camp Supply. Major William Price moved east from Fort Union in northern New Mexico. Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Davidson operated to the west from Fort Sill. Colonel MacKenzie operated north from Fort Concho, Texas, along the "Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos." Colonel G. P. Buell pushed up Red River in the region between Davidson and MacKenzie. Their concerted purpose was to drive all the Indians on the reservation or to kill them.

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Davidson marched north of the Wichita Mountains and headed for the North Fork of the Red River; he skirted the edge of the Staked Plains south to Red River, and returned to Fort Sill on October 16. Most of the Indians fled from him into the depths of the Palo Duro Canyon and the Brazos. MacKenzie came into play by moving up the Clear Fork and heading for Palo Duro Canyon. When he reached Tule Canyon near its junction with the Palo Duro on September 27, he looked down upon hundreds of tipis stretched for miles along the bottom of the canyon. The Indians were in a perfect trap, if resolutely attacked. In the battle that followed the soldiers captured the Indians' mounts, and, having learned by sad experience that it was almost impossible to prevent their recapture by the Indians, brought the horses to the top of the canyon and killed some fourteen hundred of them. The Indians without horses were hobbled. On October 9, Buell attacked a group in Greer County, and four days later Price struck another group in Hemphill County, Texas. On October 21, Davidson took the field again to receive the surrender of the Indians near the agency, while Miles rounded up those who had fled from Palo Duro to the lakes of the Staked Plains. 648

Very few Indians were killed in these engagements, and virtually none of the braves were captured. However, their mounts and supplies were so depleted that they could not continue their existence on the plains, and as cold weather approached, the bands straggled in one by one to surrender unconditionally. This time there were to be no peace councils, no presents. The Comanches were licked. They were in no position to ask for terms. They were placed in a concentration camp on Cache Creek east of the post; some of the warriors were locked in an unfinished icehouse, and once a day a wagon pulled up by the walls and hunks of raw meat were pitched over the fence, "like we were lions," said one of them. Horses, mules, and weapons were taken away from them. Some animals were shot, some given to the whites and Indian scouts, and about 5,500 were sold at an average of four dollars a head. The Indians lost more than 7,500 head of horses and mules as a result of the campaigns that fall.

A few hostiles remained out during the winter. In February, 1875, about 250 came in. In April, approximately 175 additional ones surrendered. Quanah Parker at the head of a large band of Antelopes

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arrived at Fort Sill on June 2. There remained only a few Comanches still at large, and occasionally others stole away from the reservation to stay out a short time. But the damage done by these small groups was negligible. An enrollment made at the agency on August 5 showed that 1,076 Kiowas, 763 of whom were classed as "loyal," and 1,597 Comanches, 938 of whom had recently been hostile, were on hand. About 50 Comanches were still at large at the time of the enrollment.

The Comanches never again participated in an outbreak, nor was there ever again an organized effort to defy the authority of the government. For several years, many Comanches were frequently off the reservation. It was some time before they ceased entirely their depredations in Texas, for they raided and pretended to the agent that they had merely been hunting. In June, 1879, however, they made their last raid. A group went to the Staked Plains on a buffalo hunt, and, while out, raided a ranch south of Big Spring.

They could no longer stay out in large parties without risking a renewal of the wretched wars. Other influences more powerful than armies were also at work. The buffalo hunters were making the plains dangerous for them, and hunting out there was becoming more and more fruitless because of the increasing intensity of the buffalo slaughter. And when that slaughter, which ceased so suddenly as to astonish the nation, was completed, the very basis of Comanche tribal life had disappeared. If the braves followed their old trails to Texas, the Rangers were certain to pounce upon them. Great herds of cattle driven by armed cowboys were seeking new ranges. Barbed wire fences were being stretched for hundreds of miles. Immigrants in long lines of covered wagons, like vast marching armies, were steadily penetrating the Indians' hunting grounds, filling the West with a sturdy and capable population. The white settlements in Texas advanced more in the decade from 1874 to 1884 than in the fifty years preceding. Yet with bow and spear and shield and horse the Comanches had held their own. Not until they were surrounded and outnumbered a thousand to one, when the iron horse sped across their hunting grounds with a speed and endurance which set at naught the Indian pony, did they at last succumb to civilization and to fate.

The cultural change demanded of the Comanches was too rapid

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and too great for simple adjustment. They were called upon to pass within the span of a single life from the Stone Age to that of steam. Men trained for war and raiding and communal hunts found themselves idle, faced with the problem of adopting the white man's way of life. For some of them there was no problem. They simply refused to consider a change.

The reservation was not a liberal grant and was entirely too small for the Indians to live as they formerly had. Of this the government had been well aware when the treaty was made and the reservation established. Consequently, a provision to furnish the Indians a limited amount of necessities had been included in the treaty. Seeds and agricultural implements were to be supplied each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. Congress was to appropriate $25,000 each year for a period of thirty years "to be used . . . in the purchase of such articles . . . as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper." Certain enumerated articles of clothing were to be provided. Each man and boy over fourteen years of age was to be given a suit of clothing, consisting of shirt, pants, coat, hat, and a pair of socks. For each woman and girl over twelve years of age, the government allowed one woolen skirt, twelve yards of calico, twelve yards of domestic, and one pair of woolen hose. Material was to be distributed for making children's clothes.[18]

Only a person with a distorted sense of humor could have regarded the selection of articles issued as less than tragic. The black, shoddy suits given out to the men were practically worthless, but some government contractor had been enriched. The trousers were all the same size, made to fit a man of two hundred or more pounds. The shirts were red flannel, and the hats were of a high, puritanical pattern. The Comanches, unaccustomed to the white man's clothes, quickly discarded the hats, although today hardly one can be seen without a hat. The coats were converted into vests by cutting off the sleeves, which the children wore for leggings. The seat was cut from the trousers and the feet from hose to convert both into leggings. Some wore the hose without shoes, and women wrapped the cloth around them-

[18] Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, 978–80.

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selves without the trouble of subjecting it to either scissors or needle and thread.[16]

According to the treaty, the government was to begin by allowing for each one hundred rations 150 pounds of beef, 70 pounds of corn meal, 4 pounds of sugar, 1 pound of salt, 2 pounds of coffee, and 1 pound of soap. The sugar and coffee were the only items of the rations that the Comanches really desired. Having lived by the hunt, they subsisted mainly on meat. Yet they would eat the salt pork which was given out at times only if they had no other meat. For several years they were able to secure a limited supply of meat by hunting. They had to learn gradually the uses of grain, vegetables, and bread. Corn meal they detested at first, frequently feeding it to their horses.

The amount of rations issued was presumably according to need. It was intended that rations would be only supplementary to farm products and food obtained on the hunt. Bacon, beans, flour, salt, rice, and hominy were sometimes added to the list or substituted for other articles. The quantity of rations was accordingly adjusted upward or downward from time to time. The winter of 1876–77 was extremely cold and the stock poor, so the agent increased the amount of beef to four pounds a week. During the early reservation period, the agent attempted to curtail raiding by withholding rations, but it was not entirely effective, for while the buffalo lasted, the raiders obtained more and better meat off the reservation than was issued to them on the reservation. When withholding failed to restrain the Indians, Agent Haworth held a roll call every three days, the men by name and the women and children by count. If any Comanches left the reservation for over three days, they had to have a military escort or a pass from the agent.[17]

The government allowed the Comanches and their allies the privilege of augmenting their government provisions by continuing to hunt off the reservation, but when some of the Indians abused this privilege by pretending to be hunting when actually they were raiding, the military authorities, in 1878, proposed to stop the Indians from leaving the reservation even to hunt. The Indians, however, depended upon the

[16] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 107–108; Tatum, *Annual Report*, 1869, *op. cit.*, 386.

[17] R. S. MacKenzie, to Haworth, May 5, 1875, "Kiowa Military Relations" (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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hunt to obtain a portion of their winter supply of meat, and the sale of buffalo robes was the source of a large part of their income. They preferred their own clothing obtained by means of the hunt to that provided by the government. The agent defended their cause, and the final decision was that they might continue to hunt off the reservation, but must be accompanied by a military escort when they did so.[18] 648x

The regulation was tardy, for the day of the old-time summer communal hunt was past. Nevertheless, the whole tribe set out eagerly for their old hunting grounds. But there were no buffalo. Only white bones gleaming ghostlike in the sun, victims of the white hunters' long-range rifles, remained as a reminder of the vast herds that once covered the plains. And even the bones were not to lie undisturbed for long; they were to be ground up for fertilizer. From creek to creek the Comanches journeyed. Their scouts ranged far and wide seeking the herds. The few antelope they met hardly provided them with daily food. Still there were no buffalo, no feasts of marrow bones and tidbits, no racks of meat drying for their winter needs, no buffalo robes to turn the cold north wind.

"They will come when the leaves fall," the Indians said. But the frosts came and the weather grew colder, and still the plains were empty. The time allowed by the agent for the hunt expired. Some gave up hope and returned to the reservation, glad to get their rations of flour, sugar, rice, and beeves. The agent sent an emissary with food to bring the others back to the reservation. The aid came in good time, for they were starving. They had killed some of their ponies and were suffering in the season's early snowstorm. They accepted the inevitable and returned sadly with the emissary to the agency. Sullenness and despair fell upon them. The buffalo had failed, and they now began to realize for certain that their old way of life had ended. Several war chiefs abdicated, and there followed a noticeable trend away from communal life toward family life. 177 648

Now the Comanches began to turn in all seriousness to a source of religious solace that could not and has not failed them. The Sun Dance had failed them and they felt that their power-giving spirits 177 795

[18] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 60; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1878, and reply, October 14, 1878.

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had all but forsaken them. Their accustomed guardian spirits, and even the Sun, lacked sufficient power to turn back the whites and to preserve their old tribal way of life; they needed and sought new power. The answer was peyote.

It was strong power, and it could always be invoked. Visions could always be had through peyote; it was reassuring to The People.

Peyote worship developed as essentially a group experience. It always has been, and still is. The old camp life was broken up. The Comanches were having to learn to live on isolated farmsteads. They yearned for the companionship of each other. In the peyote meetings they were brought together in the warm intimacy of the sacred tipi. They sat shoulder to shoulder in common experience. There they knew that they were not alone, and they could feel that all was not lost.

R. N. Richardson records the general belief that peyote was first used by the Comanches near Fort Sill, about 1875, shortly after they had been confined on the reservation.[19] D. P. McAllester, in his excellent study of Comanche peyote music, also sets the eighteen seventies as the period in which the Comanches first took up peyote.[20] This, it is true, is the time when the use of peyote in the form of a religious cult really took hold among the Comanches. Until their collapse and the failure of their venture with Coyote Droppings there was no functional reason for them to rely on a drug as the means to supernatural power, although they had access to it and, indeed, had used it in a limited way for some time.

There is ample evidence in the data given by Post Oak Jim, Breaks
[824] Something, White Wolf, Kowino, and Frank Moeda to make it quite certain that the Comanches "knew" peyote before the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days it was used exclusively as a war medicine—especially as an aid in seer-seeing to determine what dangers to expect or where to find horses or enemies.

Peyote, a small, gray-green, spineless, napiform cactus, is botanically known as *Lophophora williamsii*. It contains pharmacologically a complex number of alkaloids capable of producing a variety of physiological effects, including visual and auditory hallucinations, as well

[19] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 34, n.55.
[20] D. P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, 13.

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as a number of medicinal specifics for an as yet undetermined series of illnesses and pathological states. It is not, so far as has been determined, a habit-forming drug of the sort that requires continuing and increasing doses in order to meet a physiological craving. Unlike alcohol it does not cause a loss of muscular control or co-ordination, although it does produce a slowing down of reaction time accompanied by a sensation of euphoric relaxation and a feeling of absolute social harmony toward everyone present in the peyote session. Among the American Indians, at least, the effect is sedative and it has not the least tendency to rouse its partakers to violent behavior. It banishes fatigue and produces no "hangover" effects.

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The ritual use of peyote goes far back into old Mexico. The *conquistadores* found it in religious contexts in Central Mexico, and it flourishes among the Cora-Huichol and, to a lesser extent, among the Tarahumara. The word "peyote" is corrupted Nahuatl (Aztecan) for the word for caterpillar, "peyotl," so called because the fuzzy white tufts on the rounded top of the plant look like the fuzzy back of a caterpillar.

By 1716, according to a note of Velasco, the Indians of South Texas were using "pellote." The Carrizo Apaches are believed to be the group through whom it was transmitted to other Apaches; and the Comanches believe that they first got it from either the Carrizo or White Mountain Apaches.

McAllester presents a full and detailed Comanche version of the acquisition of peyote from the Carrizo Apache. According to this account, a young Comanche war leader lost all his followers in a fight with the Carrizos. He himself was scalped, stripped, and left for dead. The Apaches were holding a peyote meeting sometime later when the scalped Comanche entered their lodge. He told them that in four days seven Comanches would arrive among them. "When those seven arrive you are to have a peyote meeting. When you have the meeting I command you to give them my bow and this peyote. They shall take these things from you with them." This the Carrizos agreed to do; and thus it came to pass that the Comanches learned about peyote.[21]

As McAllester points out, his version, which was recorded in

[21] *Ibid.*, 14–17.

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Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man (Tenewerka), in 1933, one of the Comanches who stole the horses from the stone corral at Fort Sill in 1878

Photograph by E. A. Hoebel

[Facing p. 334]

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1940, is "more of an historical account than a myth," for it lacks the usual diagnostic characteristics of Plains Indian mythology. But when set against a hitherto unpublished and more pristine account, given to the Laboratory of Anthropology researchers by White Wolf in 1933, it may be seen to what degree the myth-making tendency has built up the story in the McAllester version.

« « « A war party of Comanches was returning from a raid in the country far to the west. When they were camped in the country of the White Mountain Apaches, they heard a drumming different from any kind they knew. Their leader said, "I shall go to see what kind of a thing this is. If I do not return, you will know that I am dead."

An Apache had had a dream that an enemy Comanche was to appear, so they were not surprised when this war chief showed up. Their leader had said they should bring him right in when he appeared.

When he came into their meeting, the Apache leader asked him why he was there.

"I wanted to follow up the drum," was his reply.

They were holding a peyote meeting, and the peyote leader told him to observe closely all that happened. In this way he learned the ritual. When the meeting was over, they gave him the drum and the Father Peyote. They told him where to find more peyote for the use of the Comanches. This is how we learned about this herb.

I was told this when I was a small boy by an old man who had been told it by an old man. » » »

White Wolf, at the time of the telling of this simple account was himself eighty ears of age.

Greyfoot observed that although the Comanches first got peyote from the Apaches "a long time ago," they dropped it "because some medicine men began using it in an evil way."

In the eighteen sixties it was coming into limited use again as war medicine, as indicated in the following account given by Breaks Something, who had been told it by *Mʌmsɔka*.

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Voice of the Sunrise (Tabananika), chief of the Yamparika

[Farrag p. 335]

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

On the Reservation

« « « Charcoal led us on a trip to find where the peyote plants grew. The Apaches knew where it was, and they gave the directions to Charcoal. 177 795

On the road Charcoal finally recognized the place which the Apaches had described to him. All the Comanches spread out to search for the plant. They had never seen it growing before, but *Mamska* recognized some. He called the others to come look.

They all gathered around the patch and arranged themselves in the peyote-meeting formation. Charcoal was the leader. He made smoke to the peyote. He addressed it, saying, "We are going to take you for protection against the enemies."

Then he cut off the head of a big peyote plant just below the ground. He cleaned the dirt off of it, wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in his pocket over his heart. Now he told the others to cut all the peyote they needed. He said they would have a meeting that evening.

For their peyote lodge they cut brush which they formed in the shape of a tipi and covered with robes. Charcoal formed the earth crescent and fireplace in the center. All prepared for the meeting; they bathed and returned to the camp to get painted up. Then they entered the tipi in the ceremonial fashion. *Mamska* was the fire tender. Charcoal placed the first button he had cut on the crescent for the road medicine, Father Peyote. He lit a cigarette with a coal, and then he spoke to the peyote. He told it he heard it had power; he was going into enemy territory; and he told it he was going to carry it for protection. He put his cigarette down and chewed some wild sage which he rubbed over his body as a purifier. The other men did the same. [783]

Now a bag of peyote buttons was brought in. Charcoal took four. Each of the other men was also given four.

Then each man chewed a piece of peyote into a pulp. He spewed it out into his hand, made four circular motions toward the fire, and swallowed it. Then he spit in his hands and rubbed them over his head, arms, and ears to take away aches and pains, and to hear better.

Charcoal used his bow for the singer's staff. A rattle and drum had been brought along for the occasion. Each man sang four songs as they passed the staff and the rattle and drum around the circle.

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Then they passed out more peyote.

Finally, Charcoal spoke up: "*Mʌmɜ̃ka,* stir the fire. I have learned that tomorrow we shall all be killed."

He smoked again and spoke to the peyote, telling it that he did not expect anything bad like this from it. Now he was in a very dangerous place, he said.

Next he talked to his followers.

"Tomorrow we go over a certain hill. I have seen that there will be two companies of soldiers there. We might as well die now. Let this peyote kill us right here! Eat a lot of it."

With tears in his eyes, he ate more and more.

At midnight the water was brought in, and they all smoked. Charcoal again upbraided the peyote for treating him thus, and he ate more and more peyote.

After a while Charcoal spoke again.

"I have learned more," he said. "Tomorrow we shall meet some enemies, but no harm will come to us. We shall go on and capture some horses and get home safely. There will be a gray one for me."

The next morning they ate breakfast and prepared to leave. They traveled a bit and went up a hill. On an opposite hill, across a creek they saw two companies of soldiers. After a drill, the soldiers left. Our people went down the hill and traveled southwest all day long. At night they came upon an enemy camp where there were many horses, among them a gray one. Cried Charcoal, "That's *my* horse."

They gathered up the horses and made for home, Charcoal riding the gray.

This shows the wonderful power of peyote. It all came true. » » »

Charcoal's first peyote button was preserved by him until his death, when he gave it to a friend, who in time gave it to *Mʌmɜ̃ka,* who still preserved and cherished this famous button in 1933.

With such powers, peyote took firm hold of the Comanches as soon as they settled down on the reservation. Its worship flourished, until in the early part of the present century it suffered from opposition emanating from missionaries and government officers.

The old leaders were waging a losing fight to retain their religious practices through the peyote sacrament until James Mooney, a rep-

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resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

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the goods were often of a most inferior quality and could not be used. Many agents and contractors connived at rewarding themselves from government contracts at the expense of the Indians. When Agent Hugh Brown, who assumed his duties in June, 1893, attempted to force the contractors to deliver in full according to the terms of their contracts, he was removed before the year was out.

At first the policy was to issue the rations to the chiefs, who in turn distributed them among the people of their respective bands. This policy did not always assure a fair distribution. Agent Tatum in 1871 made a count and found 4,444 actual eligible residents as compared to a count of 8,746 claimed by the Indians as being entitled to rations. To remedy this situation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered a change in the distribution system so that each family would receive its own rations directly. Each family was given a card with the family name at the top and the number of persons in the family. The card was punched when rations were issued. A military officer was also required to be present when rations were given out.[23]

Issue day, once a week at times and once every two weeks at others, was a gala occasion. The women with their ration cards filed by various clerks who served them much as in a modern cafeteria. The beef was issued sometimes on the hoof, and here the men came in for participation. The animals were penned in a great corral near the agency, from which they were turned loose one at a time. The waiting men and youths pursued them, making a pretense of their old buffalo hunt. Firing at the fleeing animals from the backs of running ponies, they presently brought them down. They seemingly were not as effective with pistols as their fathers and grandfathers had been with bow and arrow and lance. Waiting women and children hastened to skin and cut up the animals as soon as they were killed. Considerable trouble often arose over the issue of beef, since obviously each family could not have the choice parts.

Issue days were times of feasting, gambling, and entertainment. The trend developed rapidly during the administration of Captain J. Lee Hall, who became agent in 1885. Captain Hall was generous,

[23] Hayworth, *Annual Report*, September 20, 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1876, 52.

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hospitable, and a heavy drinker who allowed the agency to go on sprees. One principal amusement when not eating or gambling was horse racing, as it had been of old. The long, straight road between the agency buildings was the favorite track. But this was the only street of the village. Freight wagons rumbled along it, children played in the middle of the road, and the women crossed back and forth. Fearing someone might be injured, the agent ordered the Indians to hold their races in a near-by pasture. On a level place they laid out two straight tracks side by side, about ten yards apart and one-half mile long. Only two horses raced at a time. When one race was over and the bets paid, another would follow as long as there were any one who would race. Not infrequently a loser left without money, blanket, or food. 648* 657

Sometimes the entire week's supply of rations was gone before a family left the station, and it was not unusual for them to beg for more. In 1892, the agent estimated that the Indians were 50 per cent self-supporting, with government rations making up the other 50 per cent of their subsistence.

Those families who lived some distance from the agency spent most of their time going to and from the agency for the purpose of drawing their rations. To avoid this situation, Agent P. B. Hunt issued rations for more than one week to those who were farming and found it a handicap to come to the agency so frequently. In 1886, a ration station was opened at Fort Sill as a means of helping solve this problem. As the Indians became adjusted to the white man's mode of living, only one member of a family went to the station for rations. Before the close of the ration period several families or a community might send in only one or two persons to obtain their supplies.

The thirty years set by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge for issuing rations and supplies ended in 1897. By this time the Indians were becoming established with farms and cattle, supplemented by income from grass leases and from wages received from hauling and for other odd jobs. The end of rationing was delayed, however, until the opening of the reservation to settlement in 1901, when it was rapidly discontinued. Afterwards only those Indians unable to work were given

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*648 rations. During the fiscal year 1909–10 only eighty-seven, all of whom
657 were unable to work, received rations, to the amount of $4,335.90.[24]

The breakdown of established norms of behavior and the change to new patterns of conduct resulted in many social conflicts and disturbances. The whites were not sufficiently well acquainted with the Indians always to apprehend the guilty parties and mete out justice as well as some of the Indians. Horse thieves preyed on the Indians' herds. It was easy to round up a bunch of ponies in the isolated portions of the Comanche lands and run them off into the Chickasaw country or into Texas, where they had a ready sale.

177 To assist the agents in maintaining order on the reservation, Con-
*648 gress in May, 1878, provided for a system of Indian police. They were
625 to be provided with badges, uniforms, and guns, and each officer was
657 to receive eight dollars and each private five dollars a month in addition to full rations.[25] Their business was to ride over the country and keep watch for thieves and trespassers, to report any troubles that might arise among the Indians of the reservation, and to keep watch over the Indians' cattle and horses. They would work under the agent's orders.

Agent P. B. Hunt, whose task it was to organize the first police force, found it difficult to secure men willing to serve. He wanted young men, but the compensation was too small to induce men to volunteer for the service. Furthermore, the chiefs declared that it was not right for younger men to arrest the older members of the tribe. The agent reminded the leaders that the police were to work for all their people, to guard their livestock, to carry information to the agent and from him to their people; they would do work similar to the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In order to win the support of those objecting to the police, the headmen were commissioned to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation, thus satisfying them with a semblance of their old authority.[26] To complete the police rolls, Hunt found it necessary to refuse the Comanches the permit for their annual

[24] Supt. Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, *Annual Report*, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[25] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, p. XLII; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, September 28, 1878.

[26] Agent J. Lee Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1886 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. 177
The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual 625
hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27] 648x

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of 667
one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the 177
Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and 648x
adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary 657
a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused 695
to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

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177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 648 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
657 I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade out of
695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed. You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

I took this report back to Quanah. It was then up to this fellow to come out with a true account of a braver deed or else give up the land and abide by the decision.

He could not do this, so Quanah and the two warriors decided for the complainer. That man had to give up the land and keep quiet. » » »

This is hardly the way a white court would have decided the validity of a land claim in dispute. And we have strong doubts as to its being the way that it would have been settled by Comanche peace chiefs, if they had been called upon to adjudicate by the Anglo-Americans. But it was sound Comanche reasoning from a war leader's point of view, and in terms of the Comanches' premises it was just.

177 In 1886, provision was made for the establishment of the Court
x 648 of Indian Offenses with power to try minor cases. The court as con-
657 stituted that year was composed of three judges who were selected
692 by the Indians with the assistance and approval of the agent. The presiding judge was paid thirty dollars a month; the other two, twenty-five dollars each. The agent certified Quanah Parker of the Comanches as presiding judge, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Jim Tehuacana of the Wichitas as the first members of the newly created court. The court was to have jurisdiction over both the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations. It was to meet twice a month.

The plan worked well. The judges fully appreciated the dignity of their positions, and the Indians were more willing to submit difficulties or complaints to their own court presided over by their own chiefs. The presence of two of the three judges from other tribes was intended to assure impartial hearings and sentences. The court assessed fines or jail sentences which sometimes were more severe than the white man's law assigned for like offenses, and a few times

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the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

would bring back the spirits of the dead Indians, the buffalo, wild horses, and all the other animals which had formerly been on the plains. Indians and whites would live together in brotherly forbearance. But the Sioux, as they took up the Paiute-Christian pacifism of the Prophet, transformed it into a doctrine of aggressive retribution. All peoples except the Indians were to be pushed off the earth into the seas whence they came, and be drowned. All that the Great Spirit required of the Indians was to have faith in the teaching and to dance strange new dances. It would not be necessary to go to war. The dance prepared the people for the Messiah and would bring forth the new earth.

Far out on Elk Creek, away from the agency, a camp was set up for the Ghost Dance. The ceremony was strange and solemn. The dancers, both men and women, sang a plaintive and pathetic song, representing their struggles and hardships. It was a ceremony of despair. Some dancers wore white clothes so that the ghosts of the departed would not be afraid to come back and live with their people. With hands clasped, the dancers moved around a center pole to the cadence of a chant, while the medicine man in the center strove to induce a hypnotic trance in each of the dancers. As the dance progressed, the dancers succumbed, falling on the ground in a stupor and remaining there for as long as an hour. During the trance they saw visions of the antelope and bison in numbers, and the dear, departed dead.

Sitting Bull was sincere, although he was also getting wealthy from the fees he charged. Many Indians were deeply affected and followed him around trying to touch the hem of his garments or grasp his hand and pray, frequently with tears rolling down their cheeks.

Most of the Comanche leaders, including Chief Quanah Parker, had no faith in the new prophecy. They recalled another day in 1874 when a young medicine man claimed great power and had made promises to save his people from destruction if they would only follow him. They had made medicine and followed him to Adobe Walls, where their faith and dreams were shattered and they learned to their sorrow that their leader had no more power than themselves. It had been a bitter and unforgettable disappointment.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites. 177 648* 795

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah. [181]

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them. 797

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

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The old way of life was nearer an end than they feared. The whites were rapidly pushing in. When the Indians and the buffalo had been removed from the plains of Texas, the cattlemen quickly covered the area with vast herds. Many thousand head of cattle were driven northward to market. By 1877 the Comanches were troubled with trespassing cattle, and the agent was instructed to have these cattle removed. A penalty of one dollar a head was to be collected from the owner of such cattle when the animals were driven on the reservation to graze, but nothing was to be collected for what the cattle ate while being driven through the reservation, since "this is incidental."[31]

Some of the cattlemen took advantage of this decision by driving their herds across the reservation where the best grass was to be found, and although the herds might not be turned loose to graze, they traveled at a much slower rate across the reservation than was customary for herds on the north-bound trail. To remedy this situation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1881 established a definite trail across the reservation leading toward Fort Dodge. It crossed the reservation for a distance of about twenty miles, northwest through Greer County. The Abilene Trail followed the east line of the reservation. The Commissioner opposed the opening of a trail in 1883 from Doane's store north by way of Fort Sill on the ground that the cattlemen would start their cattle in the spring and fatten them on the grass of the reservation, which would interfere with efforts to build up the herds of the Indians.[32] Cattle were to move along the trails at the rate of not less than ten miles a day. It was the duty of the soldiers and police to see that the herds were kept on the trail and that they traveled at the required rate of speed.

There was a drought in 1881, and about the same time the government reduced the ration of beef to the Indians. Agent Hunt offered to allow the cattlemen to graze their herds on the reservation during the winter and spring in return for a specified amount of beef for the Indians. They paid willingly, for they received more in return than the value of the animals donated. They were certain that the

[31] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[32] Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kioway Agency, 1882–1884" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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Indians would take what they needed anyway. The agreement was unofficial, but to the cattlemen it gave an aspect of legality to their enterprise, and as such it constituted the first paid grazing leases contracted for the reservation. The cattle of the ranchers who paid were allowed to cross the river to the reservation unmolested, but those of the others were driven off. This plan was followed for several years, the twenty or more cattlemen with whom the agreement was made each taking a portion of the range.

Once the cattle had been placed on the reservation, the owners were slow to remove them at the designated time or to continue to pay for their right to pasturage. There was, after all, much unused grass on the reservation, and to Texas cattlemen the use of the grass was very important. They could see no reason why it should go unused. Consequently, they drove their cattle to the border of the reservation, and allowed them—possibly with some urging and guidance—to wander or stray on to the reservation. The Indian police attempted to guard the border, but the line was long. Each week the chief of police was instructed to remove the cattle illegally grazing the reservation; the government employees tried and failed to keep the cattle off; the troops tried and failed. Agent Hunt said that it would have required an army to keep them off.[33]

Cattlemen resorted to other schemes to get their cattle on the reservation. Emmit Cox, a white, came to the tribe and married the daughter of Quanah Parker and secured his bride's right to graze. In 1881, Cox had a large herd of steers, which he claimed as his own, near Lawton, but it was rumored that they belonged to a Texas cattleman who paid Cox $1.50 a head annually to get them on Comanche land.[34] When the cattlemen failed to obey the orders, Hunt gave them a thirty-day notice and then proceeded to levy fines on violators. But the fines were so small, and it was so difficult to prove that the owners purposely drove the cattle on to the reservation, that most cattlemen disregarded the orders and paid the fine, if they were found guilty. Since Hunt was unable to keep the cattle off, he called upon outside assistance. One of his last official acts before leaving the agency was to post notices in the post offices and stores along the

[33] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, *loc. cit.*, 89.
[34] Claude Southward, *Nocona's Nest*, 30.

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Texas border that no cattle were to be driven on to the reservation and to call upon the Texas sheriffs to assist in enforcing the order. Agent J. Lee Hall reported that during his first summer of tenure the Indian police removed from the reservation ten thousand head of trespassing cattle.[35]

It was only a short step from paying for grass with beeves to contracting a lease for grazing, but even so there were difficulties involved. By 1885, both the agent and a number of the Indians realized that they could not prevent trespassing and that it would be better to lease grazing privileges than to try to enforce the ban on grazing. In February, 1885, a delegation of Indians were told that they might make their own arrangements with cattlemen, but that the government would not handle the business for them. An arrangement was made with several large cattle firms, and the first money payments to the Comanches were made under this agreement in the summer of 1885. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept money for fear that a scheme to deprive them of their lands was involved. In February, 1892, the Indians in council appointed a delegation to go to Washington to discuss grass leasing. As a result, the agent was granted authority to submit one-year contracts for approval. Six leases, aggregating 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892.[36]

Agent W. D. Myers took a census of the Indians for the purpose of paying the lease money due them. To complete the census required several months, for definite and permanent names had to be decided upon and enrolled as such. Very often confusion arose over the spelling of a name; the Indian might use one name among his Indian friends and still another on the ration rolls. Births and deaths were not always reported. The Indians' share of the "grass" money was paid twice each year. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs directed that all heads of families were to give receipts for their own shares, shares of their wives and of their minor children. In the absence of the husband, a wife might sign for him. In case of minor orphans, guardians were designated by the tribal headman.

[35] Hall, *Annual Report*, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1886, 131.

[36] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1893, 29.

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All leases presumably were to be made through the Anadarko office and referred to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington for approval. However, some cattlemen used their political influence to secure leases in Washington without the knowledge of the agent. Fear of increasing encroachment of the land-hungry "boomers" made the cattlemen eager to lease large tracts at the government price of six cents an acre, with the result that the Indians of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in 1893 leased 1,304,958 acres.[37] Most of the requests were for grazing cattle, but sheep and hog owners also asked for permits, although no permits were allowed for hogs.

In 1894, the crops were poor but the grass was excellent, and the agent persuaded the Indians in council to agree to use the semiannual payment of about $50,000 for purchasing fine young cattle. However, the project met with such a storm of protest from the traders to whom the Indians were indebted that it was set aside. The agent then devoted much effort to encouraging the Indians to be thrifty and buy their own individual cattle from their savings.

Meanwhile, the "boomers" made stronger and stronger demands for opening the Kiowa-Comanche reservation. Their principal argument was that the lands were not being used. The cattlemen joined the Indians in opposing the opening of the reservation, since they desired to continue leasing the grass for pasture. They employed an attorney in Washington and brought pressure upon congressmen to prevent it, but with little success, for on October 6, 1892, the Jerome Agreement was made at Fort Sill between the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes and the United States. According to the agreement, each Indian man, woman, and child was to secure 160 acres of land by allotment. Church, agency, school, military, or other public land could not be claimed by an individual. Sections thirty-six and sixteen of each township were to be held for school purposes, and sections thirteen and thirty-three for public institutions and welfare. The allotments were to be held in trust for twenty-five years, after which they were to be conveyed in fee simple to the holder. The period of trust could be extended if the government of the United States deemed it necessary for the best interests of the Indian.[38] During the trust

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] The Agency records show that twenty-eight were given fee patent (complete

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Albert Atocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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period the allotments were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to any indebtedness. In addition, four tracts were reserved to the Indians collectively: the "Big Pasture" lying along Red River, an area adjacent to the Wichita-Caddo reservation, an area east of the Big Pasture and adjoining the Chickasaw country, and a small area near Fort Sill for a wood reserve. The four tracts amounted to 551,680 acres; the Big Pasture with 414,720 acres was by far the largest.

For the surrender of their rights to all other lands of the reservation, the government agreed to pay the Indians two million dollars in installments of $500,000 each at such times as the "Secretary of Interior shall deem the best for the said Indians." The money was to draw 5 per cent interest while in the United States Treasury, the interest to be paid annually. The agreement was to become effective when approved by Congress.

Many leading Indians protested that the agreement was secured unfairly. They accused the interpreter, Joshua Givens, son of Satank, of falsely translating their statements. It is reported that the Indians were so infuriated with Joshua that they made meditine to cause his death as well as the commissioners'. They made an image of Joshua and threw mud at it. The fatal ailment would occur where the mud hit. The mud struck his chest. On the way home from the council, Joshua had a hemorrhage of the lungs. Shortly afterwards he died, and the commissioners did not long survive him.[29]

Since only a part of the Indians had been present at the signing of the agreement, opponents argued that it was illegal. The opposition party was supported by the cattlemen, and they did not concede without a fight. They sent a delegation headed by General Hugh L. Scott and Lone Wolf to Washington. The delegation obtained a hearing with President Grover Cleveland, who is said to have listened to their case and exclaimed, "I will not permit it. I will see justice done

ownership) in 1926, and possibly a half-dozen since then. The trust period has been extended from time to time by executive order. The latest order extends it for twenty-five years from August, 1946. Personal communication from Supt. W. B. McCown to Wallace, June 12, 1945, and Executive Order 9659, Federal Register, November 24, 1945.

[29] J. J. Methvin, missionary teacher who went to the reservation in 1887, to Lillian Cassaway, June 22, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, Oklahoma University Library), Vol. XLII, pp. 415–16.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Hair Hanging Down, in 1930
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

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these Indians as long as I am in power."[40] They hired an attorney in Washington and left him in charge of their fight to block ratification of the agreement.

They were fighting a losing battle. One by one the various chiefs were won over by the "boomers." They saw the futility of protesting longer, for nothing could hold back the mass of land-hungry whites clamoring for admittance. At most they merely delayed the opening, for on June 6, 1900, an act of Congress made the Jerome Agreement the law of the land, and on July 4, 1901, a Presidential proclamation ordered the execution of the agreement. According to the agreement, allotments were to be made as soon as possible. The Secretary of the Interior, acting within his rights, had delayed the execution of the agreement while awaiting the decision of Congress. The agent was not ordered to have the lands surveyed until 1895. But as soon as Congress acted, the work was rushed. Each Indian was allowed to select his or her own 160-acre allotment. Tracts for minors were selected by the parents or by the agent. As soon as a choice was made and the authorities informed, it was recorded and the Indian's title evidenced by the issuance of a trust patent.[41] By the next year the allotments had been completed. The Indian court was abolished on July 1, 1901, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in anticipation of the new status.

The lands not allotted to the Indians were surveyed into homesteads of 160 acres each and thrown open to the public. This opening was more orderly than preceding ones in that it was by lottery rather than by a run. Everyone who wished to get a claim was required to register between July 10 and 26. Prior to the registration, cattlemen were required to remove their herds and pasture fences from the reservation. Two registration booths, one at El Reno and another near Fort Sill, were set up. At El Reno 11,556 registered. The drawing of names from two large iron boxes was held at El Reno on July 29, 1901, before a crowd of 30,000. In a few weeks the country was full of whites who were plowing fields and building homes. Three townsites were laid out—Lawton, Hobart, and Anadarko, the last at the

[40] H. L. Scott, *Some Memoirs of a Soldier*, 201.

[41] Agent J. F. Randlett, *Annual Report*, 1901, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1901, 255.

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site of the Kiowa-Comanche agency. The auction of town lots occurred on August 6.

The change took place so rapidly that a corn field was converted overnight into the town of Anadarko. Other towns sprang up almost as rapidly. Lawton, the largest of the new towns, was for months a wild frontier place, with open saloons, gambling, and frequent fights. Roads leading through the reservation were filled with homeseekers and traders in covered wagons, on horseback, and on foot. The Indians were forced to change their way of living overnight, also.

But the "boomers" were not satisfied with a partial opening of the reservation. They continued to use the same argument—that the Indians were not using the lands. The demand could not long be delayed. Congress on June 5, 1906, provided for the opening of the remainder of the reserve lands of the reservation, the last big opening in Oklahoma. The law specified that these lands were to be sold under sealed bids to be opened by the Secretary of Interior. Before the sale could take place, the 517 Indian children of the reservation born after June 5, 1901, when allotments were completed, had to be given their 160 acres each. The men to whom the pastures were leased were allowed time to remove their cattle. Surveys divided the lands to be sold into 2,531 tracts. The sealed bids were to be placed in the Lawton land office between December 3 and 8, 1906, later extended until December 15.[42] Thus were the Comanches finally stripped of the last of their once vast tribal holdings.

The Geronimo band of Apaches, after having been held captives in Florida and Alabama, were removed to the Fort Sill military reservation in 1894, where they were held as prisoners until 1913. They were then permitted to decide whether they preferred to go to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico or remain in Oklahoma. The majority returned to New Mexico, but eighty-five chose to remain. Those who remained received allotments of land and cattle and were joined in 1913 to the Comanche-Kiowa agency. They are located largely in the vicinity of the town of Apache, north of Fort Sill.

Simultaneously with the opening of the last of the reservation, a

[42] Agent J. P. Blackmon, *Annual Report*, 1906, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1906, 309; Blackmon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 26, 1906; Commissioner of Indian Affairs *Annual Report*, 1906, 159.

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movement was on foot for bringing statehood to Oklahoma and Indian Territory. On November 4, 1906, an election was held throughout the two territories for delegates to a constitutional convention. On November 20 that body met and began its work, and on November 16, 1907, Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union. Verily, the phase of reservation life had passed, a short interlude of forty years. The Comanches had entered the White Man's Road. They were Lords of the Southern Plains no longer.

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[For information on international relations between the Comanche and whites, and the history of such relations, see category 116, pp. 280-331, 338-353.]

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ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE COMANCHES[1]

MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN
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ONE TEXT FIGURE AND THREE PLATES

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[161] The Comanches, numbering some 1956 individuals,[2] at present reside on and near a government reservation in south-central Oklahoma, for the most part leading a sedentary, half-hearted agricultural existence. They were in immediate pre-reservation times a true and the southermost plains tribe,[3] noted as daring and ruthless raiders, who followed and lived largely on the buffalo, their nomadic and depredatory range extending from the Platte River in Wyoming and Nebraska to Durango in central Mexico. As early as 1717 and probably earlier, Comanche encampments were to be found in New Mexico and western Texas (Chaves, '06). Mooney (1898), however, considered them on the bases of language and traditions a "comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming" (p. 161).

144 Admixture of blood, especially with Mexicans, as well as with Indians of other tribes and some whites has taken place certainly since early historical times, and continues to the present day. Mixture with the negro seems to have been very rare throughout their history; in the present population only one Comanche with even suspected negro blood was noted. Mooney, as early as 1896, was impressed by the extent of blood mixture among the Comanches, feeling that "at least

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made possible the securing of the data here reported.

[2] Rept. Comm. Indian Affairs, Washington, 1932, p. 45.

[3] Wissler, C., N. A. Indians of the Plains. N. Y., 1927, p. 13.

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144 one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

619 The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more im-
631 portant being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

114 Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

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speaks of the 'Comances' as "in stature rather low, and in 114
person often approaching to corpulency." Richardson (1829, p. 61) quotes Marcy's description of the Comanches in 1854 as men "about medium stature, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline nose, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard." Finally, Boas (1895) reports stature for seventy-four and cephalic index for twenty-nine Comanche males measured by his students at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. Except for additional casual statements about their appearance, nothing else on the physical status of the Comanches, to the writer's knowledge, has appeared in print.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study comprises thirty-five full- and probably 124
full-blood males, twenty-five full-blood females, and twenty-five mixed bloods. The numbers are regrettably small, but mixture of blood is so prevalent that little better was possible under the circumstances. Virtually every town and surrounding environs where Comanches lived—Lawton, Cache, Fletcher, Walters, Mt. Scott—was visited in the search for full-bloods. By full-blood the writer means a person with no other blood than that of his tribe as far back as he can remember, and as far as other, older, members of the tribe recall; this criterion must agree with the physical diagnosis based on character of hair, color of eyes and hair, Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, general appearance, etc. All reasonable precautions were taken in the present study to insure accuracy of judgment.

The number of virtually certain full-bloods, nineteen males 128
and twenty-five females, although small, is believed to be a 124
typical group. Data are therefore given in some detail, more so since the full-blood is rapidly becoming totally eliminated and other information is meager.

A number of the subjects examined appeared full-blood, yet for one reason or another, the diagnosis could not be as certain as desirable. These subjects were designated as 'prob-

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able[5] full-bloods. They appear more divergent metrically than either full- or mixed-bloods, and are therefore treated separately.

The data for the mixed-bloods will not be given in detail, inasmuch as the group is made up about equally of Mexican, other Indian, and white admixture, no one sub-group being large enough to give a reliable sample. Mixed-bloods were measured incidentally, all time and effort being exerted in mustering full-bloods. It may be mentioned, however, that, in general, the mixed-bloods, especially the Mexican-Comanches, resembled the full-bloods to a remarkable degree, so much so that not infrequently it was quite difficult to distinguish one from the other. Exactly this same situation was commented upon long ago by Fitzpatrick, as quoted by Mooney.[6]

There have been suggestions, even positive assertions, that the Comanches were physically as well as linguistically related to the Shoshoni.[7] The Comanches have been compared, therefore, with the latter in as great detail as the available Shoshoni material allowed. The Apache (San Carlos), Dakota Sioux, Indians of the Southwest and Mexico, and Old U. S. Whites, have also been more or less utilized for comparative purposes because of similarity to, or to show in sharper relief, the Comanche characters.

Measurements were taken with tested, standard instruments, and the methods followed are those endorsed by the International Agreement.[8] The writer is deeply indebted to Drs. Aleš Hrdlička, of the U. S. National Museum, and Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for their instructions in method and invaluable advice throughout

[6] Loc. cit., p. 174.

[7] Physically, the Comanche retain something of the heavy featured face of the true Shoshone . . . ." (Farrand, '04, p. 144).

". . . . it is highly probable that if the fact could be ascertained, which I have no doubt a thorough research would establish, it would be shown that the Shoshoneans, Comanches, and Utes were formerly one and the same people—a conclusion based upon the similarity of their language—and physical characteristics." (Clark, 1885, p. 119.)

[8] Hrdlička (A.), Anthropometry. The Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1920.

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this study. To Dr. Franz Boas the writer is grateful and 000 wishes to express his thanks here for the opportunity of examining old Comanche data.

AGE

The age distribution of the subjects examined is given be- 162 low. A disproportionate number of the male full-bloods are in the higher age brackets due to the almost hopeless task of distinguishing full-bloods among the young. As a rule, however, the old men were remarkably well preserved; wherever [145] there was a chance of a physical ailment or decrepitude influencing a measurement or observation, a notation to that effect was made or the item was altogether omitted.

Age distribution

YEARS	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD
	Male	Female	Male
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
21 to 30	5.3	4.–	12.5
31 to 40	5.3	16.–	12.5
41 to 50	31.6	24.–	18.8
51 to 60	15.8	36.–	50.–
61 to 70	26.3	20.–	6.2
71 to 80	15.8		
Average	56.8y.	52.–y.	48.4y.
Minimum	26	28	25
Maximum	80[1]	70	61

[1] One man, head measurements only.

DESCRIPTIVE OBSERVATIONS[2]

Color of skin. The most common color of the skin in both 142 sexes was medium- to reddish-brown on the face, and light-brown on the unexposed medial surface of the upper arm. The skin of the females, in general, appeared somewhat lighter in both regions. There was practically no difference between the full- and probable full-bloods.

[2] In the following, the term Comanche and all observations and measurements will refer to the full-bloods only, unless otherwise stated.

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147 *Skin-reaction.* The "reaction of the skin on the chest to the irritation caused by drawing over it a finger-nail with force"[10] was used as an adjunct in distinguishing full- from mixed-bloods. In healthy full-bloods the hyperaemia which constitutes the reaction was often slight, never over medium. At times the hyperaemia did not appear for about a minute after the initial irritation.

142 *Color of eyes.* The predominating eye color in both sexes was a medium brown. Doctor Hrdlička mentions a "moderate [145] dilution or loss of color with age" among the Sioux;[11] this occurs in the Comanche as well. The eyes of the children were generally a richer, deeper brown.

The color of the sclera in the adults was most frequently a dull- or yellowish-white, usually more or less bloodshot. The pigmentation may have been affected by the widespread trachoma.

Eye slant. In one-third of the males and nearly one-half of the females, the eyeslits were practically horizontal. Most of the remaining subjects had their outer canthi inclined upward (slightly to moderately), a few cases only occurring with a downward, slight to moderate, slant. The slant often appeared accentuated by a fairly frequent occurrence of narrow palpebral openings, or, among many with a moderate opening, by a habit of keeping the eyelids half shut. A wide palpebral opening was uncommon.

The mongolian fold was not noted in the adults; it was common in the younger children.

Color of hair. The hair of all full- and probable full-bloods, with one exception, was completely straight. One female's hair was somewhat wavy at the ends, although straight on top of the head. Felt by the fingers, the hair seemed usually of medium texture; a greater tendency toward coarseness occurred in the females than in the males.

[10] Hrdlička, A. Anthropology of the Sioux. Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XVI, 130, 1931.

[11] Loc. cit., 130.

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Grayness. No gray hair was noted in any full- or probable/42 full-blood below 40 years of age. Among the males, the/45 youngest full-blood showing some gray hairs was 45, probable full-blood, 40; females, full-blood, 40, probable full-blood, 50. Almost 57 per cent of the individuals between 40 and 55, inclusive, had no gray hair at all; this condition is close to the 50 per cent among the Sioux.[12] Many subjects above 55, even at the ages of 70 and 80, showed but few gray hairs, although several cases did occur of approximately two-thirds of the hair gray, as well as one instance of a blind man with practically an entire head of yellowish-gray hair.

The pattern of graying among the Indians, to the writer's knowledge, has not been commented upon. Among whites, even negroes, as recently pointed out by Boas and N. Michelson ('32, p. 215), graying of the hair commonly begins and is most extensive at the temporal regions and around the lower occiput. The writer was struck by the rarity of this gray-hair pattern in the full- and probable full-blood Comanches. Almost invariably the graying in the latter was 'general,' i.e., a condition where more or less widely separated strands of hair, apparently originating around the forehead, had become iron- or yellowish-gray. On the other hand, several instances of compact, temporal graying were noted among the mixed bloods. The 'general' type of graying seemed a distinctly full-blood Indian characteristic.

Loss of hair. No full-blood under 60, and none under 50 among the probable full-bloods, had any loss of hair whatever. Several of the older men had slight to moderate loss over the forehead; three old women likewise showed a slight loss over the forehead.

Moustache and beard. No moustache or beard whatever/42 was noted in either full- or probable full-blood.

Eyebrows. The men often plucked out their eyebrows.[302] Where present, in male or female, the amount of hair in the brow was usually thin, never over medium. A trace of concurrency occurred in 39 per cent of individuals with eyebrows not plucked.

[12] Hrdlička, A. Loc. cit., 132.

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142 *Forehead.* The forehead was usually of medium height by inspection; it was high in approximately 20 per cent of the males and 17 per cent of the females, and low, sometimes very low, in 13 per cent of the former, and 28 per cent of the latter. No (or a slight) slope backward of the forehead occurred in 42 per cent of males, 76 per cent of females; a moderate slope backward, 47 per cent males, 24 per cent females; and a marked slope was noted in approximately 11 per cent of the males.

Supraorbital ridges. The data on the supraorbital ridges of the full-bloods, given below, are self-explanatory. A somewhat greater percentage of marked ridges obtained in the probable full-bloods.

Supraorbital ridges: full-bloods

	Males Per cent	*Females* Per cent
None to slight	5.3	56.–
Moderate	57.9	28.–
Marked	36.8	16.–

An approach to concurrency of the ridges occurred in two males and six females. The ridges of the females, more frequently slight or moderate as they are, would be more likely to coalesce with the usual female slight to moderate glabella. Indeed, approximately three-quarters of the females had no (or a slight) glabella prominence, the remainder, with one exception of a marked bulge, showed moderate prominence. Approximately 14 per cent each of slight and marked glabella prominences occurred in the males.

The glabella appeared more frequently pronounced among the probable full-bloods.

The malars. Prominence of the malars in the males was: submedium 5.3 per cent, medium 36.8 per cent, prominent 57.9 per cent; among the females: 60 per cent medium, 40 per cent prominent. The malars were usually of good size, i.e., well filled out. This visual observation of a preponderance of prominent and heavy malars is attested to by the great average widths of the bizygomatic diameter.

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Nose. The depression of the root in the full-blood males was/142 'high' or practically not at all depressed in 31.6 per cent, shallow in 10.5 per cent, and medium in 57.9 per cent; the females showed a 'high' root in 4 per cent, a shallow depression in 40 per cent, and a medium depression in 56 per cent. No case of deeply depressed root was recorded.

Correspondingly, the width of the root was medium to wide in approximately one-fourth of the males and one-half of the females. The males therefore show a fairly narrow root of generally medium depth; the females, a somewhat wider root, of medium or shallow depth.

The root in the probable full-blood males was almost always of medium depth and from medium to narrow width.

Nasal profile. The details on the nasal profile are given below. A straight or slightly to moderately convex bridge appears to be the most common. The descriptive term 'wavy' indicates a greater or less prominence in the middle of the bridge, being straight above and below. Convexity was somewhat more common among the probable full-bloods.

Bridge of nose: full-bloods

	Males Per cent	Females Per cent
Straight (or nearly so)	52.6	68.–
Convex (slight to moderate)	36.8	20.–
'Wavy'	5.3	12.–
Concave (slightly)	5.3	....

Nasal septum. The septum was straight in 36.8 per cent of males, 44 per cent of females; it was inclined, slightly to moderately, downward from the face in 57.9 per cent of males, 32 per cent of females; a slight upward inclination occurred in 5.3 per cent of males, 24 per cent of females. The somewhat large percentage of upward inclination of the septum noted in the females does not signify a tilted nose, but merely a slight though perceptible slope of the septum proper.

Lips. Thick lips (as would be so considered in whites) occurred in 4 per cent of the females only; thin lips were noted in 15.8 per cent of males and 32 per cent of females; the lips

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142 of the remaining subjects were of medium thickness. The factor of age has probably influenced the distribution. Approximately four-fifths of each sex had no (or merely a trace of a) lip seam; the other fifth, excepting one female with a marked seam, showed a fairly perceptible seam. The male probable full-bloods showed a somewhat greater absence of the seam.

Teeth. Clearly discernible shovel-shaped upper incisors occurred in every full- and probable full-blood examined. Not infrequently, too, well-marked shovel-shaped incisors were found in mixed-bloods. Numerous cases of caries were noted, [144] although the impression remained that it is probably not as extensive, especially among the older people, as in whites or negroes.

Alveolar prognathism. Taking a perpendicular maxilla region as a standard, 57.9 per cent of males and 68 per cent of females had practically no alveolar prognathism; 36.8 per cent of the former and 28 per cent of the latter showed slight protrusion; and in 5.3 per cent of males and 4 per cent of females occurred medium prognathism. The 'no' and 'slight' categories would probably approximate the average in the whites.

Chin. The chin nearly always appeared firm or strong, generally round and of medium prominence. The gonial angles were often jutting.

The ear. The ear appeared large and well formed. The lobe was absent in 8 per cent of the subjects. Where present it was entirely attached to the face in 30 per cent, and separated from or pendant, in 62 per cent of the individuals. Large, medium, and small sized lobes were present in about equal frequency among the males, a somewhat larger proportions of small lobes in the females.

The helix showed a one-third roll in 62 and 76 per cent of the males and females, respectively; a two-thirds roll, 23 and 20 per cent, respectively; a complete roll 15 and 4 per cent. A trace of the Darwin's tubercle occurred in 18.2 per cent of both sexes.

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Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is in- 142
clined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164
Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157
Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522]
also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS*

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141
to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males		
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent	
Comanche			
Goldstein	29.4	23.5	171
Boas	24.4	27.1	141
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3	

* It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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141 Fairly close similarity of average statures is also noted
171 between the Comanche, Shoshoni, and Apache.

Stature

GROUP	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number of subjects	Stature	Number of subjects	Stature
		cm.		cm.
Comanche (Goldstein)	(17)	168.3	(25)	156.1
Shoshoni (Boas, 1899)	(42)	166.5	(21)	152.8
Apache (Hrdlička, '09)	(212)	169.1	(70)	156.8

Arm-spread. The mean excess of arm-spread over stature is rather large in the males, 7.7 cm. and 6.9 cm. for full- and probable full-bloods, respectively. The arms of the females are relatively, as well as absolutely, shorter, showing an average stature-span index of 102.2 as compared with the male 104.5. The arm-span was slightly less than stature in only two instances among the males, but was not infrequently in the females.

The Shoshoni[14] (Boas, 1899) approach very closely the Comanche in relative length of arms, giving indices of 104.3 and 103.3 for males and females, respectively. The Apache, on the other hand, apparently differ materially in this respect from the Comanche, yielding indices of 100.6 for each sex.

Height sitting. The Comanche stem length (males, 88.25 cm.) appears intermediate between the Apache (90.3 cm.) and the Shoshone (86.7 cm.). Relative to total height, the averages of 52.3 per cent in the males and 52.8 per cent in the females, are very close to the Shoshoneans (52.2 per cent and 52.7 per cent, respectively). The Apache males have relatively somewhat longer upper bodies (53.2 per cent of stature), but the females (52.8 per cent) are in this feature identical with the Comanches.

[14] Some measurements on males are available for the Shoshoni proper; others, including all the female data herein used, are available only for a combined group of Shoshonean bands (Boas, 1899); in the following, 'Shoshone' will refer to the latter.

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The sitting height of the probable full-bloods averages 89.58 141 cm., and this is 52.89 per cent of total height; absolutely and 171 relatively, therefore, they have longer upper bodies than the full-bloods.

Head measurements. The head of the Comanche is free from artificial deformation. It is fairly long, but also quite broad. The vault, taken from the base of the biauricular line to bregma, is low, as low as that of the Apache. No data for this latter feature is available on the living Shoshone, although skull measurements indicate a low vault (Hrdlička, '27).[15]

Head dimensions

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	HEAD LENGTH	HEAD BREADTH	HEAD HEIGHTH
		Males		
		cm.	cm.	cm.
Comanche	(18)	19.17	16.03	13.47
Shoshoni	(43)	19.35	15.31	....
Apache	(148)	18.7	15.8	13.5
		Females		
Comanche	(25)	18.53	15.24	13.25
Shoshoni	(26)	18.43	14.62	....
Apache	(41)	17.5	15.5	13.0

Cephalic module. ($\frac{L. + B. + H.}{3}$) The cephalic module or mean diameter of the head, as seen below, shows the Comanche intermediate between the Apache and the Sioux. The female to male relationship in this feature is virtually alike in Comanche (96.0) and Sioux (96.7). The head of the Comanche is large; indeed, relative to stature, it is probably as large as that of any North American tribe.

[15] Dr. Truman Michelson's unpublished data on the Wind River Shoshoni confirm this.

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Head module and stature

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Module		Module × 1000 / Stature		Module		Module × 1000 / Stature	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
		cm.				cm.		
Comanche	(18)	16.22	(17)	96.4	(25)	15.67	(25)	100.4
Sioux (Hrdlička, 31 a)	(72)	16.40	(72)	94.8	(36)	15.86	(36)	99.7
Apache	(174)	16.00	(167)	94.0	(41)	15.35	(41)	97.9

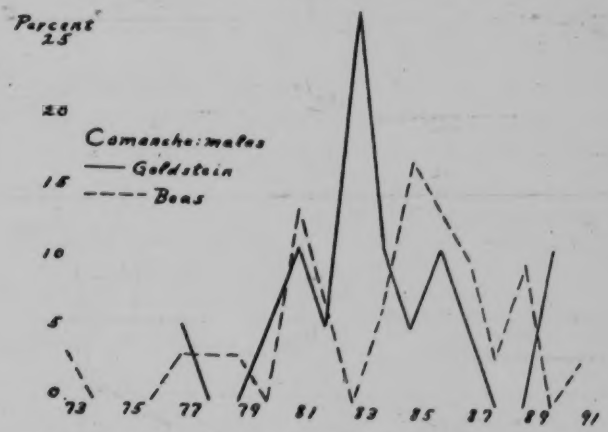

Fig. 1 Cephalic index.

Cephalic index. The form of the head of the full-blood Comanches ranges from meso- to strong brachycephaly, with an average index of 83.7 for males and 82.25 for females. The writer's average for the males is fairly close to that reported by Boas for the same sex (see below); no index for females was mentioned by the latter. More detailed comparison with Boas' data is presented graphically (fig. 1). In

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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general outline the two series appear very similar. The curve /14/ according to Boas' data, however, is flatter, suggesting greater /7/ variability. A difference also exists in the modal or most frequent index, occurring at 85 in the Boas curve, and at 83 in the writer's.

This tendency toward a greater proportion of decided brachycephaly in the Boas series is likewise illustrated by the distributions below.

Comanche males

	Number of subjects	*Average*	*Under 79 per cent*	*Over 84 per cent*
Goldstein	(18)	83.7	5.6	33.3
Boas	(29)	84.6	10.2	65.3

Both series are small and this inadequacy of numbers probably accounts in a large measure for the difference in the distributions, although cognizance must also be taken of the possibility of the presence of some mixed blood in the Boas series.

Boas further gives a cranial index of 80.0 for fifteen Kiowa and Comanche combined skulls.

The Comanches, according to both Boas and the writer, are definitely brachycephalic, and in this important respect are quite different from the equally definitely mesocephalic Shoshoni.[16] The Apache, Caddo, Kiowa, and Navaho appear related to the Comanche in head form.

Cephalic index, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	CEPHALIC INDEX
Apache (Hrdlička, '08)	(148)	84.9
Comanche (Boas, 1895 a)	(29)	84.6
Comanche (Goldstein)	(18)	83.7
Navaho (Hrdlička, '31 b)	(28)	83.7
Caddo (Boas, 1895 a)	(36)	83.5
Kiowa (Boas, 1895 a)	(40)	82.0
Shoshoni	(43)	79.1

[16] See also T. Michelson. Note on Shoshoni Anthropometry. Proc. 23rd Internat. Cong. Americanists, N. Y., 1928, p. 856.

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141 171 *Height indices.* The height of the vault relative to length and breadth of the head is seen to be rather low in the males, but fairly high in the females. Relative to the mean of length and breadth of head, probably a more clear-cut index, the height in the males averages lower than that of the Apache, and is as low as that of the Sioux; the females again, however, show good height.

Head height indices

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Height-length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index	Number of subjects	Height length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index
Old U. S. Whites[1]	?	70.0	89.5	79.2	?	71.0	89.5	79.7
Apache	(148)	72.1	84.9	78.3	(41)	74.6	84.1	78.8
Comanche	(18)	70.4	84.0	76.6	(25)	71.5	87.0	78.5
Sioux	(72)	68.1	86.3	76.1	(36)	68.6	84.7	75.8

[1] These and other figures following for the Old U. S. Whites are taken from Hrdlička's 'Old Americans' ('25) and from abstracts of the same data in his 'Anthropology of the Sioux' ('31).

[2] Height: length + breadth.

Dimensions of the face. The facial dimensions corroborate the impression of largeness obtained by inspection. The length below the forehead compares favorably with that of the Sioux, and exceeds this diameter in the Apache and Shoshoni; the total length is not so great, indicating a low forehead.

The breadth of the face is astonishingly large even for an Indian people; the Comanches in this respect are probably exceeded by few or no other tribes.

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Dimensions of the face

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GROUP		MALES			FEMALES		
		Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum	Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	12.84	19.42	15.1	11.97	18.07	14.6
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(19)	(25)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	12.67	18.71	15.44	11.98	17.76	14.68
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(43)	(21)	....	(26)
	Average (cm.)	11.88	....	14.82	10.85	....	13.69
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(174)	(51)	....	(51)
	Average (cm.)	11.8	....	14.9	10.8	....	14.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	....	?	....	....	?	....
	Average (cm.)	....	18.46	....	....	17.23	....

Facial indices. Although absolutely long, the face below the forehead is relatively to the breadth only moderate, the males in this respect approaching the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico; the females in this feature are closest to the Sioux.

The physiognomic index is noteworthy for indicating great relative broadness.

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Facial indices

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Morphologic index	Physiognomic index	Morphologic index	Physiognomic index
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	85.1	77.4	81.9	80.8
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	82.2	77.7	82.1	78.7
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(25)	(24)
	Average	82.1	82.1	81.6	82.6
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(21)	....
	Average	80.1	....	79.2	....
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(51)	....
	Average	78.8	....	76.4	....

Height and breadth of forehead. The average height of forehead among the Comanches is very low, especially that of the males. This metrical lowness is in contrast to the more medium height noted by inspection.

The average minimal frontal diameter of the forehead is seen in both sexes to be almost like that of the Sioux. A rather unusually low variability occurred in this character among the males.

Forehead

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter	Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.66	10.41	6.12	10.17
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.48	10.64	5.93	10.30
Comanche	Number of subjects	(14)	(19)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	6.05	10.69	5.71	10.29
Old U. S. Whites	Number of subjects	(148)	(247)	(207)	(210)
	Average (cm.)	6.58	10.59	6.45	10.12

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Breadth of lower jaw. The gonio-frontal index is used by /4/ Hrdlička to indicate relative breadth of the lower jaw. The /7/ Comanches have a moderately wide mandible, much less developed in width than the Sioux, but in the males almost identical with the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

GROUP	MALES			FEMALES		
	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]
		cm.			cm.	
Sioux	?	11.5	92.7	?	11.0	93.6
Comanches	(19)	11.08	96.48	(25)	10.66	96.51
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	10.79	96.5	?	10.15	100.2
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	10.63	99.1	(210)	9.84	103.0

[1] Minimum frontal diameter × 100: bigonal diameter.

The nose. The nose of the Comanche appears unusually long, showing a greater average length than any of the compared peoples.

In breadth, too, the nose is generous, perceptibly exceeding the averages of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico, but appearing practically like that of the Shoshoni.

Nose

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	cm.			cm.	cm.	
Shoshoni	(42)	5.27	4.30	81.6	(26)	4.95	4.01	85.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.18	4.15	80.4	?	4.8	3.78	78.6
Sioux	?	5.94	4.18	70.4	?	5.45	4.04	74.1
Comanche	(19)	6.28	4.36	69.4	(25)	5.75	3.98	69.17
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.35	3.61	67.5	(210)	4.94	3.25	65.98

The resulting nasal index is leptorrhinic, which in this instance does not so much signify narrowness as unusual height.

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14/11 The apparently unusual height of the nose, combined with the previously indicated long lower face (nasion to chin), and seeming unusually low forehead, may suggest that the nasion was judged higher than the actual. The precise determination of nasion is admittedly difficult, and the possibility of a small constant error must be recognized. It may be mentioned, however, that a large number of photographs of Comanches were carefully scrutinized, according to which, in general, the nose did appear quite long, tending to confirm the metric data.

The mouth. The Comanches possess a moderately wide mouth, though a large face. The comparative data are self-explanatory.

Breadth of mouth

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	MALES	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	FEMALES
		cm.		cm.
Sioux	?	6.30	?	6.16
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.85	?	5.49
Comanche	(19)	5.76	(25)	5.69
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.37	(210)	4.95

The ear. Upon inspection the ear of the Comanches appeared strikingly long and rather narrow. The metric data indicate that both dimensions, especially in the males, are large, being distinctly greater than those of the Sioux, Shoshone, or Old U. S. Whites. The low index shows plainly the great relative length of the ear and explains the impression of narrowness notwithstanding good width.

Ear

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	cm.			cm.	cm.	
Comanches	(19)	7.63	3.99	52.38	(25)	7.08	3.66	51.75
Sioux	?	7.33	3.93	53.6	?	7.05	3.76	53.3
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	6.69	3.79	56.7	(210)	6.10	3.47	56.9
Shoshone	(45	6.52	....	....	(11)	6.10	....	....

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

The chest. The Comanches, although a shorter people (4) than the Sioux, approach the latter in dimensions of the chest, (7) especially in breadth. The average index indicates a relatively deep chest, but does not quite reach the splendid depth of the Sioux; it shows to greater advantage however than those of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico or Old U. S. Whites.

Chest, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	BREADTH	DEPTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Sioux	?	31.92	26.0	81.4
Comanche	(16)	31.51	24.5	77.76
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	29.9	22.8	76.15
Old U. S. Whites	(246)	29.76	21.7	72.93

Left hand. The metric data corroborates a visual observation, namely, the remarkably small hand of the Comanche. It is, however, well proportioned, giving a length-breadth index very similar to that of the Sioux and the Old U. S. Whites.

Left hand, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Comanche	(17)	17.91	8.51	47.52
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	18.53	8.51	45.9
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	19.28	9.18	47.64
Sioux	?	19.83	9.43	47.6

The left foot. The foot of the males, according to the data below, shows nothing distinctive; in both dimensions and in the somewhat large relative breadth it resembles the foot of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left foot, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	*cm.*	
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	25.42	10.15	37.91
Comanches	(14)	25.99	10.05	38.68
Old U. S. Whites	(245)	26.12	9.45	36.33
Sioux	?	26.8	9.93	37.1

'PROBABLE' FULL-BLOODS

These individuals, it will be recalled, could not be as certainly diagnosed with respect to possible mixture as the full-bloods, and were therefore considered 'probably' full-blood.

The metric data clearly show tangible and fairly consistent differences between this group and the full-bloods, although the differences between the means of several important measurements and indices (stature, head height, cephalic index) were found to be statistically not significant;[17] the numbers concerned, however, are probably too small for statistical refinement. On the other hand, the writer could not conscientiously classify this group with the mixed-bloods, for, as seen below, they appear almost as divergent from the mixed- as from the full-bloods. If mixture of blood is present, it is probably not very recent, in so far as mixture in these individuals was apparently unknown to the members of the tribe and, according to their outward physical appearance, would seem to have been primarily with other Indian groups. Whether a larger series would materially affect the averages is, of course, problematical.

In short, the probable full-bloods appear to be an aberrant group, resembling in physiognomy and shape of head the Sioux, but in stature, and especially in high vault of head, approaching the Navaho.

[17] Difference between the means being less than four times $\sqrt{a^2 + b^2}$ where a and b equal the probable error of the first and second means, respectively.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comparison of full-, probable full- and mixed-blood males[1]

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MEASUREMENT	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD		MIXED-BLOOD	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
Stature	(17)	168.29	(15)	169.22	(23)	169.11
Sitting height index	(16)	52.3	(13)	52.89	(15)	52.17
Cephalic index	(18)	83.74	(16)	80.35	(23)	82.59
Head height	(18)	13.47	(16)	13.84	(24)	13.66
Head module	(18)	16.22	(16)	16.41	(24)	16.20
Mean height index	(18)	76.56	(16)	78.48	(23)	78.2
Face: Menton-nasion	(18)	12.67	(16)	12.46	(22)	12.59
Menton-erinion	(14)	18.71	(14)	18.74	(19)	18.42
Bizygomatic diameter	(19)	15.44	(16)	15.28	(22)	14.98
Index, morphologic	(18)	82.05	(16)	81.51	(22)	84.01
Index, physiognomic	(14)	82.05	(14)	81.97	(19)	81.14
Nose: Index	(19)	69.49	(16)	74.61	(22)	68.88

[1] All figures except indices are in centimeters.

DISCUSSION

The traditional close and friendly contact of the Comanche with the Shoshoni, each speaking the same language and apparently possessing no social barriers to free intermarriage, would seem to have made some miscegenation between the two peoples very likely. At the same time, however, any closer physical relationship than possible occasional intermarriage, seems doubtful, considering the fundamental difference of head form in the two groups—the Comanche definitely bracycephalic, the Shoshoni, and other Shoshonean tribes of the northern plateaux, definitely mesocephalic. The only Shoshonean groups similar to the Comanches in average stature and cephalic index are those of southern California (Boas, 1895 b). Even these, however, differ from the Comanches in the important character of shape and probably relatively greater breadth of the nose.[18]

The Comanches, in the light of their history, are undoubtedly a complex group physically; they are mixed to a greater or lesser extent probably with all the many and varied tribes

[18] "The nose is very often concave, rather short, but wide with thick alae." (Boas, 1895 b, p. 269.)

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Summary of Comanche measurements[1]

	FULL-BLOOD						PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD		
	Male			Female			Males		
	Number of subjects	Average	Range	Number of subjects	Average	Range	Number of subjects	Average	Range
Stature (Goldstein)	17	168.29	158.0 –177.0	25	156.1	143.5 –165.0	15	169.22	158.5 –180.5
(Boas)	74	167.8			156.2				
Arm-span minus stature	13	+7.7	+16.0 – –2.0	21	+4.4	+17.0 – –9.5	14	6.9	16.0 – 0.5
Span-stature index	13	104.5		21	102.2		14	104.0	
Height sitting	16	88.25	83.5 – 93.5	23	82.6	77.5 – 91.0	13	89.58	82.0 – 98.0
Height-sitting index	16	52.3	50.3 – 54.5	23	52.8	49.7 – 56.9	13	52.89	51.1 – 54.3
Head: length	18	19.17	17.7 – 20.3	25	18.53	17.6 – 19.6	16	19.62	18.6 – 20.5
breadth	19	16.03	15.3 – 17.1	25	15.24	14.4 – 16.0	16	15.76	14.4 – 16.8
height	18	13.47	12.8 – 14.6	25	13.25	12.3 – 14.2	16	13.84	12.5 – 15.2
module	18	16.22	15.27– 17.03	25	15.67	14.97– 16.30	16	16.41	15.37– 16.97
Module vs. stature	17	96.4	91.2 –106.3	25	100.4	95.8 –106.5	15	96.9	91.6 –102.3
Cephalic index (Goldstein)	18	83.74	76.9 – 90.4	25	82.25	75.8 – 89.9	16	80.35	72.7 – 88.4
(Boas)	29	84.6							
Height-length index	18	70.38	65.5 – 77.7	25	71.52	65.3 – 78.9	16	70.56	64.0 – 78.7
Height-breadth index	18	83.99	78.7 – 90.3	25	86.96	80.6 – 93.3	16	87.83	79.2 – 97.4
Mean height index	18	76.56	71.5 – 83.5	25	78.48	72.6 – 84.5	16	78.25	71.9 – 86.4
Face: menton-nasion	18	12.67	11.4 – 13.8	25	11.98	10.4 – 13.3	16	12.46	10.8 – 13.4
menton-erinion	14	18.71	16.7 – 19.9	24	17.76	16.0 – 18.6	14	18.74	16.8 – 20.6
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	19	15.44	13.9 – 16.4	25	14.68	14.0 – 15.2	16	15.28	14.0 – 16.4
Facial indices: morphologic	18	82.05	73.1 – 87.7	25	81.58	69.3 – 89.3	16	81.51	73.0 – 91.4
physiognomic	14	82.05	77.4 – 87.2	24	82.61	75.3 – 92.1	14	81.97	74.5 – 88.1
Forehead, height	14	6.05	4.8 – 7.2	24	5.71	4.0 – 7.1	14	6.36	5.9 – 7.5
Minimum frontal diameter	19	10.69	10.2 – 11.2	25	10.29	9.4 – 11.1	16	10.56	10.0 – 12.1
Bigonial diameter	19	11.08	9.6 – 12.4	25	10.66	10.1 – 11.5	16	11.19	9.5 – 12.1
Gonio-frontal index	19	96.48	85.4 –108.3	25	96.51	84.2 –105.9	16	94.36	85.0 –107.4
Nose: length	19	6.28	5.6 – 7.0	25	5.75	5.1 – 6.5	16	6.0	5.3 – 7.3
breadth	19	4.36	3.6 – 5.1	25	3.98	3.5 – 4.7	16	4.48	3.8 – 5.4
index	19	69.49	56.1 – 87.9	25	69.17	59.3 – 88.7	16	74.61	63.1 – 87.1
Mouth breadth	19	5.76	4.6 – 6.6	25	5.69	5.0 – 6.7	16	5.87	5.0 – 6.6
Left ear: length	19	7.63	6.6 – 8.8	25	7.08	6.2 – 7.8	16	7.56	6.7 – 8.5
breadth	19	3.99	3.2 – 4.9	25	3.66	3.3 – 4.0	16	3.89	3.4 – 4.2
index	19	52.38	45.5 – 67.1	25	51.75	44.2 – 59.4	16	51.45	42.0 – 60.0
Chest: width	16	31.51	26.8 – 36.0	23	30.25	26.8 – 34.2	16	32.56	28.9 – 38.3
depth	16	24.50	17.3 – 29.2	23	24.19	20.6 – 29.2	16	25.55	21.2 – 29.7
index	16	77.76	64.6 – 89.0	23	79.95	72.8 – 97.7	16	78.45	67.7 – 93.7
Left hand: length	17	17.91	15.9 – 19.9	25	17.6	15.6 – 19.0	16	18.53	16.8 – 21.3
breadth	17	8.51	6.8 – 10.0	25	8.54	6.5 – 9.5	16	9.18	7.5 – 9.9
index	17	47.52	40.5 – 52.8	25	48.54	41.7 – 51.8	16	49.53	42.9 – 53.8
Left foot: length	14	25.99	23.2 – 27.8	24	24.07	22.5 – 25.9	14	26.23	25.0 – 28.5
breadth	14	10.05	8.7 – 12.3	24	9.34	8.2 – 11.0	14	9.89	8.7 – 10.6
index	14	38.68	34.7 – 45.7	24	38.8	35.1 – 45.1	14	37.72	33.7 – 42.0

[1] All figures except indices are in centimeters.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

/4/ with which they came in contact in their vast nomadic range.
/7/ On the whole, excepting a suggestion of the Sioux in their physiognomy, and of the Shoshone in body proportions, the Comanches seem to the writer, in view of their medium to tall stature, clear brachycephaly, low vault of head, and large and heavy facial features, an essentially Apache-like people.

SUMMARY

The Comanches are of medium average stature, generally of robust physique, and possess relatively long arms.

Their head is absolutely and relatively to stature large; it is meso- to decidedly brachycephalic in shape, and very low in height.

The face is very broad and probably long below the forehead; the forehead seems very low in height, but is fairly broad in width. A broad but also long nose, moderately wide mouth, and moderately developed (in width) lower jaw, completes the physiognomy. The ears are large in both dimensions, also relatively long; the chest is wide and fairly deep; the hand usually small but well formed; the foot relatively somewhat broad.

In a number of the above features, particularly stature and shape and height of head, the Comanche appear essentially related to the Apache; their decided brachycephalic would seem to preclude close physical affinity with the linguistically related mesocephalic Shoshoni.

A group of so-called probable full-bloods appears as an aberrant type, chiefly in much lower brachycephaly and high vault of head. In taller stature and high vault of head they resemble the Navaho; in their other characters they tend to approach the Sioux.

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PLATES

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PLATE 1

Left—Toyo, 62 years old.

Right—Chief Millet, Kwahadi Band, 69 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Left—Wilbur Pewo, 42 years old.

Right—Knox Tokawana, 48 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Left—Mrs. Peecher, Kotsoteka Band, 55 years old.

Right—Petarsy, 49 years old.

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5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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PAPERS OF THE MICHIGAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE ARTS AND LETTERS

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"Pusilla res mundus est nisi in illo
quod quaerat omnis mundus habeat."
— SENECA, *Naturales Quaestiones*

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[title page]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

SOME NOTES ON USES OF PLANTS BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

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University of Cincinnati
and
VOLNEY H. JONES
University of Michigan

114 THE notes on which this paper is based were gathered chiefly by Mr. Carlson during the summer of 1933, while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and a member of a field group of that institution led by Dr. Ralph Linton. The research was made on the Comanche Indian Reservation near Indiahoma, Comanche County, Oklahoma, as a small part of a general ethnographic study of the Comanche. The briefness of the expedition and the broadness of the general investigation did not permit much time to be spent on ethnobotany. It is realized that this paper does not by any means exhaust the subject of Comanche plant uses, and it was hoped that further field work might be done. As this has not been possible and as the publication of the bulk of the report of the expedition may be delayed, it seems advisable to publish these notes at this time.[1]

[115] 124 An educated Comanche informant-interpreter, Herman Asenap, assisted materially in contacting the older non-English-speaking members of the tribe and was of invaluable aid in acquiring and interpreting information. Whenever possible a specimen of the plant to be identified was gathered in the presence of the informant, but when this was not practical as complete a description as possible was obtained. Suggestions concerning the identity of a number of these plants have been made with some assurance from descriptions, 000 common names, and manner of use. The specimens which were

[1] Thanks are here expressed to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, to Dr. Linton, and to members of the party for permission to publish these data.

[pp 1-516 not processed]

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114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

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the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of 114
larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material 128
in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by 824
scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche 104
plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical 114
Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the 824
very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, 262
p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

TABLE I

PLANTS USED BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

Scientific name	Catalog no.	Common name	Comanche name	Comanche use
Allium spp.	No specimen	Wild onions	pakøik, large onion t?diekøik, small onion	Bulbs roasted and eaten
Ambrosia psilostachya DC.	14425	Western ragweed	wɔanatsu	No use known to informant
Amorpha angustifolia (Pursh.) Boynton	14433	False indigo	sɔhaʃiaβiᵛ	No use known to informant
Andropogon scoparius Michx.	14413	Little bluestem grass	ekɔnip	Stems used as switches in the sweat lodge; ashes from stems used for treating syphilitic sores
Argemone intermedia Sweet	14443	Prickly poppy	pitsitɔʃa	Sore eyes treated with sap
Artemisia filifolia Torr.	14410	Silvery wormwood	pasiwonɔpohɔβiᵛ	As mattress in childbirth; as cushion in tipi
Artemisia ludoviciana Nutt.	14415	Lobed cudweed; white sage	pohɔβiᵛ	Known to be used but precise use not known
Brayodendron texanum (Scheele) Small	No specimen	Mexican persimmon	dunaseika	Fruits eaten
Camassia esculenta (Ker.) Robinson?	No specimen	Wild hyacinth; camass	sikoː	Roots eaten raw
Carya illinoensis (Wang.) K. Koch	14448	Pecan	nakutβai	Nuts eaten; leaves used in treatment of ringworm

Celtis laevigata Willd.	14435	Southern hackberry	natɔ́kwɔ; mitsɔná	Fruits mixed with fat and eaten
Cephalanthus occidentalis L. ..	14417	Buttonbush	pɛ́sɔtai	Game sticks made from wood
Cirsium undulatum (Nutt.) Spreng.	14412	Thistle	tɛ́ɪn	Roots eaten; infusion of roots used as medicine for gonorrhea
Cornus asperifolia Michx.	14430	Rough-leaved dogwood	ṛarioβi	Arrow shafts made from stems
Coryphantha sp.	14403	Cactus	Not recorded	Unfaithful wives punished with spines
Crataegus sp.	14421	Thornapple; locally called "red haw"	ṭidiamɔwo:	Fruits eaten
Crataegus sp.	14416	Thornapple; locally called "black haw"	túpokɔ, fruit wɔkwe'kate, tree	Fruits eaten; inner bark chewed as gum
Croton monanthogynus Michx.	14446	Croton weed	guβsimawa	Leaves mixed with animal brains for use in tanning
Cymopterus acaulis (Pursh.) Rydberg?	No specimen	Cymopterus	tun'ha:	Rootstocks eaten
Diospyros virginiana L.	14436	Persimmon	nase'ka	Fruits eaten fresh or dried
Echinacea sp.	14408	Purple coneflower	ḍukunɔnatsu	Roots used in treating sore throat and toothache
Elymus sp.?	14427	Rye grass	puitsaseni	No use known to informant
Eriogonum longifolium Nutt. .	14429	Eriogonum	ekanatsu; ekanaʎɔ́pa	Stomach trouble treated with infusion of roots

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TABLE I (*Continued*)

Scientific name	Catalog no.	Common name	Comanche name	Comanche use
Gutierrezia sarothrae (Pursh.) B. & R.	14431	Snakeweed	sanaweha; ohoya	Brooms made of stems; leaves used in treating whooping cough
Helenium autumnale L.?	14422	Sneezeweed	tidikwɔbam	Used in bath for treatment of fever
Helenium microcephalum Gray	14411	Sneezeweed	natsaᵊksi	Used to induce sneezing in order to clear nasal passages or to expel afterbirth
Hoffmanseggia Jamesii T. & G.	14419	*Camote de ratón*	pitsamu	Tubers eaten
Ilex sp.?	No specimen	Holly; yaupon	Not recorded	Beverage made from leaves
Juglans nigra L.	No specimen	Black walnut	muβitai	Nuts eaten; leaves used in treatment of ringworm
Juniperus virginiana L.	14440	Juniper; red cedar	ekawaipᵛ	Fruits eaten; smoke from leaves thought to have purifying effect
Lespedeza capitata Michx.	14441	Bush clover	puhihuβiᵛ	Beverage made from leaves
Liatris punctata Hook.	14449	Button snakeroot	ataβitsɔnoi	Roots chewed for juice; remedy for swollen testes
Lophophora Williamsii (Lem.) Coulter	No specimen	Peyote	Not recorded	Used in ceremonies for narcotic effect
Maclura pomifera (Raf.) Schneider	14399	Osage orange; *bois d'arc*	ohahupiˢ	Bows manufactured from branches; infusion of roots used in treatment of sore eyes

Malvastrum coccineum (Pursh.) A. Gray	14450	Red false mallow	yɔkanatsu	Infusion of plant used for reducing swellings
Morus rubra L.	14434	Red mulberry	etehup*; əhɔβoko	Fruits eaten
Nelumbo lutea (Willd.) Pers.?	No specimen	Yellow lotus	keʃiats	Roots boiled and eaten
Nymphaea advena Ait.?	No specimen	Yellow pond lily	keʃiata	Roots boiled and eaten
Opuntia sp.	No specimen	Prickly-pear cactus	wɔkwəsi	Fruits eaten
Petalostemum purpureum (Vent.) Rydb.	14409	Purple prairie clover	pakəitsɔ	Roots chewed for sweet flavor
Prosopis glandulosa Torr.	14447	Mesquite	namoβitsɔni; natsɔkwe	Meal from pods eaten; leaves used to neutralize stomach acidity
Prunus angustifolia Michx.	14444	Chickasaw plum	Not recorded	Fruits eaten fresh or stored
Prunus spp.	No specimen	Wild plums	yusəkə, early plum parawasəkə, late summer plum kusisəkə, fall plum natsɔmə, dried plum as it falls to the ground suikui, one particular plum	Fruits either eaten fresh or dried and stored for later use
Psoralea hypogeae Nutt.?	No specimen	Indian breadroot	e'kakoni	Roots eaten raw

TABLE I (*Concluded*)

Scientific name	Catalog no.	Common name	Comanche name	Comanche use
Quercus marilandica Muench.	14442	Blackjack oak; barren oak	ḍuhuıpᵛ	Acorns eaten; leaves used as cigarette wrappers
Quercus sp.	No specimen	Oak	pasapɔni	Acorns eaten; trunks used for fence posts
Rhus glabra L.	14420	Smooth sumac	ḍimɘyoᵛ	Fruits eaten by children; leaves added to tobacco for smoking
Rhus trilobata Nutt.	14438	Ill-scented sumac; skunkbush	ḍatsipᵛ	Bark used in treating colds
Ribes odoratum Wendl.	14439	Wild currant	huaβɔkoı	Fruits eaten
Salix sp. (Salix nigra?)	14445	Willow	ohasɘhɜβʷᵛ	Sores eyes treated with ashes
Sapindus Drummondii H. & A.	14432	Soapberry	ɔtɘmitsɔnaı	Arrows for *aratsi* game made from stems
Smilax bona-nox L.	14414	Greenbrier	ʒamɘtsoi	Leaves used as cigarette wrappers
Solanum sp.	14424	Nightshade	dɔıpɔtɔtsi	Used in a general tonic and tuberculosis remedy
Sophora secundiflora (Orteg.) Lag.	No specimen	Mescal bean	Not recorded	Beans used as ornaments, possibly for ceremonial purposes
Typha latifolia L.	No specimen	Cattail	pisbuıni	No use known to informant
Vitis spp.	No specimen	Wild grapes	Not recorded	Fruits eaten fresh or dried for storage
Yucca louisianensis Trelease	14418	Soapweed; yucca	muımutsi	Roots used as soap
Zanthoxylum americanum Mill.	14398	Prickly ash; toothache tree	kunɘnatsu	Bark used as medicine for fever, sore throat, and toothache

Unidentified (fam. Cactaceae) *	No specimen	Cactus	eka mitsa:	Probably eaten
Unidentified	14401		itse; ʈiməyhə	No use known to informant
Unidentified	No specimen		kusi:poko	Berries eaten
Unidentified	14406		kusiwəna	No use known to informant
Unidentified	14426		mawitsokᵛ	Decoction used in treatment of constipation and gonorrhea
Unidentified (fam. Labiatae)...	14423		nemeʎisas	Leaves used as perfume
Unidentified	No specimen		paiyap	Roots roasted or boiled and eaten
Unidentified	14400		pehenatsu; peheʎ	Used to check menstrual discharge
Unidentified	14437		poiya	Decoction of leaves used in treatment of fever
Unidentified	No specimen		qɔtanarixka	"Roots" roasted in fire and eaten
Unidentified	No specimen		sehetsitsina	Roots boiled or roasted and eaten
Unidentified	No specimen		taƀaxko	Roots cooked with fat to make soup
Unidentified	No specimen		totox'd	Tubers eaten
Unidentified	No specimen		tsuns	Roots roasted and eaten
Unidentified (fam. Cactaceae)..	No specimen	Cactus	Not recorded	Fruits eaten

* Obtained in Texas.

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824 were preserved for later use. The manner of preparation and storage
262 is of considerable interest.

824 The fruits of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) were eaten
262 fresh or were dried and stored for future comsumption. The per-
251 simmon was commonly used in this manner by various tribes in the southern prairies and in the Southeast, and it is frequently mentioned in early historical accounts. The common method of preparation for storage seems to have been to beat the ripe fruits to a pulp, remove the seeds, and dry the paste. The cakes thus formed were later softened in water and prepared in various ways for eating. The persimmon has achieved little commercial importance, but is still widely used and esteemed by Indians and whites wherever it is available. An informant also described a black persimmon (Comanche: *dunaseika*) obtained in Texas and Mexico. This was doubtless the Mexican persimmon (*Brayodendron texanum*), which occurs from central Texas southwestward into Mexico.

The fruits of the mulberry (*Morus rubra*) were eaten fresh, when ripe, but no attempt was made to store them. This species is the one most generally preferred by Indians, from the Iroquois country to Kansas and Missouri and southward.

The fresh ripe fruits of two hawthorns or "haws" (*Crataegus spp.*) were eaten by the Comanche. According to an informant, one should shout like a wolf before partaking of them, or he will be sure to get stomach-ache and constipation. An indication of the wide use of Crataegus fruits is a list, compiled by Yanovsky (27, pp. 30–31), of eleven species used by various tribes of Indians from the eastern states to California and British Columbia.

The Comanche names for several wild "plums" were recorded, including designations for early plums, late summer plums, and fall plums. It is quite likely that some of the "plums" are wild cherries or chokecherries. Only one was collected, the Chickasaw plum (*Prunus angustifolia*). The fruits of this species were either eaten fresh or stored for winter use. Another kind of plum (Comanche: *su:kui*) was also said to be stored after the seeds had been removed and the fruits dried on a hide in the sun. Later they were boiled in water and eaten. In the winter the Indians sometimes obtained
[222] plums by tracking pack rats to their nests and taking the hoarded supply.

Several species of wild grapes (*Vitis spp.*) were available to the

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Comanche and were either eaten fresh or dried in the sun and stored. 824
The dried fruits were dampened, worked into cakes, and baked, 262
fat sometimes being added in the process. Wild currants (*Ribes* 251
odoratum) were eaten fresh, but were not preserved, as they were among many tribes. Another fruit (Comanche: *kusi:poko*) was not seen, but was described as being black, and round, like a grape, and was said to be eaten fresh. Children were reported to be very fond of the sour acid fruits of the sumac (*Rhus glabra*), and various species were eaten by Indians wherever sumac was available.

The berries of the juniper or red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) also served as food on occasion, the practice of eating juniper berries of various species being common among the Indians of the Southwest and elsewhere. The Comanche name for the red cedar was given as *ekawa:p*^{v}, and it was explained that *eka* is the term for "red." No etymology of *wa:p* was obtained. To judge from Chamberlain's discussion (6, pp. 63–64), *wap* seems to be a root word for "cedar" in the Shoshonean languages. If this is the case, then the Comanche term *ekawa:p*^{v} is an exact equivalent of the colloquial English term "red cedar" for the same plant.

The succulent fruits of prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia sp.*) were eaten fresh and were also dried for winter use. No specimens were collected, but the descriptions by informants leave no doubt as to the identity of the plants. The spines were rubbed from the fruits designed for storage, the seeds removed, and the pears dried in the sun. Another cactus, also, was edible, but an informant stated that before eating its fruit one should take the red juice and paint a cross on his forehead to prevent consequent diarrhea. A third cactus (Comanche: *eka mitsa:*) was said to be obtained in Texas, but the notes do not mention whether or not it was a food plant.

The fruits of the southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) were beaten, pits and all, into a pulp and mixed with fat. This mixture was rolled into balls, which were placed on the ends of sticks and roasted over a fire. The Pawnee had a similar method of preparing hackberries, but added parched corn as well as fat (7, p. 76). Hack- 824
berries were commonly eaten by Indians of the Southeast, the Plains, 262
and the Southwest, the usual practice being to consume pit and all. 251
In this connection it is interesting to note that in chemical analyses 145
of hackberries prepared in the Indian manner Yanovsky *et alii* (29) found not only considerable amounts of carbohydrates and protein

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824 but also a high mineral content. The chief mineral constituent was
262 calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the
251 dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromis-
145 ing-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoff-*
262 *manseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuńa*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-
[252] flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *t?diekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulb?), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

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County (23, p. 56); it is probably the plant to which the informant had reference. 824 262

The underground portion of a plant (Comanche: *e'kakoni*) described as "growing like a radish and having a root like a radish" was said to be peeled, and eaten raw. The "root" was further described as red and sweet-tasting. Except for the color, the plant might well be the widely used prairie turnip or *pomme blanche* (*Psoralea esculenta*) of the northern Plains. Grinnell (9, p. 178) describes, however, the Cheyenne use of a related species (*Psoralea hypogeae*) the root of which is red and which bears the same Cheyenne name as the *pomme blanche*, with a prefix meaning "red." This latter plant occurs in southwestern Oklahoma and may be the one in question.

A plant (Comanche: *totox'd*) resembling a small tomato bears a "root" (tuber?) about the size and shape of a walnut. This "root" is peeled before being eaten; the flesh is light in color. The description applies well to the wild potatoes (*Solanum Jamesii* and *Solanum Fendleri*) commonly used in the Southwest except that the plants are said to "appear in the spring and not last long." These wild potatoes are not listed in the flora of Oklahoma (23).

Several other plants which produced underground parts useful as food were mentioned by informants, and the Comanche names have been recorded. An herb (Comanche: *taḃaxko*) was collected in the spring, and the roots were cooked with fat to make a soup. A grayish vine (Comanche: *tsuns*) grows deep and produces a root which is roasted after its thin skin has been removed. (This might be some species of Smilax.) A "root" described as "like a sweet potato" (Comanche: *qɜtanarixka*) was said to grow in sandy places. This "root" is peeled and roasted. Another edible "root" which was compared to a potato has the Comanche name *sehetsitsina*. It was eaten either boiled or roasted. On the basis of its name and its use Hoebel (correspondence, April, 1939) suggests that this is the Indian potato, a plant which, he notes, "Grows in hills, flowers like Sweet William," and has "small white tubers, ripe in spring, [that are] boiled and eaten." Even with this description we are unable to suggest a specific identification. 824 262 252

A plant (Comanche: *paiyap*) was described as having a blossom like that of a sunflower, and edible "roots" prepared by roasting or boiling. This suggests the so-called Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus* 824 262

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824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

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thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɜn*, 824
were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and 261
others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), 171
who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɜ'ntnə* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɜ'ngabɔk*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were 824
stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black 262
walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or 824
greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various bever- 262
ages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a 272
single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

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824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

080 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*ˣ) which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were
[344] broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
[841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

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Plant remedies played a part in the Comanche treatment of 324 venereal diseases. The root of the thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*) was 278 boiled and the liquid drunk in cases of gonorrhea. Another medicinal 757 drink for gonorrhea was prepared by making an infusion of the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*). Syphilitic sores were treated with the ashes of the stems of little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*).

Two plants were used by the Comanche, in much the same manner, for both toothache and sore throat. For toothache the root of the purple coneflower (*Echinacea sp.*) or the bark of the root of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was held against the tooth to relieve pain. In cases of sore throat the root of the coneflower was boiled in water and the liquid drunk, or the inner bark of the prickly ash was ground and placed in the throat. This similarity may indicate some association of tooth and throat troubles in the minds of the Comanche, but it very likely has no significance, since both plants were general cure-alls among various tribes. The Cheyenne utilized Echinacea for the same purposes, and the methods of application were only slightly different (9, p. 188). Echinacea was an important medicinal plant among the tribes of the Missouri River region, where its use for toothache was identical with that of the Comanche, but no mention is made of it as a cure for sore throat (7, p. 131).

Three plants were prescribed for the treatment of "sore eyes." The root of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) was boiled in water and the decoction used to bathe them; the stems of willow (*Salix sp.*) were burned and the eyes treated with the ashes; and the sap of the prickly poppy (*Argemone intermedia*) was administered to the eyes. It was said that in gathering this latter plant offerings in the form of [222] beads or other objects were made to it.

A tea for "stomach trouble" was prepared from the roots of *Eriogonum longifolium*, and the leaves of mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) were chewed, and the juice swallowed, to relieve acid stomach. A remedy for constipation was a drink made by boiling the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*).

The bark of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was mixed with water and the decoction drunk as a cure for fever. Two other plants were also specified for the treatment of fever. The leaves of one of these (Comanche: *poiya*) were mixed with an herb (unknown

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824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
439 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

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They manufacture it into bows, which become articles of commerce, and 824
are sometimes exchanged for peltries, etc. I knew a Sioux to give his horse for 411
a single one; and among the upper tribes they frequently bring three or four 439
beaver skins each. The tree is so highly valued, that they never destroy it, except when wanted for use, or in the territories of their enemies; in the latter case, they make its destruction as particular an object, as they do that of their game.

Since the Comanche were more or less in control of at least a part of the area in which the Osage orange grew they were doubtless in a position to profit through trading it to other tribes. The Tewa tribes of the Rio Grande valley specified the Comanche particularly as a source of their Osage orange bowwood (20, p. 68).

Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the bows of the Co- 824
manche as being made of the tough and elastic wood of the Osage 411
orange, "strengthened and reinforced with the sinews of the deer wrapped firmly around them." This brief and incomplete description suggests the sinew-backed bow which is classified by Mason (17, p. 638) as the "seized bow" and which had sinew "wrapped about" it, but Mason seems nowhere to describe this bow in detail, has no illustrations of it, and gives no distribution of it among American Indians. The description might also apply to the sinew-lined type of sinew-backed bow except that it does not mention the lining of sinew, often inconspicuous, which was usually bound on by transverse bands of sinew. The "Shoshonean or narrow" type of sinew-lined bow (17, pp. 638, 643, and Plates 61 and 79) may be indicated. This bow had its distribution among the Shoshonean tribes of the Great Basin and among the Apache, the Navajo, and the Pueblos, but, according to Mason, did not occur east of the Rocky Mountains (17, pp. 640, 643). Wissler (25, pp. 159–160), however, examined bows in the American Museum of Natural History from various Plains tribes and noted sinew-lined ones from some of the northern Plains tribes. He considered these intrusive from the sinew-backed bow area to the immediate west, supplementary to the self bow, and of exceptional occurrence. The Comanche bows which Wissler mentioned appear to have been of the simple, unbacked type. It does not seem likely that the Comanche bows mentioned by Marcy and McClellan were such, for Mason nowhere describes or illustrates self bows bound with sinew. Whether or not the bows seen by Marcy and McClellan were sinew-backed, and, if so, whether or not they were typical Comanche bows remain open questions. There is,

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824 apparently, no doubt that the Comanche were in frequent contact
411 with tribes using the sinew-lined bow, and that the tribes most closely related to the Comanche habitually used such bows.

Arrow shafts were made from straight stems of the rough-leaved dogwood (*Cornus asperifolia*). This species was also the preferred arrow material of the tribes of the Missouri River region (7, p. 108). Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the arrows of the Comanche as being "twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular point of iron at one end, and two feathers intersecting each other at right-angles, at the opposite extremity." They do not specify the material used for arrows further than by saying that it was "flexible wood." Arrows for the *aratsi* game were made from the stems of
[624] the soapberry (*Sapindus Drummondii*). Wood for game sticks was obtained from the buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*).

824 The leaves of the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were mixed with
276 tobacco. The addition of other plant materials to tobacco was a common practice among many tribes of Indians, the leaves of smooth sumac being widely used in this way. Chamberlain (6, p. 72) notes that this species was smoked by the Gosiute, and Gilmore (7, p. 100) cites its use by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, but neither writer mentions its being mixed with tobacco. McGuire (14, p. 385) gives Marcy and McClellan (16, p. 102) as his authorities for the following: "Captain Marcy refers to the Comanche being extravagantly fond of smoking tobacco, which they call pah-mo, mixed with the leaves of sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)." West (24, p. 107) accepts this without question and repeats it. In neither the 1853 (15) nor the 1854 (16) edition of Marcy and McClellan are we able, however, to find this complete statement. The passage on Comanche smoking in these volumes (15 and 16, p. 102) is as follows: "All of them [the Comanche] are extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they use for smoking, mixed with the dried leaves of the sumac, inhaling the smoke into their lungs and giving it out through the nostrils." Evidently the Comanche term for tobacco and the name of the particular species of sumac were taken by McGuire from some other source and not from Marcy and McClellan, as is implied. It may be true that *Rhus trilobata* was smoked by the Comanche, but *Rhus glabra* was specified by our informants as the species which was smoked, and medicinal uses only were ascribed to the former. We know of only one other reference to *Rhus trilobata* as a smoking material, that by

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Grinnell (9, p. 180) for the Cheyenne, but *Rhus glabra* was commonly 824
used by many tribes of Indians. The latter is the sumac, which 276
Schultes (21, p. 138) mentions as used by the Kiowa.

The leaves of two plants were said to be employed as wrappings 824
for cigarettes. One of these is the greenbrier (*Smilax bona-nox*), and 276
the other the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*). Our notes give 796
no explicit occasions on which the leaves of the blackjack oak were made into cigarette wrappings, but this was doubtless done chiefly at peyote ceremonies based upon the religious use of the cactus. According to Schultes (21, p. 138), this use of blackjack oak leaves (given as *Quercus nigra*) in the peyote ceremony is a common practice. La Barre (12, p. 48) states that cornhusk cigarettes are standard in the Kiowa–Comanche peyote ceremony, but that the Comanche and the Shawnee sometimes employ the leaves of the blackjack oak. Opler (18, p. 28) mentions the rolling of tobacco in oak leaves (species not given) or in cornhusk in the peyote ceremony of the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache.

Mr. Carlson and the other members of the field party engaged in a Comanche peyote ceremony, but as this will be described in a later report and as a rather full account of the Kiowa–Comanche type of ceremony has recently appeared (12, pp. 43–53), we need give little attention to peyote here. Formerly the Comanche doubtless obtained their peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) while they were on expeditions into its native habitat in the Rio Grande region of Texas and southward, but more recently they have acquired it by trade and have even cultivated it. La Barre (12, p. 57) refers to an unpublished manuscript by Hoebel describing an early ritualistic Comanche expedition for peyote. Apparently the Comanche were also familiar with the mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*), which has a native range roughly similar to that of peyote. La Barre (12, pp. 105–109, 126–127) summarizes the data concerning this narcotic plant, which seems at one time to have been the center of a prepeyote narcotic cult and whose use has been retained in connection with magic and ornament, particularly in association with the peyote ceremony. Participants in the peyote ceremony witnessed by our party had red beans, which were probably mescal beans (but may have been Erythrina), on the fringes of their leggings. Skinner (22, p. 261) describes Iowa leggings, ornamented with mescal beans, which he considered might be "of the modified Kiowa–Comanche

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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

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824
fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 343
with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824
Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388
the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302]
nemeʎisas) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824
ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281
and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824
tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412
be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824
the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɜna*, and *itse* or *ṭimɜyhɔ*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

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824 were not known by the particular informants questioned. One man felt that the white sage had a practical value, but did not know what it might be. Some of these plants have been recorded as used by tribes more or less in contact with the Comanche and may have been employed in a similar manner by the Comanche. The informant who pointed out the western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*) gave its name as *wɔanatsu*, but knew of no use for it. The ending *natsu* [757] indicates a medicinal plant, and it is interesting to note that this plant was prescribed by the Cheyenne in the treatment of colds, cramps in bowels, and bloody stools (9, p. 188), and that it was also valued by the Gosiute in the treatment of sore eyes (6, p. 49), but has a quite different name, without the *natsu* ending, in Gosiute.

221 The Comanche were formerly a very nomadic people, particularly 166 after their acquisition of the horse. Marcy and McClellan (15, pp. 824 94–95) describe them as following the buffalo from place to place and also tell of their horse- and cattle-stealing expeditions, which covered over a thousand miles and even took them into the northern provinces of Mexico, consuming two years or more at a time. Richardson (19) tells something of the migrations, movements, expeditions, and contacts of the Comanche. They appear to have been in at least occasional touch with Apache and Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with Plains and Plateau tribes as far north as what is now the Canadian border. It seems reasonable that they should have been an important agency in the diffusion of plants and of knowledge of plant uses as well as of other culture traits. They controlled practically all the limited area in which the valuable *bois d'arc* or bowwood grew and from which it was traded to the Siouan, the Caddoan, and other tribes to the north, and to the Pueblos to the west. They doubtless also were instrumental in spreading the narcotic cults based on the peyote and mescal beans. La Barre (12, p. 43) considers the Kiowa and the Comanche to be the center of diffusion of peyote in the Plains. Both peyote and mescal beans were native to the southwestern region of Texas and in Mexico, but were diffused almost throughout the Plains and as far northeastward as the Great Lakes. Certainly the many similar plant uses of the Comanche and of other tribes of the Plains, the Plateau, and the Southwest indicate either Comanche contact with these various peoples or a very active dissemination of such traits throughout these areas.

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THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 619 621 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular intervals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance [801] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 787 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

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and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [631]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

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396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

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his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group 796
returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the tri- 541
umph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling [203]
on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front 796
of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the 701
lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his [411]
war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct 796
approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all 535
finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

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796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 [534] After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 [293] While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

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time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he 293]
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [782]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

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796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796
importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure through- 535
out, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 178
physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received 787
an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with
Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [781]
with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 174
historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

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they stressed the fact that the Comanche did not use a Sun Dance image while the Kiowa did.

The material on which the preceding report is based was collected by the Ethnological Field Party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico, while working with the Comanche during the summer of 1933.

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THE CULTURE OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS

RUPERT RICHARDSON

121 The purpose of this paper is to describe the manners, customs, social and political institutions, and the state of mental development of the Comanche Indians, together with some notice of their implements, weapons, camp sites, and means of subsistence. Because of the nature of the information available it has been necessary to place the emphasis on the more intangible matters rather than on artifacts and other concrete remains which might interest the members of this society more. Indeed, the writer fears that what he brings will be of little value to a society created primarily for the purpose of gathering, classifying and studying the bones, utensils, and implements of the aborigines of this section and less concerned with Indian relations and the thought, habits and customs of the races that preceded us.

131 The Comanches are not aborigines of this immediate section. In fact, they had for some time been in contact with the French on the east and southeast and the Spanish on the west and southwest before they began to frequent any part of Texas. However, for a century and a half they did claim as their home a great part of that region which we designate with the indefinite term West Texas; and the tribal name will forever be linked with the border tragedy, history and romance of this region.

Although the purpose of this paper is not to deal with Indian relations, some notice of the general Indian situation in West Texas during the Spanish period may well serve as an introduction to a more specific study of the Comanches. When Coronado came, in 1541, he probably found Apache bands in this region.[1] As he moved into Kansas he met with tribes of the great Caddoan family, and the people of Quivira, that city of gold that turned to clay and grass when he at last found it, are identifiable with the Wichitas who belonged to that family. Although the great "conqueror" did not visit eastern and central Texas, it is reasonably certain that many Caddoan bands lived there also. After Coronado, various

1. F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1907), 1-63.

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other Spanish explorers visited the high plains of Texas and the 000 prairie country to the east, but the records they have left do not add greatly to our knowledge of the natives of the region. During the Seventeenth Century the upper Colorado and Concho region became especially well known to the Spanish since adventurers were attractd there by the pearls found in the mussels so plentiful in those streams. They found the Jumano Indian (probably a band of the Wichitas) in this region, who were mortal enemies of their neighbors the Apaches. Naturally the Jumano welcomed the Spanish as possible allies. The prospects of pearls appealed to Governor Cruzate of New Mexico just as the promise of a harvest of souls struck the imagination of Fray Nicolas Lopez, Custodian of Missions. Hence, in 1684-'85, a party of priests and soldiers established a temporary mission among the Jumano near modern Ballinger. Here, according to their chronicle, the Spanish and their Indian allies killed for a certain feast four thousand buffaloes. Although the Spanish had erected a crude building and planted crops the mission was soon abandoned because of conditions and circumstances that need not concern us in this paper.[2] However, it is significant that at this time Caddoan bands were to be found in the Abilene country, in the midst of the more nomadic Athapascans. Our section was border-land between the nomadic tribes of the plains country and the more sedentary Indians of central Texas, who raised gardens and built large and comparatively substantial grass lodges. Camp sites now being discovered and examined by members of this society confirm this fact. A few days ago at a point a few miles south of Abilene, Dr. Ray pointed out to me certain camp sites on or near loose soil well suited for the crude system of Indian farming. Here we found large fire circles and pieces of metates for grinding corn, indicative of the more permanent camp sites of the agricultural Indians; but at another site near by (although it may have been occupied many decades later or earlier), small piles of fire-stones scattered closely over a narrow valley, indicate that here, for a short while, a more nomadic people lived.

Early in the Eighteenth Century both the Spanish and the French 648 came to know more about the Indians of Texas and their accounts

2. A good summary of these Spanish expeditions into West Texas is given by W. A. Stephenson, in the West Texas Historical Association Yearbook (Abilene, 1926), 11-44-54.

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C 648 are much easier to interpret. During this century there was a southward shift among the more nomadic tribes in what is now eastern Colorado and New Mexico and western Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas. The Osages, in the northeast,[3] tended to drive the Wichitas south. Furthermore, at about the opening of the century, the Comanches, who were probably being crowded by the Cheyennes, came from the north into eastern New Mexico and the Panhandle of Texas. Here they clashed with the Apache tribes and Indian tradition tells of a terrible nine days' battle fought between the Comanches and the Lipan-Apaches on the *Rio del Fierro,* (River of Iron), which Bolton identifies as the Wichita.[4] The Apaches were forced to give way and retreat towards the west and south. The Comanches continued this southward migration and, in 1758, they and their allies, the Wichitas, Hasinaies, and probably some of the Caddo tribe proper attacked the Franciscan mission on the San Saba, near the present site of Menard, and killed two of the friars and several other Spaniards. Thenceforth the Comanches claimed as their home the country as far south as the San Saba, and, indeed, during the years that followed they occupied at one time or another most of the country as far south as Bexar. In his map of Texas in the eighteenth century, Bolton shows the Indian situation in the western half of Texas as follows: The Apaches occupy the region northwest of the *Camino Real.* which ran from the Presidio del Rio Grande to Bexar, with the Lipan-Apache extending as a kind of protruding finger eastward into the country around the present Mason; north of the Apaches are the Comanche tribes and east of these, divided by about the ninety-eighth meridian, were the Wichitas.[5] It would not do violence to the facts to state that the West Texas Indian situation remained thus until the Indians were displaced by white settlers.

W 181 It has already been stated that the Wichitas were an agricultural people, although they relied extensively on the chase for subsistence and were fiercer and more nomadic than their other Caddoan kinsmen. On a framework of poles, sometimes fifty feet in diameter, they W 342 constructed comfortable grass lodges, the whole when completed looking somewhat like a giant bee hive of the old fashion.

3. See H. E. Bolton, **Athanase De Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier,** 1768-1780 (Cleveland, 1914), 1-19, note 2, for the shifting during the eighteenth century.

4. Ibid., p. 25.

5. De Mezieres, I, Frontispiece.

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W
looking somewhat like a giant bee hive of the old fashion. They 000
raised crops of corn, pumpkins and possibly tobacco. On the other 241
hand the Apaches practiced agriculture only to a limited extent and commonly lived in crude brush lodges. Although they had but few arts their women were skilled basket makers.[6] In contradistinction to these other tribes, the Comanches, like their allies the 000
Kiowas, never planted seed of any kind. Thus the Caddoan, Shoshonean, and Athapascan families have all been represented in the Abilene country at one time or another. It seems that the Wichitas and Apaches were here from time immemorial, but the Comanches were late comers. The stone artifacts we find in this country may have belonged to the Wichitas or Lipans; but it is not likely that any stone implement found here, excepting perhaps stone hammers and clubs, were ever used by the Comanches. Long before the latter tribe had reached this country, iron, steel, tin and copper had pretty well supplanted the stone and bone implements used by their forbears. Naturally this improvement in implements, together with the introduction of the horse worked some transformation among them; but we cannot follow this out because we know practically nothing of their culture before they came in touch with a higher civilization.

C
In physical appearance there was little to distinguish the Co- 142
manche from his fellow plains savages of other tribes. The artist Catlin described the race as "in statue rather low, and in person, often approaching to corpulency"; and stated that they were not as large and handsome as the Kiowas. He added that, "In their movements they were heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one C
of the most unattractive and slovenly-looking races of Indians that [481
I have ever seen." But the mounted Comanche presented an entirely 492]
different appearance. Once on his horse, he continued, "He gracefully flies away like a different being."[7] Some twenty years later, about 1854, Captain R. B. Marcy, of the United States Army, described the men as of "About the medium statue, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline noses, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but

6. For the picture of a Wichita village see George Catlin, North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839 (Edinburg, 1926), II, plate 178. On the Apaches see Hodge, Handbook, I, 65-66.

7. North American Indians, II, 74 and 84.

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142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had
[144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes
177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. **Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.**

9. **Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.**

10. **North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.**

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each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291
"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than [757]
the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archive General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

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342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

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own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted: but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [631]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's **De Mezieres**, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See **Commerce of the Prairies** (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's **Early Western Travels**, XX, 342-343.

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622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

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undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221 dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224 camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251 it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281 The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492 horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In **Notes Taken With Marcy**, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. **Exploration of the Red River**, 95.

18. Parker, **Notes Taken with Marcy**, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, **The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days**, Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's 70] tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II. 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

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border was still inviting and there the braves could find horses to 721
steal and ranches to plunder; if there must be peace with Texas, 648
there was at least one happy war ground, which according to Comanche ethics, was always a legitimate field of operation. That was Mexico. And hither the young braves would go, notwithstanding the more or less perfunctory efforts of the governments of the United States and Texas to stop them.

War with the Comanches might call forth united tribal effort 721
or it might concern but a small party of warriors, depending on the circumstances. The chief or head man who wished to lead off a war party paraded through the camp, carrying in some cases a long pole with a red flag tipped with eagle's feathers, chanting a war song. If he was a popular leader and the bands was in a war mood, or if he could convince the young braves that his enterprise promised large returns by way of scalps, prisoners and booty, he would soon collect about him many warriors. War dances would be held, the leading men would make talks, runners would be sent to other bands and the expedition would take on large proportions. No warrior was obliged to join, but the young man who always [626]
stayed at camp would obviously soon become the object of much ridicule. However, the tribe was not entirely at the mercy of these young hot-spurs. If the expedition was likely to result in the flagrant violation of a popular treaty or if it was calculated to bring down upon the tribe the wrath of a powerful enemy, a more conservative sentiment would prevail and the movement would be nipped in the bud.

In this connection some description of Comanche weapons should 411
be given. Although they acquired a few guns from white traders at a very early date, primitive weapons were all that a great majority of the tribesmen had as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Their bows were of bois d'arc, rather short for long bows, being ordinarily not more than three feet in length. Sometimes they were wrapped with the sinew of the deer, and the bow string was of the same material. Their arrows were about twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular spike, or point, of iron. Two feathers intersecting each other at right angles were bound to the other extremity of the arrow and served to guide it. They frequently carried lances, one of which is described as "a piece of

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411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form,
411 about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches.
776 Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a
[783] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

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able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 213
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They 000

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1788, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tomo 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

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They
533 had some music, but their repertoire was limited even for savages. Noah Smithwick, who spent several months with the Comanches about 1837, states that it was customary for the first fellow who awoke in the morning to announce that fact in song; but he thought this was rather a "spontaneous outpouring akin to that of the feathered songsters than a religious rite."[30]

157 Notwithstanding their lack of culture the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men. Once in a council (the proceedings of which were carefully recorded by a secretary) President Sam Houston was trying to get the Comanches to agree to a line of division between the country of the Indians and that of their white neighbors. In the treaty the line was not being described as the Indians had been told it would be run. Buffalo Hump, a young Comanche chief, detected the discrepancy at once and a sharp argument between him and Houston followed. The dialogue is too long to be repeated, but one who reads it will be convinced that the chief knew exactly what he wanted and why he wanted it. He knew the topography of the country to perfection and also the settlements and roads. He clung persistently to his position and would not be moved from it.[31]

181 Notwithstanding their many savage vices the Comanches rated
577 higher morally than other nomadic tribes. They were hospitable and would share their last morsel with their guests. In war they gave no quarter and asked none, but it was not their custom to apply slow torture to unfortunate enemies. Of course individuals differed widely. Among the Southern Comanches, chief Buffalo Hump was erratic and sometimes treacherous, but Mo-pe-cho-co-pe (Old Owl) was even tempered and altogether dependable. Robert S. Neighbors, long a Texas and United States Indian agent, knew the Old Owl for a number of years and in his reports quotes him again and again. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Neighbors ever lost confidence in the old savage or ever doubted his word.[32] There were, no doubt, many Comanches as honest as the Old Owl, but the

30. **The Evolution of a State**, 181.

31. "Minutes of a Grand Council held near the Falls of the Brazos, between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, commencing on Monday, October 7th, 1844, Ms. Texas Indian Papers.

32. For instance, see **Neighbors' report to Medill**, 30 Cong., 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 171, 16-25.

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nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization 181
made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scru- 577
pulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the
acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nine- 178
teenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to 577
live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians
resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages
had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also,
the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians'
rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible
retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last [276]
days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect 273
they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger
race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination
which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by
an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara
(who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio)
Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to
the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing
Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle
of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and
it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

663 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

113 [1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

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668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pínəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

113

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto*.

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Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced 663 the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of 171 the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill [535] this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr 000 Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 113 Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

[pp 304-end, not processed]

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[title page]

COMANCHE KIN BEHAVIOR[1]

By THOMAS GLADWIN

/2/ ANY system of kinship consists of a number of more or less rigid, culturally determined patterns of attitude and behavior toward certain categories of individuals in one's community or tribe; these patterns are symbolized on a verbal level. Each of these individuals is tagged with a term of relationship which determines, to some extent at least, how one should feel and act toward this person. These terms form but a part of the fairly large terminology of status with which a member of a group is equipped for his guidance in dealing with his fellows; but they fall into readily apprehended and well-integrated systems, found in various forms among all peoples, and have thus received what is perhaps an undue share of attention.

However, in spite of the fact that the relationships thus classified function primarily as symbols for patterns of behavior and attitude, the bulk of work with kinship has failed to consider the association between these symbols and their behavioral and affective concomitants. While comparative-historical reconstructions and the various sorts of analytical studies, all on a largely formal level, are unquestionably of value, it must be remembered that they present only a very partial picture; any assumptions concerning the association, except in the most general terms, of any behavior patterns with kinship terms are not justified until demonstrated.

Attempts to provide more complete studies of kinship systems have not been numerous in the North American field, though there is an increasing tendency in this direction. Some time ago, Radcliffe-Brown suggested an outline for a study of this sort:

> Kinship systems vary in different forms of social organization all over the world in respect of three characters; (1) the extent to which genealogical relationships are recognized for social purposes, (2) the way in which relatives are classified and grouped, (3) the particular customs by which the behavior of relatives, as so recognized, classified and grouped, is regulated in their dealings with each other.[2]

While one may not agree with Radcliffe-Brown in all his theoretical premises and goals,[3] this none the less provides an excellent basis for description, es-

[1] The material upon which this study is based was obtained during the field work of a group under the direction of Dr. George Herzog, sponsored by Columbia University, during the summer of 1940. The guidance and suggestions of Dr. Herzog both in the field and during the subsequent analysis of the data have been of very considerable assistance, and I take this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to him. I am also indebted to the other members of the group for access to the material they collected relevant to my problem; it is to be hoped that the picture will soon be rounded out by the publication of their portions of the study.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown (1930), p. 43.

[3] *See* Steward (1938 b). This approach was also the subject of considerable altercation between Kroeber (1934), Radcliffe-Brown (1935), and Opler (1937). This discussion was primarily con-

[pp 1-72 not processed]

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121 pecially if one accepts the implication of the necessity for comparative background contained in the first part of the quotation. This scheme is basic to a number of North American studies contained in the *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, edited by Fred Eggan,[4] and will be followed here, though without strict adherence in detail to the method of the Eggan volume.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

601 The list of terms which identify relatives among the Comanche are given in a separate table, the first being descriptive, and those in parentheses the forms used in direct address. With them are included the English equivalents for the closer relationships; these will be used hereafter for the sake of clarity whenever possible.[5]

Comanche Kinship Terms and Their English Equivalents

có·ʔ (có·ʔ)	g.g.p.; g.g.cil.
kĩ' nuʔ (kĩ'nhʊ)	f.f., f.f.b., f.m.b., f.f.si.h., f.m.si.h.; *m.s.*: s.cil., b.s.cil., si.s.cil., w.b.s.cil., w.si.s.cil.
hu''ciʔ (hu'cɪ)	f.m., f.m.si., f.f.si., f.m.b.w., f.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: s.cil., si.s.cil., b.s.cil., h.si.s.cil., h.b.s.cil.
to'koʔ (to'ko)	m.f., m.f.b., m.m.b., m.m.si.h., m.f.si.h.; *m.s.*: d.cil., b.d.cil., si.d.cil., w.si.d.cil., w.b.d.cil.
ka'kuʔ (ka'kʊ)	m.m., m.m.si., m.f.si., m.m.b.w., m.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: d.cil., si.d.cil., b.d.cil., h.si.d.cil., h.b.d.cil.
ʔa''pĩʔ (ʔa''p(ĩ))	f., f.b., m.si.h., m.si.h.b.
pi'aʔ (pi'a)	m., m.si., f.b.w., f.b.w.si.
ʔa'raʔ (ʔa'rhA)	m.b., f.si.h.; *m.s.*: si.cil., w.b.cil.
pa'haʔ (páhA)	f.si., m.b.w.; *w.s.*: b.cil., h.si.cil.
pa'viʔ (pávɪ)	o.b., *if older than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
ta'miʔ (ta'mɪ)	y.b., *if younger than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
pa'ciʔ (pa'cɪ)	o.si., *if older than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.
na'miʔ (na'mɪ)	y.si., *if younger than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.

cerned with the historical and structural aspects of the problem, that is, whether similar kinship systems always implied similar social structure in comparable cultures and vice versa. As no one denies the association of *some* specific behavior with the use of kinship terms within any society, it does not appear necessary to take a position here relative to this question.

[4] Eggan (1937).

[5] Hoebel has already presented such a table. However, he does not distinguish between the descriptive and the address forms, nor does he include all the terms here listed. Therefore it seems advisable to present the complete system again. *See* Hoebel (1939), pp. 441–442.

Most abbreviations used should be obvious. A few may be amplified: cil (children), *m.s.* (man speaking), *w.s.* (woman speaking).

sa'mu'pĩ' (sa'mup)	*m.s.:* si.; *w.s.:* b.; also cousins of opp. sex.
ta'ka' (no address form)	b., si.: also cousins.
tu'a' (tua')	s.; *m.s.:* b.s., w.si.s.; *w.s.:* si.s., h.b.s.
pe'tĩ' (pe't(ĩ))	d.; *m.s.:* b.d., w.si.d.; *w.s.:* si.d., h.b.d.
mo'na'pĩ' (mo'napĩ)	d.h., si.d.h., b.d.h.
hu''cipia'pĩ' (hu''cipia')	s.w., b.s.w., si.s.w.
cò·'a'a''pĩ' (cò·'a'a'p(ĩ))	g.d.h.
cò·'api'a' (cò·'api'a')	g.s.w.
nĩmĩco'·' (nĩmĩco'·')	*m.s.:* w.g.p.; *w.s.:* h.g.p.
nĩmĩto'ko' (nĩmĩto'ko)	*m.s.:* w.f., w.f.b., w.f.si.h., w.m.b., w.m.si.h.
nĩmĩka'ku' (nĩmĩka'ku)	*m.s.:* w.m., w.m.si., w.f.si., w.m.b.w., w.f.b.w.
ya'hi'pĩ' (ya'hip)	*w.s.:* h.f., h.f.b., h.m.b., h.f.si.h., h.m.si.h.; h.m., h.m.si., h.f.si., h.m.b.w., h.f.b.w.
ku·'ma'pĩ' (kú'map(ĩ))	*w.s.:* h., h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
kwĩ'·p (kwĩ'h(ĩ))	*m.s.:* w., w.si., b.w., b.w.si.
te'ʔcɪ (te'ʔcɪ)	*m.s.:* w.b., si.h.
pa'hapia'pĩ' (pa'hapia'pĩ')	*w.s.:* h.si., b.w.
ha'ipia (ha'ipia)	*m.s.:* w.si., b.w., b.w.si.; *w.s.:* h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
ha'ic (ha'ic)	*m.s.:* male friend; w.si.h.(?); f.b.s., f.si.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.
tĩ'·i' (tĩ'·i)	*w.s.:* female friend; h.b.w.(?); f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.

It is important to recognize that, with one somewhat confused exception (háic), these relationship terms each apply to a group of individuals of indefinite number, limited only by the fact that they normally belong only to one generation (of relationship, not age), and of course that they all stand in a certain relation to the speaker. While this group may have no functional significance as such, and certainly its limits are very poorly defined in any given case, this is the manner in which the kinship system operates at the verbal level. Behaviorally, there is no doubt that a certain focal individual (or individuals) is clearly recognized, and the rest of the group is more or less characterized, at least potentially, by this focal relationship; but to describe these groups exclusively in terms of such a person or persons is to give an erroneous picture of the actual structure of the system.

COMPARATIVE

In seeking for comparisons with Comanche kinship customs, one finds that these corroborate the already known origin of the Comanche as an offshoot of the Wyoming Shoshoni. Comparing them with the nearby Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni relationship terminologies as given by Steward[8] one finds such extreme similarity, both phonetically and conceptually, that a very close historical connection between the two is indisputable. The only real difference is a negative one: the Comanche have no terms for a child's spouse's parents, and thus

[8] Steward (1938 a), pp. 297–306.

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601 do not consider them relatives. The other difference of any importance is the
171 substitution of a single unanalyzable term for the husband's parents noted above; the Lemhi Shoshoni have all four of the "our (children's) grandparent" terms possible, and the Fort Hall Shoshani three, according to Steward.

From this general Fort Hall area in southeastern Idaho, among the various Basin groups, similarities with the Comanche relationship terminology gradually decrease to the south and southwest, as might be expected.

Wider comparisons with Uto-Aztecan and other kinship systems may be found in a recent article of Shimkin's,[7] for such close similarities with the Basin groups permit his conclusions concerning the Shoshoni to be applied to the Comanche without modification.

APPLICATION OF THE TERMINOLOGY

601 While the structure of the Comanche kinship terminology is such that the number of people covered by it is theoretically infinite, it is obvious that there must be some limit to the size of the groups involved.

In the ascending generations, a limit is set by the terms at the third. Actually, the possibility that anyone old enough to use these words would have a great-grandparent living was fairly small, specially in the pre-settlement days. Furthermore, the Comanche had a tabu on mentioning the name of any relative or close friend who was dead, so that discussion of the family tree was never a pastime, and, in most cases, little children never knew or soon forgot who their great-grandparents were.

Beyond the third descending generation, one "runs out of relatives" also, and may select any terms one wishes to describe great-great-grandchildren and others of this generation. There is thus considerable variation to be found in these distant relationships. One informant started over with younger sibling terms, while another just repeated the designation of "great-grandchild." Naturally, these relationships are only a little more common than those with great-grandparents; they nearly always involve very old people and little children, and are usually not in a direct line of descent, permitting some discrepancy between age and generation.

Thus while there are occasional exceptions, the kinship terminology normally operates over a span of six generations, two above and three below that of the speaker.

Horizontally, however, there is no such limitation either of terminology or, directly at least, of mortality. No other mechanism is consciously recognized, nor is any apparent in a systematic examination of genealogical material. However, as a rough rule of thumb, it may be said that, with surprisingly few exceptions, the line of kinship ceases to be traced when it has passed through two marriage relationships between the speaker and the person under con-

[7] Shimkin (1941).

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sideration, with no other blood ties to bridge the gap. The existence of the "unrelated" spouses involved in these second marriages as parts of the group of relations under consideration is recognized, and a number of relatives of theirs may even be given under questioning, but some different line of relationship, usually stemming from a purported "blood" tie, is selected by which to identify them. The completeness of this other identification is well illustrated by the fact that frequently, when an informant was asked what the correct term for one of these individuals would be through the line which had been under consideration, the answer could be shown by later checking to be incorrect. 601

Exceptions to this rule are, of course, relatively frequent, the most common cause being variations in residence. Thus the man from whom I collected a complete genealogy[8] spent the whole of the course of his fairly long second marriage with his wife's family, and thus became accustomed to using the proper terms for a great many of them, in spite of the fact that several were connected by lines involving two marriages beside his own. Another remarkably frequent situation was one in which another line of descent coincides with the one in question, and, reinforcing this last, causes the group to be considerably extended in size. There was no awareness of whether a given relationship should be traced back through one or the other line.

Personality factors are unquestionably also operative in governing the size of the kin-group; not only will relationship be more readily admitted or sought after with people one likes or who are high in prestige, and vice versa, but we also had a feeling that some people were much more anxious than others to surround themselves with as many relatives as possible and to be able to implement these relationships by knowing how to trace them, thus supporting the implication of admittance to the in-group of the addressee, and the mutual support and esteem there expected. This opinion was corroborated by some of the younger men, but we were not able to get any more direct evidence than this. Naturally, our knowledge of the personalities of the informants was comparatively sketchy as a result of our short contact with them. Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn has indicated that his extensive work with the Navaho has shown clearly that such a desire exists among certain individuals there, leading to an effort to expand the group of known kin as far as possible. 601 157

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[8] Two complete genealogies were collected, one from a man (T), and the other from a woman (TY). T had been blind for the last twenty-eight years of his life, so that he did not always know some of the younger people. Other informants contributed more fragmentary genealogical information, limited both by time and their lack of interest in the subject, while all informants produced isolated examples and generalizations in response to questions. The two complete genealogies comprised 187 and 133 individuals respectively.

It should be noted that the phrase "line of relationship" refers to no functional kingroup, but only to those individuals through whom relationship is traced.

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one [582] [184] informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather." [551]

She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

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many lines of relationship which each person traces, running back and forth through most of the people he knows, overlapping and coinciding very frequently. Naturally, the use of such a system involves many choices between two or more possible terms to be applied to some certain individual. The choices have often been made by one's parents, and are just adhered to; but in many other cases this is not so. It is especially true when one marries, for in this way a large constellation of new relationships is established through one's spouse. Usually, the choice is made, and this usage is continued thenceforward; if the connecting relationship is broken through death or divorce, the person may or may not keep the terminology established by it. Sometimes, the two alternatives are both kept alive, and are used interchangeably; operations of this sort make it easy to go one step further, and manipulate the terms of kinship in situations where there is no actual justification for some particular usage except expediency. 602 601

In most cases the choice is quite clear-cut: one relationship is closer than the other, and it is automatically used. Thus when T married his third wife, another woman whom he had called wife, or *hâipia*, and with whom he had been carrying on a joking relationship, became his sister. With the day of his marriage he began to call her "sister," and continued to do so, practically without exception, until his own wife died; the sister relationship was then abruptly dropped again. There are a great many such instances; this one is especially interesting because the reciprocal joking relationship, which had been avidly pursued, was terminated quite as abruptly as was the use of the term, and, with his wife's death, was at once reinstated; thus the relationship was conceived of both terminologically and behaviorally as existing quite apart from the person through whom it was made, and no restrictions of mourning were associated with it afterward.

By this same marriage, another woman who had been related as a sister through another "old relation" became a wife and *hâipia*, and started joking with her new-found "husband." They joked a good deal, but when she began to get the best of him, he would call her "sister," to remind her of the other relationship, and she would have to stop at once. A related situation is one in which, for example, a man's brother's wife, who had always called him "husband," and who was potentially his wife through the levirate, would start calling him by a sibling term upon the death of this brother, in order to indicate that it was not necessary for him to fulfill his obligation of replacing his brother as her husband. A fair number of such shifts were recorded, in various relationships where potential marriage situations existed. TY called her second husband's mother and her sister by the proper parent-in-law terms; but as they grew older they became blind, and she used to help them a great deal. To signalize this dependency they felt toward her, they began calling her "daughter," and she called them "mother." A daughter-in-law who gets along unusually well with her husband's mother is quite frequently called by the closer term of [587]

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602 daughter; in the same way, a girl who has been reared to a large extent by her
601 grandmother, especially if she is an orphan, or illegitimate, will be called "daughter," and will reciprocate by calling her grandmother "mother." It is interesting to note that these relationships, however artificial they may be, are always consistent. A person will never use a special relationship term toward another unless this other reciprocates by using an appropriate term toward the first.

The closer terms of kinship which we have just seen substituted for more distant correct terms are also extended in their application to non-related or little-known people toward whom one wishes to show friendliness or respect. Thus a man will usually call a stranger "father," or "mother's father," depending on his age—this latter term is considered to denote the closest relationship, as far as warmth and dependence go, of the two grandfathers.

More formalized are such usages as the reciprocal joking which goes on between grandparents and grandchildren, which operates largely by means of their using various sets of kinship terms and then making jokes about their consequences; this will be considered in more detail in the next section. Also, if two persons standing in a certain relationship to each other each have close
[572] friends of the same sex as themselves, these two friends may playfully adopt
[195] parallel relationship terms toward each other. The terms in this case have a phonetic pattern slightly different from the normal usage.

Perhaps of the same nature is the custom whereby two young men may call each other *nīmūt'·iʔ*, "our girl friends," to signalize some affair which they had with two girls who were friends; this usage is said sometimes to continue throughout life, though no instances were recorded.

In these examples it is evident that the universal applicability of kinship terminology and the choices of relationships which are presented, together with extensions of its usage outside of genealogically traceable relatives, make this system a remarkably flexible tool in the hands of its users. With the selection of terms there is, apparently, a selection of behavior patterns also, always followed consistently by both parties involved.

The Comanche seem to follow the usual custom in regard to more distant relationships, wherein the behavior patterns found in the immediate family become gradually less distinct and demanding, and more permissive in nature, providing opportunities for fulfilling them to any degree which the person wishes. Yet some aspects of behavior appear to persist very strongly; this is well exemplified by the alternation of sister and joking relationships already mentioned.

It remains now to see what these behavior patterns are which are associated with the relationship terms, and to what extent there is a distinct pattern for each term.

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BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms. 601 551 576 [794]

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain 593

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias. [124]

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

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593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on [576] war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ɨ'rɨ̃ʔaiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

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had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who 593
gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have [605]
had this right in some cases.

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how 593
well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely.

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, 593
especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be trans- 861
ported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of 858
older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on.

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the 593
oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she 855
was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga-

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

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855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend- [554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

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though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected 597
with adoption.

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and 848
especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection [558]
of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it
would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to
marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him [551]
teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship
at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate
happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older
man.

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the 845
mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially
true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the
child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of power- [184]
ful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, [847]
but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and
offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone
invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died,
all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried
with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what
was offered in the way of other clothes.

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's 604
side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even 593
if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother
is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly
major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a
girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and
uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any
children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with
her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in
the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this ex-
tended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even
distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost
continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and
uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother,
incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized
patterns.

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-hus- 593
bands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of 684
children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they
chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment,

593 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. How-
684 ever, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe
586 that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband.
[482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he
[841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors,
[684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

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men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, 595
wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might [556]
thus have been of considerable size.

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is 607
likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it.

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words [195]
for spider, *taiê'ci*, and for tarantula, *pi'hire'ci*, are recognized to mean "some- [522]
one's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common phrases substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made 522 flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nīmīʔdraʔ*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lêʔci*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'pīʔ*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nīmīʔara?*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart"-liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nīmīʔdra?* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership. 607 195

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law. 606

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own [591]

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. [591] Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact [576] that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

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does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective. 603

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"*Friends.*" While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[13] 572 [597] 572 183

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nīmīʔdraʔ* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hâic*, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as 572 196

[13] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hâic* relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

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572 196 *hâic* only if he wished to emphasize that for one reason or another he did not consider him a relative at all, and TY used *tɨ'·iʔ* in much the same way. All informants agreed that sibling terms provided a much closer and warmer way of expressing the relationship, but used the friend designation in casual conversation as being more informal. No attempt is made to distinguish which variety of "friend" the individual is; this is assumed to be known to anyone who might be present. It is possible that some of the confusion in this regard is a product of contact with white people, many of whom have *hâic* as practically the only Comanche word in their vocabularies, and use it as a greeting without discrimination; but this does not seem to be the most important factor, for there is every indication that this lack of clear definition of the application of the term is aboriginal. However, the use of *hâic* as an equivalent of "sweetheart" does seem to have been a translation of the American "girl friend," "boy friend."

This lack of clarity makes it practically impossible to formulate any even approximate behavior pattern associated with this term if, indeed, any exists; such opinions as were offered in answer to general questions were obviously references to one or both of the focal relationships, in spite of the fact that the term is seldom applied to own brothers, and the formal friendship, when it did exist, was far from including all the individuals who were regularly called *hâic*. An analogous situation is apparent in our own culture where "friendship," is conceived of as a warm and unselfish relationship, expressive of all our more worthwhile values, and yet one considers hundreds of people "friends" toward whom one is willing to display little more of this ideal behavior than a cheery "hello."

The feminine counterpart of *hâic*, *tɨ'·iʔ*, operates in about the same way, and its usage is often no clearer. Whether the institutionalized friendship ever existed here, and if so, what its basis was, is not apparent. Inasmuch as the affairs of women between themselves were generally considered to be pretty trivial by the dominant warriors of days gone by, it is almost certain that no friendship among them could have achieved the public recognition which the *hâic* relationship did. It is not clear whether women recognized the especially close friendships which obviously existed among them as being a comparable phenomenon, though they presumably did.

602 *Discussion.* It is obvious from the foregoing brief discussion of behavior that there is a definite and distinctive pattern associated with each relationship situation, and that each relative has a number of more or less clear-cut functions toward the individual. While these patterns are unquestionably identified to some extent by the use of kinship terms, it cannot be said on the basis of this alone that the terms are themselves the primary factors in determining behavior; a close group of relatives might well function in much the same way even if their relationships were not terminologically conceptualized.

But the real test can be applied when the terms are used outside of the

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fairly immediate family to identify more distant relatives, or in unusual situations. Such data as have been presented with each discussion of relationship above are not entirely conclusive. The gradual diminution of behavioral association with terms applied to progressively more distant relatives is far from denying to these terms any behavioral content, for it would hardly be expected that all people called, for example, "brother," would be treated equally intimately; but it is important to note that these patterns become increasingly optional and that they are followed only if it is agreeable or convenient to do so. Among other things, without going directly counter to an established usage, two individuals who do not wish to follow its consequences may often find another suitable relationship to recognize, or even invent one. 602

Stronger evidence, perhaps, for the association of behavior with the mere words which identify relationships can be found in the various manipulations of terms and in the complications involved in changes of relationship described in the preceding section on application of the terminology.[14] The situations in these cases arise solely on account of such associations, which are sometimes very specific, and at others very general. Although we must here recognize that only a very small or diffuse segment of behavior is involved, and that the patterns are far from playing the dominant role in an individual's life which those of closer relationship do, nevertheless it is clearly the kinship term alone which evokes and signalizes the complicating attitudes and relationships.

An interesting reversal occurred in T's life. His father lived a very long time and had many wives and children. When he was quite old his last wife had, as her only child, my informant (whose legitimacy I could naturally never question). As a result, his half-siblings were far older than he; and the early death of his mother left him dependent upon them for such family life as he had. While he was still very young, his older brothers all died from sickness or in battle, and one of his closest male relatives, who took him into his family for some time, was the son of one of these brothers, and was thus also terminologically T's son. It was stated that this man was old enough to be his father; whether or not this rather remarkable fact was true, he was old enough to act *in loco parentis* to my informant, and did. Insistent questioning did not reveal any behavior which could have been associated with T's terminological position as father. A similar reversal, which involved the son of one of his sisters, was made simpler by the use of a reciprocal "uncle" term; I was not able to discover whether he even considered this an inversion at all. These cases clearly show that where a conflict arises between the behavior normally associated with a term and the behavior expected within the family group, the latter is completely dominant.

In sum, then, we see that there is a certain, often minimal, amount of

[14] Hoebel (1940), p. 57, provides a similar example in which a man disrupts another's levirate claims by reminding the claimant that he is his son-in-law through a classificatory brother, and hence should be careful lest he lose his wives.

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602 behavior and of course affect which is associated with the calling of any individual by a relationship term, and which arises directly from the use of the term, even where the behavior pattern has no functional validation. In some very unusual cases this association may be completely eliminated by some conflicting factor, but more frequently the conflict is resolved by the substitution of some other term whose behavioral concomitants are more suitable. The opportunity for such manipulation of the terminology is dependent to some degree upon how distantly related in the classificatory category the individual in question is from the person who stands in the focal relationship to the speaker. To be effective, these substituted terms must be used reciprocally and consistently by all parties involved. The use of kinship terms for the Comanche is never a one-way affair; the relationship which the application of a term signalizes always demands that the person addressed reciprocate with the appropriate complementary term, and generally also with the behavior thus implied. Otherwise the initial usage is meaningless.

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COMANCHE BONDAGE

Dr. John Charles Beales's settlement of
La Villa de Dolores on Las Moras Creek
in Southern Texas of the 1830's

with an annotated reprint of

Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative

of her captivity among the Comanches
her ransom by traders in New Mexico
and return via the Santa Fē Trail

by

CARL COKE RISTER
Texas Technological College

The Arthur H. Clark Company
Glendale, California, U.S.A.
1955

[Title Page]

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[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

101 The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the [131] extensive territory stretching from the northern boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [134] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and 131 fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

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them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they 181
are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439]
who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on 771
earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776]
idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789]
storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

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conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

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most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage
wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry
his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224]
he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath
his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she
has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be
the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor
creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the
camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must
go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has
to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, [462]
to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and
bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so
much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or
to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might
please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is
instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the
horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long
night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and
feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the
precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the
publication of it to these poor heathen do them
some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed
females, could they be brought to bear upon their
cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back
302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in
[237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other.
301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of
[726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

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a hole for the fire, the smoke from which passes through an opening in the top; on the margin of the hole for the fire, they dig a trench in a circular form, and fill it with water. In a direct line from the door across the centre of the fire-place, and between it and the fire, they spread a buffalo skin for the sick person's bed. At the head and feet, and on each side opposite the shoulder, they place small heaps of dirt moulded in the form of a sugar loaf; they then place a larger heap, of nearly the same form, exactly between the one at the head and the side of the tent, and another between the fire and the one at the feet; in these two last they plant willow trees. They then cut a trench, with square sides, and about three feet deep, in a direct line from the door of the tent, and from ten to fifteen feet in length. The dirt taken from this trench is taken to the end opposite or farthest from the door, and thrown into a sort of mound, and a willow tree set in it, and smaller ones of the same kind are placed on each side of the trench, quite up to the door. The friends are then formally invited, when a scene commences which defies an adequate description. The musicians come forward, with fife and drum, and play with all their might; the whole company passes in single file through the trench into the tent, and the music, and dancing continues through the night, with short intervals of rest. When thirsty, they drink of the wa- [58] ter in the trench about the fire, and frequently approach

755

[534]

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be sup- posed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail- 152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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in safety; that there is no cause for crying, and 765
exhorts them to refrain; when, by mutual consent, 152
they cease crying as easily as they commenced it, and go about their business. But if any of their friends have died in the fight, or otherwise, their grief appears deep and lasting. In this case, they immediately commence cutting and disfiguring themselves in a shocking manner, and with varied and unseemly gestures, accompanied with loud and tremendous yells, they seem to try to excel each other. They will ascend the loftiest peaks of the tallest mountains they can reach, and through the whole of the gloomiest night, send abroad through the surrounding forest their dismal wailings, in howls of horrid [59] accent. Nor are their signs of grief much less pungent when they lose their friends at home; but they hold all others 727.
enemies, and treat them accordingly, dead or alive. The reader has seen plenty of this in the preceding narrative; but I will here add, they fastened the scalps of our murdered friends to the bridles of their mules, so as to suspend them under the chin of the animals, and this was their constant practice while I was with them. When they encamped, they would fix them upon the top of long poles, and set them up by their tents, as I have seen flags upon garrisons, and elsewhere.

When a woman was to be confined, they removed 844
the grass and everything else from the surface of the ground, and in a convenient place in the tent

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is absent. If the family with whom she stays are under the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [60] retreat four days, during

[426 983] [262]

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which time she takes no food, except a little broth 841
and some kind of vegetables; but on no account .262
will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them 515
the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat with- [264]
out washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when 262
they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with 727
reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation 050

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so grossly sunk in the darkness of heathenism, as is the one of which the account is here closed, should be so exact in the observation of customs so strikingly analogous to the letter of the Mosaic ritual? Are these strange people some of the posterity of fathers who once worshipped at the Jewish altar? and when shall the light of the Gospel illuminate the pathway of their return? Saviour of the human race, hasten the blessed day!

HERMITAGE, GREENE COUNTY, ILL.
JUNE, 1839

NOTICE [40]

Since the notice of the forthcoming of the above publication appeared in the city papers, it has been suggested by some, that it may have been gotten up from sinister motives, and that it is not founded on facts, and with reference to which, the writer would say, that Mrs. Horn was brought from Santa Fé under the immediate care of Messrs. Workman and Rowland, who, it is presumed, are well known to respectable merchants in this city, and elsewhere, as Santa Fé traders. Mrs. Horn was placed by Mr. Workman in the family of his brother, in New Franklin when she first came to the States, as her book says, and she still remains there. Many other names might be given, but those referred to are above suspicion.

[40] This "notice" appeared on the upper half of the rear wrapper of the original edition.

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Oklahoma

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of elitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

128 * This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was
101 prepared as a single long paper. The data on which
114 this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University.
124 A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpre-
115 ter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic in-
124 formant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog
[126] and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science
122 Research Council of Columbia University whose
114 financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

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121 1. Language may be viewed both as a part of culture and as an index to culture. As a learned system of symbolic vocal skills language is a part of the social heritage comparable to the technique of making a parfleche, the Sun Dance, or joking with one's brother-in-law, and as such it is similarly affected by the psychological and sociological processes of culture dynamics. It follows, then, that linguistic change is an integral part of the total acculturation that occurs when cultures come into contact. These changes may range from slight to radical alterations in the form or content of a language, through the formation of various pidgin dialects or trade jargons, to the complete supersession of a language by a dominant tongue.

In its purely formal aspects, language may be considered apart from culture. It is in this sense, and because of the genetic relationship, that we say the Comanche and Shoshone speak the same language; or that the Zuni, Hopi and Keres, or the Kwakuitl, Haida and Tlingit have similar cultures yet speak different languages. But the bones of linguistic forms are covered with the flesh and blood of meaning. As a symbolic index to culture a language inevitably reflects the content of the culture it serves. Vocabulary changes go on *pari passu* with changes in the other spheres of culture: new objects and ideas, the products of acculturation, must be named if they are to be incorporated into a culture. From this point of view it seems fruitful to consider linguistic change

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[2] as part of a broader process of cultural change.[1]

The linguistic concomitants of acculturation have been treated by most linguists in their general texts and in articles under the rubrics of loanwords or borrowing.[2] For the most part their concern has been with the classical languages or those having a written tradition. Anthropological linguists have given the subject somewhat more attention in their general writings on ethnolinguistics,[3] have mentioned it in passing in specialized papers on linguistics,[4] and have contributed a number of articles on loanwords in various unwritten languages.[5] Studies of the wider aspects of linguistic acculturation have recently appeared,[6] and

[113] [1] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.337 (1948).

[113] [2] Leonard Bloomfield, Language (1933); William Graff, Language and Languages (1932); Edward Sapir, Language (1921), and Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); and E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917).

[113] [3] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24. (1948) and The Relation of Language to Culture. Anthropology Today (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554–73; Edward Sapir, Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); Ismael Silva-Fuenzalida, Ethnolinguistics and the Study of Culture, AA 51.446–56 (1949); C. F. Voegelin and Z. S. Harris, Linguistics in Ethnology, SJA 1 no. 4 (1945), and The Scope of Linguistics, AA 49.586–600 (1947). See also Joseph H. Greenberg, Linguistics and Ethnology, SJA 4.140–47 (1948); and A. L. Kroeber, Some Relations of Linguistics and Ethnology, Lg. 17.287–91 (1941).

[113] [4] For example, Leonard Bloomfield, p. 106; Trager, p. 217; Swadesh, p. 312ff; and Whorf, p. 392, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6 (New York, 1946).

[5] See references listed in the section on Loanwords.

[113] [6] Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–7 (1951); George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941); Jean B.

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121 Weinreich has published an excellent study of bilingualism in contact situations.[6a] However, cultural anthropologists interested in acculturation have evinced little concern with the topic. Linton makes no mention of the role of language in his writings on acculturation.[7] Herskovits' survey[8] treats the matter in a programmatic fashion and stresses the need for research on pidgin and creole dialects and other substandard forms of speech.[8a] Sapir's richly loded discussion of the significance of linguistic evidence for the student of culture history and culture contact[9] has to date been left unmined, even unassayed.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it will examine the effects of a long career of culture contact and change on the Comanche language. Second, it will attempt to show what light this linguistic evidence throws on the nature and history of that contact. As a study in ethnolinguistics it hopes to demonstrate the value of linguistic materials as an adjunct to other forms of investigation. It thus purports to be both

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[113] Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45.427–34 (1943); D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu.' Acculturation, AA 45. 435–40 (1943); Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3.130–46 (1947); Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA, 45.410–26 (1943); Zdeněk Salzmann, Contrastive Field Experience with Language and Values of the Arapaho, IJAL 17.98–101 (1951); Paul L. Garvin, Kutenai Lexical Innovation, Word 4.120–26 (1948); and William Bright, Linguistic Innovations in Karok, IJAL 18.53–62 (1952).

[113] [6a] Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, (New York, 1953). The book contains an extensive bibliography.

[113] [7] Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (New York, 1940).

[113] [8] M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation, (Augustin, New York, 1938); p. 107 ff. and p. 128.

[113] [8a] Hall's work on Haitian creole has done much to remedy this deficiency. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, Memoirs AAA 74 (1953).

[113] [9] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada, 1916).

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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession
178 from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10]
the Comanche have undergone a 250 year
175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1896); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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[113] [175] [178] Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

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175 648 This dark picture of conflict is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the [439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).
[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38.157–76 (1935).
[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6.79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

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175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 products. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
[721] firearms, also incited them to attack the Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

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648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
657 as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

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657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

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648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the develop-
ment of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[32] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[113] [32] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1855).

[113] [34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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11: Casagrande E,L-S (1940) 1954
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197 has linked Uto-Aztecan with Tanoan-Kiowa in an Aztec-Tanoan group,[27] and Whorf and Trager have presented evidence for a relationship between Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan.[28] The Voegelins have more recently designated twelve Uto-Aztecan languages, many comprising several mutually intelligible dialects, as spoken in what is now the United States.[29] Mexico claims a considerable number more, including Nahuatl.[30] These are all by no means equally distinct languages, and the actual degree of relationship among them remains to be worked out;[31] however the affinity between Comanche and Shoshone was recognized at least as early as 1862.[32] The vocabularies collected by Steward[33] for a number of Shoshone dialects show a pronounced similarity both among themselves and to Comanche. The two are essentially dialects of the same language, a fact recognized by their native speakers. As one informant put it, "The Shoshone speak as the Comanche spoke long, long ago". In

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[113] [27] Benjamin L. Whorf, The Comparative Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan, AA 37.600-08 (1935).

[113] [27] Edward Sapir, Central and North American Languages, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed., 5.138-41 (London and New York, 1929).

[113] [28] Benjamin L. Whorf and G. L. Trager, The Relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, AA 39.609-24 (1937).

[113] [29] C. F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages, Publ. of the American Ethnological Society, Publ. 20 (n.d.).

[113] [30] A. L. Kroeber, Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8, (Berkeley, Calif., 1934); and J. Alden Mason, The Classification of the Sonoran Languages (with an Appendix by B. L. Whorf), Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber, (Berkeley, Calif., 1936).

[113] [31] C. F. Voegelin, North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and their Genetic Relationships, Language, Culture, and Personality, pp. 15-40 (p. 21) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113] [32] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology, p. 473 (London, 1862).

[33] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, pp. 272 ff. (1938).

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11: Casagrande E.L-5 (1940) 1954
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197 another place Steward[34] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (?, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ḫ, occurs only in baby language[35] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ? and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[36] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less eco-
[197] nomical. Whether aspiration has replaced other phonemes (? or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[113] [34] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445–502, p. 476 (1940).

[113] [35] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11–4 (1948).

[113] [36] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229–31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

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194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^y and g^w commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^w respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[11]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tĭvo·pĬ *paper*—nĭrĭvo·pĬ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final Ĭ in such a word as tĭhkapĬ *food*, is often heard as simple aspira-
[192] tion. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] [11] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

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194 few in number. With a very few exceptions, chiefly in loanwords, there are no clusters of more than two consonants. Except where vowels are elided, and in a number of English loanwords, only the clusters h plus consonant and ? plus consonant, and, more
194 rarely, h plus n, appear. Examples are:
192 puhaknI or puhakhnI *church* (puha *supernatural power*, plus kahnI *house*; tu?re? *rubber*; tehnsé·? *ten cents* (English). The seeming cluster k or k^h plus consonant is common; however in every instance noted a medial vowel had been elided: ?eka- *red*, plus sīkwe? *half*, gives ?eksīkwe? *red half*, an *old style blanket*.

194 3.2. Vowels are unrounded in front position and rounded in back position (with i and u closer than e and o, respectively), and mixed in central position (mid close ī and low open a). These six vowels also appear long (i· and u·, e· and o·, ī· and a·); also whispered (I and U, E and O, Ī and A); rarely nasalized as in the morpheme, ha· *yes*.

The vowel ī approximates the vowels in English "look" and "luck". All vowels, lacking closely contrasting phonemes, vary somewhat from high to low: e.g., o may approach ɔ, or e approach ə, etc. Whispered and long vowels, which could also be described as clusters of two identical vowels, are of the same quality as their voiced short counterparts.

No vowels occur in utterance initial; and all vowels occur in utterance medial. Only long vowels, clusters, and whispered vowels occur in utterance final; however there is a tendency for most speakers to close an utterance ending in a long vowel or a cluster with a glottal stop or aspiration. An echo vowel is sometimes heard after a glottal stop:-a?(A).

Short morpheme final vowels become voiceless in utterance final position, e.g., ?e·konī· *tongues*, and ?e·kO *tongue*. They also tend to assimilate to a preceding consonant, or to be replaced by simple aspiration. In utterance medial position

[p. 147-A]

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĭsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ĭe, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔĭvĭiʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapĭ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[11] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [11] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297–301 (1953).

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193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransitivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[39] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands*; *direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object* (*knife, penis, stick*), *direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[40] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [39] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197] [113] [40] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

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193 **3.4. Infixation, if indeed it may be so**
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
193 lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hívi·pĬ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes include the nominalizers, -pĬ and -?, which make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
193 highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tĩhka *eat* plus -? gives tĩhka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĬ gives nohkopĬ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĬ gives piapI *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĬ) gives ?ekavItĬ *red one*; yĩva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĩva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93–9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.208–12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

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193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among those productive of new words are: -kï
193 *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikï? *rocking-*
196 *chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks* + ?ai *go, lope* + -kï + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nïmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (nïmï- *1st per. plural* + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* + -?e + -V *plural* + -tĬ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion away*; -?tu?i *future* (*in positive statements*); -wa?i *future* (*in negative statements*); -?i *past, semelfactive*; -yU *past, durative* (?); -nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*; -yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tï *nominalizer*; -nï· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĬ *dual*; -hï *dual* (*on proclitic pronominals*); -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 **3.6.** Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/yïci?I *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -ei? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional, locative, pronominal, numerative, demon-
196 strative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

[p. 149-A]

193
196

Person		Singular		Dual	Plural
1st	possessive or objective	nI-	exclusive	nihI- -nikwĬ	nInI- -ninĬ
	subjective	-nI?	inclusive	tahI- -takwĬ, or -tah	-ta-, or -tanI-
2nd		?I- -InĬ		mihI- -imikwĬ	-mI-
3rd	visible	ma- -ma?	emphatic	marhI- -marikwĬ	-marI-
	invisible	?u- -?u?	or -u(?)-	?urhI- -urikwĬ	-?urI-
	close	?i- -?i?	or -i(?)-	?ithI- -itikwĬ	-?itI-
	distant	?o- -?o?	or -o(?)-	?orhI- -orikwĬ	-?orI-
	very own	pI-,	or -aI- (medially)	pI-, or -aI-	pI-, or-aI-

Duality is expressed by the nominal suffixes, -hī and kwĬ, for the 1st and 2nd persons: pihīkanikĬ?urīkwĬ *they* (dual, invisible) *are at their own house* (pī- + -hī + kahnI *house* + kĬ *at, in* + ?urī + -kwĬ). For the 3rd person demonstratives duality seems to be expressed by an infixed h; however it is probably the result of reduction and assimilation: ?u-, 3rd person invisible, plus -tī, nominalizer, plus -hī, dual, gives ?ur(ī)hī. Inflection for plurality, except for the 1st person exclusive, is accomplished with the pluralizer, -V.

As proclitics these affixes function as possessives, or, plus an inflectional suffix,
193 -i, in the non-singular, as objectives. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that
193 word. In clitic form they are unstressed. In objective pronominals, where the suffix -i
194 is added, phonetic assimilation may occur:
196 mihī- + -i + pu·ni *see* + -nī? gives mihivúninī? *I see you two*. Assimilation and reduction with -i also occurs in other stems; sonipĬnī· *grass* + -i gives sonipĬni· *grass* (obj.).

193 When inflected with nominal suffixes these
196 pronominal forms may stand as free stressed words: nī- + -nī, plural, gives nīnĬ *we* (*exclusive*). Both demonstratives and nondemonstratives may cluster with other clitics to constitute a free stressed word: nī?u? *it is I*; ?onai *from there*; ?inai *from*

[p. 149 B]

193 *here*; ?inakwī?u? *it is on this side* (?i- +
[196] nakwĭ *side, direction* + ?u?).

3.8. Compounding is a morphological process defined as the juxtaposition of roots and/or stems to form new stems. These new compound stems may be in-
193 flected or stand as free words. Compounds may be composed of from two to four roots:
196 ?ekahpa· *soda water* (red plus water); tu·ku·nA *coal* (black plus fire); pawovivu·kU *boat* (water plus board plus horse); piarosawovikn̄I *big white wooden house*. Examples of compounds composed of root plus stem are: wanaciya·? *flag* (wana- *cloth* + ci- *with a stick*, an instrumental prefix + ya· *hold up* + -? *nominalizer*); pihna·nohkopĭ *cake, cookies* (pihna· *sweet* + nohko *bake* + -pĭ *nominalizer*).

193 Among the most productive of compounded acculturation terms are a series of qualitative roots or stems (see the discussion of stem types below). These invariably
[128] precede noun stems in a compound. They are grouped below according to their syntactic position relative to each other:

193 I
196

pia-	*big*
pīe-	*old, former*
tīe-	*little*
ke-	*negative*

II

?isa-	*false, deceitful*
hu·-	*wood*
ca·-	*good, fine*
so·-	*many*
yu·-	*common, ordinary*

III

?eka-	*red*
?evi-	*blue, green*
?esi-	*grey, dull*
?eso-	*light in color*
?oha-	*yellow*
?otī-	*brown*
tu-	*black*
tosa-	*white*

[p. 150-A]

193 Bound particle stems also function in compounding:
196

-wahtĬ *without* (-wah + -tĬ, nominalizer), noyowahtĬ *without testicles*—a personal name; navukuwá·? *automobile* (na-, reflexive + pu·kU *horse* + -wahtĬ *without*. The ending presumably represents reduction to a syllabic pattern common for many plant and animal names—see 3.2.).

-katĬ *possessor of* (-ka + -tĬ, nominalizer), puhakatĬ *medicine-man* (puha *supernatural power* + -katĬ). Both of the above are commonly used in personal and animal names.

193 3.9. Reduplication, a very important technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages
196 such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be restricted to the inflection for the dual and plural forms of qualitative stems and a limited group of kinship and status terms. There are several patterns of reduplication: $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$ or $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$: ?ekavI- *red*, becomes ?e?ekavItī·ca? *the red one*; and tīta·tĬ *little one*, becomes tīhtīta··tīnī· *little ones*. $C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$; ca·tīetĬ *favorite child*, becomes ca·tīrietīnī· *favorite children*, and piava· *lake*, becomes piviava·nī· *lakes*. And $C_1V_1hC_2$ apparently becomes $C_1V_1hC_1V_1hC_2$; tahka? *sibling*, becomes tahtahkani· *siblings*.

It also seems possible that reduplication may be used with certain verb stems to convey an iterative meaning: ?ekayīyīka? *jelly, jam, jello* (?eka- *red* + yīka *to shake* (?) + -?, nominalizer).

193 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in some ejaculations ?īrīrīrīrī· *I'm*, or *it's so*
196 *hot!*. Reduplication also figures importantly
195 in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby words:[42] papá·? *water*; pepé·? *ball*; and tatá·? *food*.

193 3.10. A number of stem classes may be distinguished according to their distribution in relation to affixes and other stems, and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

[42] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, I JAL 14.11–4 (1948).

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193 The major stem classes and some of their characteristics follow:

Verb stems (appear with a series of verbal inflectional suffixes).

Noun stems (appear with a series of nominal inflectional suffixes; may stand as uninflected words).

Qualitative stems (reduplicated for non-singular; before classificatory derivational suffixes which are lost in composition; before the verbalizing suffix, -yu; and precede verbal or nominal stems in compounds).

Clitic stems, including pronominal stems (may combine with demonstrative and non-demonstrative pronouns to constitute a free form with one stress: nī?u? *it is I*; ?inakwī?u? *it is on this side* [?i-, 3rd per. sing. close, plus nakwĪ, *direction, side,* + -?u?, 3rd per. sing. invisible); ?ikĪsi? *it is right here* (?i- + kĪ *in or at* + -si?, 3rd per. emphatic]).

3.11. Words have as a rule only one major stress, but may also be recognized by their morphological context and speech pause. They may be either particles or inflected or free roots and stems. Words may also be classed according to their syntactic

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193 position, and, if inflected, partially by their final affix, as verbs, nouns, verbal nouns, and particles. Verbs may take subject or object, but may not be subject or object. Nouns may be subject or object, and they may also take a subject. Verbal nouns may be subject or object and may take subject and object. Particles may not be or take subjects or objects: hą· *yes*; ʔaná· *ouch!*, etc.

3.12. Comanche makes good use of sentence-words which may or may not include a verbal stem: nanapĬwahtï·nīʔ *I am shoeless* (narapĬ *shoe* + -wahtï *without* + -V, plural + nīʔ, 1st per. sing. subject); sïmïmaʔ *it is one*, (sï·mĬ *one*, plus maʔ); miaruʔinīʔ *I will leave* (mia *go* + -tuʔI, future + -nīʔ). Descriptive phrases conveying a unit meaning are also common and are important in naming the new: mïacaʔ/ rïyaipĬ (*it is an*) *eclipse* (mïa *moon* + -caʔ, declarative, and tïyaipĬ *dead*).

The basic word order seems to be subject, object, verb. This pattern can, of course, be greatly amplified by the parenthetical apposition of additional words.[43]

[43] For examples see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15.93–9, p. 98–9 (1949).

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION II*

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4. Acculturation vocabulary
4.1. Extension of old meanings
4.2. New coinages
4.3. New descriptive formatives
4.4. Circumlocutions
4.5. Loan words
4.6. Translation-borrowing

121 4. Linguistic change may occur in all the various aspects of language: phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and style. However, modifications in the highly systematic aspects, phonology and grammar, appear to progress at a slower rate, and while changes in these realms of language may be accelerated or even initiated by culture contact, they seem to result primarily from relatively autonomous linguistic drifts.** Stylistic changes, in so far as they are general within a speech community, may be likened to other changes in the domain of fashion. Semantic changes, on the other hand, are more directly attributable to changes in the other spheres of culture, whether due to internal or external stimuli. While cultural change is a continuing process, it is frequently accelerated by the contact of cultures through diffusion and acculturation, and the vocabulary is that aspect of language which most sensitively registers these changes. In this section we shall examine those new additions to the Comanche vocabulary stemming from culturally external sources.

Of the different forms of speech nominal forms are the most freely added, although where there has been long and intimate

* For Comanche Acculturation I see IJAL 20.140-51.

** Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 157-182 (New York, 1921).

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[46] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 There are four principal means by which
197 a language may enlarge its vocabulary to accommodate new objects and ideas. These
192 neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[46] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[49] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[50] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[49] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonization and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[50] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 208 ff. (New York, 1921).

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While we shall discuss primarily terms for the products of White culture, extensions of meanings, as well as the other neologistic devices mentioned above, were likewise employed during the shift of Comanche culture from a Basin-Plateau Shoshonean to a Plains type. In fact, a number of terms have undergone two distinct permutations of meaning: wosA in Shoshone[51] refers to a conical carrying or seed basket, the Comanche extended its meaning to parfleche, and today it refers to a box, pocket, container, or luggage. Similarly, kahnI was used for a brush-covered hut, then a tipi, and now a modern house. In most Basin-Plateau dialects deer is tuhuya or some related form,[52] while in Comanche tihī·yA, the cognate form, was extended to mean horse, and another word, ʔarīka? (possibly ʔa· *horn* + tīhka? *meat or food*), was coined for deer. Further, a number of newly introduced traits seem to have closer analogues in the old Shoshone rather than in Plains culture: wihtua *bucket*—Sho. *pottery bowl*;[53] ʔa·wO *cup, dish, drinking glass*—Sho. *basketry bowl*.[54]

The extension of meaning depends upon the recognition of some resemblance between the new products of the alien culture and objects and ideas present in the native culture. The old and the new are equated on the basis of form, function, and symbolic meaning. Any or all of these three aspects

[51] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2, p. 239 (University of California, 1941).

[52] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, Vocabularies, pp. 272-283 (1938). Robert G. Lathan, Elements of Comparative Philology (London, 1862) gives tehyer for horse.

[53] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 375 (University of California, 1943).

[54] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

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197 may be utilised; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[55] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[56]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of function and symbolic meaning regardless
192 of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[57] *$ pia?e·tĪ *gun* (*big bow*); *ta·vE *clock, time of day* (*sun* compare ta·venItĪ *day*); *$ nava·kA *bullet, lead* (*its arrow*).

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĪ *4th of July* (*big puha day*); *puharavo·? *doctor, minister, Christian* (*puha white man*); puharavenItĪ *Sunday* (*puha day*); puharekĪravo·? *minister* (*puha talk white man*); puharīvo·pĪ *Bible* (*puha book, writing*); *puhahuvia *hymn* (*puha song*); puhaknI[58]

[113] [55] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [56] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21-48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [57] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ?, a, e, i, I, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked $ appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[58] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

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197 *church* (*puha house*); suavevuharaivo·? *Catholic* (*cross puha white man*); tamavu-
192 haraivo·? *dentist* (*tooth puha white man*).

In similar fashion ?aca?vI, *supernatural; guardian spirit*, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,[59] or at least a similar attitude towards both the religieux and the healer.

192 A representative list of words with ex-
[128] tended meanings is given below.[60] The
[197] analogies are based chiefly on partial or more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E *electricity* (*lightning* [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? *butcher knife* (*sway-backed* [related to ?ehkwe?ne·tĬ *a swaybacked person*]); *?eksa·? *dye of any color, vermilion* (*red boiled*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*playing cards*) (*yellow carried on the head* [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisinĭ band.]); ?ona·vI *salt in any form* (*salt*); ?oyo?rĬ *belongings, goods, wealth* (*belongings*); *paraivo·? *boss, leader, head* (*so-called peace chief*);[61] paco?E *fresh beef* (*wet*); *pahmU *tobacco in any form* (*tobacco*)

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by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

[59] This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 281-287 (University of California, 1943).

[60] Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

[61] See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 54, pp. 18-20 (1940).

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192 *pihna·ʔ *sugar, candy (sweet)*;[42] *pihciʔnïaʔ *straight pin* (related to pihcïnïarA *a person with wide, fat buttocks*. Pin so called because of butt end); * pisapĬ *paint, rouge, powder, compact* (*paint*, chiefly ochres); pisipĬ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, any pussy infection, rotten flesh*); pimaʔnikaʔ *menstrual napkin* (*push into the buttocks with the hand* [formerly used old buffalo robes]); pokopI *candy, nuts, berries, fruit*, etc. (*edible part of plant*); * * pu·kU *horse* (singular only) (*pet*);[43] *puʔE *road* (*trail, path*); *puhiwI *money, dollar, iron, metal* (*metal, ore*); *tahkaʔmi·cA *cucumber, "blueballs", a venereal disease* (*gland* [at groin]); tanesiʔ *king* (*playing cards*), *fetlock*, also a decoration hanging from knee on dress leggings; *tïraniʔ *hammer, sledge* (*hammer* [ta·wI *conquer!*, imperative]); tïciwaiʔ *ramrod* (*a probe* [especially for marrow]); *tï·hkaʔa *hatchet, axe* (*hatchet*); *tïmuhkU *cord, rope; reins* (cording [narĭmuhkU *harness, reins, its rope*]); tï·waiʔ *solitaire* (card game) (*to drive game* [as from bushes with a stick]); * toʔI *tobacco pipe* (*pipe*); *tuʔreʔ *rubber, elastic* (*leech*); kahpE *bed* (*bed*); kï·kA *onion* (*wild onion*); kïmina- *break* (*a limb*) with machinery or automobile; also, as formerly, to break with the teeth; korohkO *scarf, cravat, yoke, collar* (*neckpiece*); kohca·pĬ *pudding, mush, gravy, fruit jam*, etc. (esp., mesquite bean mush [kohca· *to stir*]); kohinehkI *belt* (*sash with long tassel*); kupItaʔ *electric light, flashlight* (kupIta- *light the fire*); kwasuʔ *shirt, dress* (*dress of deer or antelope skins*); kwitacI *sausage* (*big intestine*); kwinumapĬ *drunk* (*dizzy*); cahani- *drive* (horse or automobile); *straigh-*

[113] [42] Marcy gives melon as the meaning in 1851. The same word, written psi-n-hH', appearing in Kiowa is translated as "honey, sugar, anything sweet"; John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE-B 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928). Possibly both are loanwords from panocha, a coarse Mexican sugar.

[113] [43] Also in Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), written, bunko.

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192 *ten*, as clothes; cohpE *pillow* (*headrest, head of bed*); *co·mO *beads* (*bone beads*); savahpaki? *drum* (*drum* [Detrich gives waw vee wihk to ow, woviwihtua *wood bucket*]); sanahpĬ *glue, paste* (*pitch*); sanahkó·?[44] *chewing-gum* (slippery elm bark which was chewed); *sohovokó·? *fig* (*cottonwood fruit*); *suavE *cross, crucifix* (*cross*); suapĬ *soul* (*thought?*);[45] suthai- *bless* (*pity*); hivihkatĬ, hivipĬ *drunk* (hi·vI *drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); hĭ·kI *awning, umbrella* (*shade*); maniha- *to read, make a fixed speech* (*name something*); na?sĭbpé·? *ball, baseball* (*gourd* [na? *it's* + *fallen from the cold*]); *nakucI *gunpowder* (*powder*); *nacu?U *medicine* (*medicine*); *nĭ·tipĬka? *button* (*tipi lacing-pin*); nĭ·tĭvu?ipĬ *button-hole* (*slits for lacing tipi*); *nohi? *toy, game* (*toy* [nohi *play*]); *wa?-ihpĭkwasu? *woman's dress*; wahka?e·tĬ *running, galloping* (said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.); *wanapĬ *cloth* (*bark*); wa?rohkiyá·? *pincers, tongs* (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); *wihI *knife* (*flint knife*); wĭ?aikĭ- *to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up;* formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (wĭ?- *instrumental* + ?ai *go* + -kĭ *causative*); wihivi? *cup* (old word) (wĭ- + hivi- *drink* + -?, nominalizer); wĭnomenA *move hips back and forth as in copulation;* now *dance, hula*, etc; wokoraI? *scrape* (*painted bunting*, (*bird*) [woko- *pine* + tai *spot*]); yokapĬ *oyster* (mucous, spittle); *yuhU *oil, grease, lard* (*fat*).

192 In order to distinguish the old trait from
193 the new the modifiers taivo·-[46] *White man's,*
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[44] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives pitch for sanako.

[45] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

[46] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

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192 and nīmī- *Indians' or ours*, are often prefixed
193 to a word whose meaning has been ex-
197 tended.[47] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when
192 the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nīmīʔaʔahká·ʔ *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔa· *horn*, katĭ *got*). ʔamawó·ʔ *apple*; nīmīʔamawó·ʔ *redhaw* (tĭrĭe- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nīmī-). *tīsasI *perfume*; nīmīrīsasI *a native perfume made from a plant*. *kahnI *house;* *nīmīkahnI[48] *tipi*. konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nīmīkonO *cradle-board*. *kuhcU[49] *cattle* (*pimoro·ʔ, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [47] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivo·-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391–403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu-' Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, p. 438 (1943).

[48] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[49] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotso for bison.

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192 *nīmīkuhcU *buffalo.* kwasu? *shirt, dress;* nīmīkwasu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napĬ *shoes;* *nīmīnapĬ *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nīmīnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahĬ *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hĬ *hair*); *nīmīwanahĬ *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nīmīwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yīva·ci? *grapes;* nīmīyīva·ci? *wild grapes.* nīmīvarīvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pī·yĬ *wild duck;* taivovī·yĬ *domesticated duck.* nīhkapĬ *dance;* taivonīhkapĬ *modern dance.* nīkī·tA *Canada goose;* taivonīkī·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe (White man's sweet).* taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nīmī?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapĬ *leather;* taivovikapĬ *leather;* nīmīvikapĬ *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nīmīmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon (its seeds got)*; taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nīmīna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nīmīna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 197 [828] Comparable to this simple widening of meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the new cultural borrowings. These are often reflected in a word: kuhcutīvininA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yīharihkapĬ *one with a hare-lip* (yīhA *fruit worm* + tīhkapĬ *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[70] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[70] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 sources of the latter type in English.[71]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[72] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the forma-
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[73] pacahto?i? *pump* (*raise water forcefully with the hands*) [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn* (*turned inside out by heat*) [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle* (*make one's self go with the feet*) [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [71] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[72] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [73] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

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192 hu·tǫhtīvī?i? *brace and bit (to make a hole in wood with the flat).*

4.3 New descriptive formations are listed in the following paragraphs:

?ara?I *bridle (at the temple)*; *?amakwAsU *vest (chest shirt)*; ?a·wonohi? *dice (cup game)*.

?ekahpa· *soda water (red water)*; ?ekavIta?wo?i? *.22 rifle (copper (?ekavI) gun*; socalled because the shells are copper); ?ekaī·pI *brick (red stone)*; ?ekarihkapĬ *beets, radishes (red food)*; ?ekanarohtima? *tomatoes (red tin can)*; *?ekayiyika? *jelly, jam (red shaky stuff)*; *?eksahpana? *soldier (red belly)* [?eka- *red* + sa- *belly* + pana?; compare mahpa·nA *palm*, and tahpa·nA *sole*; or pana *stretch across* + -?, nominalizer.] U. S. Army uniforms of the mid-1800s had red braid across the chest. ?eksikwe? *old style blanket, half red, half blue (red half)*; ?evisi?yuhki? *the Hopi piki*, a thin stone-baked corn meal cake often colored with vegetable dyes. *(blue-green flat pieces)*; ?evisonipĬ *alfalfa (green grass)*; ?eviweha? *sulphur (blue burn)*; ?esinī·mĬ *captive (grey, drab person)* [compare ?esi- in ?esitīyai *epileptic*, tīyai *dead person*; and ?esiwa?ihpī? *a drab*, wa?ihpī? *woman*].

?icakwasu? *veil* [compare ?icahpī? defined as *a person who doesn't care what he or she does, or what people think*; kwasu? *shirt, dress*]; *?īmakwAsu? *mackintosh (rain dress)*.

?otī?a·wO *canteen, jug, thermos bottle (brown cup)* [Detrich gives awt ah ow ah, ?otī?a·wo for *bottle*]; ?otīwanapĬ *khaki (brown cloth)*; *?ohavicipĬ *butter (yellow milk)*; ?ohahpuhiwI *gold, a gold piece (yellow metal)*; ?ohasīkīkamatĬ *mustard (yellow sour taste)*; ?ohahkunawaikin *street-car (yellow train, locomotive)* Lawton, Oklahoma, used to have yellow street cars. ?omowihtua *camp kettle, cauldron (leg bucket)*; *?onanacu?U *Epsom salts (salt medicine)*; ?oyoritani?i? *chest of drawers (belongings put away)*.

papikamAnacu?U *aspirin (headache medicine)*; papica?nika? *wig (put onto the head with the hands)* [pa·pI *head* + ca?-, instru-

[p. 222-B]

192 mental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; papicihtīpka? *hairpin* (*fasten hair with something pointed*) but papivĬ *head hair*; pavoko?a·wO *tumbler, glass* (*clear or transparent cup*); pavoko?awovici? *nursing bottle* (*glass breast*); patiwiarī·pI *turquoise* (*algae-colored rock*) [pa *water* + tī-, intransitivizer + wia *wear out*, + tī·pI *stone, rock*]; pa·kīco?nika? *beaver fur hat* (*beaver hat*); pahorapĬ *well* [pa *water* + hora *dig* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; pahte?e·? *whip* (*customarily cracks*); pa?muci? *old style saddle* [pa?- *long* + muci- *sharp* + -?, nominalizer]; pawovivu·kU[74] *boat* (*water board horse*); pekwinarohtīman *canned salmon, or sardines* (*fish canned*); pia?ohapĬtī·? *grapefruit* (*big orange*); piakwAsu? *coat* (*big shirt*); piahuhcu?raivo·? *Republican* (*eagle White man*); ko·korá?a·raivo·? *Democrat* (*rooster White man*) [The eagle and the rooster were early party emblems]. pikakUsA *chaps* (*leather leggings*); pikwsi·? *single buggy* This was translated as *nothing behind*. [pi- *buttocks*; and kwasI *tail*; also pikwsinakwĬ *back end*]; pici?wīhpara? *brassiere* (*spread over breasts*); *picohkO *trousers* (*buttocks covered*); *pisayune? *tin, tin can, canned goods* (*paint falls off*) (pisapĬ *paint* + yuman *fall off* (?). Another informant thought this referred to a soft noise from tin rolled up and strung and put on moccasins]. pisimaroko·rī·pI *opal* (*rainbow, sore thumb, stone*) [Belief that if one pointed to the rainbow, one's finger would rot and fall off]; *piso·nA *cushion, rug* (*buttock pad*); pihivoa *type of modern dress; petticoat* (*spread out from the buttocks fan-wise*); *pimoró·? *cattle* (*graze backwards* (?)); pimoró·?sari·? *collie* (*cattle dog*); *pihnárohtiya? *cake, sweet roll* (sweet bread); pihná·nohkopĬ *cake, cookies* (sweet baked); pieriyaimuya?ke? *radio* (ghost music); piesinahanipĬ *ready made* (*clothes*) [pie- *old*,

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[74] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes wo-we-poke (wovivu·kU *wooden or board horse*) for boat.

[p. 223·A]

192 *former* + **-ši** *very own* + **na-**, reflexive + hani *make* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; pïesu?ve? *bandanna* [pïe- + su?, 3rd per. sing. demon. + pe *hang down* (?)]; pīhīkukwe?ya? *lion* (*head comes out of hair*); *pīhīsïawanapĬ *velvet* (*down feather cloth*); *pīhīwanapĬ *flannel* (*hair cloth*); *pīhīsī?kī?I *peach* (*hairy plum*); pīmatanácinaro?ikī?enA *syringe* (*pointed object which makes one defecate*); *po?sava· *whiskey* (*crazy water*); po?sarīvo·pĬ *comics* (*crazy book*); po?sawa?ihpī? *harlot* (*crazy woman*); pokorīhkapĬ *vegetables* (*fruit food*); posa·kĬ *bridge* (*string* [as beads] *at*); pukurīhka? *oats* (*horse food*); # *puhivihna·? *watermelon* (plant sweet); puhi(pĬ)tīhkapĬ *greens: celery, lettuce, spinach, etc.* (*plant food*); *puhihu·vA *tea* (*weed coffee, wood water*); *puhiwi?ai? *blacksmith* (*makes metal*); puhiwiknI *bank* (*money house*); *puhiwirekwapĬ *telephone, telegraph* (*metal talker*); puhiwitīvo· *typewriter* (*metal writer*); puhiwitīvo·pĬ *check, bank note* (*money paper*); puhiwitīropOsa? *nails* (*metal string* [*fasten*] *with the fist*); puhiwitīrawīna? *nails* (*metal pegs, wooden tipi pegs*); puhiwitositO *horseshoe* (*metal hoof*); puhiwihīa? *fish hook, steel trap* (*metal trap*); puica?nika? *eye glasses* [pui *eye* + ca?- instrumental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer].

ta?ivihú·ra? *kidney beans, lima beans* (*flat beans*); ta?nika? *stirrup* (push into with the foot); taivo·rekwapĬ *English* (*White man's talk*); tavevo·? *captive, or descendant of captive; White man:* derogatory [corruption of taivo·?, (*White man*)]; tavehuhcu·? *peacock* (*sun bird*); tapúhiwimapĬ *loan* (*our money gotten*); tarīhkapĬ *cereal* (*morning food*); takīya?enA *fever thermometer* (*hold in one's mouth*); tasi? awīsiwīpĬ *vaccination* (*small pox cut open*); tasikó·?E *skate* (*slide on the foot*); taso·nA *rug, carpet* (*foot pad*); tahivĬuohkopĬ *pancake, tortilla* (*thin baked*); tahivĬwihI *sword* (*thin knife*); tahivĬwoeA *suitcase* (thin container); tahmani? *early corn* (tahma·nI *spring of year*); tamakī·nika? *false teeth* (*teeth push into with the mouth*); tïe?a·wO *spoon* (*little cup*); tïevīhīsī?kī?I *apricot*

[p. 223-B]

192 (*little peach*); tĭehna?kwIsi? *squash* (*little pumpkin*); tĭpeca?nika? *bit* (*thrust into the mouth*); *tĭvo·pĬ *paper, printed matter, book, letter; credit* [tĭ- + po· *draw, mark* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; tĭvo·pĬwosA *mail box* (*letter holder*); tĭvo·knI *school* (*writing house*); tĭvo·wapI *school child, amanuensis*; tĭpipu?E *concrete road* (*stone road*); tĭpitaso·nA *concrete sidewalk* (*stone foot pad*); tĭpiknI *jail* (*stone house*); tĭ?nokatĬ *camel* (*got loaded*); tĭrahcuki? *eraser* (*rub out with the foot*); *tĭrawipĬ *wages* [tĭ- + tawi *bet, win* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; *tĭrĭ?aiwapI slave, captive; tenant, hired hand; lessee* (*person who works for one*); *tĭrĭkAraivo·? *robber, thief, freebooter* (*thief White man*); tĭrĬna? *lister* (*planter*); tĭrohtĬwa? *can opener* (*open with the fist*); tĭrohtĭma? *cork, stopper* (*close with the fist*); *tĭkĬso·nA *oil-cloth* (*pad to eat off*); tĭkĭhkoa? *scissors* [tĭ- + kĭh- *with the teeth* + koa *cut through* + -?]; tĭkĭma?ai? *ribbon* (*make an edge*); *tĭkĭmahIa? *black pepper, spices* (*food mix*); tĭkĭnarsO *lunch-box* (*food sack*); tĭca?o·ki? *rake* [tĭ- + ca?- + ?o·ki *gather together* + -?]; tĭcavo·? *plow* [tĭ- + ca- + po· *mark* + -?]; tĭcahpico·ni? *clothes wringer* (*twist with the hands*); tĭcahto?i? *winch, pulley* (*raise with the hands*); tĭcahkĭna? *sewing machine* (*hold down with the hands*); tĭcipOsa? *nut and bolt, screw* (*string together with a point*); tĭ·cIkeraivo·? *barber* (*cut White man*); tĭcikwĬsipĬ *knitting* (*twisted together with a pointed object*); tĭso·nA *dish, table cloth*, (*food pad*); tĭhtĭma? *fence* [tĭma- *enclose*]; *tĭhĭ·yaknI *barn* (*horse house*); tĭhka? *fork, table* [tĭhka- *eat* + -?]; tĭhkaphanarsupĬ *hamburger, sausage* (*food ground up*); tĭhmsune? *wash-board* (*rub with the hands*); tĭhnIhatĭvo·pĬ *book* (tĭ- + niha- *name* + tĭvo·pĬ); tĭmava·pĬ *dough, batter* (*put the hand in something sticky*); *tĭmacune? *file, whetstone, grindstone* (*rub with the hand*); tĭmanĭku?wĭpĬ *cottage cheese* [tĭ- + ma- + nĭku?wĬ, *coagulate* + -pĬ]; # tĭmĭ· *buy, sell, trade* [tĭ- + mĭ· *to distribute surplus food such as buffalo meat, dried plums, etc.*]; tĭyaiphano?e·tĬ *ambulance, hearse* (*carries the dead*); tĭyaiha-

[p. 224-A]

192 konO *coffin (dead person's cradle)*; tï·yUsike? *harrow* [tï- + yusiketĬ *fine, granular*]; tokĬnE *thresh by having horses trample grain covered with a cloth; shell corn* [to- *with the fist or hoof* + kĬne]; tosakïma? *blanket with white edges, or cut in two and sewn together to get stripe down the center (white edge)*; *tosaknI *tent, canvas (white tipi, house)*; *tosahketuka? candle *(white lamp, doesn't go out)*; tosahnarsO *flour sack (white sack)*; tosawanahĬ *sheet, bedspread (white blanket)*; tosoyoki? *powder (shake out with the fist)*; tu?rekwasu? *sweater (rubber-shirt)*; tu?recinarsO *condom (rubber foreskin)*; tu?renapĬ *rubbers, overshoes (rubber shoes)*; tuivihciwaikin *passenger-car (young men's wagon)* [JC said people dress up like young men to board them]; *tu·pa· *coffee (black water)*; *tu·pihna·? *molasses, chocolate (black sweet)*; tu·pu?E *asphalt road (black road)*; *tu·taivo· *Negro (black White man)*; *tuka?[75] *lamp* [see tu·kA *put out;* possibly shortened from ketuka? *doesn't go out*]; tu·ku·nA *coal (black fire)*; tumarï·kI *to fingerprint a check, document or record (make a black mark)*; tu·naivihna·?[76] *molasses (viscous sweet)*; tu·wihtua? *iron kettle (black bucket)*.

kahni?aitaivo· *carpenter (house make White man)*; kahnivusi?A *bedbug (house louse)*; kahnituka?e·tĬ *fire extinguisher (house customarily puts out fire)*; kahnisi?yuna? *shingles (house flat pieces piled up)*; kahnihavinA *street (houses stretched along)*; kahninahï·kI *porch (house shade)*; kahniwo?-nokanA *street (house canyon)*; *ketuka?anáva· *kerosene (lamp's water)*; kesuakhnI *jail (mean, bad house)*; kïhtavicipĬ *cheese (hard milk)*; kïhtawanapĬ *denim (hard cloth)*; ko?avicipĬ *cheese (groin milk)*; ko?akawana? *cheese (groin smell)*; *koveĬvo·pĬ *portrait (face paper, picture)*; koveca?nika? *mask*

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[75] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ka to kah nots ah yah knt, ketukanacayakatĬ, (ketuka- *lamp* + na-, reflexive + ca- + ya *carry* + -katĬ *possessor of; lanterns*).

[76] ibid, gives saw ny pee nah, so·naivihna·? *very sticky sweet.*

[p.224-B]

192 (*push onto the face with an upward movement of the hand*); kovEsarī·? *bulldog* (*face dog*); *kuekwAsihtaivo· *Chinese* (*top tail White man*) kukĬme?a·wO *skillet* (*cooking cup*); *kuhpate?é·? *fire-cracker* (*cracks, pops by heat*); kwavihkhnI *hotel* (*lie down house*); *kwasitaivo· *monkey* (*tail White man*); kwa?sinapĬ *slippers* (*tailless shoes*) [kwa?si? *bob-tailed, tailless one*].

ca?sawīki? *sieve, sifter* [ca?- + sa·witĬ *porous* + -ki? (?)]; ca·tītī·pI *jewel* (*fine stone*); ca·wanapĬ *silk* (*fine cloth*); cena?sari·? *German Shepherd* (*wolf dog*); ci?veta·? *flat dish, saucer* (*spread out and shallow*); ci?wīnihti?eka? *vaseline* (*chapped to put on*); cipIsi? *gonorrhea* (*penis rotten*); cihpoce? *billiards* (*bounce with a pointed object*); *co?nika? *hat* (*push into with the head*).

sapīvicohkO *overalls* (*belly trousers*); *sa·tociva· *beer* (*foam water*); *sa·hu·vA *soup, stew* [sa· *boil meat* + hu.- *wood* + pa, *water*]; *sa·wītivó?a·katĬ *almond* (*has porous shell, rind*); sa·wītináhrsokatĬ *almond* (*has porous sack*); sa·wĬnacahtima? *screen door* [sa·wī *porous* + na-, reflexive + cah- instrumental + tima *close* + -? nominalizer]; sekwikhnI *storm-cellar* (*mud house*); *sīkīka?ma? *pickles, vinegar, mustard, lemon* (*sour taste*); sīmisiwánavuhiwI *paper dollar* (*one cloth money*); so?onarīvaki? *repeating rifle* (*load from the cheek*); *so·kahnI *town, city* (*many houses*); *soko?a·wO *china cup or dish* (*earth cup*); *soko?ekahpana? *infantryman* (*earth soldier*); sokorīvo·pĬ *map; deed to land* (*earth paper*); sokocihpomi?i? *disc* (*break up earth with a sharp instrument*); sokocihtova? *shovel* (*uproot or displace earth with a pointed object*); sonarīwaki? *mattress* (*straw stuffed in*); sonivihná·? *sugar cane; sorghum* (*grass sweet*); sonivuhiwI *money received from cattlemen for leasing grasslands* (*grass money*); sonicihima? *pitchfork* (*pick up grass with a pointed object*); *soninahrsO *gunney sack* (*grass sack*); *soninahrú·? *oats* [soni- *grass* + nahru·? *counters used in a hiding game*]; soniyīkwi? *binder, mower* (*grass sits down*).

*hapi?na? *suspenders* [ha·vI *lay*, and pi?- instrumental, *referring to buttocks* +

[p. 225-A]

192 nakwĬ, *side, direction*]; hanito?I *corn-cob pipe* (*corn pipe*); hanitusupĬ *corn-meal* (*corn ground up*); hanikahnI *corn-crib* (*corn house*); haniwo?ora· *corn-cob* (*corn backbone*); hi?o·kwana? *mentholatum* (*sunflower smell*); *hiki?ai? *umbrella; parasol* (*makes shade*); hu·vA *coffee* (*wood water*); hu·pihná·? *molasses; syrup* [newer word] (*wood sweet*); hu·ko·?i? *saw* (*wood cut up*); *hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); huhcú·rekwa?e·tĬ *parrot* (*bird talks customarily*); hu·cihka?a? *saw* [hu·- *wood* + cih- *with a sharp instrument* + ka?A *separate* + -?]; hu·sive? *draw-knife; plane* (*wood scrape*, arrow, hide); humasïapĬ *orchard* [hu- + ma- *with the hand* + sïa *grow* + -pĬ, resultative nominalizer]; hu·masu?ne? *file, rasp* (*wood rub hand back and forth*); hu·hwane? *axe* [Used by older persons. Possibly from hu·- *wood* + hani *to make*].

ma?nï?sari·? *dachshund* (*heavy-bodied dog*); mawicohkO *bracelet* (goes around arm); makUsA *sleeve* (*arm legging*) a tubular legging of buckskin worn from hip to ankle. mahtu·pE *cuff* (*arm mouth*); masïa *to plant* [ma- *with the hand* + sïa *grow*]; mayake? *piano* (*make cry with the hands*); mo?orïcahkïna? *thimble* (*finger sewer*); mo?oci?nika? *ring* [mo?O *hand* + ci?- + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; *mo?opahrsO *glove, mitten* (*hand sack*); muvico·ni? *lollipop* (*wring out juice with the mouth*) [compare namavico·ni? *mesquite, wring itself out with the hands*]; muvisari·? *greyhound* (*nose dog*); muvo·tohki? *balloon* (*swollen with the mouth*); muhpe? *hoe* (*nose bend over*); *muyake? *musical instrument; phonograph, organ* (*make cry with the mouth*); muyake?e·tĬ *musician*; muyake?etï· *orchestra, band*.

na?a·wO *drawer* (*its cup, container*); na?o·mO *wheel, leg* (*its leg*); na?raivo· *captive, slave; hired hand* [na- + taivo· *White man*]; *na?kïhtava?i? *pecans, nuts* [na?- + *crack with the teeth*]; na?koro·mi? *Ku Klux Klan* (*face covered*); na?kwIsi? *pumpkin* [na?- + kwisI *braid*" + -? nomi-

[251] " It was stated that in the old days pumpkin war cut into strips, dried, and woven into mats for

[p. 225-B]

192 nalizer]; na'ciya·?*see-saw* (*raise one's self with a pointed object*); napĪca?ika? *shoe-horn* (*shoe pull in*); navo·pĪ *writing, print* [na- + po· *draw* + -pĪ]; navo·royaruhku? *tiger* (*striped mountain lion*); navOsa? *chain* [na- + po·sA *string*, as beads, + -?]; navukuwaricavo·?*tractor* (*horseless plow*); narahwsanapĪ *boots* (*legging shoes*); nari?iyatĪ/puhiwirekwapĪ *telegraph* (*dangerous or wonderful metal talk*); narimĪ· *town, village* [na- + tĪmĪ *buy, sell*]; narihka? *groceries* [na- + tĪhka *eat* + -?]; narino·? *saddle* [na- + tĪ- + no· *load* + -?]; narino·va·pI *pommel* (*saddle head*); narino?anahotUkO *saddle skirt* (*saddle's flanks*); naro?i? stairs; ladder [na- + to?i *go up* + -?]; *narohtĪma? *tin can, jar; lid, cover* (*close itself with the fist*); *nakarĪ? *chair* [na- + ka·rĪ *sit* + -?]; nakariticavo·? *plow* (*horse drawn*) (*chair plow*); nakIsari·? *hound* (*ear dog*); *nakohpo·pĪ *brand* (*cattle*) (*its fire mark*); nakohto·? *stove* [na- + kohto· *build a fire* + -?]; naca?ani?[23] *buggy* [na- + ca?- + ?anI *fall, come down* + -?]; nacahkwinU?e? *revolver* (*turns itself with the hand*); nacahwi? *gate, door* (*pushes aside with the hand*); *nacamukwe? *grapes, currants, raisins* (*eat by plucking off with the mouth*); nacahwi? *gate* (*thrown aside*); nacayakatĪtuka? *lantern* [*tuka?- *lamp*, given above]; naci?aikĪ? *wheelbarrow* [na- + ci?- + ?ai *go* + -kĪ benefactive + -?]; *nacihtĪma? *lock, bolt; key* [na- + cih- + tĪma *close* + -?]; nacihto·? *cane* (*brace one's self with a pointed instrument*); naciwekwa? *spurs, rowel* [na- + ci- + wekwa *jab* + -?]; nacu?ukahnI *hospital* (medicine house); nasa·wĪ? *screen* [na- + sa·wĪ- *porous*]; nahawari?iphaknI *poor-house* (*person who cannot do for himself house*); nahoikIti? *belt* (*put around one's self*); *namahIa? *baking powder* [na- + mahIA

[251] storage, perhaps following the custom of the Wichita or Mandan.

[23] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives to wah we pok, tu·wovivu kU (*black board horse*) for buggy. tu·waikin *black hack* (black wagon [English]), was collected in 1940.

[p. 226-A]

192 *mix* + -?]; namocono?ĭ? *tweezers* [na- + mo·cO *whiskers* + no?I *pluck* + -?]; *namocowĭcke? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); namuvIsicĭna? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); nana?atahpunahā? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); narĭmu?irĭvo·pĭ *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); *nani?o·ki? *court* [na- + ni?o·kI *call people together* + -?]; nano·? *harness*, old people's word (*its load*); *nayohkahnI *brothel* [na- + yo·kO *copulate* + kahnI *house*]; *nayokOwa?ihpĭ? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); nĭ·pĭcapĭ *operation* (*cut one open*); nĭ·pohpi? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); nĭ·hĭca?wĭ? *fan* [nĭ· + hĭhca?wĭ *cool a person* + -?]; nĭmivó·?e·tĭ *camera* (*customarily draws people*); nĭmimáka?e·tĭ *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); nĭminó?e·tĭ *bus* (*customarily carries people*); nĭmiwĭcIke?e·tĭ *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); *nĭnakarikĭ? *medal, badge* [nĭnapĭ *chest* + ka·rĭ *sit* + -kĭ benefactive + -? nominalizer]; nĭnaci?nika? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); nĭnĭyI?wi? *alligator* [nĭ-, reduplicated (?) + yi?wi (swallow) + -?]; no?anohkopĭ *pie* (*pregnant bread*, baked); no?sina?camokwe? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); nohihtaivo·? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); nohihknI *theater* (*play house*); nohkopĭ *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); nukIsari·? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); nunurawĭ? *movies* [nunurawĭpĭ *stampeded, ran off*, as buffalo herd].

*wanaramU *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); wanarasé·yu? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot* re pantaloons); *wanako?ce? *soap* (*cloth washer*); *wanacahkĭna? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); *wanaciya·? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); *wananapĭ *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); wanso·nA *cotton* [wanapĭ *cloth* + so·nA *pod*]; wansonamuvĭcapĭ *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with*
[824] *the mouth*) [so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird]; wĭhavi·tĭ *parade* (*stretch along*, as vine, etc.); *wo?-
[262] arĭhkapĭ *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

[p. 226-8]

192 sway when first received as rations]; *wokobuhcu? *parrot* (*pine bird*) [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananīkitĬ *movies* (vibrate, flicker); yicī?e·tĬ *airplane* (customarily flies); yīyītu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarīhkapĬ *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapĬ *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketĬ *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapĬ *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwI *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[11] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tihkapĬ *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tiso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopĬ *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhunacu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapĬ *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapĬ *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 197 **4.4.** In addition to the new descriptive words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was understood in context. If Comanche did not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 197 124

192 197 Many of these periphrastic formations, such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[11] kusitaivo·? *grey, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

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192 form and have general currency in the
[197] language. Morphologically they are comparable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[30] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

?ekavItï/namarÏnipkahtu/tawïhtia?enA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

?ohapItï?a/taka/sïkïkamatÏ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesïcí·sïsa/pahiku/ta?apï?/tekwaphaná-vo·pÏ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

surïcahtïsoko·vi/pihaya?ïkïna·/tenapïma?aiku·/wa?ihpï?a/tatáhtïki? [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pïkÏrahávi?ena/pi?wesuru:?i? [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sï?kï?iha/taka/pahpa?akunácaweni?e·tï [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nïmïpïknáyïkwi?ena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakocewa?itï/pïmatatïrohtïma?enA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 The problem of accounting for the large
192 proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed,
121 in most American Indian languages,[31] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95 % of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[30] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[31] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[p. 227-B]

192 words.[52] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the
[121] absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[53]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[54] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[55]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[56] and they

[52] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [53] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[54] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[55] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [56] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

[p. 228-A]

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121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into
197 the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke
197 a Southern American dialect. Thus, the
194 r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekīʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
ð	e	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ǵ	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938). E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdez, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–44 (1937).

[p. 228-B]

197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ï, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, especially those of an earlier vintage and in
197 general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.A Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[47] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[48] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[49] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
192 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavïrí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·nitïn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

(113) [47] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[48] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[49] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-145, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]
[p.229-A]

197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nÏ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 diminutive); *tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate); *kamú·ta? *sweet potato, yam* (camote); *kavīrī·? *goat; sheep,*[33] *mutton* (cabra); kucára? *small spoon* (cuchara); *caré·ku? *vest* (chaleco); *ci·ra? *pepper, chili* (chile); more? *monte* (*a card game*) (monte); *naho·? *knife* (navaja); s*mu·ra? *mule* (mula); wara·cI *sandals* (huaraches); *wenu *good* (bueno).

With English model: ?aiskrim[34] *ice-cream;* ?eki? *acre;* ?i·cin ?ecin (*Indian*) *agent;* ?uró·? *law* (?u-, *its,* + *law*); pai *pie;* paisé·? *five cents;* papko·n *pop-corn;* pa·re? *barley;* pikí·? *pig* (baby word); pi·c *beets;* pinácI[35] *peanuts;* po·kA *poker* (card game); purí·si? *police;* taks *tax, taxes;* tevo? *devil;* tehnsé·? *ten cents;* tīnīpsĪ *turnips;* to·kI *dog* (rare); tuvic *two bits,* (*25 cents*); kapiko·? *Kaffir corn;* ka·t *God;* ka?tin *cotton;* kamísīn *commission,* (*Indian*) *Commissioner;* ka·vic *cabbage;* cakawe· *it's time to eat, let's eat!* (From the American slang word, chuck, or chuckwagon); cikī·? *chick, chicken* (baby word); ci·s *cheese;* ci·sīs *Jesus;* hatīma·re? *hot tamale;* hato·kI *hot dog* (rare); hampīkī? *hamburger;* ho·kI *hog, pork;* senatī? *senator;* sikā·rU, sikā·? *cigar;* sikvic *six bits,* (*75 cents*); su·ta? *jack* (*in cards*) (probably from suit); makaró·ni? *macaroni;* mamá·? *mother* (baby word); marīmé·? *Milo maize;* mavo·? *marble;* merīt *millet;* wincestī? *Winchester* (*repeating rifle*); wit *wheat* (rare); wihnsé·? *one cent;* wo·sitīn *Washington,* (*D.C.*), *President of the United States;* waikin *wagon.*

[197] A number of place and personal names have been taken into Comanche from Spanish and English and are in common use. Those listed below were familiar to even those Comanche who had little or no knowl-

[33] Sheep is more commonly, pīhīkavīrī·?, *hairy goat.*

[34] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives *sweet ice* for ice-cream.

[35] Detrich notes nah-vee-mee, which he translates as *carrying double* (for peanut).

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192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is
representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa?
103 *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*

Place names from English:[28] ?ahpaícI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksīn *Faxon;* posto·kĪ *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* teksīs *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sinaírī? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rīs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarīmī·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarīmī·? *Fletcher* (*sand town*); tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·- *many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre?
551 (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tīhá·no? (tejano) *Texan;* tīrásas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *Maria*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahcí·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Felix;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nī? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* mení·? *Minnie;* mīru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 A list of tribal names might also be given
552 here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

[28] All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

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192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* ciksó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow (horned people)*; ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache (grey feces)*; papicimina? *Sioux (head unjointed)*; ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache (spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho (dog eaters)*; sianavo· *Cheyenne (feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
no apparent trace on Comanche. And in
648 spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between
192 whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

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192 197 [601] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĬ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĬ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĬ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matīma? tĭmī· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nīrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nīhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[106] English has

[113] [103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĬ, for *corn*.

[104] George Hersog, Personal Communication.

[105] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ʔiʔá-pI *what is planted*, for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·ɨ', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[106] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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121 done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ.
197 Comanche, however, has borrowed only
192 one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents
[193] is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[196]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and
192 origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog* (*green mule crier*); *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie* (*brown bread*); pehekatípa·nĬ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĬ *possessor of* + pa·nĬ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers* (*white bread*); *ku-simu·ra? *donkey* (*grey mule*).

From English: kunawaikin[197] *train; locomotive; railroad* (*fire wagon*); ci·sïsa pía *Mary* (*Jesus' mother*); *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[196] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[197] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives kóón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apú?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw hawv, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kItīhkapĪ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tĪ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 Since the earliest contacts of the Co-
192 manche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

[191] [563] [563]

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tïe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

[113]

[p. 232-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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192 synonyms for English loans. Moreover,
197 several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century.

000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arisona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·ʔ *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[113] [114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *?ahpī?[119] *Father (God)*; ✱ta?ahpī? *Our Father;* ?ahóhtavehnItĬ *Thanksgiving Day;* ?ohahpitĬ·?[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihi? *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pihīkavīrĬ·?sári·? *sheep dog;* ta?kivihu·ra? *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot)*; tuhtaívo·atahtokó·? *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavīrĬ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvsikatĬ *smart, brainy* (kuhvsI *brains* + -katĬ *possessor*); kwási-raivo·arĬhkapĬ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kīhta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·? *cowboy (cow White man)*; napa?e·kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narīmi? *Master*[121] *(Jesus)*; nímīkuhcusónipĬ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings
192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awf pá, ?ohanarsopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sikwekatĬ *half got* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

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192 ?otímu·ra? *oatmeal*. Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule*. The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapé?atíhkapĬ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food*, tihkapĬ.

wa?o·rihkapĬ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorihkapĬ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodisg, lagéht', literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, priestes or common people*, has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodisg, ?lhagéht', the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders*. Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

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197 [128] rowing has gone on between Kiowa and Comanche. The examples of new Kiowa words which are given below are chosen for their similarity to Comanche acculturation terms.

Kiowa has extended old meanings to apply to such traits as pencil, glue, clock, house, chewing-gum and horse. It uses a modifier, meaning *real*, to distinguish between native and new traits just as Comanche uses *White man's* and *Indian's*. Thus, *real spoon* refers to one made of buffalo horn; a *real necklace* is one made of long bone beads; *buffalo* are *real cattle;* and *real sinew* means *sinew* rather than *thread*. Many new descriptive words such as those for *whiskey, doctor, Sunday, vinegar, telegraph, automobile, fishhook, peach, beer,* and *pump* are exactly equivalent to the Comanche words for these things. And Kiowa, as Comanche, has borrowed *agent, agency, commission, five cents* and *two bits* from English.

128 Several segments of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, namely words pertaining to religion, diseases, playing cards and time and measure, will be presented in the pages to follow. These are selected as both interesting parts of the vocabulary and as examples of the amount of new vocabulary that has been added in representative areas of culture affected by White influences. Other sub-vocabularies such as those for foods and implements would, of course, bulk larger in the total vocabulary. While new descriptive compounds predominate, a few meaning extensions and loan-translations are also listed. Aside from a few minor omissions and words entered elsewhere in this paper, the lists are in all

[124] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), notes a related word containing tu·kwasikatĪ *black, has a tail.*

[125] In this and other words in which taivo·? is used it is perhaps better translated as *man, other than Indian.* It invariably denotes belonging to an alien way of life.

[p. 235-A]

128 likelihood relatively complete and contain most of the words collected.

192 RELIGION: ?áikurahánipĬ *sin* (*bad deed*); ?á·hkatï kehínarokwehání·tĬ *devil* (*got horns, doesn't do anything right*); puhaniwïnïnA *religious camp meeting* (puha *supernatural power* + niwïnï- *speak to a group* + -nA, verbal suffix); tá?ahpï?a tékwapha rúawe·tĬ *sermon* (*telling God's word*); tá?ahpïwakatu kwíco?aipĬ *redeemed* (*saved by God*); tapí·hivin *communion* (*drinking blood*); tatohtíyarihkan *communion* (*eating bread*); tapó?sahanipĬ *sin* (our crazy deed); tasó·patko?ive? *The Flood* (*when many were drowned*); *tanávawihtia?e·nA *baptism* (*water poured on one*); tanárïmi?ayïcï? *resurrection* (*Our Master flew*); tanárimi?ma?ai yïka?etï· *disciples* (*those who go with Our Master*); tïnï·nĬkepĬ *parable* (*illustrate by talking*); tomova?atĬ *Heaven* (*on top of the sky*); tu·kwasitaivo·?[134] *devil* (*black tailed White man*); *kasaraivo·?[135] *angel* (*winged White man*); ku?enavawihti?apĬ *Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations that sprinkle baptismal water on the head* (*water poured on top*); sokorohkatĬ pïkhïnawéhanA *Hell* (*under the earth, place of fire*); suavevuhavaraivo·? *Catholic priest* (*Catholic leader*) (4.1) suavema tanárïmi?a tatáwïna? *Crucifixion* (*on the cross Our Master nailed*); nahnsuthaipĬ *prayer* (*name bless*); *navawihtiapĬ *Christian* (*water poured on*); nahnsuwïkai? nahapĬ *miracle* (*wonderful happening*); namaváku?nepĬ *Baptist* (*immersed in water*); nïmisúthai *have mercy on us!* (*pity us!*).

DISEASES: ?amawihmina? *pneumonia* ([newer word, see below] *side sickness*); ?eviwihmina? *flu* (*green sickness*); ?ekarasi?A *measles* (*red spots*); ?ohahuhcïni? *yellow fever, typhoid* (?oha- *yellow* + kuh- *by heat* + cïni *soak through* + -?, nominalizer); ?o?ni? *tuberculosis, cough* (?), see ?o·?I *to vomit*); pahowihmina? *tuberculosis* (*fatigue sickness*); pihiwihmina? *heart disease* (*heart sickness*); pihná·wihmina? *diabetes* (*sugar sickness*); pisipĬ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, or any pus infection; rotten flesh*);

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192 pï·hpasapĬ *anemia* (dried blood); pï·wihto?in *tuberculosis* (*vomiting blood*); pï·wihmina? *high blood pressure* (*blood sickness*); tasi?A *small pox, chicken pox* (*sore places, skin infection, hives*, etc.); tïe?ekatAsi?A[126] *measles* (*little small pox*); tïvana·wihmina? *pneumonia, pleurisy* ([older word] *chest sickness*); kohikahmkatĬ *dysentery* (*intestine pain*); *cipĬsi? *gonorrhea* (*rotten penis*); cihciki? *whooping cough* (*cough all the time*); cuhnivasapĬ *rickets* (*dried up bones*); cuhniwïmina? *rheumatism* (*bone sickness*); so?ovekwipĬ *mumps* (*cheeks swollen*); nïmicá?toponi?e·tĬ *meningitis* (*makes you round* [*doubled up*]); nïmïvuivihka? *trachoma* (*Indian's eye disease*); nïmïtúhki? tïhka?e·tĬ *cancer* (*your flesh eaten*).

PLAYING CARDS.[127] *waná·si? *playing cards* (*little pieces of cloth*); wanarohpetin *to play cards, old Comanche game* (*to throw down on a blanket with the fist*); *watasI *ace* (origin unknown, possibly from English *ace*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*yellow carried on the head*) (4.1); tanesi? *king* (*fellock*) (4.1); wa?ihpï? *queen* (*woman*); su·ta? *jack* (from English, *suit* [?]). (The cards numbered 1 to 10 are called by the regular Comanche numerals.) narohtïma? *joker* (*lid, cover* [so-called because the joker is on top in a new pack of cards]); ná?vutitïkatĬ *joker* (*mates with anything*); watasiatáka? *joker* (*ace's brother*); kasama·hr *clubs* (*one who has bushy, uncombed hair* [compare kasA *wing*]); kinavo·hr *diamonds* (*corner shaped*); pihinavo·hr *hearts* (heart shaped); tahkanavo·hr *spades* (*spear shaped*); tïhimapĬ *hand in cards; rations* (tïhima *to draw a share of something*); tïvA *bell* (meaning extended); narïvapĬ *ante, pot* (*its bet*); to·n *or* to·hkatïnï? *to stand pat, no more cards* (*to graze*); tï·wai? *solitaire* (*to drive game from cover*); more? *monte* (*monte* [Spanish]);

[126] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives tár-see-ah wo mee nok et, tasi?awihminakatĬ *spot sickness*.

[127] The words given here and under Time and Measure are not listed alphabetically.

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192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nihW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nï·*three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĬ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasïmihtĬ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sïmihtĬ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usíkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tïmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sïmïrímanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sïmïyú·tïmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetïmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sïmïnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sïmï- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokorïcï·pĬ *mile* (*one land count*); sihï?·awotihpetĬ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kï? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kï, causative + -?); sïmïnáraya·kï? *pound* (*one scaled*); sïmïrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pipekuma?ïrï?i·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mïarïvo·pĬ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sïmïvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĬ[131] *Sunday* (see **4.1**); tapúharai/hapíeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sihï?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[805] [805] [171] [113]

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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192 wáhahávicI *Tuesday* (*slept twice after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/páhihávicI *Wednesday* (*slept three times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/háyarokwihávicI *Thursday* (*slept four times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/mó?ove?kahávicI *Friday* (*slept five times after Sunday*); tĩhimAhravenItĩ[108] *Friday* (*rationing day*); tĩevuharavenItĩ *Saturday* (*little Sunday*); ?ĩkĩromon *New Year's Day* (*new* or *fresh year* [tomO may mean either *year* or *winter*]); ko·korá?/nóyopĩkhratĩhka?enA *Easter* (*when one customarily eats chicken eggs*); pĩkhrapíarĩhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when there is big eating*); pĩkhrako·korá?a·rĩhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when one eats chicken*); pĩkhrawá·cinika?enA *Christmas* (pĩkhra- *when* + wa· (pI) *cedar* + ci- *with a point* + nika- *push into* + -?e, habitual verbal

[657] [108] Up until about 1900 the Government used to issue clothes, groceries, utensils, meat, etc., to the Comanche on Fridays. This is more common than the alternative word for Friday above.

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192 suffix + -nA, verbal suffix); wa·cinikapI *Christmas* (*cedar tree put up*).

197 The acculturation vocabulary described
192 in the preceding pages represents the growing point of the Comanche language. It will undoubtedly be augmented as time goes on, but at what will presumably be a diminishing rate. Although these are words of quite recent origin, there is reason to believe that once accepted in the language they are relatively stable. Of the 196 acculturation terms in the 1895 Detrich vocabulary 170 are identical to those collected by the author. These are marked with an asterisk in the lists above. Eighteen, while recognizably similar, vary somewhat from their later form and 7 are completely different from words collected in 1940. The latter are words for *fork*, *glue*, *hoe*, *peanut*, a second word for *bean*, and two terms for *potatoes*. The remaining word is that for quinine, toeanacu?U *white medicine*, for which no word was collected by the author.

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION III

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5. Some other effects of acculturation on Comanche language and speech
5.1. Comanche bilingualism
6. On Comanche personal names
7. Theoretical conclusions

197 192 5. At the same time that Comanche has added new vocabulary, old words have been sloughed off or have become obsolescent.[133] Even when the word remains, as is the case with many meaning extensions, knowledge of the original referent is often lost. Just as the average American today has little acquaintance with terms for the parts of a horse's harness, types of horse-drawn vehicles, or sailing ships and their rigging, the Comanche lost a wealth of terms for such things as basketry types, various weaves[134] and implements such as the metate and mano, and fishtraps when they entered the Plains. Similarly, words for traits of Plains culture lost or displaced in the transition to Western culture are rapidly disappearing from the language, as is the full and colorful vocabulary of plant and animal names of a people who for centuries had lived by hunting and food-gathering. However, owing to both the conservatism of language and the memories of men, old traits, customs and beliefs are often fossilized in words and may be recovered by means of a little linguistic archaeology. 192 The following is a representative list of half-forgotten words:

ʔeˑnA *jerk meat*(!); ʔohahpíyaˑʔ *wasp* (*yellow carried behind*); ʔohanaʔsupéˑʔ *wild gourd* (*yellow ball*) [A gourd was formerly

[133] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintuˑ' Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, pp. 438–40 (1943), discusses this point.

[134] See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, pp. 239 and 241, (1941).

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192 used in various ball games.]; ʔïtanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahm-suapI *costume for Sun Dance (medicine clothes)*; puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The [171] [183] Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo (feet dragging)* [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nïmïkuhcU]; taté?cI[135] *spider (our brother-in-law)*; pihïre?cI *tarantula (hairy brother-in-law [spider])*; tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth (tooth dress)*; tïvahpI *pinon nuts*; tïkehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover (back medicine)*; kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavihka?I *to be menstruating (to* [84] *become starved)* [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yI *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[136] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mï *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; [262] mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite (to*

[135] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[136] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

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192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĪ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; niepI *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wī·yu? *owl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural tradition. Also, animal names were fre-
825 551 quently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the
825 language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

Bear: parua?; wasape?; wīra?;[127] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarähpanakatĪ *has big soles*; pihisoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĪ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kihwria? *drooler*; narīmiwahtĪ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?ekna?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivīhī? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?mīnó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[127] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

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825 pacikwasi? *bare tail*; pīwíya?īno·hr *carries his own rope* (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: parú·kU *water animal* (?); tu?pa?wehni? *black hanging down* (*from the cheeks*); cuhniwī?A *bone penis*.

Mourning Dove: ?eka?omo? *red legs*; pasahó·? (Possibly related to passpĬ *dried up*. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); ku?ewó·?; na?yanimaitĬ *lazy one* (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, wo?woki? *barker*, in addition to the usual
[552] word for *dog*, sari·?, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named.

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: po?ro? (from Spanish, *puerco*); ho·kI (from English, *hog*); *muvipo?ro? (*nose* + po?ro?); munua? *nose mover*.

Mule: mu·ra? (from Spanish, *mula*); to?moci? (from to?mocI *sharp-pointed hoof*); mī·warī?ipĬ (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.)

Elephant: ?esi?inī·? *grey animal*; mu?kwipuna? *nose curled up*; mú·pichatīnó·wapI *carries things for mupic*[128] (a legendary giant).

Chicken: ko·ko?; ko·korá?a·?; ta·ya?ke? *dawn crier* (*rooster*); ?ona?ai? *use salt* (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

191 5.1. Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

[128] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only mupic for elephant.

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway be-
191 tween the old culture and the new. A few Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is
[191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
[177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[188a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [188a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185–202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
191 of acculturation. It may be noted that in
124 speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
(177) of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma·. J pronounced jello, jero·, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

(113) [140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175–188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

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191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the 191 most part preached in English by a White 794 minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few sentences at a time. The performance of this 191 function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger [195] Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

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191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
195 there has been a direct extension of English
[177] word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipĬ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pĬ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĬ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kĭhtavicipĬ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipĬ *groin*
[551] *milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form.[141] A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

(113) [142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
gusge through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
the language is far and away the most vitally
177 functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[10] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[10] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

553 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time. 551 Little distinction was made between male and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics. [553] Women's names, however, tended to be more permanent.

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, pihia?, or *girl*, nai?A. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name. 553 However, a youngster would usually receive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old. 551 A child's parents in modest ceremony would customarily call in an [553] elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

553 Nicknames derived from physical peculiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies 551 were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle from babyhood on. [602] In line with the insti

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553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.
553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

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551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
money", which was collected from White
[434] stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[113] [145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

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551 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals
[162] listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, ta?koni? *one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, naiviwá·? *one with no beauty*,
162 73. Of these 175 persons,[148] 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44–103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41–85 years. The average age for both men and
551 women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, tuiní?pī? *young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvochuky, mavicu?ki? *one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, ?ī?kīveti? *new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, tīsoyó·? *one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wahbitty, wīhtīkwavi?tī?
[553] *arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, tanísutai? *one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

[148] Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

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551 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from titarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wikâ·? *crow*, and pihimahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The [128] accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[147] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[113] [147] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941)

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TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40–44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45–49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50–54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55–59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60–64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65–69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70–74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75–79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals.....	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

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551 fathers or grandfathers of those who bear these newly established surnames. In no case does a surname stem from farther back than the third generation. Occasionally the surname is taken from the maternal line, from an aunt in one instance, but this is not the rule except in cases of illegitimacy or divorce. The adoption of a person's own Comanche given name as a surname along with an American first name is quite common, e.g., Casper Tis so yo, in which tīsoyó·ʔ *one who has confidence in someone else*, is the Comanche given name of this man of 69. Family names are usually kept in their full original form, but with the agency's rendition of them in English spelling appearing on the rolls; for example, Harry Tobits ser kumah, tīvicikumaʔ *real male, or husband*; Lena Suah rah o lah, suarǎʔura ʔ *one who meets somebody intentionally*; Carmelita Delphine Atetewuthtakewa, ʔetiwihtīkwaʔ *one who strikes with a bow*; Olive Chahtoeiebitten, cahtoʔivitīn, *one who pulls something out on his arrival*; and Cecil Ahtoowoosserahle, ʔotiwisarǎ·kiʔ *brown ears pricking up*.

[848] [586]

Comanche names are only infrequently translated into English and these are for the most part medicine-animal names: Frank Redelk, Violet Yellowfish, Vincent Red Bird, Olive Black Otter, Lelia Yellowwolf, Thuma (from Therma) Chicken, and Philip

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551 Lookingglass may be cited. Among the Indians themselves the Comanche form is usually in more common usage.

The length in translation of many of the names, their common sexual reference, and their frequent unflattering or cryptic meanings would tend to preclude translation in a good many instances. Geanell Yokesuite, yoksuwaitī *one who attempts to have intercourse*; Strudwick Tahsequaw, tasikwana? *vagina smell*; Ella Nahdooanipah, na?-ruinihpī? *only boy in the family*; Julia Monoessy, moná·si? *son-in-law*; Rachel Noyobad, noyowahtĪ *no testicles*; Kenneth Milton Sapkat, sapkatĪ *has a belly*; Delpha Zoe Topctchy, topehci? *after . . . he . . .*; Peggy Ann Keithtahroco, kīhtaruhku? *one with hard flesh*; Rita Jane Wauahdooah, wo?arua? *wormy young one*; and Randlett Pahkekumah, pahkikīma? *edge of an old dry hide*, are names that could hardly stand [553] translation. Due also to the new morality a few possessors of more outspoken Comanche names have altered them to convey a blander meaning and these nicer forms are used in addressing them. Connywerdy, originally, ka?nawīa? *one with a slender penis*, was changed to kahnawī?rī? *tall and slender one*; Ahah, a woman of 70, whose name comes from ?a?h, the baby word for feces or something nasty, and is pronounced

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551 ?ahá·?, is also called ?e?há·wi?, a meaningless word.

551 563 White surnames liberally sprinkle the Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood. [162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White [641] ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche. 551 Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener, [563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (po?o?, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tĩmo·?, (from English, *Tim, Tom, Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pĩhĩrĩsohpe? *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ?amaru?. Paul Pauau (Paul), 69, and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menĩ·?, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwĩkitĩ *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarĩhka? *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcĩ·tO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupá·re?, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tĩhá·no?, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be obeerved since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

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writer has the impression, abetted by a checklist of the names of 335 Indiahoma school children, that the change is more pronounced among the Indians than the Whites.

SS1

The plainness of the names of older persons is attested by the following list of given names of 51 men 55 years old or over (figures in parentheses indicate plural occurrences): Andrew, Albert (3), Alexander, Baldwin, Ben, Bert, Casper, Charles, Codose or Crose (from Spanish, cruz *cross*), David, Edward, Eli, Emerson, Ernest, Eugene, Frank, Fred, George, George E., Grover, Gus, Herman, Howard, Jack, Jesse, John, Johnson, Joseph, Joshua, Mat, Millet, Nathan, Oscar, Otto, Paul, Reuben, Robert D., Rudolph, Samuel, Terrence, Thomas, Tim, Timbo (see above), Tom, Wahnee (from wane? *fox*), Walter, Willie, Wilson, and Mike.

The given names of 86 women of 45 or over are likewise old-fashioned and simple: Ada, Alice (3), Annie, Bertha, Bernice, Bessie, Betty, Birdie, Clou (see above), Cynthia, Daisy, Dorothy, Eliza, Ella (3), Elsie, Emily, Emma (2), Erma, Esther, Eva, Faith, Fern, Grace, Helen, Helen Rose, Ida, Ione, Jane, Josie, Julia, Kate, Kitty, Laura B., Lena, Lillie, Linn, Lucy (5), Lulu, Mabel, Maggie, Mamie, Mary (8), Mary Ellis, Mary P., Mattie, Maude, Minnie, Mollie, Nanny, Nellie, Nora (4), Ophelia, Pearl, Polly, Rachel, Rose (3), Roxie, Ruth, Sallie, Sarah (2), Susan, Susie, Thuma (Therma), and Woonardy.

The giving of two first names seems to have come into vogue within the past few decades. Only a small number of the many persons who have double given names are over 16 years old. If the middle name is written simply as an initial, the individual is usually over 17 years old. Except for the fact that such girls' names as Ann, Jean, Mae or May, and Joyce, and boys' names such as Lee, Allen, and Wayne occur more often as second middle names than first names, middle names are not very different

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551 from first names. Family names are taken as middle names in only a few instances. The bearers of these double names are often called by them both. This is especially true for girls having such hyphenated names as Anna Lee, Betty Mae, Barbara Ann, Carol May, Delores Ann, Ella Fay, Geneva Joe, Ida Lura, Linda Joy, Norma Lou, Phoebe Ann, and Sandra Jean.

Comanche given names show a great deal of individuation. For a total of 1989 Comanche with first names there are 1196 individual names (including double names), or a different name for each 1.66 Comanches. There are 587 names for 985 males, or a ratio of 1.68 persons per name; and 609 names for 1004 females, a ratio of 1.64. Of the total number of names there are 551 double names (259 male, 292 female). From these figures we see that the female names are slightly more individualized than those of the males, and judging from the greater number of double names, more elegant. One may adduce several possible explanations for this diversity of names. It may reflect the old Comanche pattern of a distinctive name for each person as well as the taboo on using the name of a dead person. Given names rather than family names may have been used to distinguish different persons, especially in the early reservation days, since family names were so hard for the Whites to cope with. Or it might simply be the result of a fashion of choosing names that are different and rather fancy.

The following first names, listed by the number of times they occur, are the ones most frequently bestowed on males: Frank 18, James 18, George 17, John 16, Samuel 16, Albert 14, Robert 13, Henry 12, William 12, Edward 11, Bert 8, Ralph 8, Charles 7, Kenneth 7, and Raymond 7. If middle names are included, the ranking is changed; some new names are added and others are dropped: James 29, Lee 25 (the commonest middle name, occurring 18 times), George 24, William 24, John 23, Frank 22, Edward 22, Robert 21, Albert 20, Henry 20, Charles

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55 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[148]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItĬ *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113] [171]

[148] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 15% of the total, including double names 28%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

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SS1 twelve such names on the census rolls. The only Comanche with three given names is Jewel Ann Waumaconnie Wallace. The Comanche name comes from the given name of a woman of 80, wïmako·ni? *one who chases someone back with a club.*

With the more prosaic names listed above, the following examples give a representative selection of Comanche given names:

Male first names: Adrian, Amos, Algernon, Archie Dean, Arron, Arvol, Augusta Norman.

Baby, Belindo, Bertrand Eugene, Bobbie Jewel, Bruner, Bucky, Bud, Buntin, Burnell.

Capps, Caudolario, Celso, Charles Malong, Clay, Cleatis, Cleveland, Clyde Berlyle, Cokey (Cookie), Conny Coffee.

Darrell, Delrio, Donell, Dumas, Dyson K.

Elbus, Eldridge, Elgin, Elroe, Errol Kent, Eustace.

Fay, Ferrell, Forrest.

Galvus, Garrison, Given, Givens Rain, Guy Tucker.

Haddon, Hawk, Herschel, Hezekiah, Hoke Smith, Hollis, Honey, Horace, Hugh.

Ike, Inman C.

Jamison Redith, Jeriyah Dedodge, Jerome Chester, Jester, Joshua, Joubert, Joy, Joyce Lee.

Kelly Waddell, Kelton, Kent Orval, Kermit, Knox, Kye.

Lamont, La Rue, Laverne, Lemuel, Lewellyn, Lincoln, Linn, Lovell, Luepp, Lumer, Lupe Anderson, Luther, Lyon.

Madison Berkley, Major, Malcolm, Mark, Matthew, Max, McEvans, Mead, Meech, Menno, Merrill, Mikey, Moffett, Montgomery, Moran, Moses.

Napoleon, Nesler, Nickolas.

Oliver Hinson, Oscar.

Pernell, Pierson Page.

Rafey, Randlett Cragg, Reaves, Reuben, Riley, Roe, Roderick Parrish.

Schley, Scott Ferris, Silcott, Stacy Lee, Stanford Walker, Strudwick, Sunrise.

Tennyson Berry, Terrance, Thurman Ray.

Vandal, Vidale, Videll, Voris.

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551 Weldon, Wellington, White, Whitt, Willerton, Woodrow Joyce.

Women's names offer the following: Aldeen, Alverta, Angelia, Ardena Mae, Anona A., Ardis, Arrillia Mae, Avis Nadine.

Beattie, Belva Ann, Benal Lou, Berdenia, Blossom.

Caleda, Camille, Carla Dorena, Charlene, Chequita Ann, Cicily, Claudettia, Cleta Ruth, Cody, Colleen, Corrine.

Darling Virginia, Delpha Zoe, Dixie Dean, Dorcas, Dorphus.

Easter, Eilena Floy, Electa Mary, Eloise Lavena, Elva Jean, Emmet Ruth, Ethel Yvonne, Etheline, Eudora, Eula, Exie, Eyeta.

Fanchon Willene, Floy Juanita, Francella Ann.

Garnett, Geniece, Goldie, Greta, Gwendolyn.

Happy, Hazel, Hester, Hilda, Hope Maurine, Hulda.

Imogene, Ioleta, Iris Dawn, Isa, Ivarine.

Jacqueline Violet, Joebnya, Joeleen Frances, Johnson Louise, Judea, Jueretta.

Kathleen.

La Denna Vita, Ladora Fay, Lahoma, La Nell, Lavona, Leilani, Lottsee, Lucreta, Luetta.

Mada Louise, Margerine, Marylyne May, Melva Joe, Metxie Madeline, Mona.

Nada, Nemah, Neomi Lorene, Normal Jean.

Oma Jean, Oneda, Opal Pearl, Opaletta, Osie.

Pasquenta, Patsy Mozelle, Pauline Zella, Phoebe Ann.

Quanah Kay.

Reba Joe, Rechandle, Richenda Jean, Reona, Ruby Fern, Ruth Odella.

Sharon Rose, Sophia.

Thedoshia, Theone Maxine.

Vellarine, Venee Lois, Verbena, Verneta Ruth, Veronica, Vida, Vinita.

Wanada, Werta Jean, White Rose, Wilhelmina Jean, Willene, Winona, Wynema, Wywena May.

Yvonne, Zelma, Zenia Mae, Zona.

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551 There are several Comanche who are named after illustrious people: Garner Roosevelt Atetewuthtake, Kit Carson Farwell, Charles Lindbergh Ticeahkie, Calvin Coolidge Pohapatchako, Franklin D. Parker, General Scott Tonemah (General Scott was stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma for many years), and Bennie Leonard Caddo (Bennie Leonard was a champion prizefighter). Three persons have the name Quanah, kwana? *ɑlor*, which was the first name of the Comanche chief and warrior, Quanah Parker.

White given names, as has been suggested above, suffer some phonetic distortion when pronounced by Comanche with little or no knowledge of English. These mispronuncintions quite frequently become generally accepted. The following are examples: nere? *Nelly*; miru? *Myrtle*; menĩ·? *Minny*; maikI *Mike*; to·me? *Tommy*; ?ombre? *Audrey*; pesa? *Bessie*; and ?estī? *Esther*.

The given names of persons having Mexican blood or a mixture of White and Mexican ancestry include the following names derived from Spanish: Anacleto, Antonio, Boniface, Caudolario, Cicario, Cruz, Felipe, Gilberto, Hepardo, Jesus, Lorenzo, Louis, Migel, Ricardo, Sostenes, Sotaro, Tomaso, all masculine names. Feminine names include the following: Carlotta, Carmen, Christabelle, Clemencia, Delores, Devita, Florentina, Guadaloupe, Herlinda, Isabelle, Juanita, Juana, Kalora, Lorenza, Marie, Octaviana, Refugia, Rosetta, and Speranze.

There is apparently a recent tendency for persons of Mexican-Comanche ancestry to give their children American names instead of Spanish ones and most of these names are quite indistinguishable from the others on the rolls. The following are names of males who are listed as having Mexican blood: Adrid John, Archibald, Ben, Clarence, Donovan Earl, Eribert, Franklin D., Hillarie, J. P.,[10] Leon, Michael, Nabor, Peairs

[10] The practice of giving only initials for a

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551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Lauranis Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local 551 178 Southern White naming patterns. There is little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the 551 177 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the 551 177 178 culture of the Whites. The older, relatively less acculturated Comanche still bear individual names, while the younger generations have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

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given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[150] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[151] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[152] At
743 the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
197

[150] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[151] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[152] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

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177 structive as those included in it. The fact
197 that a trait of Western culture is not named
192 does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or
177 scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtüman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapÎ *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 Finally, we may say that while Comanche
197 contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language has preserved its essential form. Comanche
197 has reacted by adapting itself to new cul-
192 tural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[143] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[144]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[145]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] [143] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153–64 (1926).

[144] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335–45 (1948).

[145] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

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121 language through linguistic borrowing or indirectly through modifications in the native language introduced by bilingual speakers; internally, due to extensions of meaning, additions to the vocabulary, or other linguistic adjustments which may in turn initiate a whole series of compensatory phonetic or grammatical shifts following new analogy patterns.[156]

8. Semantic changes are accomplished by extending or modifying meaning or by adding to the vocabulary.

9. Vocabulary is increased by: coining new words; incorporating loanwords; translation-borrowing.[157]

10. No knowledge of the language of an impinging culture is required for meaning extensions or new coinages and only native linguistic materials are used. This is designated PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. A minimum knowledge of a donor language is necessary for linguistic borrowing in the form of either loanwords or loan-translations. Such linguistic borrowing is termed SECONDARY ACCOMMODATION.

11. The extent to which any given language uses primary or secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language.

7.3. The twenty numbered propositions which comprise the final section of this paper should be viewed as essentially hypotheses rather than conclusions. While some have face validity and others are sup-

[113] [156] Ways in which linguistic changes may be effected are discussed by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles E. Osgood, and Sol Saporta in their section on Language Change in Psycholinguistics, Charles E. Osgood and Thomas E. Sebeok, Editors, Memoir 10 of IJAL (1954).

[113] [157] While these three devices appear to the writer to constitute the principal ways of adding to the vocabulary, they may of course be broken down into various sub-types. See, for example, Einar Haugen, The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing, Lg 26.210–31 (1950).

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121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the
121 native culture. Thus, the extension of co·mO
192 which now refers to *modern beads of various*
197 *materials*, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

121 4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue
192 was to be found in the native culture. Thus, the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU
197 *water board horse*, indicates the absence of
121 watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

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121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
197 are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or
[192] a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikviç *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tsetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[135] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
192 language the greater the tendency for it to
197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[135] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 60, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word: pīesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of
197 relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*; in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

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121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mĬ (nï·mĬ *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20:195-205 (1954).

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192 distaste for the food when first encountered. —or it may simply memorialize a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

[83]

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.[11] Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

[11] See also Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54–5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

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121 The caveat that meanings do
825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[162] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ?evikuyú·si? *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·? *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[163]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[162] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [163] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224–235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

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[For further information on words and meaning, see Category 192.]

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TEXTS

by elliott canonge

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1958

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Oklahoma

Editor's Note

128 Comanche Texts is designed to be useful to the widest possible audience. The English translation is keyed to the Comanche by means of subscript numbers so that the texts can be used by the linguist without more than occasional reference to the stem list in the appendix. Parentheses are used in the English translation where there is no direct Comanche equivalent for the word. Virgules indicate that the word occurs in Comanche but can be omitted in the translation for a smoother English reading. Square brackets occur around words which explain a preceding word or phrase.

The English translation is intended to be free enough to be read easily, but sufficiently awkward to give the reader something of a Comanche "flavor".

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Introduction

(2) The name "Comanche" is a romantic one in the history of the west and has a prominent place in the literature of adventure. The present volume gives us a different and more intimate view of this people. It presents a compilation by Elliott Canonge of native tales, given directly in the Indian language and in English translation.

Two generations ago anthropologists took it for granted that they had to make use of the Indian languages in order to study Indian cultures. Everyone recorded the native terminology of handicrafts, of tribal organization, of ceremonial concepts, as a helpful key to the better understanding of the Indian way of life. In those days, under the particular inspiration of Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology, great collections of native myths and narratives were collected directly in the native languages and published with word-by-word interlinear and running translations into English. These collections include myths and legends, accounts of personal experiences and explanations in the Indians' own words of work techniques, war and ceremonial practices, supernatural beliefs, conceptions of nature and every other phase of native life. These materials have proved again and again their value in revealing both objective and subjective facets of culture in detail and with the insight possible to people who have personally experienced those folkways.

As time went on, much of the old practice of using the native language in the study of culture was lost. Sometimes we old-timers attribute this to the linguistic obtuseness or the laziness of the younger generation, but it probably has other simpler explanations. One of the principal ones is the acculturation of the Indians. In Boas' younger days, interpreters who knew a little English in addition to their native tongue, were hard to find. Today almost every Indian group has its college graduates, with even a sprinkling of anthropologists. When the anthropologist goes to the field, he has no difficulty finding Indians who speak English with ease and understanding, and who either know some anthropology or very quickly pick up the anthropologist's jargon, perfectly capable therefore of discussing totem and taboo, shamans and ritual, inheritance and mythologic "themes". Then, too, the early painstaking effort of recording and translating native texts led to a general understanding of Indian folkways among the scholars, so that now they go to the field to fill in gaps of

knowledge instead of having to unravel basic concepts. All this means that the anthropologist can now manage without using the native language if he so wishes. 121

However, something else is happening nowadays, namely that science is advancing its standards of accuracy and penetration. And this must imply a return, sooner or later, to the use of native texts and linguistic techniques. Perhaps it will be another generation or two before the full realization of this need is felt, and by that time many of the languages will be gone beyond recall. Timely, therefore, is such a work as the present collection, recorded by Elliott Canonge from Mrs Emily Riddles of Walters, Oklahoma. A warning that this type of text collection should be done without delay is born home by the fact that Mrs. Riddles, a very old woman born around 1885, suffered a stroke in 1955, before Canonge had finished his work with her, and she was unable to continue. 126 115

Canonge has worked in the best traditions of Boas' day by recording these texts in the native tongue at the direct dictation of a person wise in the ways of her people, but the tradition itself has developed and advanced. Canonge writes Comanche in a "phonemic" alphabet, both simpler and more accurate than the recordings of the same language made 50 years ago, basing himself on the advances in linguistic science produced in this period. A "phoneme" is a fundamental unit of speech-sound in the phonetic system of a given language; always it includes a play of variations occurring under scientifically definable conditions and within a determinable range. English has such variations, and so does Comanche. The reason that the old records of Comanche look so complicated is that the variations in their language and in English do not jibe; so, in the pre-phonemic days, many imaginary or exaggeratedly interpreted variations were recorded, even though they are hardly significant in the native language, and other phonetic differences, important in Comanche, were overlooked. Canonge's record, based on the the scientific insight derived from the earnest but necessarily stumbling efforts of our predecessors in Amerindian work, gives Comanche in a form that is as simple as it is possible to make it, and which at the same time is fully accurate. The reduction to this scientific shape was not achieved without effort, but required a long and careful study, involving listening hundreds of times to individual words and to pairs of words to determine what differences were automatic and which represented a fundamental contrast in the speech of the natives. 126

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128 Canonge's translations, though simply presented, show the fruit of patient research into the manner of word formation, characterized in Comanche by a rich use of affixes and of stem composition, while still maintaining a fairly simple inflectional apparatus. Some of the facts were already worked out for Comanche and for closely related languages (e.g. Southern Paiute) before Canonge began his work, but he still had much to do to reach his present fine understanding of Comanche structure and the meaning of each element. He supplemented his general knowledge of the language by careful study of his texts, with the help of Mrs. Riddles and other natives.

The author is to be congratulated on his technique for showing the relation between the native text and the translations. He uses numbers for each word in the native text and marks with the same number the part of the translation corresponding to each native word. This gives a good correlation of the two texts without making the publication impossibly expensive, as is the use of interlinear translation. The linguistically skilled reader, by consulting some of the published work on the structure of Comanche or related tongues, will be able to analyze the material with relative ease; naturally the untrained reader will need more patience to follow the structure but not more than he would need with interlinear translation. A possible criticism is that the literary style of the translation is at times a bit clumsy for trying to parallel the native version strictly.

Canonge uses brief summaries rather than short-phrase titles to the texts.. This will be welcomed by the folklorist concerned with finding "folk-theme" parallels between Comanche and other mythologies, and by the general ethnographer looking for data on particular aspects of Comanche customs. The material is classified into parts, including: Coyote stories, Fairy tales and fables, Humor in ridicule, Manners and morals, Adventure, Obtaining and preparing food.

It is to be expected that the majority of readers will be interested in the content rather than in the specific linguistic form of these texts. They will be able to read right along, simply disregarding the little numbers used for showing the analysis. The latter will be important to the linguist and the student of native story-telling style.

442 175 In historic times, the Comanche distinguish themselves as one of the tribes which was quick to adopt the use of the horse, becoming accomplished riders, and using this rapid means of movement to hunt the buffalo and in exploits of war.

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The indications of comparative linguistics are that they have had a long pre-history of mobility. Their closest linguistic relatives are the Wyoming Shoshone, from whom they must have separated shortly before Columbus. The first records already show the Comanche separated from these relatives by hundreds of miles. The Shoshone-Comanche may have formed a single group with the Mono-Paviotso group and with the Ute-Chemehuevis about 1000 years ago. Much farther back, their linguistic relatives include the Tubatulabals and the Cahuilla family in California, the Hopi and the Pima-Papago in the American Southwest and in the northern part of Mexico, the Yaqui-Tarahumara complex in northern Mexico, the Cora, the Huichol and the Nahuatls or Aztecs of Mexico. The time when all these groups were still a single unit goes far back, perhaps more than 4000 years ago, a time not much more recent than when English and the Germanic languages were one with the Celtic, the Italic, the Hellenic, the Baltic, the Slavic, the Iranian (including Persian) and the Indic (of India). There seems to be a certain rough parallel in these two groups, called the Uto-Aztekan and the Indo-European, in the fact that a few thousand years ago they began to expand and continued expanding down to recent times. Up to the time when Indo-European moved into America, the two stocks were fairly close together in the land area they had covered. 174

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Explanatory Note

126 These texts were transcribed over a period of years up
115 to 1955 and the whole corpus happens to have come from one informant, a Comanche, Mrs. Emily Riddles, age 75, of Walters, Oklahoma. Materials were carefully corrected by her. After she suffered a severe stroke, further checking was accomplished through Mr. Joe Harry and Mr. Gilbert Coonwoap of Walters and Lawton respectively.

104 Symbols:

p t k s m n w y h i e a u o are conventional.

^ is ɨ, back unrounded vowel.

kw and ts are single phonemes of two segments.

b is ƀ, voiced bilabial fricative.

r is ɾ, alveolar flap.

Long vowels are written as ii ee aa uu oo ɨɨ.

Underlining (_) indicates voiceless (whispered) vowels, e.g. i̲, e̲.

Stress (´) is written only when it does not occur on initial syllables.

Glottal (ʔ) is not written when it occurs prevocalic in initial syllables.

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COYOTE STORIES

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I

529 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌaa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ u$_4$ piabʌhʌwahtʌkʌ$_5$ tʌ?-rikúu?nʌʌ$_6$ sockʌniba?i$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narahka?witsi$_2$, nʌkʌbʌ́ni$_3$. 3. sunikʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ nayʌkwibʌniku$_3$, oha?ʌh-nakatʌ$_4$ urʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. surʌkʌse?, --mʌnʌkia$_1$--nʌ-kʌbʌ́ni?-- 5. --haa$_1$,-- mekʌse?$_2$ surʌʌ$_3$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ʌhnakatʌ$_2$. --mʌi$_1$ nahubiyaaru?i$_2$ nʌ?$_3$.-- me$_4$ urii$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 7. --mʌʌ$_1$ kahni$_2$ nʌʌ?ka$_3$ kʌhtaaku$_4$ tsahtʌ-mi?inu$_5$. 8. tai$_1$ nʌhkaru?ika$_2$.-- 9. --haa$_1$.-- mekʌse?$_2$ surʌʌ$_3$. 10. --kimʌbʌniika$_1$, kimʌbʌniika$_2$.-- mekʌse?$_3$ surʌ$_4$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_5$. 11. --nʌkʌtsi$_1$ nʌʌ?ka$_2$ nahma$_3$ mo-?otsaaihtsi$_4$, sʌmʌ?ʌ?tsumihkina$_5$.-- 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ somewhere there$_3$ in the big prairie$_4$ $_5$, prairie dogs$_6$ had a town$_7$. 2. Those ones$_1$, having gathered together$_2$, were dancing much$_3$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ were continuing$_3$ that way$_1$, coyote$_4$ arrived$_6$ among them$_5$. 4. That one$_1$ (said), --You all$_2$ are dancing$_3$?-- 5. --Yes$_1$,-- they$_3$ said$_2$. 6. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said to$_6$ $_5$ them$_7$, --I$_3$ will sing for$_4$ you all$_5$.-- 7. --All of you$_3$ shut$_5$ your$_1$ house$_2$ tightly$_4$. 8. We$_1$ will dance$_2$.-- 9. --Yes$_1$,-- they$_3$ said$_2$. 10. --All keep coming$_1$, all keep coming$_2$,-- said$_3$ that$_4$ coyote$_5$. 11. --All of you$_3$ dancing$_1$, holding hands$_4$ with each other$_3$, come with your eyes tightly closed$_5$.--

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wihnu$_2$ urii$_3$ nʌkaʌkika$_4$, surʌ$_5$ piahuuhpihta$_6$ yaaraʌ$_7$, sʌkwenaisʌ$_8$ urii$_9$ wʌhtókwʌkinaʌ$_{10}$. 13. sʌmaʔkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$ tasʌkʌpunihtsi$_3$, ohaʔahnakati$_4$ buninu$_5$. 14. surʌkʌse?$_1$, --tunehtsʌʌka$_2$ 15. tai$_1$ wʌhtokwʌkitʌ$_2$ maʔ$_3$ -- 16. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌhu$_3$ turunehtsʌnu$_4$. 17. pʌʌ$_1$ muhyi$_2$ urii$_3$ mʌnihkakusʌ$_4$ surʌ$_5$ ohaʔahnakatʌ$_6$ sooti$_7$ wʌhtókwenu$_8$ 18. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ piakohtoohtsi$_3$, surii$_4$ tʌʔrikúuʔnii$_5$ kusíwʌhpimanu$_6$ 19. pʌ$_1$ wʌhtokweʔnii$_2$ suurʌ$_3$ sukʌhu$_4$ tsaahtʌhkanu$_5$.

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12 Then$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ began to dance$_4$, that one$_1$, takes$_7$ a big club$_6$, from one end$_8$ /that one$_5$/ came[1] clubbing$_{10}$ them$_9$. 13. One$_1$ of them$_2$ peeping$_3$ saw$_5$ the coyote$_4$. 14. That one$_1$ (said), --Everyone run$_2$. 15. He$_3$ is coming clubbing$_2$ us$_1$.-- 16. Those ones$_1$ ran$_4$ to$_3$ their$_2$ houses$_3$. 17. As$_4$ they$_3$ are still unable$_4$ (to open) their$_1$ door$_2$, that$_5$ coyote$_4$ clubbed$_6$ many$_7$. 18. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ making a big fire$_3$, roasted in ashes$_4$ those$_4$ prairie dogs$_5$. 19. There$_4$ that one$_3$ ate good of$_5$ his$_1$ clubbings$_2$.

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[1]In the article, Voiceless Vowels in Comanche, Canonge, IJAL, Vol. 23, No. 2, April, 1957, under 1, Contrast in Identical Environment, the last sentence should be amended to say that the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing has the semantic implication of 'stem meaning resulting in or occurring simultaneously with action indicated by the following morpheme'. In the article, wʌhtókwʌkina would have been translated 'clubbed and came on'. Actually, a translation 'came clubbing' or 'clubbing as he came' is entirely legitimate. [119]

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II

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌa$_2$ kuyunii?nʌʌ$_3$ bisikwanúu?ibʌni$_4$. 2. suni$_1$ urii$_2$ nayʌkwibanikukʌse?$_3$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ urʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$. --tamihtsi?benihtʌhtsi?nʌʌ$_2$ hina$_3$ mʌnʌ$_4$ hanibáni?$_5$?-- 4. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$. --pisikwanúu-?ibʌnitʌ$_2$ nʌnʌ$_3$.-- 5. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --mʌmʌma?ai$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ bisikwanúu?itu?i$_5$.-- me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 6. --haa$_1$-- mekʌse?$_2$ surʌʌ$_3$. 7. surʌkʌse?$_1$ nah$_2$ hʌʌsʌ$_3$ urʌʌma?ai$_4$ pisikwanúu?itsi$_5$. wihnu$_6$ me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 8. --orʌtsa?$_1$ raa$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pʌnʌ$_4$ ʌkʌhaa$_5$ pisikwanúu?i$_6$.-- me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$. --nʌha?$_2$?-- 10. --haa$_1$-- mekʌse?$_2$ suurʌ$_3$. 11. urʌʌkʌhʌ$_1$ u$_2$ yuhuwehkipʌ$_3$ wihnu$_4$ surʌ$_5$ pisikwanúu?inu$_6$. 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ turkeys$_3$ were sliding much$_4$. 2. As$_3$ they$_2$ were continuing$_3$ that way$_1$, coyote$_4$ arrived$_6$ among them$_5$. 3. That one$_9$ said$_1$, --Dear little brothers$_2$, what are$_3$ you all$_4$ doing so much$_5$?-- 4. Those ones (said)$_1$, --We$_3$ are sliding much$_2$.-- 5. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{6,7}$. --I$_4$ will slide$_5$ with you all$_3$.-- 6. --Yes$_1$,-- those ones$_3$ said$_2$. 7. Slidings$_5$ with them$_4$ just$_2$ a few times$_3$, that one$_1$ then$_6$ said$_{7,8}$. 8. --That one$_1$ our$_2$ friend$_3$ himself$_4$ slide$_6$ first$_5$, (he) said$_{7,9}$ to him$_8$. 9. That one (said)$_1$ --Me$_2$?-- 10. --Yes$_1$,-- said$_2$ that one$_3$. 11. Then$_4$ that ones$_5$, the fattest to be found$_2$ $_3$ of them$_1$, slid down$_6$. 12. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ hit$_3$

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wihnu$_2$ ok^hu$_3$ paak^hu$_4$ wʌhtʌ́kwanu$_5$. nahúbiniiyu$_6$.
13. surʌk^se?$_1$. --anáa$_2$.-- meh$_3$. 14. surʌʌk^se?$_1$.
--hakani$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ nahánu$_4$?-- 15. surʌk^se?$_1$. --namar^ni?$_2$
nʌ?$_3$,-- me$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$. nahúbiniiyu$_6$. 16. surʌk^se?$_1$
wihnu$_2$ rʌyaainu$_3$. 17. surʌk^se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ usʌ$_3$
pʌma$_4$ u$_5$ nabiso?aru?iha$_6$ mutsipʌha$_7$ huuhpihta$_8$ pʌhtu$_9$
u$_{10}$ pisikwanúu?itu?itu$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ tsi?nikanu$_{13}$. 18. surʌk^se?$_1$
wihnu$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ piayakenu$_4$. --nohi?$_5$ tʌtaatʌ$_6$ taa$_7$
haitsi$_8$ namar^ninu$_9$,-- me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 19. surʌk^se?$_1$
wihnu$_2$. --tanʌ$_3$ hakanihku$_4$ ma$_5$ hani$_6$?-- me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$.
20. --tanʌwitsa$_1$ nah$_2$ baak^hu$_3$ ma$_4$ wihinu$_5$.-- 21. su-
rʌʌk^se?$_1$. --haa$_2$ -- meh$_3$. 22. surʌk^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$
uhka$_4$ bʌi$_5$ mʌʌhka$_6$. --miaru?i$_7$ nʌ?$_8$.-- me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu$_{10}$.
23. surʌk^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ hunu?b^hoiki$_3$ nuhkínu$_4$. so?ana$_5$
bʌ$_6$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌk^$_7$ bitʌnu$_8$. 24. surʌk^se?$_1$. --obotika$_2$
hunu?ruti$_3$ noo$_4$ hina$_5$ tuhani$_6$iti$_7$ okwehkiti$_8$ puhwaih-
bʌʌni$_9$,-- me$_9$ urii$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 25. surʌʌk^se?$_1$ u$_2$
tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_3$. --ap^$_4$ ohtotsa?$_5$ hini$_6$ tuhupitʌ$_7$ okwehkitʌ$_8$.--

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there$_3$ in the water$_4$. (and) was groaning$_6$. 13. That one$_1$ said$_3$. --Ouch$_2$.-- 14. Those ones$_1$ (said). --What$_2$ happened to$_4$ you$_3$?-- 15. That one$_1$. saying$_4$ s. --I$_3$ hurt myself$_2$.-- was groaning$_6$. 16. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ died$_3$. 17. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ placed$_{13}$ it$_{12}$. a sharp$_7$ stick$_8$. along the place$_9$ he$_{10}$ will slide$_{11}$. what [sq$_6$] that$_3$ he$_5$ will stick himself$_6$ (in sliding) with it$_4$. 18. Then$_2$ that$_1$ coyote$_3$ cried loudly$_4$. --Our$_7$ very$_5$ poor$_6$ friend$_8$ hurt himself$_9$.-- (he) was saying$_{10\ 11}$. 19. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ said$_{7\ 8}$. --What are$_4$ we$_3$ to do to$_6$ him$_5$?-- 20. --We ought to$_1$ just$_2$ throw$_5$ him$_4$ in the water$_3$.-- 21. Those ones$_1$ said$_3$. --Yes$_2$.-- 22. When$_6$ they$_5$ did$_6$ thus$_3$ to$_6$ that one$_4$. then$_2$ that one$_1$ said$_{9\ 10}$. --I$_8$ will go$_7$.-- 23. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ ran$_4$ around the creek$_3$. arrived$_8$ somewhere$_5$ among$_7$ his$_6$ children$_7$. 24. That one$_1$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ them$_{10}$. --Over there$_2$ along the creek$_3$ look much for$_8$ something$_4$ $_5$ black coming$_6$ /coming/ floating$_7$.-- 25. Those one$_1$. his$_2$ children$_3$. said to$_{9\ 11}$ him$_{10}$. --Father$_4$. along there$_5$ something$_6$ is black$_7$. is

Coyote Stories

529 me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 26. surʌkʌse?$_1$ ukʌhu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 27. pina$_1$ surʌ$_2$ piabuhitóo?$_3$ si?ana$_4$ okwehkina$_5$. 28. surʌkʌse?$_1$ makʌhu$_2$ weehtsi$_3$, u$_4$ yaanu$_5$, pʌ$_6$ kahnikʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 29. piakohtoohtsi$_1$, sihka$_2$ kuyunîi?a$_3$ bahtsino?itsi$_4$, u$_5$ ku?inʌbʌni$_6$. 30. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kwasʌhka$_3$, pʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?tii$_5$ nimainu$_6$, --kimaka$_7$. tʌhkaru?i$_8$ tanʌ$_9$.-- 31. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ana$_2$ nuraakitsi$_3$, yʌkwihtsi$_4$, tʌhkáayu$_5$. 32. urii$_1$ tʌhkakukʌse?$_2$ tʌehuhtsúu?$_3$ urʌʌba?aiki$_4$ yʌtsʌmi?arʌ$_5$, --oha?ahnakatʌ$_6$ nʌ$_7$ maaka$_8$.-- me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 33. surʌkʌse?$_1$, --hakani$_2$ ʌ$_3$ mʌʌru?i$_4$?-- 34. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌehuhtsúu?$_3$, --ma$_4$ haitsiniii$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ narʌmu?ikʌtu?i$_7$.-- me$_8$ yʌkwihtsi$_9$, yʌtsʌnukwa$_{10}$. 35. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌehuhtsúu?$_2$ u$_3$ haitsiniii$_4$ narʌmu?ikʌnu$_5$. 36. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$, --meekuka$_3$ namaka?muuki$_4$; uhka$_5$ rai$_6$ bunikwatu?ika$_7$.-- 37. surʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 38. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$, --nʌ$_4$ rʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_5$, osʌ$_6$ hini$_7$ ohto$_8$ huhkúwʌnʌkina$_9$?-- 39. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ suabetainu$_3$, suhka$_4$ bʌ$_5$ ku?inapʌha$_6$

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coming floating$_8$.-- 26. That one$_1$ went$_3$ to it$_2$. 27. It is$_2$ that$_2$ big turkey$_3$ coming floating$_5$ here$_4$. 28. That one$_1$, going down$_3$ to it$_2$, took$_5$ it$_4$, went$_8$ to$_7$ his$_6$ house$_7$. 29. making a big fire$_1$, picking clean$_4$ this$_2$ turkey$_3$, roasted$_4$ him$_5$ much$_6$. 30. When$_3$ it$_2$ cooked$_3$, that one$_1$ called$_6$ his$_4$ children$_5$, --You all come$_7$. We$_9$ will eat$_8$.-- 31. These ones$_1$, coming running$_3$ here somewhere$_2$, sitting down$_4$, were eatings$_5$. 32. As$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, a little bird$_3$ is flying$_5$ over them$_4$, said to$_9$ $_{11}$ him$_{10}$. --Coyote$_6$, feed$_8$ me$_7$.-- 33. That one$_1$ (said), --What$_2$ to do with$_4$ you$_3$?-- 34. Then$_3$ that$_1$ little bird$_3$ flew off$_{10}$, saying$_8$ $_9$. --I$_6$ will tell$_7$ his$_4$ friends$_5$.-- 35. That$_1$ little bird$_2$ told$_5$ his$_3$ friends$_4$. 36. Then$_2$ those ones$_1$ (said), --Now everyone$_3$ get ready$_4$; we$_6$ will go to see$_7$ that one$_5$.-- 37. Then$_2$ those ones$_1$ went$_3$. 38. Then$_2$ that$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said), --My$_4$ children$_5$, what$_7$ is that$_6$ along there$_8$ coming stirring up dust$_9$?-- 39. That one$_1$ recognized$_3$ them$_2$, (so) taking off$_7$ that$_4$ his$_5$ roasted meat$_6$, (he) put$_9$ it$_8$ away in

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tsayumi?itsi$_7$. u$_8$ watsihtahni?inu$_9$. 40. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tʌhtsi?nʌʌma?ai$_4$ etʌsipʌkahtu$_5$ sʌmʌna?ani?inu$_6$. si?ana$_7$ etʌsikawo?arʌ$_8$. yakehpʌni$_9$. 41. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ kuyunʌi?nʌʌ$_2$ si?ana$_3$ maba?a$_4$ tobo?ihupiitʌ$_5$. 42. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$. --haa$_2$.-- mehi$_3$. --natsakʌ$_4$ ʌrʌ$_5$ taa$_6$ haitsiha$_7$ paakʌku$_8$ tsahto?itsi$_9$. si?anetʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ ku?inʌbʌni$_{12}$?-- 43. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --hipe?sʌka$_3$ nʌ$_4$ nasuwatsipʌha$_5$ nʌ$_6$ ninʌsútamakʌbʌni$_7$.-- me$_8$ yʌkwihtsi$_9$. piayakenu$_{10}$. 44. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ kuyunʌi?nʌʌ$_3$. --nahruku$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nohiti$_6$.-- me$_7$ niwʌnʌtsi$_8$. bitusʌ$_9$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 45. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ surii$_4$ bʌʌ$_5$ tʌrʌe?tii$_6$. --taa$_7$ tʌhkapʌhaka$_8$ tsapʌye$_9$. tai$_{10}$ tʌhkaru?ika$_{11}$.-- me$_{12}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{13}$. 46. surʌʌ$_1$ tʌkʌtsi$_2$. yuu?ʌhkooinu$_3$.

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hiding$_9$. 40. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ with$_4$ his$_3$ dear children$_4$ all rolled$_6$ around in the ashes$_5$, here somewhere$_7$ (with) ash (on) their faces$_8$, (they) were crying much$_9$. 41. Those$_1$ turkeys$_2$ came to a stop$_5$ here somewhere$_3$ by him$_4$. 42. Those ones$_1$ said$_3$, --Yes$_2$.-- --It is reported$_4$ (that) you$_5$, pulling$_9$ our$_6$ friend$_7$ out of the water$_8$, at this place$_{10}$ are roasting$_{12}$ him$_{11}$ much$_{12}$.-- 43. That$_1$ coyote$_2$, cried loudly$_{10}$ saying$_{8\ 9}$, --You all$_3$ have reminded me much of$_{6\ 7}$ the one I had forgotten$_{4\ 5}$ some time ago$_3$.-- 44. Then$_2$ those$_1$ turkeys$_3$ went$_{10}$ back$_9$ saying$_{7\ 8}$. --That one is just$_4$ playing with$_4$ us$_5$.-- 45. Then$_2$ that$_1$ coyote$_3$ said to$_{12\ 13}$ those$_4$ his$_5$ children$_6$, --Pull out$_9$ our$_7$ meat$_8$. We$_{10}$ will eat$_{11}$.-- 46. Those ones$_1$, eating$_2$, slept unconcerned$_3$.

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III

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ tʌehwakaré?ee?$_3$ mo?obetii$_4$ tʌ?-rikúu?nii$_5$ si?anetʌ$_6$ kohtoohkatʌ$_7$, kwasʌ́kʌbʌni$_8$. 2. uh-kakʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kwasʌkʌbʌniku$_3$, oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ uwaka$_5$ bi-tʌnu$_6$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —tʌtaatʌ$_3$ wakaré?ee?$_4$. hina$_5$ ʌnʌ$_6$ kwasʌ́kʌbʌni$_7$?— 4. wakaré?ee?kʌse?$_1$, —tʌ?-rikúu?a$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ kwasʌkʌbʌnitʌ$_4$. 5. ma$_1$ marʌkʌtsi$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ ma$_4$ rʌhkaru?i$_5$.— 6. oha?ahnakatʌkʌse?$_1$, —nʌ$_2$ makanu$_3$ nʌʌ?$_4$— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 7. wakaré?ee?kʌse?$_1$, —ke$_2$ nʌ?$_3$,-- me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_5$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —meeku$_3$ rakwʌ$_4$ maba?atu$_5$ nararʌʌna$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 9. sur-ʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ runehtsʌwa?i$_5$ naahka-tʌ$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —noo$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ biarʌpihta$_5$ nʌ$_6$ napema$_7$ wʌtsʌkʌnane$_8$,— me$_9$ yʌk-wiiyu$_{10}$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —haa$_3$,— me$_4$ yʌkwii-yu$_5$. 12. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ piarʌpihta$_2$ yaahuyʌkʌtsi$_3$, ma$_4$ na-pema$_5$ ma$_6$ wʌtsʌkʌ́nanu$_7$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —kima$_3$. meeku$_4$ runehtsʌru?i$_5$ takwʌ$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$.

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1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ at this place$_6$ a little turtle$_3$, having a fire$_7$, (he) was roasting much$_8$ five$_4$ prairie dogs$_5$. 2. As$_3$ he$_2$ was roasting$_3$ that$_1$ much$_3$, coyote$_4$ arrived$_6$ to him$_5$. 3. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said) --Little$_3$ turtle$_4$, what are$_5$ you$_6$ roasting much$_7$?-- 4. Turtle$_1$ (said), --I$_3$ am roasting much$_4$ prairie dog$_2$. 5. (After) finishing$_2$ it$_1$, I$_3$ will eat$_5$ it$_4$.-- 6. Coyote$_1$ said$_{5\ 6}$, --You$_4$ feed$_3$ me$_2$.— 7. Turtle$_1$ said$_{4\ 5}$, --I$_3$ (will) not$_2$.-- 8. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, --Now$_3$ let us two$_4$ run a race$_6$ over it$_5$.-- 9. That$_1$ turtle$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, --I$_4$ can't$_3$ run$_5$ (I'm not) able$_6$.— 10. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{9\ 10}$, --I$_4$ must$_3$ tie$_8$ a big rock$_5$ on$_7$ my$_6$ leg$_7$.— 11. That$_1$ turtle$_2$ said$_{4\ 5}$, --Yes$_3$.-- 12. These two$_1$, fetching$_3$ a big rock$_2$ tied$_7$ it$_6$ on$_5$ his$_4$ legs$_3$. 13. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, --Come$_3$. Now$_4$ we two$_5$ will run$_5$.--

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14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —hinakia$_3$ kaabehkaru?i$_4$ ʌkihtsi?$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, uwakatu$_8$ kimanu$_9$. 15. si?ana$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ nahkʌma?kʌ$_3$ robo?inu$_4$. 16. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ runehtsʌnu$_3$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ ma$_3$ bʌahkwa$_4$. 18. suni$_1$ bʌhi$_2$ nahami?aku$_3$, oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ makuhpa$_5$ nuhkínu$_6$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ noo?yahnehtu$_3$ ma$_4$ yʌwihka$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$ tʌbitsi$_7$ tunehtsʌnu$_8$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tʌ?rikúu?kwasʌkʌpʌka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$, si?anetʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ kwasimaku$_7$ mariis tsapʌyénu$_9$. 21. wihnu$_1$ ma$_2$ bʌkahka$_3$, ma$_4$ namʌsítʌhkanu$_5$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tsuhnipʌha$_3$ ʌmahpaakʌhu$_4$ wihí?eeyu$_5$, u$_6$ kwasitaka$_7$ etʌsipʌka$_8$ manakʌʌ?ikʌnu$_9$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?ahru$_3$ to?iki$_4$, kwe?yʌkatʌ$_5$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ su?ahru$_3$ puhikabatu$_4$ mi?atsi$_5$, u$_6$ watsihpunihka$_7$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ kohtoopʌha$_4$ kʌma?kʌ$_5$ karʌhtsi$_6$, —nohi?$_7$ tsaahtʌkʌhútu?i$_8$ nʌʌ$_9$,— me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ ma$_3$ bunihkatʌ$_4$, maaitʌ$_5$ yahnéeyu$_6$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ kwasitaka$_4$ si?anetʌ$_5$ kunakʌ-

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14. This$_1$ turtle$_2$, came$_9$ towards him$_8$, saying$_{6\ 7}$, —Wonder how$_3$ (he) will cheat$_4$ now$_5$?— 15. Here someplace$_1$ these two$_2$ stood$_4$ beside each other$_3$. 16. Then$_2$ these two$_1$ ran$_3$. 17. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ went off and left$_4$ him$_3$. 18. As$_3$ they$_2$ continued$_3$ that way$_1$, coyote$_4$ ran$_6$ ahead of him$_5$. 19. As$_5$ he$_4$ went out of sight$_5$ on over the hill$_3$, this$_1$ turtle$_2$ really$_7$ ran$_8$ back$_6$. 20. This one$_1$ arrived$_4$ to$_3$ his$_2$ cooked prairie dog$_3$, at this places$_5$ pulled$_9$ them$_8$ out$_9$ by$_7$ their$_6$ tail$_7$. 21. Then$_1$ when$_3$ it$_2$ cooled$_3$, hurriedly (he) ates$_5$ it$_4$. 22. This one$_1$ throws$_5$ its$_2$ [their] bones$_3$ in the lake$_4$, (he) caused to stick out$_9$ of the ashes$_8$ its$_6$ [their] tail(s) only$_7$. 23. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ comes in sight$_5$ along here$_3$ (and) is tired out$_5$. 24. This$_1$ turtle$_2$, goings along there$_3$ among the weeds$_4$, is hiding watching$_7$ him$_4$. 25. This$_1$ coyote$_2$, sitting$_6$ besides his$_3$ fire$_4$, said$_{10\ 11}$, —I$_9$ am about to eat$_8$ very$_7$ good$_8$.— 26. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ is looking at$_4$ him$_3$, is laughing$_6$ at him$_5$. 27. At this places$_5$, this$_1$ coyote$_2$ pulls out$_7$ its$_3$ tail only$_4$

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539 ku$_4$ tsahtó?i?eeyu$_7$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ mawaka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ʌmahpaakʌhu$_3$ mi?-anu$_4$, ukuhpaiti$_5$ tsiwainu$_6$, u$_7$ tsuhnipʌha$_8$ rʌhkánu$_9$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ bʌmi$_5$ kaabeh-kawa?itʌ$_6$, me$_7$ suatʌ$_8$. ʌnʌse?$_9$ tʌtaatʌ$_{10}$ wakaré?ee?$_{11}$ nʌ$_{12}$ kaabehkanu$_{13}$,— me$_{14}$ surʌ$_{15}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{16}$ me$_{17}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{18}$. 31. sutʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ʌmituku$_3$ ʌkʌnaa$_4$ ke$_5$ tunehtsʌkʌʌyu$_6$, ʌpinakwʌ$_7$ nahanoorʌ$_8$, ʌwa?iku$_9$ pitusʌ$_{10}$ tunetsʌtsi$_{11}$, ʌ$_{12}$ tʌkwʌsʌkʌpʌha$_{13}$ ke$_{14}$ sʌmʌrʌhkaayu$_{15}$. 32. ʌnʌse?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ wakaré?ee?$_3$ nʌ$_4$ kaabehkanu$_5$, nʌ$_6$ kwakúnu$_7$.— 33. mekʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ yʌk-wihtsi$_3$, nuhkínu$_4$. 34. wakaré?ee?kʌse?$_1$ umetʌ$_2$ biayah-nenu$_3$, —nʌmasʌ$_4$ ʌ$_5$ kaakwakunu$_6$.—

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from the fire$_6$. 28. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ came up$_4$ to him$_3$.
29. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ went$_4$ to the lake$_3$, felt$_6$ inside it$_5$ with a stick$_6$, ate$_9$ its$_7$ bones$_8$. 30. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said), —I$_4$ can't$_5$ be cheated$_6$ myself$_5$ (I) thought$_7$ $_8$. You$_9$, little$_{10}$ tur-tle$_{11}$, cheated$_{13}$ me$_{12}$,-- that$_{15}$ coyote$_{16}$ said$_{14}$ $_{17}$ $_{18}$. 31. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said) --You$_3$ first$_4$ (I) did not$_5$ cause (you) to run$_6$, continuing along$_8$ behind you$_7$. (I) did not$_{14}$, running$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ like you$_9$, eat up$_{15}$ your$_{12}$ roasted meat$_{13}$. 32. You$_1$, little$_2$ turtle$_3$, cheated$_5$ me$_4$, beat$_7$ me$_6$,— 33. That one$_2$ saying$_1$ $_3$ (that), ran off$_4$. 34. The turtle$_1$ laughed loudly$_3$ at him$_2$. —I did$_4$ beat$_6$ you$_5$ by cheating$_6$.—

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IV

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ soniitu$_4$ u$_5$ rʌehbu?eha-biku$_6$ tʌtaatʌ$_7$ kuyúu?si?$_8$ kahtʌ$_9$. 2. su?ana$_1$ u$_2$ karʌʌ-ku$_3$, oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ uwaka$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —hi-na$_2$ ʌna$_3$ tua?$_4$?— me$_5$ u$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 4. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —uihtʌhtsi?$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?a$_5$ tua?$_6$.— 5. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —senihtʌhtsi?$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?eyu$_5$.— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, uba?atu$_8$ tusínu$_9$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ah-nakatʌ$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌhtsi$_5$, wihnu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 7. wihnukʌ-se?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?a$_5$ pia?$_6$ pitʌnu$_7$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ bʌ$_3$ tʌe?ti$_4$, —sʌmʌ?kia$_5$ ʌpa?atu$_6$ tusínu$_7$?— mekʌ$_8$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhkihtsi?$_3$,

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ where a little path lay$_5$ $_6$ through the grass$_4$, a little$_7$ quail$_8$ is sitting$_9$.
2. As$_3$ he$_2$ sat$_3$ there somewhere$_1$, coyote$_4$ came up$_6$ to him$_5$.
3. That one$_1$ said to$_5$ $_7$ him$_6$, —What$_2$ son$_4$ (are) you$_3$?—
4. That one$_1$ (said), —I$_3$ am that kind of little one$_2$, son of$_6$ Scares$_5$ People$_4$.— 5. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ spit$_9$ on him$_8$, saying$_6$ $_7$. --This is the kind$_3$ (inferior) (that) Scares$_5$ People$_4$.--
6. Acting on$_5$ him$_4$ that way$_3$, that$_1$ coyote$_2$ then$_6$ went$_7$.
7. Then$_1$ that one$_2$, /that$_3$/ Scares$_5$ People's$_4$ mother$_6$, arrived$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ said to$_5$ /that$_2$/ her$_3$ little one$_4$, —Wonder if someone$_5$ spit$_7$ on you$_6$?— 9. That$_1$ little Scares$_3$

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—haa$_4$. 10. tʌatsa?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ nʌba?atu$_3$ tusínu$_4$:— 539
11. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —hakahpu$_2$ surʌ$_3$ mi?anu$_4$?— 12. surʌkʌ-
se?$_1$, —ibu$_2$ u?$_3$ muhyʌpetu$_4$ ma$_5$ pu?etu$_6$ mi?a?i$_7$.—
13. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$ ruhúbʌhkanu$_4$. 14. surʌkʌse?$_1$
suhka$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌna$_3$ napʌhu$_4$ yʌtsʌnukwa$_5$. 15. surʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌmunakwʌ$_3$ karʌhúpiitʌ$_4$.
16. surʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ kimaayu$_4$. 17. si-
tʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?$_3$ mamunahkwetʌ$_4$ yʌtsʌnu$_5$,
sihka$_6$ oha?ahnakati$_7$ wʌ?yʌrʌhkinu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ bʌmi$_2$
u$_3$ wʌ?yʌrʌkika$_4$, hunu?matu$_5$ pohpínu$_6$, pʌ$_7$ ome$_8$ wʌhkó-
banu$_9$. 19. sitʌ$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —yee$_3$, tamihtsi?benihtʌhtsi?$_4$,
kima$_5$,— meh$_6$. 20. —nʌma?ai$_1$ tuhurʌhkaaki$_2$.— 21. surʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?$_3$, —yaa$_4$. 22. bʌtaka$_1$ ke$_2$ u$_3$
rʌhkarʌ$_4$. 23. nʌmaʌ$_1$ ʌ$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhkinu$_3$.—

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People$_2$ (said) —Yes$_4$. 10. I say$_1$ coyote$_2$ spit$_4$ on me$_3$.—
11. That one$_1$ (said), —Which way$_2$ did$_4$ that one$_3$ go$_4$?—
12. That one$_1$ (said), —He$_3$ went$_7$ this way$_2$, down$_6$ this$_5$
path$_6$ towards the east$_4$.— 13. That one$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ got
angry$_4$. 14. That one$_1$ flew off$_5$ on$_4$ that$_2$ coyote's$_3$ trail$_4$.
15. That one$_1$ settled$_4$ there$_2$ ahead of coyote$_3$. 16. There
somewhere$_2$ that$_1$ coyote$_3$ was coming$_4$. 17. This$_1$ Scares$_3$
People$_2$ flew$_5$ from in front of him$_4$, scared$_8$ this$_6$ coyote$_7$
with wing noise$_8$. 18. When$_4$ she$_3$ scared$_4$ him$_2$, this one$_1$
jumped$_6$ into the creek$_5$, broke$_9$ his$_7$ legs$_8$. 19. This$_1$ coy-
ote$_2$ said$_6$, —Oh$_3$. Dear little brother$_4$, come$_5$.— 20. —Come
to eat bone marrow$_2$ with me$_1$.— 21. That$_1$ Scares$_3$ People$_2$
(said), —Oh$_4$. 22. By yourself$_1$ eat$_{2,4}$ it$_3$. 23. I did$_1$ scare$_3$
you$_2$.—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

V

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ u$_4$ bianoo?karʌku$_5$, piarabú?kina?$_6$ uma$_7$ kahníba?i$_8$. 2. sootikʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ tʌrʌe?-tʌpa?i$_3$. 3. u$_1$ kumahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$ bʌnʌ$_3$ hunu?betu$_4$ aainukwa$_5$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$, --hinakia$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ tʌhkane$_6$?-mekʌ$_7$. 5. sʌme$_1$ yʌkwihtsi$_2$, pʌʌ$_3$ muhyʌkʌ$_4$ karʌʌrʌ$_5$, u$_6$ buhwaihbʌniku$_7$, si?ahru$_8$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_9$ mawakatu$_{10}$ to?-ihupiitʌ$_{11}$. 6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tabú?kina?$_2$, --hina$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ wehkí-niina$_5$? 7. tʌakia$_1$ ʌ$_2$ kaabehkaru?iha$_3$ wehkíniina$_4$.-- 8. --yee$_1$. kee$_2$. tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ ʌwaka$_5$ rʌhkaki?$_6$.-- 9. --uʌhakia$_1$ ma?$_2$ noo$_3$ nʌ$_4$ rʌrʌe?tʌhtsi?nʌʌ$_5$ tsihakooihumi?ana$_6$ supana?itʌ$_7$, pʌnʌ$_8$ si?ana$_9$ nʌmʌkʌ$_{10}$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ where that big hill sat$_4$ $_5$, on it$_7$ a big rabbit$_6$ had a home$_8$. 2. That one$_2$ had$_3$ many$_1$ children$_3$. 3. Her$_1$ husband$_2$ himself$_3$ loped off$_5$ towards the creek$_4$. 4. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$ said$_7$, --Wonder what$_4$ we$_5$ will eat$_6$?-- 5. Saying$_2$ that$_1$, as$_7$ she$_6$ is sitting$_5$ in$_4$ their$_3$ doorway$_4$ looking around much$_7$, along here$_8$ came$_{11}$ coyote$_9$ in sight$_{11}$ towards her$_{10}$. 6. This$_1$ rabbit$_2$ (said), --What$_3$ (are) you$_4$ looking around for$_5$?-- 7. (I) suppose$_1$ (you) are looking around for$_4$ what$_3$ you$_2$ will cheat$_3$.-- 8. (Coyote says) --Oh$_1$. No$_2$. I$_4$ am about to die of hunger$_3$, (and) came to eat$_6$ to [with] you$_5$.-- 9. --Wonder what$_1$ he$_2$ must$_3$ know of$_7$ my$_4$ little children$_5$ about to die of hunger$_6$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

rʌhkǎkimanu$_{11}$.— 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —nʌma?aih- 539
tʌ$_3$ mia$_4$. inakwʌtsa?$_5$ huuhkaba$_6$ sohobokóo?$_7$ wʌnʌrʌ$_8$,
tʌmarʌʌmoari$_9$ bokopikatʌ$_{10}$. umati$_{11}$ takwʌ$_{12}$ taa$_{13}$ tʌhka-
ru?iha$_{14}$ pomaakwa$_{15}$,— mekʌ$_{16}$. 11. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ ukʌhu$_2$ mi?-
anu$_3$. 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tabú?kina?$_2$, huuhkabaiki$_3$ pʌhi$_4$ mi?-
aku$_5$, —hakʌ$_6$ surʌ$_7$ pokopi$_8$ ʌ$_9$ tʌ?awena$_{10}$?— mekʌ$_{11}$ u$_{12}$
niikwiiyu$_{13}$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —inakwʌ$_3$ u?$_4$
wʌnʌʌrʌ$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, si?ana$_8$ butsiwaipʌha$_9$ soho-
bokóo?a$_{10}$ wʌnʌku$_{11}$, —iki$_{12}$ ma?$_{13}$,— meh$_{14}$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tabú?kina?$_2$ maaitʌ$_3$ yahnénu$_4$, —nah$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ ʌ$_7$ po?sa?a$_8$
supana?itʌ$_9$, ʌma?ai$_{10}$ kima?i$_{11}$.— 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahna-
katʌ$_2$ tuhúbʌhkanu$_3$, pʌmetʌ$_4$ u$_5$ yahnena$_6$ ruhúbʌhkakʌnu$_7$.
16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ su?ahri$_3$ tʌpanakʌhi$_4$ tsawo?-
netʌ$_5$, payapehta$_6$ su?ahru$_7$ nah$_8$ noo$_9$ sooko$_{10}$ tsapʌyée-
yu$_{11}$. 17. —meeku$_1$ ma$_2$ hiima$_3$. 18. ʌ$_1$ tʌrʌe?tii$_2$ nʌʌ$_3$
nookʌnukwa$_4$.— 19. sihka$_1$ tabú?kina?a$_2$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_3$ ahpʌ?-
kʌse?$_4$ bʌʌ$_5$ kahnikʌ$_6$ bitʌhtsi$_7$, sihka$_8$ urʌʌ$_9$ pia?a$_{10}$
warʌ?inu$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ wehkínukwa$_{13}$. 20. si?ana$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ-

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himself$_8$ [he] came$_{11}$ here$_9$ to us$_{10}$ to eat$_{11}$?-- 10. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{16}$. —Go$_4$ with me$_3$. In this direction$_5$ in the timber$_6$ is standing$_8$ (a) mulberry tree$_7$ [which] has$_{10}$ much$_9$ berries$_{10}$. From it$_{11}$ we two$_{12}$ will go to pick$_{15}$ what$_{14}$ we all$_{13}$ will eat$_{14}$.— 11. These two$_1$ went$_3$ to it$_2$. 12. As$_5$ they$_4$ went$_3$ through the timber$_3$, that$_1$ rabbit$_2$ said to$_{11\ 13}$ him$_{12}$. —Where is$_6$ that$_7$ fruit$_8$, that$_{10}$ you$_9$ told of$_{10}$?-- 13. This$_1$ coyote$_2$, saying$_{6\ 7}$, —It$_4$ is standing$_5$ in this direction$_3$,— here$_8$ where$_{11}$ a dead white$_9$ mulberry tree$_{10}$ is standing$_{11}$. --It$_{13}$ (is) here$_{12}$,— (he) said$_{14}$. 14. This$_1$ rabbit$_2$ laughed$_4$ at him$_3$, (saying) --I$_6$ just$_5$ know$_9$ your$_7$ craziness$_8$, came$_{11}$ with you$_{10}$.— 15. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ got angry$_3$, got angry at$_7$ her$_5$ laughter$_6$ at him$_4$. 16. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ along there$_3$ in the bank$_4$ is scratching$_5$, just$_8$ must$_9$ have pulled out$_{11}$ lots of$_{10}$ roots$_6$ along there$_7$. 17. --Now$_1$ take$_2$ them$_3$. 18. You$_3$ carry [them] off for$_4$ your$_1$ children$_2$.— 19. This$_1$ rabbit's$_2$ children's$_3$ father$_4$, arriving$_7$ at$_6$ their$_5$ house$_4$ (and) missing$_{11}$ /this$_8$/ their$_9$ mother$_{10}$, went off look-

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Coyote Stories

539 na$_2$ pʌmʌ$_3$ ahwekʌ?ih̲a$_4$ noorʌ̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ kahnibetu$_7$ ma$_8$ mi?anooko$_9$, ma$_{10}$ ra?uranu̲$_{11}$. 21. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?ahru$_3$ mahrʌwakatu$_4$ piahuuhyaarʌ̲$_5$, to?ik̲i$_6$. 22. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ bunihtsi$_3$, tobo?inu̲$_4$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ sihka$_2$ tabú?kina?nʌʌ$_3$ ahpʌ?a$_4$ si?ahru$_5$ siima$_6$ piahuuma$_7$ ma$_8$ wʌhkúpanu̲$_9$. 24. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$ piayake̲tsi$_4$, pʌmʌ$_5$ u$_6$ ahwekʌ?ih̲a$_7$ u$_8$ kobekʌ̲hu$_9$ wihihtsi$_{10}$, pʌʌ$_{11}$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_{12}$ nuhkínu̲$_{13}$. 25. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --nʌmasʌ$_3$ ʌ$_4$ kaabehkanu̲$_5$.-- 26. sihka$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?a$_3$ pʌ$_4$ wʌhkupa?ih̲a$_5$ kwahinoohtsi$_6$, mi?anu̲$_7$. 27. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tabú?kina?nʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?tʌhtsi?nʌʌkʌ̲$_5$ bitʌnu̲$_6$. 28. --nahkia$_1$ ranʌ$_2$ usʌ$_3$ noo$_4$ tsihakooitu?inʌʌ$_5$,--me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_7$. 29. si?anakʌ̲se?$_1$ e?kabápi?$_2$ marʌʌba?aiki$_3$ yʌtsʌmi?a$_4$, pʌ$_5$ tayaahkana$_6$ marʌʌba?atu$_7$ tapʌ̲hénu̲$_8$. 30. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$, --usʌ$_4$ hini$_5$ pahínu̲$_6$?--me$_7$ yʌkwihtsi$_8$, ukʌ̲hu$_9$ tunehtsʌnu̲$_{10}$. 31. si?ana$_1$ arʌka?rʌhkapʌ̲matʌ$_2$ habiiyu̲$_3$. 32. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$ makʌ̲hu$_4$ mi?a̲tsi$_5$, ma$_6$ yaanu̲$_7$. 33. --tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_1$. ihka$_2$

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ing for$_{13}$ her$_{12}$. 20. As$_9$ she$_8$ traveled$_9$ towards$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$, carrying$_5$ what$_4$ coyote$_3$ dug for$_4$ her$_3$, somewhere$_1$ (he) met$_{11}$ her$_{10}$. 21. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ came in sight$_6$ along here$_3$ towards them two$_4$ carrying a big club$_5$. 22. These two$_1$ seeing$_3$ him$_2$ stopped$_4$. 23. This$_1$ (coyote) with this$_6$ /with/ big club$_7$ killed$_9$ /him$_8$/ these$_2$ rabbits'$_3$ father$_4$ along here$_5$. 24. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$, crying loudly$_4$, (and) throwing$_{10}$ in$_9$ his$_8$ face$_9$ what$_7$ he$_6$ dug for$_7$ her$_5$, ran$_{13}$ to$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ house$_{12}$. 25. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said), --I did$_3$ cheat$_5$ you$_4$.-- 26. Carrying on his back$_6$ this$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ what$_5$ he$_4$ clubbed$_5$, (he) went$_7$ (away). 27. This one$_1$, the rabbits'$_2$ mother$_3$, arrived$_6$ to$_5$ her$_4$ little ones$_5$. 28. --(I) suppose$_1$ we$_2$ must$_3$ $_4$ all die of hunger$_5$,-- (she) said$_4$ $_7$. 29. Here$_1$ a buzzard$_2$ flying$_4$ over them$_3$, dropped$_6$ his$_5$ burden$_4$ on to them$_7$. 30. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$, saying$_7$ $_8$, --What is$_5$ that$_4$ (which) fell$_4$?-- ran$_{10}$ to it$_9$. 31. Here$_1$ some deer meat$_2$ was lying$_3$. 32. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$ going$_5$ to it$_4$ took$_7$ it$_6$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

ranʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ hininaihku$_5$ ma$_6$ rʌhkaru$^?$inʌʌ$_7$.-- mekʌ$_8$. 34. si$^?$ahru$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, pʌ$_5$ tʌrʌe$^?$tʌʌma$^?$ai$_6$ ma$_7$ rʌhkánu$_8$. 35. --surʌ$_1$ nookia$_2$ hini$_3$ huhtsúu$^?$$_4$ ma$_5$ rapʌhehtsi$_6$, tai$_7$ tsaahtʌhkakʌnu$_8$.-- mekʌ$_9$. 36. --tanʌ$_1$ usʌ$_2$ tsihákwitso$^?$ainu$_3$.-- 37. subetʌ$_1$.

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33. --Children$_1$. This$_2$ just$_4$ from something$_5$ we$_3$ will all eat$_7$ /it$_6$/, --(she) said$_8$. 34. Along here$_1$ this one$_2$ taking$_4$ it$_3$, ate$_8$ it$_7$ with$_6$ her$_5$ children$_6$. 35. --That one$_1$, (it) must be$_2$ some$_3$ (kind of) bird$_4$, dropping$_6$ it$_5$, caused$_8$ us$_7$ to be fed good$_8$.-- (She) said$_9$. 36. --We$_1$ were saved from hunger$_3$ (by) that$_2$.-- 37. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L45 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VI

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ u$_3$ piahunu?baihku$_4$ sü?ana$_5$ piapʌhʌ$_6$ pimoróo?$_7$ paakʌma?ru$_8$ kimaayu$_9$. 2. surʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ kimarʌ$_3$, wʌnʌhúpiitʌ$_4$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$, --hinatsa$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ panoo$_4$ saraa$_5$ saraa$_6$ saraa$_7$?-- mekʌse?$_8$ suurʌ$_9$. 4. sʌmekʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ yʌkwihka$_3$, si?ana$_4$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_5$ kimaayu$_6$, mawaka$_7$ bitʌnu$_8$. 5. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, --hina$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ niwaihbʌni$_4$?-- me$_5$ ma$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, --nah$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ nʌ$_5$ nooro?iha$_6$ niwaihpʌnitʌ$_7$.--
7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --nʌetʌ$_3$ noo$_4$.-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, --haa$_3$.-- me$_4$ yʌkwitʌ$_5$, --nʌ$_6$ kwahikʌ$_7$ to?i$_8$,-- me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$,-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$.
10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, --nʌ$_3$ royopʌba?a$_4$ tʌhʌyaro?i$_5$.-- me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$,-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 12. sitʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, --meekurʌ$_3$ nʌ$_4$ bapiba?a$_5$ to?i$_6$,-- me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$,-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$.
14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, --meekurʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ nʌ$_5$ kwasima$_6$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, where there was a big creek$_{3\ 4}$, there$_5$ a big$_6$ cow$_7$ was coming$_9$ along (the) edge of (the) water$_8$. 2. That one$_1$ (who) is coming$_3$ stopped$_4$ there somewhere$_2$. 3. That one$_1$ /that one$_2$/ said$_3$, --What$_2$ (shall) I$_3$ carry across (the) water$_{4\ 7}$?-- 4. As$_3$ she$_2$ is saying$_3$ that$_1$, /here$_4$/ (a) coyote$_5$ (who) was coming$_6$, arrived$_8$ to her$_7$. 5. This one$_1$ said to$_{5\ 7}$ her$_6$, --What$_2$, (are) you$_3$ asking for so much$_4$?-- 6. This$_1$ cow$_2$ (said), --I (am$_4$) just$_3$ asking much for$_7$ what$_6$ I$_5$ will carry$_6$.-- 7. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$, --Carry$_6$ me$_5$.-- 8. This$_1$ cow$_2$ says$_{4\ 5}$, --Yes$_3$. Climb up$_8$ to$_7$ my$_6$ back$_7$,-- (she) said to$_{9\ 11}$ him$_{10}$. 9. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$, --I$_4$ (will) not$_3$-- 10. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_{6\ 8}$ him$_7$, --Mount$_5$ on$_4$ my$_3$ neck$_4$.-- 11. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$ --I$_4$ (will) not$_3$.-- 12. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ him$_8$, --Now$_3$ climb up$_5$ on$_4$ my$_4$ head$_5$.-- 13. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$, --I$_4$ (will) not$_3$.-- 14. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ him$_{10}$, --Now$_3$ just$_4$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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tsaaimi?a$_7$. pahábimi?anʌʌ$_8$.-- me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 539
15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$.-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$. --meekuse?$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ hakanihku$_5$ manihútu?i$_6$?-- me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$. --ʌnʌwitsa$_3$ nʌ$_4$ nakima$_5$ tsaaimi?arʌ$_6$. pahábimi?a$_7$.-- me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --tsaati$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ su?ura?i$_5$.-- me$_6$ sihka$_7$ pimoróo?$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --nʌwitsa$_3$ nah$_4$ ʌkuhpa$_5$ habimi?a$_6$.-- me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$. --haa$_3$.-- me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_5$. 21. wihnukʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ pimoróo?$_3$ piakʌsaanu$_4$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ tʌpetu$_4$ ma$_5$ sapʌka$_6$ ikanu$_7$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$ sikʌhu$_3$ sootʌkʌhu$_4$ paakʌhu$_5$ weenu$_6$. 24. pahábimi?arʌ$_1$. una?rʌru$_2$ maninu$_3$. 25. manitsikʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ pimoróo?$_3$ su?ahru$_4$ paakʌma?kʌhu$_5$ wʌhtʌ́kwanu$_6$. tʌyaainu$_7$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?anetʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ tʌpetu$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ to?inu$_7$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --po?sa$_3$ pimoróo?$_4$. nʌmasʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ kaabekʌtsi$_7$. ʌ$_8$ tʌbehkanu$_9$.-- me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?anetʌ$_3$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ sihka$_5$ pimoróo?$_6$ tʌhkánu$_7$. 29. subetʌ$_1$.

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go holding$_7$ on$_6$ my$_5$ tail$_4$. (and) go swimming$_8$.-- 15. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$. --I$_4$ (will) not$_3$.-- 16. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ him$_8$. --Now$_3$ in what way$_5$ will$_6$ you$_4$ cross$_6$?-- 17. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_8$ $_{10}$ him$_9$. --You ought$_3$ to go holding$_6$ on$_5$ my$_4$ ear$_5$. (and) go swimming$_7$.-- 18. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said to$_6$ $_9$ this$_7$ cow$_8$. --I$_4$ thought of$_5$ a good thing$_3$.-- 19. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ her$_8$. --I ought to$_3$ just$_4$ go lying$_6$ inside you$_5$.-- 20. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said$_4$ $_5$. --Yes$_3$.-- 21. Then$_1$ this$_2$ cow$_3$ opened her mouth wide$_4$. 22. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ entered$_7$ through$_4$ her$_3$ mouth$_4$ into$_6$ her$_5$ stomach$_6$. 23. This$_1$ cow$_2$ here$_3$ went down$_4$ to$_5$ much$_4$ water$_5$. 24. (She) goes swimming$_1$. (and) crossed$_3$ to the other side$_2$. 25. Having crossed$_1$. that$_2$ cow$_3$ fell down$_6$ along there$_4$ beside the water$_5$ (and) died$_7$. 26. At this place$_3$ this$_1$ coyote$_2$ came out$_7$ through$_5$ her$_4$ mouth$_5$ again$_6$. 27. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{10}$ $_{11}$. --Crazy$_3$ cow$_4$. Cheating$_7$ you$_6$. I did$_5$ kill$_9$ you$_8$.-- 28. At this place$_3$ this$_1$ coyote$_2$ ate$_7$ much of$_4$ this$_5$ cow$_6$. 29. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VII

1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌɛ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ piarʌrahyapʌ̲$_4$ aaimi?a̲$_5$. 539
2. pu?etu$_1$ u$_2$ aaimi?akukʌ̲se?$_3$ su?ana$_4$ pu?ekʌma?kʌ̲$_5$ sʌmʌ?$_6$ hahpi̲$_7$. 3. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —ʌnʌkia$_2$ si?ana$_3$ hahpi$_4$? — me$_5$ u$_6$ niikwiiyu̲$_7$, suhka$_8$ oha?ahnakati̲$_9$.
4. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —haa$_3$. siki̲$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ habitʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ yʌhkwi̲$_8$. 5. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_2$ nʌ?$_3$, — me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_5$. 6. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ piarʌrahyapʌ̲$_2$, —sʌmʌrʌ$_3$ noo$_4$ nʌmati$_5$ biakʌhka?a$_6$. — me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu̲$_9$. 7. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ umati$_2$ kʌhká?anu̲$_3$. 8. wihnukʌ̲se?$_1$ surʌ$_2$, —haa$_3$. mi?a?i̲$_4$ nʌ?$_5$, — me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_7$. 9. surʌ$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌkʌ̲se?$_2$ bu?etu$_3$ nuhkínu̲$_4$, so?ana$_5$ umunakwʌ̲$_6$ rʌasʌ$_7$ habihúpiitʌ̲$_8$. 10. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ piarʌrahyapʌ̲$_2$ si?ana$_3$ pu?etu$_4$ anikwitami?a̲$_5$. 11. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌasʌ$_2$ si?ana$_3$ mamunakwʌ̲$_4$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ habiiyu̲$_7$. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ̲$_2$, —ʌnʌkia$_3$ si?ana$_4$ habiiyu̲$_5$? — me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu̲$_8$. 13. —haa$_1$.— mekʌ̲se?$_2$ surʌ$_3$, —tsi-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (a) big pounded meatball$_4$ went lopings$_5$. 2. As$_3$ it$_2$ went lopings$_3$ along the road$_1$, one$_6$ was lying$_7$ there somewhere$_4$ beside the road$_5$. 3. That (loping) one$_1$ said to$_5$ $_7$ /him$_6$/ that$_8$ coyote$_9$, --Are you$_2$ lying$_4$ here$_3$?— 4. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_7$ $_8$. —Yes$_3$.— I$_5$ am lying$_6$ here$_4$.-- 5. That$_1$ [coyote] said$_4$ $_5$, —I$_3$ am about to die of hunger$_2$.— 6. That$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ him$_8$, --(You) must$_4$ take$_6$ one$_5$ big bite$_6$ of me$_5$.— 7. That one$_1$ [coyote] took a bite$_3$ of it$_2$. 8. Then$_1$ that one$_2$ [coyote] said$_6$ $_7$, —Yes$_3$, I$_5$ am going$_4$.-- 9. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ ran$_4$ along the road$_3$, again$_7$ stopped and lay down$_8$ over there$_5$ in front of it$_6$ [meatball]. 10. That$_1$ big meatball$_2$ went rolling$_3$ here$_5$ along the road$_4$. 11. This$_1$ coyote$_5$ /again$_3$/ was lying$_7$ here$_3$ in front of it$_4$ again$_6$. 12. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to$_6$ $_8$ him$_7$, --Are you$_3$ lying$_5$ here$_4$?— 13. —Yes$_1$.-- said$_2$ that one$_3$ [coy-

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539 harʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_4$ nʌ?$_5$. -- 14. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌrahyapʌ$_2$, --ʌmatitʌ$_3$ sʌmʌsʌ$_4$ piakʌhka?a$_5$. -- me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ahru$_2$ maati$_3$ piakʌhka?anu$_4$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --mi?a?i$_3$ nʌ?$_4$. -- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, --sibu$_2$ ma?$_3$ sini$_4$ sʌmʌna?anetʌkatʌ$_5$. -- me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$ si?anetʌ$_3$ rʌasʌ$_4$ anikwitanukwa$_5$. 19. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?ana$_3$ rʌasʌ$_4$ mamunakwʌ$_5$ habihúpiitʌ$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$, --ʌnʌkia$_3$ si?ana$_4$ habiiyu$_5$?-- me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 21. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, --haa$_2$ siki$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ habitʌ$_5$. tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_6$ nʌ?$_7$. -- me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$, --ʌmatitʌ$_3$ noo$_4$ sʌmʌ$_5$ biakʌhka?a$_6$. -- 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ahru$_2$ maati$_3$ kʌhká?anu$_4$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --sibu$_3$ ma?$_4$ ma$_5$ pu?etu$_6$ nah$_7$ sini$_8$ sʌmʌna?anetʌkatʌ$_9$. -- me$_{10}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{11}$, nuhkínu$_{12}$. 25. si?ana$_1$ rʌasʌ$_2$ mamunakwʌ$_3$ habihúpiitʌ$_4$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$ si?ana$_3$ ma$_4$ habiku$_5$, mawakatu$_6$ anikwitahkina$_7$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, --ʌnʌkia$_2$ si?ana$_3$ hahpi$_4$?--

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ote]. --I$_5$ am about to die of hunger$_4$.-- 14. That$_1$ meatball$_2$ said to$_6$ $_8$ him$_7$. --Take a big bite$_5$ from me$_3$ once$_4$.-- 15. This one$_1$ [coyote] along there$_2$ took a big bite$_4$ of it$_3$. 16. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$. --I$_4$ am going$_3$.-- 17. This one$_1$ [meatball] said$_6$ $_7$. --Along here$_2$ it$_3$ is$_5$ this way$_4$, one after another$_5$.-- 18. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ went rolling off$_5$ again$_4$ at this place$_3$. 19. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ stopped and lay down$_4$ here$_3$ in front of it$_5$ again$_4$. 20. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to$_6$ $_8$ him$_7$. --Are you$_3$ lying$_5$ here$_4$?-- 21. This one$_1$ [coyote] said$_8$ $_9$, --Yes$_2$. I$_4$ am lying$_5$ here$_3$. I$_7$ am about to die of hunger$_6$.-- 22. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ (said), --(You) must$_4$ take$_6$ one$_5$ big bite$_6$ from me$_3$.-- 23. This one$_1$ [coyote] along here$_2$ took a big bite$_4$ of it$_3$. 24. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ ran$_{12}$ saying$_{10}$ $_{11}$, --This way$_3$, along$_6$ this$_5$ road$_6$ it$_4$ is$_9$ just$_7$ /this way$_8$/ one after another$_9$.-- 25. Here$_1$ again (coyote) stopped and lay down$_4$ in front of it$_3$. 26. As$_5$ he$_4$ lay$_5$ here$_3$, this$_1$ big meatball$_2$ came rolling$_7$ towards him$_4$. 27. This one$_1$ [meatball] said to$_5$ $_7$ him$_6$,

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529 me$_5$ ma$_4$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 28. —haa$_1$.— mekʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$, —tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_4$ nʌ?$_5$.— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$, maati$_8$ kʌhkâ?ahutu?i$_9$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ biakʌsahka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ buninu$_7$, ma$_8$ tamana?aru$_9$ tʌhkapʌha$_{10}$ hanikaku$_{11}$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ piarʌrahyapʌ$_2$, —yee$_3$. surʌ-sʌtuku$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$ nʌ$_6$ kaabehkanoorʌ$_7$,— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 31. surʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ nuhkínu$_4$, pʌmi$_5$ u$_6$ suabetaihka$_7$.

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—Are you$_2$ lying$_4$ here$_5$?— 28. —Yes$_1$, said$_2$ this one$_3$, —I$_5$ am about to die of hunger$_4$.— (he) was saying$_{6\ 7}$, and is about to take a bite$_9$ of it$_8$. 29. When$_3$ he$_2$ opened his mouth wide$_3$, /this$_1$/ this$_4$ big meatball$_5$ saw$_7$ it$_6$ as (coyote) had$_{11}$ meat$_{10}$ between$_9$ his$_8$ teeth$_9$. 30. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to to$_8$ $_{10}$ him$_9$, —Oh$_3$, you$_5$ (are) that same one$_4$, moving along cheating$_7$ me$_6$.— 31. At this place$_2$, when$_7$ it$_6$ [meatball] recognized$_7$ him$_5$, that$_1$ coyote$_3$ ran$_4$.

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VIII

539 1. sʌmʌ?kʌtsa?$_1$ raiboo?$_2$ pʌmaku$_3$ bʌʌ$_4$ waahimaru?ih̲a$_5$ waahpihta$_6$ wʌhká?ami?anu̲$_7$. 2. su?ana$_1$ u$_2$ biaroyakarʌku$_3$, uruhkati$_4$ wʌhká?a̲bʌni$_5$. 3. uhka$_1$ u$_2$ wʌhka?a̲bʌnikukʌ̲se?$_3$ hini$_4$ huuhkabaikl$_5$ uwakatu$_6$ kasábipi̲kuhkina$_7$. 4. sitʌ-kʌ̲se?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, --hinikia$_3$ u?$_4$, -- me$_5$ suatʌ̲$_6$, huumati$_7$ buhwáainu̲$_8$. 5. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌwakatu$_2$ u$_3$ biakasabipi̲-kuku$_4$, u$_5$ buninu̲$_6$. 6. pʌmi$_1$ ma$_2$ bunihka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ -kwasinaboo?$_5$ kasakatʌ̲$_6$, mawakatu$_7$ yʌtsʌhkina̲$_8$. 7. si-tʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$ u$_3$ namarunehtsʌ̲$_4$. 8. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ waikinʌ̲kahtu$_3$ tunehtsʌnu̲$_4$. 9. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ kesʌ$_3$ pʌ$_4$ waikina$_5$ u$_6$ wʌhpitʌʌku$_7$, ubínai$_8$ u$_9$ kʌhtsía-

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1. One$_1$ white man$_2$ went to cut down$_7$ (a) cedar tree$_4$, with which$_3$ (they) will have$_5$ their$_4$ Christmas tree$_8$. 2. There somewhere$_1$, where that big mountain sits$_{2\,3}$, below it$_4$ (he) was cutting much$_5$. 3. As$_3$ he$_2$ was cutting$_3$ /that$_2$/ much$_3$, something$_4$ among the trees$_5$ came$_7$ towards him$_4$, making wing noises$_7$. 4. This$_1$ white man$_2$ looks around$_8$ at the trees$_7$ and thinks$_{5\,6}$. --Wonder what$_3$ it$_4$ (is)?-- 5. As$_4$ it$_3$ made big wing noises$_4$ towards him$_2$, that one$_1$ [he] saw$_6$ it$_5$. 6. As$_3$ he$_2$ looked at$_3$ it$_1$, this$_4$ snake$_5$ [that] has wings$_6$, came flying$_8$ towards him$_7$. 7. This$_1$ white man$_2$ ran away from$_4$ it$_3$. 8. That one$_1$ ran$_4$ to$_3$ his$_2$ wagon$_3$. 9. Before$_3$ he$_4$ reached$_7$ his$_4$ wagon$_5$, this$_1$ snake$_2$ bit$_{10}$ him$_9$ from behind

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539 nu$_{10}$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tukaninu$_2$. 11. u$_1$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ-kʌse?$_2$ u$_3$ wʌsúwarʌkinu$_4$. 12. sube?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ taanu$_3$. 13. pʌʌ$_1$ kahtʌ́i?nii$_2$ surʌ$_3$ u$_4$ kwʌhʌ$_5$ ke$_6$ u$_7$ pitʌna$_8$ narʌmu?ikʌnu$_9$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ kahtʌ́i?nʌʌ$_3$ sʌsʌ-mʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ tʌhʌyayʌkwinu$_5$. 15. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ waikinʌba?$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ ta?wo?i?$_5$ himahtsi$_6$, u$_7$ wehkínukwa$_8$. 16. surʌʌ$_1$ su?ana$_2$ u$_3$ habiku$_4$, u$_5$ rʌyaaipʌnaihku$_6$, u$_7$ uranu$_8$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌbekwika$_2$. 18. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?nʌʌ$_2$, —mahka$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ kʌhkupa?iha$_5$ suabetaitu?inʌʌ$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 19. suku$_1$ huuhkaba$_2$ uri$_3$ tobo?ikaku$_4$, si?ana$_5$ marʌʌ-kʌhu$_6$ piaba?ati$_7$ kasakatʌ$_8$, marʌʌkʌhu$_9$ yʌtsʌhkinu$_{10}$. 20. —ma$_1$ buníika$_2$. 21. urʌtuku$_1$ ma?$_2$ narʌ?ʌyatʌ$_3$ kwasinaboo?$_4$. — me$_5$ surʌʌ$_6$ niwʌnʌtsi$_7$, sʌʌhpe?sʌ$_8$ u$_9$ kwʌtikúnu$_{10}$, u$_{11}$ behkánu$_{12}$. 22. —sitʌtukutsa?$_1$ raa$_2$ haitsiha$_3$ kʌhkupa?i$_4$. — 23. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ sihka$_3$ rai-boo?a$_4$ noonukwa$_5$ rʌasʌ$_6$ sihka$_7$ kwasinaboo?a$_8$. 24. si-tʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌku$_3$ sooyotʌ$_4$, pitusʌ$_5$ rʌasʌ$_6$ ukʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$, suma$_9$ toyama$_{10}$ kʌanu$_{11}$. 25. soko$_1$ ma$_2$ ku-

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/him$_8$/. 10. It$_1$ got dark$_2$. 11. His$_1$ relatives$_2$ began to miss$_4$ him$_5$. 12. Then$_1$ it$_2$ was mornings$_3$. 13. /That one$_3$/ his$_4$ wife$_5$ told$_9$ their$_1$ neighbors$_2$ of$_9$ his$_7$ not$_4$ arriving$_8$. 14. /Those$_1$/ some of /them$_4$/ their$_2$ neighbors$_3$ got on horses$_5$. 15. Some$_1$, taking$_6$ their$_4$ guns$_9$, went looking for$_8$ him$_7$ on$_3$ their$_2$ wagons$_3$. 16. There$_2$ those ones$_1$ found$_3$ him$_7$, as$_4$ he$_5$ lay$_4$, (and) as$_6$ he$_5$ had died$_4$. 17. That one$_1$ was all swelled up$_2$. 18. These$_1$ white men$_2$ said$_7$, —We$_4$ will find out$_6$ what killed$_5$ that one$_3$. 19. As$_4$ they$_3$ stood$_4$ there$_1$ among the trees$_2$, here$_5$ to them$_6$ came flying$_{10}$ (something which) has$_8$ big long$_7$ wings$_8$ /to them$_9$/. 20. —Look at$_2$ it$_1$. 21. It$_2$ (is) that$_1$ dangerous$_3$ snake$_4$.— those ones$_6$ so saying$_9$ all of them at once$_6$ shot at$_{10}$ it$_9$, killed$_{12}$ it$_{11}$. 22. —This one$_1$ killed$_4$ our$_2$ friend$_3$.— At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ carried off$_5$ this$_3$ white man$_4$, also$_6$ this$_7$ snake$_8$. 24. These ones$_1$ (who) are many$_4$, that$_2$ morning$_3$ went$_8$ back$_8$ again$_6$ to it$_7$, went up$_{11}$ /on it$_9$/, on the mountain$_{10}$. 25. As$_5$

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539 ?ekʌ̲$_3$ mariI$_4$ bitʌhka$_5$, su?ana$_6$ ma$_7$ tokwehku?ekʌ̲$_8$ piarainа$_9$, makʌ̲hi$_{10}$ mariI$_{11}$ tokwitehka$_{12}$, makuhpatʌ$_{13}$ kasábipikuna$_{14}$. 26. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ suhka$_2$ bʌhtsa?eti$_3$ ukʌ̲hu$_4$ haninu$_5$. 27. sumetʌ̲$_1$ toyametʌ̲$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ weehtsi$_4$, umanaikisuahtu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$. 28. sokʌ̲hi$_1$ u$_2$ taikʌ̲hi$_3$ uriI$_4$ bunihkaku$_5$, surʌ$_6$ urʌʌ$_7$ hanipʌ̲$_8$ pʌtsʌ̲hánu$_9$, suhka$_{10}$ sumatu$_{11}$ toyamatu$_{12}$ sehka$_{13}$ kwasinaboo?a$_{14}$ rohpóroanu$_{15}$. 29. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ taiboo?nʌʌ$_2$ tʌasʌ$_3$ ukʌ̲hu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$, sehka$_6$ bʌʌ$_7$ tohkʌa?iha$_8$ sʌʌmatu$_9$ tso?metsi$_{10}$, u$_{11}$ kutsitónanu$_{12}$. 30. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌhtsi$_4$, —mia$_5$ ranʌ$_6$. taa$_7$ haitsʌ̲ha$_8$ ranʌ$_9$ kʌhkupa?iha$_{10}$ suabeta?i$_{11}$, tʌasʌ$_{12}$ nahkia$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ sʌmʌwasʌ?i$_{15}$. — me$_{16}$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{17}$. 31. sunihku$_1$ setʌ$_2$ taiboo?$_3$ suhka$_4$ kakʌ̲cakatʌna$_5$ kwasinaboo?a$_6$ pʌmʌmatʌna$_7$ kʌhkupa?iha$_8$ sʌmʌnanaarʌmu?ikʌnu$_9$. 32. usʌse?$_1$ tʌbitsitʌ$_2$. 33. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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they$_4$ arrived$_5$ there$_1$ at$_3$ its$_2$ top$_3$, there$_6$ at$_8$ its$_7$ very top$_8$ (was) a big hole$_9$, and when$_{12}$ they$_{11}$ peeped$_{12}$ in it$_{10}$, wing noises$_{14}$ (are) in it$_{13}$. 26. These ones$_1$ prepared$_5$ there$_4$ that$_2$ explosive$_3$. 27. These ones$_3$ descending$_4$ /from that that place$_1$/ from that mountain$_2$, went$_6$ further off from it$_5$. 28. As$_5$ they$_4$ are lookings there$_1$ at$_3$ that$_2$ hole$_3$, /that one$_6$/ their$_7$ charge$_8$ exploded$_9$, scattered$_{15}$ /that$_{16}$/ those various$_{13}$ snakes$_{14}$ all over that$_{11}$ /all over the/ mountain$_{12}$. 29. These$_1$ white men$_2$ again$_3$ went$_5$ /to/ there$_4$, gathering$_{10}$ all together$_9$ those scattered$_6$ (remains) /what$_8$/ they$_7$ had blown out$_8$, set$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ on fire$_{12}$. 30. These ones$_1$, having done to$_4$ it$_3$ [them] that way$_2$, said$_{16}$ $_{17}$. —Let's$_6$ go$_5$. We$_9$ know$_{11}$ what killed$_{10}$ our$_7$ friend$_8$ also$_{12}$ (I) guess$_{13}$ (we) killed all of$_{15}$ it$_{14}$.— 31. In that way$_1$ those various$_2$ white men$_3$ told everyone about$_9$ those$_4$ winged$_5$ snakes$_6$ that killed$_8$ one of them$_7$. 32. That$_1$ is true$_2$. 33. That is all$_1$.

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IX

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ ahtakî?$_3$ tʌmʌʌmi?anu$_4$. 2.--ibu$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ tabe$_3$ ikahpetu$_4$ manakwʌhu$_5$ nana?atahpu$_6$ naboori$_7$ kwasu?i$_8$ tʌmʌʌkwatu?i$_9$,— mekʌ$_{10}$. 3. u$_1$ pia?kʌse?$_2$, — tʌa$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ o?ana$_5$ manakwʌ$_6$ miasuwaitu?i$_7$,— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ahtakî?$_2$, —natsatsa$_3$ taa$_4$ nomia?eku$_5$, u?ana$_6$ esitsʌnʌ?ikatʌ$_7$, tahʌ$_8$ na?nʌmʌnʌkabaiki$_9$ nʌ$_{10}$ yʌtsʌmia?eeku$_{11}$. —5.sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ yʌtsʌhkwa$_3$ tʌmʌʌ-mi?atsi$_4$. 6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ yʌtsʌmi?arʌ$_2$, yʌtsʌmi?arʌ$_3$, u$_4$ biarʌpinoo?karʌku$_5$, uma$_6$ karʌhúpiitʌ$_7$. 7. maa$_1$ ma$_2$ karʌkukʌse?$_3$ piawosa?áa?ra?$_4$ mawakatu$_5$ to?ihúpiitʌ$_6$, — hina$_7$ ʌnʌ$_8$?— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, a grasshopper$_3$ went to buy$_4$.
2. —I$_2$ will go buy$_9$ (a) different kind of$_6$ designed$_7$ coat$_8$ (I will go) far away$_5$ this way$_1$ towards (the) going down$_4$ (of the) sun$_3$,— (he) said$_{10}$. 3. His$_1$ mother$_2$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$, —You$_4$ continually$_3$ want to go$_7$ over there$_5$ far away$_6$.—
4. This$_1$ grasshopper$_2$ (said), —No matter$_3$? When$_5$ we$_4$ move$_8$, when$_{11}$ I$_{10}$ fly$_{11}$ among$_9$ our$_8$ relatives$_9$, there$_6$ (I) appear grey$_7$.— 5. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ flew off$_3$, /going/ to buy$_4$. 6. This one$_1$ goes flying$_2$, goes flying$_3$, where that big rock hill sits$_4$ $_5$, (it) stopped and sat$_7$ on it$_6$.
7. As$_3$ he$_2$ sat$_3$ on it$_1$, (a) big grasshopper$_4$ climbed$_6$ towards him$_5$ and stopped$_6$. —What$_7$ (do) you$_8$ (want)?— (he) said to$_{9\ 11}$

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539 tsaa$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ naboori$_4$ kwasu?i$_5$ suwanitʌ$_6$.-- me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nana?atahputi$_2$ tʌrʌetʌpihta$_3$ himanu$_4$ uma$_5$ sihka$_6$ esi?ahtamúu?a$_7$ tʌ?ekanu$_8$. 10. --meeku$_1$ nabuuni$_2$.-- mekʌse?$_3$ surʌ$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ana$_2$ wʌnʌrʌ$_3$, nabuihwʌnʌbʌni$_4$. 12. --nohi?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ nabuniyu$_3$ nʌʌ$_4$.-- mekʌse?$_5$ surʌ$_6$ esi?ahtamúu?$_7$. 13. --usʌ$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ bʌesʌ$_3$ tsaa$_4$ naboori$_5$ nʌ$_6$ suwainihti$_7$ kwasu?utua?i$_8$. miaru?i$_9$ nʌ?$_{10}$.-- usʌ$_{11}$ mekʌse?$_{12}$ suurʌ$_{13}$. 14. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ pitusʌ$_3$ yʌtsʌnukwa$_4$, so?ana$_5$ sehka$_6$ esi?ahtamúu?a$_7$ pʌkʌhu$_8$ sooyori?ikahtu$_9$ pitʌnu$_{10}$. 15. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ esi?ahtamúu?nʌʌ$_2$, --osʌ$_3$ hakarʌ$_4$ nanisuyake$_5$ naboorʌ$_6$ uku$_7$ tamʌkaba$_8$ kahtʌ$_9$.-- 16. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$, --urʌ$_2$ u?$_3$ rʌmʌʌko?i?$_4$.-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ urii$_3$ nasuyakeku$_4$, pʌnihku$_5$ uhka$_6$ pʌ$_7$ nara?urakʌ?iha$_8$ urii$_9$ tʌ?awekʌnu$_{10}$. 18. setʌkʌse?$_1$ esi?ahtamúu?$_2$ sebutu$_3$ tabe?ikahpetutu$_4$ sʌmʌyorinukwa$_5$, tsʌ?nikatʌ$_6$, setʌ$_7$ sʌmʌkoyamanu$_8$, nananisuyake$_9$ setʌ$_{10}$

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him$_{10}$. 8. That one$_1$ said to$_7$ $_9$ him$_8$. --I$_3$ want$_6$ (a) nice$_2$ designed$_4$ coat$_5$.-- 9. This one$_1$ took$_4$ different kinds of$_2$ little stones$_3$, with it$_5$ [them] (he) painted$_8$ this$_6$ grey grasshopper$_7$. 10. --Now$_1$ look at yourself$_2$.-- that one$_4$ said to$_3$ $_6$ him$_5$. 11. This one$_1$ stands$_3$ here$_2$ looking at himself much$_4$. 12. --I$_4$ look$_3$ very$_1$ nice$_2$.-- said$_5$ that$_6$ grasshopper$_7$. 13. --Already$_3$ I$_2$ received$_8$ that$_1$ nice$_4$ designed$_5$ coat$_6$ (the) way I want$_6$ $_7$. I$_{10}$ will go$_9$.-- thus$_{11}$ said$_{12}$ that one$_{13}$. 14. At this place$_1$ that one$_2$ flew /off$_4$/ back$_3$; (and) arrived$_{10}$ there$_5$ (at the) place$_8$ (where) those various$_6$ grasshoppers$_7$ are flying a lot /to$_9$/. 15. Those$_1$ grasshoppers$_2$ (said), --Who$_4$ (is) that$_3$, (who) looks$_6$ pretty$_5$, (who) here$_7$ among us$_8$ /is/ sitting$_9$?-- 16. One$_1$ said$_5$ $_6$. --It$_3$ (is) that one$_2$, returned from buying$_4$.-- 17. As$_4$ they$_3$ wished for$_4$ that$_2$, that one$_1$ told$_{10}$ them$_9$ in that way$_5$ [how] he$_7$ met$_8$ that one$_6$. 18. These various$_1$ grasshoppers$_2$ all flew off$_5$ (in) various ways$_3$ towards the going down (of the) sun$_4$ (and they) stay$_6$ (and when) these various ones$_7$ all returned$_8$, these various

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Fairy Tales and Fables

539 naboohkaₙ₁₁. 19. sukuₙ₁ sehkaₙ₂ nabooriₙ₃ ahtamúu?aₙ₄ naahkakuₙ₅, atanaíhtʌₙ₆ urʌʌkʌₙ₇ bitʌnuₙ₈. 20. surʌkʌse?₁, --mʌnʌ₂ esi?ahtamúu?nʌʌ₃ hakanihkuₙ₄ nananisuyakekuₙ₅ naboohkaₙ₆? -- meₙ₇ uriiₙ₈ niikwiiyuₙ₉. 21. surʌʌkʌse?₁, -- tʌmʌʌyʌkarʌ₂ nʌnʌ₃. usʌ₄ subeʔsʌ₅ suhkaₙ₆ esi?ahtamúu?aₙ₇ tʌmʌʌko?ikatʌ₈ nihánuₙ₉, tsaaₙ₁₀ nabooriₙ₁₁ uₙ₁₂ kwasu?utʌ-mʌʌhkaₙ₁₃. -- meₙ₁₄ yʌkwitʌₙ₁₅. 22. subetʌₙ₁.

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ones₁₀ are designed₁₁ pretty₉. 19. As₅ those various₂ designed₃ grasshoppers₄ are livings there₁, one from a different kind₆ came up₈ io them₇. 20. That one₁ said to₇ them₈. --How is it₄ all you₂ grey grasshoppers₃ are designed₆ pretty₅?-- 21. Those ones₁ are saying₁₄ ₁₅, --We₃ shopped around₂. Thus₄ at that time₅ when₁₃ he₁₂ bought₁₃ the nice₁₀ designed₁₁ coat₁₃ (someone) named₉ that₆ grey grasshopper₇ 'Is Returned From Buying₈'.-- 22. That is all₁.

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[p. 34]

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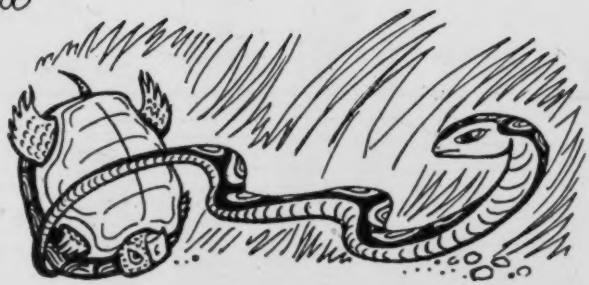

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539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ su?ana$_3$ wakaré?ee?$_4$ tʌrʌebuhipʌ-
has$_5$ hʌkikʌ$_6$ hʌkikahtʌ$_7$. 2. tʌtaatʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌe?tʌkʌse?$_3$
su?ana$_4$ ma$_5$ kʌma?kʌ$_6$ karʌrʌ$_7$, animuiha$_8$ pʌmi$_9$ pʌ$_{10}$
pia?a$_{11}$ maka?eku$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ rʌkʌhʌ́ni$_{14}$. 3. si?anakʌse?$_1$ mahri$_2$
yʌkwihkaku$_3$, piakwasinaboo?$_4$ marʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. sitʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ rʌhkapʌharuku$_4$ mʌh$_5$ tʌhkayʌ-
karʌʌ$_4$.— me$_7$ uhri$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 5. sitʌhkʌse?$_1$ wakaré-
?ee?nʌh$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kwahikupʌsʌ$_4$ wekwinu$_5$, ke$_6$ mama?ai$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$, suhka$_9$ kwasinaboo?a$_{10}$ tʌ?ʌyatʌ$_{11}$. 6. sitʌkʌ-
se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌma?ai$_3$ pʌ?$_4$ ke$_5$ mʌhi$_6$ niwʌnʌku$_7$,
ʌmi$_8$ mahrʌ$_9$ ahpʌ?a$_{10}$ piwokʌtsi$_{11}$, nuhkitu?i$_{12}$.— me$_{13}$ u$_{14}$
niikwiiyu$_{15}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ tuhúbʌhkanu$_3$. 8.
tuhubʌkʌtsikʌ$_1$ pʌ$_2$ puihoiki̱ti$_3$ ekapitʌma$_4$ pisáanu$_5$. 9. si-
tʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —ke$_3$ hina$_4$ supana?iitʌ$_5$, nánahbi-
so?ai$_6$ yʌyʌmuhkutʌ$_7$, nʌʌ?mai$_8$ wakaré?ee?$_9$,— me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$
niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ maatu$_3$ tunehtsʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (a) turtle$_4$ is
825 shade-sitting$_7$ in (the) shade$_6$ (of) little weeds$_5$. 2. As$_{12}$
its$_{10}$ mother$_{11}$ is feeding$_{12}$ flies$_8$ (to) it$_9$ [child]. her$_2$ little$_2$
child$_3$ is sitting$_7$ there$_4$ beside$_6$ her$_5$ eating$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ much$_{14}$.
3. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ here$_1$, (a) big snake$_4$ arrived$_4$ to
them$_5$. 4. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ them$_8$. --You two$_5$ are
moving about eating$_6$ my$_3$ meat$_4$.— 5. These two$_1$ turtles$_2$
entered$_5$ in$_4$ their$_3$ backs$_4$ (and) talked$_8$ not$_6$ with him$_7$. (and)
are afraid of$_{11}$ that$_9$ snake$_{10}$. 6. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{13\ 15}$
him$_{14}$. —As$_7$ you two$_6$ are$_7$ not$_5$ talking$_7$ with me$_3$. I$_4$. will
run$_{12}$. dragging$_{11}$ you$_8$. their$_9$ father$_{10}$.— 7. This$_1$ turtle$_2$
got angry$_3$. 8. Getting angry$_1$. around$_3$ his$_2$ eye$_3$ /he/
/applied$_5$/ /with/ red$_4$. 9. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{10\ 12}$ him$_{11}$.
—Lazy$_8$ turtle$_9$. (you) don't$_3$ know$_5$ anything$_4$. (you) move$_7$
slowly$_6$.— 10. This$_1$ snake$_2$ ran$_4$ towards him$_3$. twisted$_9$ his$_5$

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539 nu̲$_4$, pʌ$_5$ kwasi$_6$ ma$_7$ kwasihoiki$_8$ wʌ?kwipunanu̲$_9$. 11. su-
ni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, maai$_4$ piwokʌ̲tsi$_5$, puhikabaiki$_6$ maai$_7$
tsahpó?tsemi?a̲$_8$. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ suni$_3$ pʌmi$_4$
u$_5$ mʌʌmi?aku$_6$, tʌebuhipʌ̲ha$_7$ su?ana$_8$ wʌnʌku$_9$, mahoiki$_{10}$
nʌʌ?kwipunu̲kwa̲$_{11}$. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ suni$_3$ pʌmi$_4$
u$_5$ mʌʌhka$_6$, pʌ$_7$ kwasi$_8$ tsahká?anu̲$_9$. 14. si?aneta̲$_1$
sitʌ$_2$ kwasinaboo?$_3$ kwasiwaaitʌ̲$_4$, nuhkínu̲$_5$. 15. sitʌ-
kʌ̲se?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ nanʌ̲su?uyaa$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ u$_6$
mʌʌnu̲$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_9$. 16. sube?sʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ suni$_2$ uhka$_3$
u$_4$ mʌʌhka$_5$, sʌsʌmʌ?$_6$ kwasinaboo?$_7$ pi?to?na?i̲$_8$. 17.
subetʌ̲$_1$.

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539 (own) tail$_6$ around$_8$ his$_7$ (the turtle's) tail$_8$. 11. Acting on$_3$
825 him$_2$ that way$_1$, draggings$_5$ him$_4$, (he) went bouncing$_8$ him$_7$
through the weeds$_6$. 12. As$_6$ he$_5$ went acting on$_6$ him$_4$ that
way$_3$, as$_9$ little weeds$_7$ are standing$_9$ there$_8$, this$_1$ turtle$_2$
went off wrapping himself$_{11}$ around it$_{10}$ [weeds]. 13. When$_6$
he$_5$ [the turtle] acted on$_6$ him$_4$ [the snake] that way$_3$, this$_1$
snake$_2$ pulled off$_9$ his$_7$ (own) tail$_8$. 14. At this place$_1$ this$_2$
snake$_3$ is without a tail$_4$, (and) ran away$_5$. 15. This$_1$ turtle$_2$
said$_8$ $_9$. —I$_5$ caused$_7$ him$_6$ to be$_7$ very$_3$ laughable$_4$.— 16. From
that time$_1$, when$_5$ he$_4$ acted on$_5$ him$_3$ that way$_2$, some$_6$ snakes$_7$
are bobtailed$_8$. 17. That is all$_1$.

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XI

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$. 2. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$, —nomiaru?i$_4$ tanʌ$_5$, — me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahni$_3$ tsahtíwa-?inu$_4$, pʌʌ$_5$ tʌnoowapinii$_6$ tʌnookʌnu$_7$. 4. pʌmʌsu?a$_1$ tʌhíyakʌanu$_2$, pʌʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tii$_4$ pihímanu$_5$. 5. pʌʌ$_1$ tʌ-noowapinii$_2$ makʌtsi$_3$, nomi?anu$_4$. 6. sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_1$ na-?nai?bi$_2$ hunu?betu$_3$ mi?anu$_4$. 7. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —nʌmʌ$_2$ kahnikʌhu$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ mia$_5$, — me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, okʌho$_8$ hunu-?ba?atu$_9$ to?inu$_{10}$. 8. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnibetuti$_2$ u$_3$ bunihkakʌse?$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ kahninʌʌ$_6$ kehéwa?i$_7$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —nomi?a?ituku$_2$ nʌnʌ$_3$, — me$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pu?etu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, mi?anoorʌ$_4$, mi?anoorʌ$_5$, tukaninu$_6$. 11. su?a-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, somewhere there$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a camp$_5$. 2. /That one$_1$/ their$_2$ chief$_3$ said$_{4\ 7}$, --We$_5$ will move$_4$.— 3. Those ones$_1$ took down$_4$ their$_2$ teepees$_3$, (and) loaded$_7$ their$_5$ pack animals$_6$. 4. They also$_1$ mounted horseback$_2$, (and) put$_5$ their$_3$ children$_4$ behind$_5$ (them). 5. Driving$_3$ their$_1$ pack animals$_2$ (they) moved away$_4$. 6. The young woman of$_2$ some of them$_1$ went$_4$ towards the creek$_3$. 7. That one$_1$ came out$_{10}$ along (the) creek$_9$ over there$_8$ saying$_{4\ 7}$. --I$_4$ go$_5$ to$_3$ our$_2$ camp$_3$.— 8. As$_4$ she$_3$ looked$_4$ towards$_2$ their$_1$ camp$_2$, (she saw) their$_5$ teepees$_6$ were gone$_7$. 9. That one$_1$ said$_{4\ 5}$, —We$_3$ moved away$_2$.— 10. This one$_1$ went$_3$ along the trail$_2$, (she) travels$_4$, (and) travels$_5$, night came$_4$. 11. There$_1$ /from/

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nakʌ̲se?$_1$ mamunai$_2$ hini$_3$ tuhánikina$_4$. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ mawaka$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$, siwaka$_4$ piawasápe?wakʌ$_5$. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, --hakahpu$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ mi?aayu$_5$?— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 14. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ na?nʌmʌnii$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ nʌe$_6$ nohʌahraikwʌ̲ka$_7$, urʌʌ$_8$ napʌ̲hu$_9$ mi?arʌ$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —nʌma?aihtʌ$_3$ mia$_4$ mʌmʌ$_5$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_6$, -- me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, --haa$_3$. nah$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ʌma?ai$_6$ miaru?i$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 17. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ napʌ̲ha$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ sokokimarʌ̲$_6$, tawia?i$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 18. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, --nʌba?a$_3$ tʌhʌyaro?i$_4$. ʌ$_5$ nomiaru-?i$_6$ nʌ?$_7$, -- me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ maba?a$_2$ tʌhʌ́yaro?inu$_3$. 20. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$ ma$_3$ noohtsi$_4$, pisʌ́tʌkinukwa$_5$. 21. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ so?ana$_2$ toyahkaba$_3$ u$_4$ noo?ikanu$_5$. 22. si?anakʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ biaroyahkarʌʌku$_3$, u$_4$ biaraiku$_5$, sitʌ$_6$ wasápe?$_7$, —itsa?$_8$ nʌ$_9$ kahni$_{10}$, — me$_{11}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{12}$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ kwʌhʌtsa?$_4$ kesuatʌ̲$_5$. nah$_6$ nʌ?$_7$ tsaaku$_8$ uma?ai$_9$ tekwaru?i$_{10}$. — mekʌ̲se?$_{11}$ suurʌ̲$_{12}$. 24. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —wee$_3$.—

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in front of her$_2$ something$_3$ dark is coming$_4$. 12. This one$_1$ arrived$_3$ to it$_2$, to this$_4$ /to/ big bear$_5$. 13. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said to$_4$ her$_7$, --Which way$_3$ are$_5$ you$_4$ going$_5$?-- 14. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{11}$, --When$_7$ [because] my$_3$ relatives$_4$ moved away and left$_7$ me$_6$. I$_5$ am following$_{10}$ their$_8$ tracks$_9$.— 15. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said$_7$ $_8$, --Go$_4$ with me$_3$ to$_6$ your$_8$ camp$_5$.— 16. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$, —Yes$_3$, I$_5$ just$_4$ will go$_7$ with you$_6$.— 17. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$, --I$_5$ am coming walking$_6$, [and] wore out$_7$ my$_3$ moccasins$_4$.-- 18. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$, --Mount$_4$ /on/ me$_3$. I$_7$ will go carrying$_6$ you$_5$.-- 19. This one$_1$ mounted$_3$ on him$_2$. 20. This$_1$ bear$_2$, carrying$_4$ her$_3$, went off pacing$_5$. 21. That one$_1$ entered$_5$ over there$_2$ in the mountains$_3$ carrying$_5$ her$_4$. 22. Here$_1$, where that big mountain sits$_2$ $_3$, where that big cave (is)$_4$ $_5$ this$_6$ bear$_7$ said$_{11}$ $_{12}$, --This$_8$ (is) my$_9$ home$_{10}$.— 23. This$_1$ bear$_2$ (said), --My$_3$ wife$_4$ is mean$_5$. I$_7$ just$_6$ will talk$_{10}$ with her$_9$ good$_8$.—

539 me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 25. —nʌ$_1$ kwʌhi$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ nʌ$_4$ rʌrʌe?tii$_5$ punitu?i$_6$ ʌkanaa$_7$. — mekʌse?$_8$ surʌ$_9$ suhka$_{10}$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 26. hunakwʌ$_1$ mahri$_2$ tobo?ihu-pitʌkakʌse?$_3$ u$_4$ kwʌhʌ$_5$ mahrʌwakatu$_6$ piayakekatʌ$_7$, to?inu$_8$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ ihka$_5$ tʌtaati$_6$ wa?iihpʌ?a$_7$ marʌnipʌha$_8$ suwaitʌ$_9$, — me$_{10}$ yʌ-kwiiyu$_{11}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ sihka$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ kahnikʌ$_7$ ni?ikanu$_8$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ makanu$_3$, pʌ$_4$ pomapʌha$_5$, natsamukwe?a$_6$, na?séeka?a$_7$, na?kʌhtaba-?i?a$_8$ tʌasʌ$_9$ na?tso?me?a$_{10}$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌmʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ maka?iha$_5$ tʌhkarʌ$_6$, wihnu$_7$ tʌhkámanu$_8$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?a$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ norʌnákʌnu$_5$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ʌhpʌ́inu$_2$. 33. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_2$ taayorinu$_3$, taarʌhkanu$_4$. 34. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, — miaru?i$_3$ nʌ?$_4$, — me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 35. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —nah$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ mʌʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$ ʌ$_7$ tsaweehkwatu?i$_8$, — me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 36. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —haa$_3$, — me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_5$. 37. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$ tʌasʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ noohtsi$_5$, pu?etu$_6$ pisʌ́tʌkinukwa$_7$. 38. u$_1$ bianoo?baihku$_2$,

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said$_{11}$ that one$_{12}$. 24. That$_1$ bear$_2$ said to$_{4\ 6}$ her$_5$, —Get down$_3$.— 25. —I$_3$ will see$_6$ my$_1$ wife$_2$ (and) my$_4$ children$_5$ first$_7$.— that one$_9$ said to$_{8\ 12}$ that$_{10}$ woman$_{11}$. 26. As$_3$ they$_2$ stopped and stood$_3$ outside$_1$, his$_4$ wife$_5$, came out$_8$ towards them$_6$, is loudly crying$_7$. 27. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{10\ 11}$, —Don t$_4$ try$_9$ to hurt$_8$ this$_5$ little$_6$ woman$_7$.— 28. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ told$_9$ this$_4$ woman$_5$ to enter$_8$ into$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$. 29. This one$_1$ fed$_3$ her$_2$, her$_4$ berries$_5$, grapes$_6$, persimmons$_7$, pecans$_8$ and$_9$ dried plums$_{10}$. 30. This one$_1$ is eating$_6$ what$_5$ she$_4$ fed$_5$ her$_3$, at this place$_2$ then$_7$ finished eating$_8$. 31. This$_1$ bear's$_2$ wife$_3$ made a bed for$_5$ her$_4$. 32. This one$_1$ slept$_2$. 33. These ones$_1$ early morning$_2$ got up$_3$, ate breakfast$_4$. 34. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$, —I$_4$ will go$_3$.— 35. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ her$_{10}$. —I$_4$ just$_3$ will haul$_8$ you$_7$ off$_8$ to$_6$ your$_5$ camp$_6$.— 36. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{4\ 5}$, —Yes$_3$.— 37. This$_1$ bear$_2$, again$_3$ carrying$_5$ her$_4$, along the trail$_6$ went pacing$_7$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

u$_3$ biahahpa?niku$_4$, kahni$_5$ uhtu$_6$ yʌkwihka$_7$. 39. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tsaaku$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$ nʌmʌ$_6$ kahnikʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ noohpitʌnu$_9$, — me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 40. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa-?ihpʌ?$_2$. weenu$_3$. 41. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —mi?a?i$_3$ nʌ?$_4$, — me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 42. sitʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ pia-?nʌʌkʌ$_4$ bitʌnu$_5$. 43. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ ka-?witsi$_4$, ma$_5$ pitʌ?imatu$_6$ na?okitʌ$_7$, nʌhkánu$_8$. 44. su-betʌ$_1$.

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38. Where that big hill was$_{1\ 2}$, where that big level spot is$_{3\ 4}$, teepees$_5$ are sitting$_7$ along there$_6$. 39. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{10\ 11}$, --You$_5$ arrived carrying$_9$ me$_8$ to$_7$ our$_6$ camp$_7$ very$_3$ well$_4$.— 40. This$_1$ woman$_2$ got down$_3$. 41. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$. —I$_4$ go$_3$.— 42. This$_1$ woman$_2$ arrived$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ mothers$_4$. 43. These$_1$ her$_2$ relatives$_3$ gathering together$_4$, are rejoicing$_7$ over$_6$ her$_5$ return$_6$, (and) danced$_8$. 44. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XII

53A 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_3$ mahími?anu$_4$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wahahtih$_2$ notsa?kanukwa$_3$. 3. sunikʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ nahami?aku$_3$, atabitsinʌʌ$_4$ urʌʌma$_5$ pahínu$_6$, urii$_7$ sʌmʌwasʌnu$_8$. 4. surʌkwʌrakakʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$ kʌanu$_3$. 5. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ bitusʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kahnibetu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 6. piaroyabihta$_1$ kʌma?ru$_2$ u$_3$ bu?ebaihku$_4$, uhtu$_5$ uhri$_6$ mi?akukʌse?$_7$ su?ana$_8$ bu?ekʌma?kʌ$_9$ nʌʌmʌ$_{10}$ papi$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ tsuhnipʌ$_{13}$ nahapʌ$_{14}$ su?ana$_{15}$ hahpi$_{16}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌi?$_3$, —ihka$_4$ buni$_5$, tʌih$_6$.— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 8. —pʌwa?i$_1$ tahʌ$_2$ naahkwabikatu?iha$_3$,— me$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, u$_6$ sʌʌhpo?tsenu$_7$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?$_3$,

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, young men$_3$ went to fight$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ two$_2$ sweethearts went off with$_3$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ continued on$_3$ that way$_1$, other Indians$_4$ fell$_6$ [attacked] /on/ them$_5$, killed everyone of$_8$ them$_7$. 4. Only those two$_1$ women$_2$ got out of it$_3$. 5. These two$_1$ went$_5$ back$_2$ towards$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$. 6. Where that trail was$_3$ along side of$_2$ a big mountain$_1$, as$_7$ they$_6$ went$_7$ along there$_5$, there somewhere$_8$ beside the trail$_9$, (a) human$_{10}$ head$_{11}$ that$_{12}$ (had) become$_{14}$ (a) skull$_{13}$ was lying$_{16}$ there$_{15}$. 7. This$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ said$_7$ s. --Look at$_5$ this$_4$, friend$_6$.— 8. --We$_2$ ourselves will be lying$_3$ like it$_1$,— (and so) saying$_4$ s, (she) kicked$_7$ it$_6$. 9. /That

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Fairy Tales and Fables

539 tʌ$_1$ u$_2$ papi$_3$ nʌʌmʌ$_4$ nahánu$_5$, mahrʌma?ai$_4$ tekwanu$_7$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, —ibu$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ miaru?i$_5$.— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_4$. 25. —tai$_1$ bukutsakakʌkwatu?i$_3$ nʌ?$_3$,— me$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, uhrʌwahketʌ$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ piarosapitʌpa?a$_2$ karʌrʌ$_3$, si?ahru$_4$ mahrʌwaka$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ ma$_3$ tʌi?a$_4$, —nʌbinakwʌ$_5$ ro?i$_5$. mʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ nʌ?$_9$ ʌ$_{10}$ tsaweekwatu?i$_{11}$,— me$_{12}$ u$_{13}$ niikwiiyu$_{14}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ napekʌ$_3$ wʌnʌhtsi$_4$, mabinakwʌ$_5$ ro?inu$_6$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 30. suhka$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?a$_3$ bʌahtsi$_4$, uhri$_5$ mi?akukʌse?$_6$ ta?siwóo?$_7$ tʌasʌ$_8$ arʌka?$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ setʌ$_{11}$ huhtsúu?$_{12}$ uhrʌmunaikiyutʌ$_{13}$, nunurawʌna$_{14}$, setʌ$_{15}$ huhtsúu?$_{16}$ yo?yorinuna$_{17}$. 31. sitʌ$_1$ tsuhnipʌkʌse?$_2$, —ke$_3$ marʌʌ$_4$ nʌe$_5$ tʌ?ʌyatʌʌ$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 32. —ʌmi$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ ʌkwihkatʌ$_3$, tahi$_4$ tʌ?ʌyatʌʌ$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 33. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kahni$_3$ hakani$_4$ tosanebuniku$_5$ marʌʌkʌhu$_6$ kʌahupiitʌ$_7$. 34. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tʌi?a$_3$, —otsa?$_4$ ʌ$_5$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_6$

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became$_5$ (an) Indian$_4$, talked$_7$ with them$_4$. 24. This one$_1$ said$_{5\ 6}$. —I$_3$ will go$_4$ this way$_2$. 25. I$_3$ will go to lead a horse for$_2$ us$_1$.— (So) saying$_{4\ 5}$ (he) went$_7$ away from them$_6$. 26. This one$_1$ is sitting$_3$ on a big white (horse$_2$), along here$_4$ (he) came up$_6$ to them$_5$. 27. This one$_1$ said to$_{12\ 14}$ her$_{13}$, this$_2$ her$_3$ friend$_4$. —Climb up$_6$ behind me$_5$. To$_8$ your camp$_8$ I$_9$ will take$_{11}$ you$_{10}$ off$_{11}$.— 28. This one$_1$, standing$_4$ on$_3$ his$_2$ foot$_3$, climbed up$_6$ behind him$_5$. 29. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$. 30. As$_6$ they$_5$ went$_4$, leaving$_4$ that$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$, buffalo$_7$ and$_8$ deer$_9$ and$_{10}$ various$_{11}$ birds$_{12}$ from in front of them$_{13}$ are running off$_{14}$, various$_{15}$ birds$_{16}$ are flying off$_{17}$. 31. This$_1$ skull$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$. —They$_4$ are$_6$ not$_3$ afraid of$_6$ me$_5$.— 32. —They$_2$ are smelling$_3$ you$_1$, are afraid of$_5$ us$_4$,— (he) said$_{6\ 7}$. 33. This one$_1$ came out and came up$_7$ /to them$_6$/ (to) their (dual$_2$) teepees$_3$ somehow$_4$ appearing white$_5$. 34. This one$_1$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ her$_9$, his$_2$ friend$_3$. —That over

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

kahni$_{7}$. — me$_{8}$ u$_{9}$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 35. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$, —wee$_{2}$ meeku$_{3}$, — me$_{4}$ yʌhkwi$_{5}$. 36. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ wa?ihpʌ?$_{2}$ weehtsi$_{3}$, pʌ$_{4}$ kahnibetu$_{5}$ mi?anu$_{6}$. 37. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ tsuhnipʌ$_{2}$ u$_{3}$ papi$_{4}$ sima?ai$_{5}$ pʌ$_{6}$ pukuma?ai$_{7}$ tsu?manu$_{8}$. 38. subetʌ$_{1}$.

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there$_{4}$ /is/ your$_{5}$ relatives$_{6}$ camp$_{7}$. 35. This one$_{1}$ said$_{4}$ s. --Now$_{3}$ get off$_{2}$.-- 36. This$_{1}$ woman$_{2}$ getting off$_{3}$, went$_{4}$ towards$_{5}$ her$_{4}$ camp$_{5}$. 37. This$_{1}$ skull$_{2}$ that$_{3}$ head$_{4}$ /with this$_{5}$/ with$_{7}$ his$_{6}$ horse$_{7}$ disappeared$_{8}$. 38. That is all$_{1}$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

HUMOR IN RIDICULE

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[pp. 46-47 missing]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

tahni?inukwahe$_8$. — me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu$_{10}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ huna- 539
kwʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ narohtʌma?a$_2$ uranu$_3$,
u$_4$ yaanu$_5$ pʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ tʌbinaa?wekiti$_8$ suku$_9$ naro-
htʌmakʌ$_{10}$ tʌkinu$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ narohtʌma?a$_{13}$ ukʌhu$_{14}$ marʌkí-
?nenu$_{15}$. 11. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, su?ahru$_4$ pʌhʌ$_5$
kahni$_6$ kʌma?ku$_7$ u$_8$ wihínu$_9$. 12. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?a-
netʌ$_2$ wanarohpetimi?anu$_3$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ uku$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$.
14. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tabebe?tu$_2$ wanarohpetinu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$
tukaani$_5$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —mia$_4$
rakwʌ$_5$, — me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 16. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$
mi?anu$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 17. sitʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ puki$_5$ to?yanu$_6$. 18. sitʌ$_1$
wihnu$_2$ ma$_3$ kumahpʌ?$_4$ habinu$_5$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$
kwʌhʌ$_3$ hunaiki$_4$ pʌnʌ$_5$ nʌmiiyu$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$
kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kima$_4$ habiki$_5$. ʌnʌhahtu$_6$ hina$_7$ wehkíniiinʌ$_8$?— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 21. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$
habimi?anu$_3$. 22. habihtsikʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ sʌmʌh$_3$ ke$_4$
ʌhpʌitʌsʌ$_5$ taanu$_6$, pʌ$_7$ puhiwihta$_8$ nasutamʌhabiitʌ$_9$.

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away$_8$.— 9. This one$_1$ went$_3$ outside$_2$. 10. This one$_1$ found$_3$ 539
a can$_2$, took$_5$ it$_4$, put$_{11}$ half of$_8$ her$_6$ money$_7$ there$_9$ in the 522
can$_{10}$, pressed down$_{15}$ its$_{12}$ lid$_{13}$ on it$_{14}$. 11. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that
way$_1$, along there$_4$ threw$_9$ it$_8$ beside$_7$ their$_5$ house$_6$.
12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went to play cards$_3$.
13. These two$_1$ arrived$_3$ there$_2$. 14. These two$_1$ played
cards$_3$ through the day$_2$ also$_4$ (through) night$_5$. 15. This$_1$
her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{6\ 7}$. —Let us$_5$ go$_4$.— 16. These two$_1$ at
this place$_2$ went$_3$, arrived$_6$ at$_5$ their$_4$ house$_5$. 17. This$_1$
her$_2$ husband$_3$ unhitched$_4$ their$_4$ horses$_5$. 18. Then$_2$ /this$_1$/
her$_3$ husband$_4$ laid down$_5$. 19. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ herself$_5$
was moving$_6$ about outside$_4$. 20. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said
to$_{9\ 11}$ her$_{10}$, --Come$_4$ come lie down$_5$. What$_7$ are you /around$_6$/
looking around for$_8$?-- 21. This one$_1$ then$_2$ went to lie down$_3$.
22. Lying down$_1$, this one$_2$ slept still$_5$ not$_4$ at all$_5$ [till]
morning came$_6$, (but) lies thinking of$_9$ her$_7$ money$_8$. 23. This

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Humor in Ridicule

539 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_2$ taayʌtsʌnu$_3$, ʌkʌnaa$_4$ pʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ wehkímí?anu$_7$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ke$_2$ u$_3$ uraayu$_4$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kumahpʌ?a$_5$, --kima$_6$. tʌhkaru?i$_7$ tah$_8$, -- me$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 26. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kumahpʌ-?a$_3$, —nʌ$_4$ buhiwihta$_5$ / nʌ?$_6$ narohtʌmakʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ rʌki?ha$_9$ watsikʌ?i$_{10}$. — me$_{11}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{12}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kʌhtaa$_4$ ma?$_5$ nʌe$_6$ tukaani$_7$. — me$_8$ yʌ-kwiiyu$_9$. 29. —nahkia$_1$ u?$_2$ po?ayaahkwa?i$_3$, — mekʌse?$_4$ surʌ$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 30. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nahma?ai$_2$ ma$_3$ wehkitʌ$_4$, ma$_5$ wehkitʌ$_6$, sʌmʌsokorʌtsʌpʌkahku$_7$ ma$_8$ uranu$_9$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ na?okiiyu$_4$. 32. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ kahnibetu$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ urahtsi$_7$. 33. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ kwasikʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ suni$_8$ mʌʌrʌ$_9$. puhihwikahnikʌ$_{10}$ rakwʌ$_{11}$ tahʌ$_{12}$ puhiwihta$_{13}$ sibe?nikiyutʌ$_{14}$, puhihwikahni-kʌ$_{15}$ tahni?i?etu?i$_{16}$. — me$_{17}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{18}$.

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539 one$_1$ early morning$_2$ got up$_3$, first$_4$ went to look for$_7$ her$_5$
522 money$_6$. 24. This one$_1$ did not$_2$ find$_4$ it$_3$. 25. This one$_1$ then$_2$ cooked$_3$, said to$_{9\ 10}$ her$_4$ husband$_5$, —Come$_6$. We$_8$ will eat$_7$.— 26. These two$_1$ ate$_2$. 27. This one$_1$ said to$_{11\ 12}$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ —I$_4$ lost$_{10}$ my$_4$ money$_5$ what$_9$ I$_8$ put$_9$ in (the) can$_7$.— 28. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{8\ 9}$ —Wind$_4$ it$_3$ (was) hard$_4$ last night$_7$.— 29. —(I) guess$_1$ it$_2$ blowed away$_3$,— that one$_5$ said$_{4\ 6}$. 30. These two$_1$ together$_2$ are looking for$_4$ it$_3$, are looking for$_4$ it$_5$, one mile away$_7$ (they) found$_9$ it$_8$. 31. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ was rejoicing$_4$. 32. These two$_1$ went$_4$ towards$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, their$_5$ money$_6$ finding$_7$. 33. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{17\ 18}$. —Next time$_5$ don't$_4$ treat$_9$ your$_6$ money$_7$ that way$_8$. From now on$_{14}$ /in the bank$_{10}$/ we$_{11}$ will put$_{16}$ our$_{12}$ money$_{13}$ in the bank$_{15}$.—

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

XIV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ tomoanu$_3$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$
nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —narʌ?ʌya$_3$ nabuniiku$_4$ ma?$_5$ tomoa?i$_6$,— me$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ʌmʌhúpiitʌ$_2$, tʌasʌ$_3$ kʌhtáa-
nʌenu$_4$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ sekwikʌnikʌhu$_4$
tunehtʌʌnu$_5$, ma$_6$ tʌhkínu$_7$. 6. makuhpa$_1$ marii$_2$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌse?$_3$ si?anetʌ$_4$ marʌʌba?etʌ$_5$, piakwasinaboo?$_6$
wʌhkitsu?tsu?ikatʌ, si?ana$_8$ piahuuhpa?aiki$_9$ suhka$_{10}$ se-
kwikʌni$_{11}$ tʌbinaa?weki$_{12}$ habitʌ$_{13}$, pa?a$_{14}$ habiiyu$_{15}$. 7.
pʌ$_1$ wʌhkitsu?tsu?i?a$_2$ piahakai$_3$ pipikúkʌ?eeyu$_4$. 8. sitʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, --ohkaka$_3$ tʌbitsi$_4$ narʌ?ʌyati$_5$ kwasi-
naboo?a$_6$ wʌhkuupa$_7$,— me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 9. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$ somewhere$_3$.
522 2. It$_1$ clouded up$_3$ much$_2$. 3. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ said$_7$ $_8$ --It$_5$
looks$_4$ dangerous$_3$ clouding up$_6$.— 4. It$_1$ began to rain$_2$ and$_3$
(the) wind blew hard$_4$. 5. These$_1$ Indians$_2$ ran$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$
cellar$_4$ (and) crowded$_7$ it$_6$. 6. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ in it$_1$,
at this place$_4$ a big snake$_6$ is lying$_{13}$, /is/ rattling$_7$, /is/
over them$_5$, there$_8$, over$_{14}$ along (a) big log$_9$ (it) was lying$_{15}$
(in the) middle of$_{12}$ that$_{10}$ cellar$_{11}$. 7. (He) was making$_4$
some kind of big$_3$ noise with$_4$ his$_1$ rattles$_2$. 8. These$_1$ In-
dians$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$, --Kill$_7$ that$_3$ very$_4$ dangerous$_5$ snake$_6$.--

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Comanche Texts

wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, --kʌa$_3$ ranʌ̲$_4$, -- me$_5$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_6$. 539
10. --tamʌba?atu$_1$ ma?$_2$ pahitu?i̲$_3$, -- me$_4$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_5$.
11. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ ma$_4$ ʌmaku$_5$, ma$_6$ baho?ʌmaku$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ kʌhtaa$_9$ ma$_{10}$ nʌeku$_{11}$, hunakwʌ̲hi$_{12}$ ke$_{13}$ bʌkʌ̲hu$_{14}$ to?iwa?i̲$_{15}$ nanakakukʌ̲se?$_{16}$ surʌ$_{17}$, --nʌtsa?$_{18}$ to?itu?i̲$_{19}$, -- me$_{20}$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{21}$. 12. si?anetʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ marʌʌhkutʌ̲$_3$, ma$_4$ tsahwihtsi$_5$, to?inu̲$_6$. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ nuhkínu̲$_3$. 14. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ nʌena$_3$ u?ahru$_4$ ma$_5$ wʌnʌʌhkupa?eeyu̲$_6$. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ kuya?anu̲$_3$. si?ahru$_4$ hunu?matu$_5$ pohpínu̲$_6$. si?ana$_7$ tʌpanaruhka$_8$ karʌnu̲$_9$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ hunu?bi$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tʌhpe?ku$_4$ okwehkinʌ̲$_5$. 17. pʌkʌ̲$_1$ ma$_2$ karʌna$_3$ sʌmʌbaaruanu̲$_4$. 18. si?anakʌ̲se?$_1$ pibiakwasinaboo?$_2$ ma$_3$ okwema-?ai$_4$ mawakatu$_5$ pakwabihkwainʌ̲$_6$. 19. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ kuya?anu̲$_3$. 20. --noo$_1$ nʌ?$_2$,-- mekʌ̲se?$_3$ sitʌ$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_7$ nuhkínu̲$_8$. 21. sitʌʌ$_1$ kwasinaboo?nʌʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ manu̲kíkʌnu̲$_4$, pʌmʌwa?itisʌ$_5$ sukʌ̲hu$_6$ hunu?matu$_7$ u$_8$ namanukika̲$_9$. 22. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ wobikʌ̲nikʌ̲$_4$

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9. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said$_3$ $_4$, --Let's$_4$ go out$_3$.-- 10. --It$_2$ will 539
fall$_3$ on us$_1$,-- (they) said$_4$ $_5$. 11. As$_5$ it$_4$ rained$_3$ a lot$_3$, as$_7$ 522
it$_6$ hailed$_7$, also$_8$ as$_{11}$ it$_{10}$ blew$_{11}$ hard$_9$, as (it) sounded$_{16}$
outside$_{12}$ (as) not$_{13}$ place$_{14}$ can't [to] go out$_{15}$, that /one$_{17}$/
one$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{20}$ $_{21}$, --I$_{18}$ will go out$_{19}$.-- 12. At this place$_1$
this one$_2$, openings$_3$ it$_4$, went out$_5$ from them$_3$. 13. This one$_1$
ran$_3$ towards the creek$_2$. 14. /This$_1$/ that$_2$ wind$_3$ along
there$_4$ was knocking$_6$ her$_5$ down$_6$. 15. This one$_1$ was fright-
ened$_3$ a lot$_2$, jumped$_4$ along here$_4$ on to the creek$_5$ sat$_9$ here$_7$
under the bank$_8$. 16. This$_1$ creek$_2$ its$_3$ fullness$_4$ came flow-
ings$_5$. 17. Where$_1$ she$_2$ is sittings$_3$ is all under water$_4$.
18. Here$_1$ big snakes$_2$ with$_4$ its$_3$ flow$_4$ are swimming around$_4$
towards hers$_5$. 19. This one$_1$ really$_2$ was scared$_3$. 20. Say-
ings$_5$ $_5$, --I$_2$ must$_1$ (go),-- this one$_4$, ran$_8$ to$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$.
21. These$_1$ snakes$_2$ made$_4$ her$_3$ run$_4$, as$_9$ she$_8$ ran away from$_9$
one just like them$_5$ there$_4$ on to the creek$_7$. 22. This one$_1$
then$_2$ arrived and entered$_8$, in$_4$ their$_3$ wooden house$_4$ /is/ all

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Humor in Ridicule

529 ikʌhúpiitʌ$_5$. sʌmʌba?isoketʌ$_6$. 23. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na-
?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$, --hakʌkia$_4$ urʌ$_5$ pihisi?apʌ$_6$ wa?ihpʌ?$_7$? --
me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ahru$_2$ marʌʌkʌhu$_3$
to?inu$_4$. pʌ$_5$ kwasu?i$_6$ sʌmʌsihwapʌnaihku$_7$. 25. sitʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ maaitʌ$_4$ nanihtokwekʌ$_5$. 26. su-
kʌhu$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ urii$_4$ kʌhtánʌenu$_5$, pahoopima$_6$
tʌasʌ$_7$ urii$_8$ ʌmanu$_9$. 27. subetʌ$_1$.

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529 wet$_4$. 23. These$_1$ her$_2$ relatives$_3$ said$_8$ $_9$. --Wonder where$_4$
that /one$_5$/ coward$_6$ woman$_7$ is$_4$?-- 24. This one$_1$ along here$_2$
522 went up$_4$. to them$_3$ as her$_5$ dress$_6$ had been all torn$_7$.
25. These$_1$ her$_2$ relatives$_3$ were laughing$_5$ at her$_4$. 26. There$_1$
this$_2$ much$_3$ wind blew hard$_5$ (on) them$_4$ (and) hail$_6$ also$_7$
rained on$_9$ them$_8$. 27. That is all$_1$.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XV

539 1. soobe?ʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ waahkusi?okwe?betu$_4$ mi-
?anu$_5$. 2. tamutʌso?ihunu?ma$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$
nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$, —Abia$_3$. 4. hunu?betu$_1$ tanʌ$_2$
na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ pomaakwa$_4$. — 5. surʌʌ$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi-
?anu$_3$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?a$_4$
wʌhpómi?inu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ uma$_7$ sohokʌahtsi$_8$, u$_9$ wʌyumi?i-
nu$_{10}$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, --nʌtsa?$_3$ sohoro?itu?i$_4$,
— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$, sʌmʌ?ma$_7$ to?inu$_8$. 8. okoba?a$_1$ to-
?itsi$_2$, suhka$_3$ huuhpihta$_4$ moke$_5$ tahkobʌtsi$_6$. pahihkitʌ$_7$,
tʌasʌ$_8$ sʌmʌ?ma$_9$ u$_{10}$ mokama$_{11}$ tsaninu$_{12}$. 9. sohkotʌ$_1$ pʌ$_2$
tsanihkutʌ$_3$ wenuunukina$_4$. 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?nʌʌ$_3$.

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went$_5$ towards grey flow-
522 ing cedar creek$_6$. 2. Those ones$_2$ camped$_3$ on Briar Creek$_1$.
3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ (said), —Oh$_3$. 4. let's$_2$ go to pick$_4$
pecans$_3$ on to the creek$_1$.— 5. Those ones$_1$ went$_3$ on to the
creek$_2$. 6. These ones$_1$ cut down$_5$ some of$_4$ these$_2$ pecans$_3$,
also$_6$ climbing$_8$ on it$_7$ [the tree], knocked$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them] down$_{10}$.
7. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$, —I$_3$ will climb up$_4$,— (and) went up$_8$
on one$_7$. 8. Climbing$_2$ on there$_1$, that$_3$ tree$_4$ limb$_5$ (is)
breaking$_6$, (she) is coming-falling$_7$, again$_8$ (she) got hung$_{12}$
on one$_9$ (of) its$_{10}$ limb /on$_{11}$/. 9. From there$_1$, from$_3$ her$_2$
perch$_3$ (she) swung back and forth$_4$. 10. Those$_1$ her$_2$

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uhka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ tsapʌhetu?iha$_6$ mʌninu$_7$. 11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ 539
tenahpʌ?$_2$ tʌhʌyakarʌrʌ$_3$, uba?a$_4$ wʌnʌhtsi$_5$, u$_6$ tsapʌhé-
nu$_7$. 12. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ poma-
nu$_4$. 13. waahkusi?okwe?kʌhi$_1$ uma$_2$ tʌmʌʌnu$_3$. tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_4$ puhíhwituanu$_5$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sooko$_2$ narʌhka-
?rʌmʌʌnu$_3$. 15. wihnu$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌku$_3$ pitusʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
16. setʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ kohtoohtsi$_3$. tʌkʌhmaniiyu$_4$.
17. si?ahrukʌse?$_1$ waikinʌ$_2$ nanakwʌhʌnʌh$_3$ pʌpa?a$_4$ yʌkwi-
hkana$_5$ nuhkikitʌ$_6$. marʌʌkʌ$_7$ wʌnʌnu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$, --kwʌʌpʌ$_3$. weehtsi$_4$. tahi$_5$ tʌkʌhmanikʌ$_6$. --
me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$
tʌkʌhtʌmʌʌpʌha$_5$ yaahtsi$_6$. urʌʌ$_7$ kohtoopʌkahtu$_8$ u$_9$
mʌʌhkwitubinikwʌsʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ wihínu$_{12}$. 20. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$
wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ u$_3$ su?uyaa?inu$_4$. 21. --soo$_1$ ma?$_2$ hibihka-
tʌ$_3$. -- me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 22. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$,
--hipe?se?$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?$_5$ senihku$_6$ tʌkʌhmani?eeyu$_7$? --
23. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, --pia$_3$ rʌa$_4$ noo$_5$ u$_6$
makwinumʌtsi$_7$. -- me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.

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friends$_3$ they$_5$ will take down$_6$ that one$_4$ (but they) couldn't$_7$. 539
11. One$_1$ man$_2$ is on horseback$_3$, standing$_5$ on it$_4$ took$_7$ her$_6$ 522
down$_7$. 12. These$_1$ women$_2$ picked$_4$ a lot$_3$. 13. In Wichita
Falls$_1$ (they) traded$_3$ for it$_2$, got$_5$ much$_4$ money$_5$. 14. Those
ones$_1$ bought$_3$ lots of$_2$ groceries$_3$. 15. Then$_1$ that$_2$ mornings$_3$
(they) moved$_5$ back$_4$. 16. Those various$_1$ women$_2$, making a
fire$_3$, were cooking$_4$. 17. Along there$_1$ a wagon$_2$, (with) a
married couple$_3$ sittings$_5$ on it$_4$ is coming-running$_6$, (and)
stopped$_8$ among them$_7$. 18. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ her$_8$.
--Wife$_3$! Getting off$_4$, cook for$_6$ us$_5$.-- 19. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$
taking$_6$ their$_4$ bought food$_5$ into$_8$ their$_7$ fire$_8$ threw$_{12}$ /it$_{11}$/
that$_9$ still wrapped package$_{10}$. 20. Those$_1$ women$_2$ laughed
at$_4$ her$_3$. 21. --Lots$_1$ she$_2$ has drunk$_3$,-- said to$_{4\ 6}$ her$_5$.
22. That$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), --Since when$_4$ (does) woman$_5$
cook$_7$ in this way$_6$?-- 23. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$,
--Must$_3$ /be/ because$_{3\ 4}$ /of/ having made$_7$ her$_6$ dizzy$_7$.--

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Oklahoma

XVI

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ wahahtʌh$_3$ nʌmʌrenanʌh$_4$ narʌmʌʌ-
?kʌhu$_5$ puhîhwʌhimami?aayu$_6$. 2. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$
kahnikatʌhʌwaka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$,
—hina$_3$ mʌkwʌ$_4$?— me$_5$ uhri$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$,
—mʌhʌwaka$_2$ nʌkwʌ$_3$ rabetʌhkaki?$_4$,— mokʌ$_5$. 5. sitʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 6. tʌkʌtsi$_1$, oyetʌ$_2$ narʌmʌʌ?kʌhu$_3$ mi-
?aayu$_4$. 7. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌwaka$_2$ mahri$_3$ tʌhka?inʌkwʌ$_4$
mahrʌmunakwʌ$_5$ nuraami?a$_6$. 8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?matu$_2$
weenu$_3$. 9. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nanakwʌhʌnʌkwʌ$_2$ paatʌbinaa$_3$
tobo?inu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ pukuhnihi$_6$ hibikʌtu?i$_7$. 10. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$
tenanʌkwʌ$_2$ mahrʌbinakwʌ$_3$ ukʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
uhrʌmatʌ$_2$ pʌhi$_3$ tsahanitʌ$_4$ tʌpanabetu$_5$ pʌhʌ$_6$ pukuhnih$_7$
tsahkʌ́anu$_8$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ natsa?ani?$_3$ pʌnʌsu?a$_4$
tʌpanaba?a$_5$ to?ikwa$_6$. 13. suni$_1$ naahtsi$_2$, sitʌhi$_3$ tena-
nih$_4$ paakʌhu$_5$ to?kwʌrianu$_6$. 14. mahrʌ$_1$ natsa?ani?$_2$
muhpa?araihtu$_3$ wʌhtʌ́kwanu$_4$, mahri$_5$ mana?koroominu$_6$.

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539 522 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, two$_3$ Indian man$_4$ went$_5$ to town$_6$
to get money$_7$. 2. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_2$ at a couple's
home$_3$. 3. That$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_3$ them$_4$. —What$_3$ you two$_4$
(want)?— 4. These two$_1$ said$_3$, —To you$_2$ we$_3$ came to eat
supper$_4$.— 5. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 6. (After) eating$_1$, all$_2$
were going$_4$ to town$_3$. 7. These two$_1$, they$_3$ [who] ate$_4$,
with them$_2$ went moving$_4$ in front of them$_5$. 8. These ones$_1$
went down$_3$ on to the creek$_2$. 9. These two$_1$, the man and
wife$_2$, stopped$_4$ in the middle of the water$_3$, (and) will wa-
ter$_7$ their$_5$ horses$_6$. 10. These two$_1$ men$_2$ went down$_3$ to it$_4$
behind them$_3$. 11. This$_1$ one of them$_2$ [who] is driving for$_3$
them$_3$, made$_3$ their$_4$ horses$_7$ go up$_5$ on to the bank$_6$.
12. This$_1$ their$_2$ buggy$_3$ it also$_4$ went up$_4$ on the bank$_5$.
13. That way$_1$ happening$_2$, these two$_3$ men$_4$ were spilled out$_4$
in the water$_5$. 14. Their$_1$ buggy$_2$ fell$_4$ upside down$_3$, and

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15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌhi$_2$ tsahanitʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ naramuhki$_5$ ke$_6$ bʌa?i̲$_7$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ̲$_4$, su?ahru$_5$ kuro?inu̲$_6$. 17. sitʌ̲su?akʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pukuhnʌruhketʌ̲$_5$, pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ̲$_6$, su?ahru$_7$ kuro?inu̲$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$, —yee$_4$. nʌnʌmani̲tʌhtsʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ tʌtsʌ̲haniiku̲$_7$. -- mekʌ$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 19. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ mahrʌwakatu$_3$ tunetsʌ̲tsi$_4$, mahrʌ$_5$ natsa?ani?a$_6$ tsahkárʌkʌnu̲$_7$. 20. mahrʌ$_1$ tsowekwa?kʌ̲se?$_2$ okwenu̲kwa̲$_3$. 21. sitʌkwʌ̲$_1$ suni?yutʌ̲sʌ$_2$ puhihwikahnikʌ$_3$ wekwʌ̲húpiitʌ̲$_4$. 22. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$, —mʌkwʌ̲kia$_3$ hakani$_4$ nahánu̲$_5$?— me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu̲$_8$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ uhrʌmatʌ$_3$, --paakʌ̲hutsa?$_4$ iitʌ$_5$ nʌhi$_6$ tsayuma?i̲$_7$.-- mekʌ$_8$. 24. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$ uhri$_3$ puhihwimakanu̲$_4$. 25. --meeku$_1$ bʌkwʌ̲$_2$, haitsi̲nʌkwʌ̲$_3$, namʌ̲soapʌ̲rʌmʌʌkwa$_4$ pʌkwʌ̲$_5$, -- me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu̲$_8$. 26. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ nʌʌmʌ$_3$, —tsaakumasʌ$_4$ nʌʌ$_5$ kwasú?u̲tʌmʌʌnu̲$_6$, puhihwiparaiboo?atsa?$_7$ haitsi̲katʌ$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 27. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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covered$_6$ them$_5$ up$_6$. 15. This one$_1$ [who] is driving for$_3$ them$_2$, (did) not$_4$ let go of$_7$ their$_4$ reins$_5$. 16. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ began making bubbles$_4$, bobbed up$_4$ along there$_5$. 17. This one also$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ gets out from under$_5$ their$_4$ horses$_5$ begins making bubbles$_6$, bobbed up$_6$ along there$_7$. 18. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$, —Oh$_4$! Surely bad$_5$ when$_7$ you$_6$ drive$_7$.-- 19. This$_1$ man$_2$ running$_4$ towards them$_3$, set up$_7$ their$_5$ buggy$_6$. 20. Their$_1$ hats$_2$ floated off$_3$. 21. These two$_1$ are still that way$_2$ (when they) arrived and entered$_4$ in (the) bank$_3$. 22. This$_1$ banker$_2$ said to$_{4\ 8}$ them$_7$, --What$_4$ happened$_5$ you two$_3$?— 23. This$_1$ one$_2$ of them$_3$ said$_8$, --In the water$_4$ this one$_5$ made$_7$ us$_6$ fall$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ banker$_2$ gave money to$_4$ them$_3$. 25. —Now$_1$ you two$_2$ friends$_3$, /you two$_5$/ go to buy clothes$_4$,— (he) said to$_{6\ 8}$ them$_7$. 26. That$_1$ one$_2$ Indian$_3$ said$_9$, --I$_5$ did$_4$ buy$_4$ (a) good$_4$ suit$_6$, (I) have$_8$ (a) banker$_7$ friend$_8$.— 27. That is all$_1$.

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Oklahoma

XVII

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌi$_3$ puhíhwʌ̲himaru?i̲ka$_4$, nʌmʌna-
rʌmʌʌ?nʌʌkʌma?kʌ̲$_5$ nobitʌnu̲$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌ̲-
ku$_3$ sʌ?sʌmʌhku$_4$ buhíhwʌ̲himanu̲$_5$. 3. u$_1$ yʌihkakʌ̲se?$_2$
marʌʌ$_3$ nanahtenanʌʌ$_4$ sookʌ̲nikʌ̲hu$_5$ hibimi?anu̲$_6$. 4. sitʌ-
kʌ̲se?$_1$ tukaninu̲$_2$, tsaa$_3$ mʌahtabeba?i̲$_4$. 5. yʌihtʌkʌ̲tsi$_1$,
pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌ̲$_3$ marii$_4$ yʌkwihkaku$_5$, marʌʌ$_6$ kʌma?kʌ̲rʌ$_7$
pibianiwʌnʌʌyu̲$_8$, rʌaʌ$_9$ pibiawaa?akiiyu̲$_{10}$. 6. marʌʌ$_1$
na?renahpʌ?kʌ̲se?$_2$, —yee$_3$. urii$_4$ bunitu?i̲$_5$ nʌ?$_6$,-- mekʌ$_7$
marii$_8$ bunihtsi$_9$, ikahki̲$_{10}$. 7. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$,
—usʌ$_4$ hakarʌ$_5$ hibihka$_6$?-- mekʌ$_7$. 8. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$
na?renahpʌ?$_3$, --namaka?mukit̲sika$_4$ taa$_5$ tʌrʌc?tii$_6$ betsʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, when$_4$ they$_3$ will receive money$_4$. Indians$_2$
522 camped$_6$ beside Indian stores$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$
morning$_3$ received money$_5$ one hundred apiece$_4$. 3. When$_2$
it$_1$ was night$_2$, their$_3$ menfolk$_4$ went$_6$ to town$_5$ to drink$_6$.
4. It$_1$ got dark$_2$, (but it) had$_4$ (was) good$_3$ moonlight$_4$.
5. Eating supper$_1$, as$_5$ they$_4$ are sitting$_5$ in$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$,
(there) are beside$_7$ them$_6$ many (who) are talking loudly$_8$,
also$_9$ many are shouting loudly$_{10}$. 6. Their$_1$ man relative$_2$
said$_7$, --Oh$_3$! I$_6$ will look at$_5$ them$_4$,-- looking at$_9$ them$_8$,
came in$_{10}$. 7. /This$_1$/ his$_3$ wife$_2$ said$_7$, --Who is$_5$ that$_4$,
(who) is drinking$_6$?-- 8. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), --Get-
ting ready$_4$, our$_5$ children$_6$ taking along$_7$, to those ones$_8$ to

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Comanche Texts

htsi$_{7}$, orʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{8}$ motsotaiboo?ʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{9}$ nuraa$_{10}$. — 9. marii$_{1}$ 539
kʌakwʌ̲ka$_{2}$, sitʌʌ$_{3}$ hibipʌ̲nʌʌ$_{4}$ pibiatsuhniniwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{5}$, tʌasʌ$_{6}$
ta?kwʌ̲bainu̲$_{7}$. 10. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ wa?ihpʌ?$_{2}$ sʌmʌ?$_{3}$ rʌasʌ$_{4}$
pʌwa?i̲ti$_{5}$ rʌrʌe?tʌkati$_{6}$ nimainu̲$_{7}$. 11. —kima$_{1}$. 12. orʌʌ-
kʌ̲hu$_{1}$ tanʌ$_{2}$ raiboo?ʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{3}$ nuraa$_{4}$. — mekʌ$_{5}$. 13. sitʌ-
kwʌ̲kʌse?$_{1}$ nahmetʌ̲$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ ohnáa?rʌrʌe?tihi$_{4}$ habikonokoko$_{5}$
tohímʌ̲ka$_{6}$. 14. si?anetʌ̲kʌse?$_{1}$ sitʌʌ$_{2}$ urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{3}$ nuraanu̲$_{4}$,
marʌʌ$_{5}$ nʌʌhtʌmakʌ̲$_{6}$ wekwinu̲$_{7}$. 15. si?anakʌ̲se?$_{1}$ marʌʌ$_{2}$
huumasʌʌapʌ̲$_{3}$ ʌkʌ̲sʌ$_{4}$ soohpuhikatʌ$_{5}$ pʌtuhkati$_{6}$ tuhʌʌkia-
hkaku$_{7}$, wʌnʌʌyu̲$_{8}$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ mahrʌmatʌ$_{2}$, —iki$_{3}$
tanʌ$_{4}$ ituhka$_{5}$ piahuuhpa?a$_{6}$ yʌkwi$_{7}$. — mekʌ$_{8}$. 17. sitʌʌ-
kʌ̲se?$_{1}$ wohyaku$_{2}$ maba?a$_{3}$ yʌkwinu̲$_{4}$. 18. marii$_{1}$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌ̲se?$_{2}$ sokʌ̲hʌ$_{3}$ marʌʌ$_{4}$ kahnikʌ̲$_{5}$ pibianiwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{6}$,
rʌasʌ$_{7}$ na?a̲ruuyu̲$_{8}$. 19. pʌi$_{1}$ yʌkwihkakukʌ̲se?$_{2}$ sʌmʌ?$_{3}$
mahrʌmatʌna$_{4}$ tua?kʌ̲se?$_{5}$, —piah$_{6}$. hipa?a$_{7}$ tanʌ$_{8}$ yʌkwihka$_{9}$? —
mekʌ$_{10}$. 20. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ ma$_{2}$ pia?$_{3}$, —yuukar$_{4}$. keta?$_{5}$
rekwaarʌ̲$_{6}$. — 21. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{2}$, —piah$_{3}$. ʌ$_{4}$
mo?e$_{5}$ nʌ$_{6}$ uhtu$_{7}$. — mekʌ$_{8}$. 22. ma$_{1}$ mo?e$_{2}$ yaahuniihtsi$_{3}$,

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those of 'bearded white man$_{9}$' (you) run$_{10}$.— 9. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ 539
went to go out$_{2}$, these$_{3}$ drunks$_{4}$ were talking very mean$_{5}$ also$_{6}$ 522
were shooting$_{7}$. 10. This$_{1}$ woman$_{2}$ called$_{7}$ one$_{3}$ (who) also$_{4}$
like her$_{5}$ has children$_{6}$. 11. —Come$_{1}$! 12. To those ones$_{1}$ to
(the) white people$_{3}$ let's$_{2}$ run$_{4}$.— (she) said$_{5}$. 13. These two$_{1}$
are together$_{2}$, are carrying in (their) arms$_{4}$ their$_{3}$ little babies$_{4}$ in night cradles$_{5}$. 14. At this place$_{1}$ these$_{2}$ ran$_{4}$ to them$_{3}$, entered$_{7}$ in$_{6}$ their$_{5}$ fence$_{6}$. 15. Here$_{1}$ their$_{2}$ grown tree$_{3}$ still$_{4}$ has many leaves$_{5}$ (and) was standing$_{8}$ (being) darkly shaded$_{7}$ around under it$_{6}$. 16. This$_{1}$ /is/ one of them$_{2}$ said$_{3}$. —Let's$_{4}$ sit$_{7}$ here$_{5}$ under this$_{6}$ on (this) big log$_{6}$. — 17. These$_{1}$ in a row$_{2}$ sat$_{4}$ on it$_{3}$. 18. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ are sitting$_{2}$, there$_{3}$ at$_{5}$ their$_{4}$ camp$_{5}$ (there) was loud talking$_{6}$ and$_{7}$ fighting$_{8}$. 19. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ are sitting$_{2}$, one$_{3}$ of them$_{4}$ (her) son$_{5}$ said$_{10}$, —Mother$_{6}$. On what$_{7}$ are$_{9}$ we$_{8}$ sitting$_{9}$?— 20. This$_{1}$ his$_{2}$ mother$_{3}$ (said), —Sit still$_{4}$. Don't$_{5}$ talk$_{6}$!— 21. This$_{1}$ little boy$_{2}$ said$_{3}$, —Mother$_{3}$! Give$_{7}$ me$_{6}$ your$_{4}$ hands$_{5}$!— 22. Fetching$_{3}$

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Oklahoma

Humor in Ridicule

529 —ihka$_4$ masukaa$_5$. — mekʌ$_6$. 23 sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —hipa?atsa$_4$ ranʌse?$_5$ yʌkwikʌhutu?i$_6$? piahuuhpa?a$_7$ tanʌ$_8$ yʌkwihkatʌʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$ ke$_3$ narahkuparʌ$_4$, —piah$_5$. itʌtsa?$_6$ taa$_7$ yʌkwihkana$_8$ yʌyʌmukʌhʌniitʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —niyukarʌ$_4$. — me$_5$ ma$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 26 sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌaaʌ$_2$, —piah$_3$. ʌ$_4$ mo?e$_5$ nʌ$_6$ uhtu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ mo?e$_3$ ma$_4$ mo?okʌ$_5$ mʌʌnu$_6$. 28. ma$_1$ mo?ekʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, —ihka$_5$ masukaa$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ ma$_4$ masukaahtsi$_5$, ma$_6$ kwasima$_7$ tsaainu$_8$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nanihkupʌkatʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ bʌ$_4$ tʌi?a$_5$, —kwi?tanáai?$_6$. ʌ$_7$ manaa?nakwʌhi$_8$ masukʌa$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ masúkaanu$_3$, ma$_4$ nakima$_5$ tsaainu$_6$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ ma$_3$ nakima$_4$ tsaaihtsi$_5$, yahnénu$_6$. 33. yahnetʌ$_1$, yahnetʌ$_2$, pʌ$_3$ tʌeti$_4$ sokoko$_5$ mahbénu$_6$. 34. sitʌsu?akʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌi?$_3$ nanihkupʌkatʌ$_4$, yʌtsʌnu$_5$. 35. sʌmʌ?oyetʌ$_1$ mariia$_2$ yorihka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ motsotaiboo?a$_5$ pitsipʌbimoróo?$_6$ yʌtsʌhtsi$_7$, marʌʌ?a-

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529 her$_1$ hand$_2$, (he) said$_4$. —Feel$_5$ this$_6$!— 23. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$
522 said$_{10}$. —On what should$_4$ we$_5$ be sitting$_6$? We$_8$ are sitting$_9$ on a big log$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ little boy$_2$ (does) not$_3$ give up$_4$. said$_{10}$. —Mothers$_5$! This$_6$ our$_7$ seat$_8$ is moving much$_9$.— 25. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_5$ him$_6$. —Sit still and keep quiet$_4$!— 26. This one$_1$ again$_2$ said$_3$. —Mother$_3$! Give$_7$ me$_6$ your$_4$ hand$_5$!— 27. This one$_1$ placed$_6$ her$_2$ hand$_3$ in$_5$ his$_4$ hand$_5$. 28. This one$_3$, taking$_6$ her$_1$ hand$_2$, said$_7$. —Feel$_4$ this$_5$!— 29. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ feelings$_5$ it$_4$, took hold$_8$ on$_7$ its$_6$ tail$_7$. 30. This one$_1$ is laughing herself to death$_2$, said to$_{10}$ that one$_3$ her$_4$ friend$_5$. —kwi?tanáa?i$_6$, [her name] Feel$_9$ on$_8$ your$_7$ further side$_8$!— 31. This one$_1$ felt$_3$ it$_2$, took hold$_6$ on$_5$ its$_4$ ear$_5$. 32. This$_1$ woman$_2$ taking hold$_5$ on$_4$ its$_3$ ear$_4$, laughed$_6$. 33. (She) is laughing$_1$, is laughing$_2$, (she) dropped$_4$ her$_3$ little one$_4$ to the ground$_5$. 34. This one also$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ is laughing herself to death$_4$, (she) got up$_5$. 35. As$_3$ all of them$_1$ /they$_2$/ got up$_3$, this$_4$ bearded white man's$_5$ milk

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Oklahoma

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tahpu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 36. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, 539
—piahuuhpa?a$_3$ takwʌ$_4$ ta$_5$ yʌkwihkana$_6$ suatʌ$_7$, — mekʌ$_8$.
37. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhkutʌ$_3$ ta$_4$ rʌsu?naahka$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$
pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 38. subetʌ$_1$.

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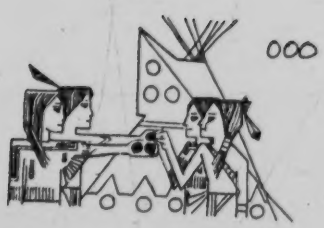
cow$_6$ getting up$_7$, went$_9$ away from them$_8$. 36. These two$_1$ 539
women$_2$ said$_8$. --On a big log$_3$ we$_4$ thought$_7$ our$_5$ seat$_6$ (was).— 522
37. These$_1$ then$_2$ from there$_3$ when$_5$ it$_4$ was quiet$_5$, went$_9$ back$_6$
to$_8$ their$_7$ house$_8$. 38. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



MANNERS AND MORALS

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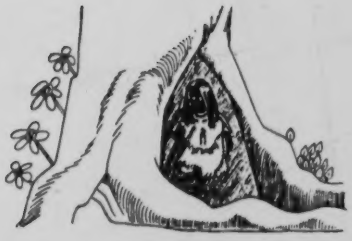
12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NC6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



XVIII

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ hunu?bihta$_5$ kʌma?kʌ$_6$ kahníba?i$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌbehkanu$_2$, pimoróo?a$_3$. 3. su?anakʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ una?ru$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ kahníba?i$_7$. 4. marʌʌ$_1$ pia?kʌse?$_2$ sʌmʌ?ma?ai$_3$ tʌtaatʌma?ai$_4$ pʌ$_5$ petʌ?ma?ai$_6$ urʌʌkʌhu$_7$ kahnímí?anu$_8$. 5. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ omomʌsʌ$_5$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ mahri$_3$ makanu$_4$. 7. pʌi$_1$ tʌkʌkakʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ tʌtaatʌ$_4$ ma$_5$ petʌ?$_6$ urʌʌ$_7$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌma?ai$_8$ nohímí?anu$_9$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ urʌʌma?ai$_4$ pʌnʌ$_5$ wanarohpetibʌni$_6$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —kima$_4$ petʌ$_5$. miaru?i$_6$ takwʌ$_7$. — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌehpʌ?rʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a camp$_7$ beside$_6$ (a) creek$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ killed$_2$ a cow$_3$. 3. There$_1$ along (the) other side of$_2$ them$_3$ some$_4$ Indians$_5$ also$_6$ had a camp$_7$. 4. Their$_1$ mother$_2$ with one$_3$ little one /with$_4$/ her$_5$ daughter /with$_6$/ went to visit$_8$ /to/ them$_7$. 5. These two$_1$ arrived$_2$ to them$_3$ on$_5$ their$_4$ feet$_5$ (walking). 6. These ones$_1$ fed$_4$ those two$_3$ much$_2$. 7. When$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, this$_3$ little one$_4$ her$_5$ daughter$_6$ went to play$_9$ with$_8$ their$_7$ children$_8$. 8. This$_1$ her$_2$ mother$_3$ played cards much$_4$ with them$_4$ herself$_5$. 9. This$_1$ her$_2$ mother$_3$ said$_8$ $_9$. —Come$_4$ daughter$_5$. We$_7$ will go$_4$.— 10. This$_1$ child$_2$ was playing$_8$ with (the) daugh-

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

muhyʌkʌ̲$_5$ kahnikatʌʌ$_6$ petʌ?ma?ai$_7$ nohîyu̲$_8$. 11. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ 539
tʌehpʌ?rʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ pia?a$_4$ pʌmʌ$_5$ nimaihkana$_6$ nakanu̲$_7$.
12. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ tʌrʌehpʌ?rʌkwʌ̲$_2$ nanisuyaketi$_3$ nohitʌeti$_4$
nohîhpʌni̲$_5$. 13. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ pia?a$_3$ nimaihkana$_4$ pʌ$_5$
ʌhʌruhkaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ pʌhʌ$_8$ nohitʌeti$_9$ yaahtsi$_{10}$, tunehtʌ-
nu̲$_{11}$, pʌ$_{12}$ pia?waka$_{13}$ bitʌnu̲$_{14}$. 14. sitʌkwʌ̲$_2$ suhkut̲ʌ̲$_2$
pʌʌ$_3$ kahnik̲ʌhu$_4$ suk̲ʌhu$_5$ una?rʌ̲ru$_6$ pitu̲sʌ$_7$ mi?anu̲$_8$
15. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ pia?binakwʌ̲$_3$ mi?ano?o$_4$. 16. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$
ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —namʌ̲sohi$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_6$. 17. sitʌkwʌ̲$_1$
suku̲$_2$ hunu?ma$_3$ pitʌnu̲$_4$. 18. sitʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ nap̲ʌha$_5$
tsahkwe?yu?itsi$_6$, sihka$_7$ pʌ$_8$ petʌ?a$_9$ pʌ$_{10}$ kwahik̲ʌku$_{11}$
noomaninu̲$_{12}$. 19. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —namʌ̲sohitʌ$_4$
takwʌ̲$_5$. tukanihumi?arʌ$_6$ ma?$_7$.— me$_8$ yʌkwihtsi$_9$, umuna-
kwʌ̲$_{10}$ mi?aayu̲$_{11}$. 20. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ petʌ?$_3$ suhka$_4$
nohitʌeti$_5$ pʌ$_6$ yaap̲ʌha$_7$ piahuuhpihta$_8$ kuwo?nep̲ʌha$_9$ pu?e$_{10}$
kima?k̲ʌ$_{11}$ wʌnʌku$_{12}$, sihka$_{13}$ nohitʌeti$_{14}$ siki̲$_{15}$ ma$_{16}$
tʌha?wokak̲ʌ$_{17}$ tsahkárʌkʌnu̲$_{18}$. 21. suku̲$_1$ ma$_2$ bʌahtsi$_3$,
wihnu$_4$ mi?anu̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ kahnik̲ʌhu$_7$ uhka$_8$ pʌ$_9$ yaahtsi$_{10}$,

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'ter$_7$ (of the ones) camping$_6$ there$_5$ to (the) east$_5$ of them$_4$.
11. This$_1$ child$_2$ the ones$_3$ her$_3$ mother$_4$ called$_6$, heard$_7$.
12. These two$_1$ children$_2$ were playing much with$_5$ (a) pretty$_3$
little doll$_4$. 13. This one$_1$, the one called by$_4$ her$_2$ mother$_3$,
taking$_{10}$ under$_6$ her$_5$ blanket$_6$ this$_7$ their$_8$ little doll$_9$ ran$_{11}$,
(and) arrived$_{14}$ to$_{13}$ her$_{12}$ mother$_{13}$. 14. These two from there$_2$
went$_8$ back$_7$ there$_5$ on to the other side of it$_6$ [creek] to$_4$
their$_3$ camp$_4$. 15. This one$_1$ is traveling$_4$ behind$_3$ her$_2$ mother$_3$
said$_5$ $_6$, --Hurry up$_4$.— 17. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_2$ on
(the) creek$_3$. 18. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ mother$_3$ taking off$_6$ her$_4$ shoes$_5$,
carried across$_{12}$ /this$_7$/ her$_8$ daughter$_9$ on$_{11}$ her$_{10}$ back$_{11}$.
19. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ mother$_3$ was going$_{11}$ ahead of her$_{10}$ saying$_8$ $_9$.
—We$_5$ are hurrying$_4$. It$_7$ is about to get dark$_4$.— 20. As$_{12}$
big tree$_8$ burned hollow$_9$ stood$_{12}$ beside$_{11}$ (the) trail$_{10}$. /this$_1$/
her$_2$ daughter$_3$ set /it/ up$_{18}$ this$_{13}$ little doll$_{14}$ /that$_4$ little
doll$_5$/ that$_7$ she$_6$ took$_7$ here$_{15}$ in$_{17}$ its$_{16}$ hollow$_{17}$. 21. Leaving$_3$
it$_2$ there$_1$ then$_4$ (she) went$_5$; (of) that$_2$ what$_{12}$ she$_{11}$ will go$_{12}$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Manner and Morals

539 pʌ$_{11}$ miaruʔiha$_{12}$ rʌʔʌyana$_{13}$. pʌ$_{14}$ ahpʌʔa$_{15}$ pʌ$_{16}$ tʌrʌhka-ruʔiha$_{17}$ ke$_{18}$ suwaaiku$_{19}$. 22. pʌmʌ$_{1}$ u$_{2}$ wʌhpaʔituʔiha$_{3}$ tʌʔʌyatʌ$_{4}$. surʌ$_{5}$ suhka$_{6}$ nohitʌeti$_{7}$ suku$_{8}$ nah$_{9}$ bʌanu$_{10}$. 23. subetʌ$_{1}$.

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taking$_{10}$ (with) her$_{9}$ to$_{7}$ their$_{6}$ house$_{7}$ is afraid$_{13}$, as$_{19}$ her$_{14}$ father$_{15}$ (does) not$_{18}$ want$_{19}$ her$_{16}$ to steal$_{17}$. 22. Being afraid$_{4}$ that$_{3}$ he$_{2}$ will whip$_{3}$ her$_{1}$, that one$_{5}$ (girl) just$_{9}$ left$_{10}$ that$_{6}$ little doll$_{7}$ there$_{8}$. 23. That is all$_{1}$.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

XIX

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ u$_4$ toyakʌma?kʌ$_5$ pʌbʌe-
htʌʌ$_6$ kahníba?i$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nah$_2$ kehena$_3$ rʌ?ʌyatʌ$_4$,
yuukahníba?i$_5$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ piabaraiboo?kʌse?$_2$, —tuibihtsi-
?anʌʌ$_3$. 4. toyamatuka$_1$ mi?atsi$_2$, u?ahri$_3$ ta?siwóo?a$_4$
mʌʌ$_5$ tʌbitsi$_6$ yuhuwehki?ha$_7$ tai$_8$ tʌbehkakʌ$_9$. 5. tai$_1$
wokwetʌhkaru?ika$_2$. — 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_2$
si?anetʌ$_3$ tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_4$, toyabetu$_5$ nuraanu$_6$ 7. sehka$_1$
ta?siwóo?a$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ sonitoohkaku$_4$, marʌʌkʌhu$_5$
kʌahupiitʌ$_6$. 8. aʌmʌ?a$_1$ ta?siwóo?a$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoari$_3$
yuhukati$_4$ sitʌʌ$_5$ si?ahru$_6$ tʌbehkanu$_7$, ma$_8$ rʌhanitsi$_9$,
pʌʌ$_{10}$ tʌnoowapiha$_{11}$ tʌnookʌtsi$_{12}$, pʌʌ$_{13}$ kahnikʌhu$_{14}$
mi?anu$_{15}$. 9. marii$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ nanawa?ihpʌ-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ beside$_5$ that$_4$ mountain$_8$ old time Indians$_6$ had a camp$_7$. 2. Those ones$_1$, afraid of$_4$ nothing$_{2\,3}$, camped unconcerned$_5$. 3. Their$_1$ big chief$_2$ (said), —Young men$_3$. 4. Going$_2$ along there$_3$ on to the mountain$_1$, kill for$_9$ us$_8$ (a) buffalo$_4$, what$_7$ you$_5$ really$_6$ find (is) fat$_7$. 5. We$_1$ will eat peyote$_2$.— 6. These$_1$ young men$_2$ at this place$_3$ going out on horse back$_4$, ran$_6$ towards the mountains$_5$. 7. As$_4$ those various$_1$ buffalo$_2$ are grazing$_4$ much$_3$, (they) went up and arrived$_4$ to them$_5$. 8. These ones$_5$ along there$_6$ (having) killed$_7$ one$_1$ buffalo$_2$ having$_4$ much$_3$ fat$_4$, butchering$_9$ it$_8$, (and) loading$_{13}$ their$_{10}$ pack animals$_{11}$, (they) went$_{15}$ to$_{14}$ their$_{13}$ camp$_{14}$. 9. When$_3$ they$_1$ arrived$_3$, their$_3$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Comanche Texts

ʔanʌʌ$_4$ sihka$_5$ tʌhkapʌ̲ha$_6$ tsaaku$_7$ makáʔmukinu̲$_8$. 10. si- 539
tʌʌkʌ̲se$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ wokwekahni$_3$ karʌkʌnu̲$_4$. 11. sitʌkʌ̲se$_1$
·marʌʌ$_2$ paraiboo$_3$, —meekuka$_4$ tuibihtsiʔanʌʌ$_5$. 12. sʌmʌ-
namakaʔmukiika. 13. tai$_1$ wekwituʔi̲ka̲$_2$. — 14. setʌʌkʌ̲se$_1$
pʌʌ$_2$ pikanamʌ̲soapʌ̲ha$_3$ sʌmʌʔoyetʌ̲$_4$ namʌ̲sóanu̲$_5$. 15. tʌ-
bitsi$_1$ tsaakʌ̲se$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ nabuniiyu̲$_4$. 16. sʌmʌ$_1$ ruibi-
htsiʔ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ wokwekahnikʌ̲hu$_4$ miʔa̲tsi$_5$, pʌi$_6$ kohtóokʌnu̲$_7$.
17. sitʌkʌ̲se$_1$ wihnu$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ paraiboo$_4$, —kimaka$_5$-
meeku$_6$. tai$_7$ wekwituʔi̲ka̲$_8$. — me$_9$ urii$_{10}$ niikwiiyu̲$_{11}$.
18. sitʌʌkʌ̲-e$_1$ sʌmʌʔoyetʌ̲$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ puhanamakaʔmukipʌ̲ha$_4$
himahtsi$_5$, wekwinu̲$_6$. 19. surʌʌkʌ̲se$_1$ wihnu$_2$ urʌʌ$_3$
wobiwihtua$_4$ pikʌ̲rʌ́ʌki̲$_5$. 20. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌnikwʌmiʔa̲$_3$.
21. suni$_1$ marii$_2$ nayʌkwi̲hʌnikukʌ̲se$_3$ soʔana$_4$ marʌʌ$_5$
kwihneʔnakwʌ̲$_6$ u$_7$ royakarʌku$_8$. suʔana$_9$ umaʔ$_{10}$ sʌmʌʔ$_{11}$
ruibihtsiʔ$_{12}$ pʌ$_{13}$ notsaʔkaʔmaʔai$_{14}$ paʔanai$_{15}$ urʌʌ$_{16}$ kahni$_{17}$
piaʔekakuhtabéahkaku$_{18}$, urii$_{19}$ buninu̲$_{20}$. 22. sitʌkʌ̲se$_1$
sihka$_2$ b̲ʌ$_3$ naʔwaʔihpʌʔa$_4$, --yee$_5$. urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_6$ nʌʔ$_7$

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women folk$_4$ prepared$_8$ this$_3$ meat$_6$ good$_7$. 10. These ones$_1$ set up$_4$ their$_2$ peyote teepee$_3$. 11. /This$_1$/ their$_2$ chief$_3$ (said) --Now$_4$ young men$_5$. 12. Everyone get himself ready$_1$. 13. We$_1$ will go in$_2$.-- 14. Those various ones$_1$, everyone$_4$ (of them) dressed in$_5$ their$_2$ buckskin clothes$_3$. 15. These ones$_3$ were looking$_4$ very$_1$ good$_2$. 16. One$_1$ young man$_2$, going$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ peyote teepee$_4$, made a fire for$_7$ them$_6$. 17. /This$_1$/ then$_2$ their$_3$ chief$_4$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ them$_{10}$. —Come$_5$ now$_6$. We$_7$ will go in$_8$.-- 18. These ones$_1$, /everyone$_2$/ getting$_5$ their$_3$ prepared medicine outfits$_4$, went in$_6$. 19. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ began to beat$_5$ their$_3$ drum$_4$. 20. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ go on singing$_3$. 21. As$_3$ they$_2$ were continuing$_3$ that way$_1$, over there somewhere$_4$, as$_8$ [where] that$_7$ mountain sits$_8$ north of$_6$ them$_5$, there$_9$ on it$_{10}$ one$_{11}$ young man$_{12}$ with$_{14}$ his$_{13}$ sweetheart$_{14}$ saw$_{20}$ them$_{19}$ from above$_{15}$, as$_{18}$ their$_{16}$ teepee$_{17}$ shows big red firelight$_{18}$. 22. This one$_1$ said$_{18\ 11}$ (to) this$_2$ /his$_3$/ woman$_4$, --Oh$_5$. I$_7$ want$_9$ to go$_8$ to them$_4$.—

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539 mi?apʌ̲ha$_8$ suwaaitʌ̲$_9$.— me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{11}$. 23. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —haa$_3$. nah$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ sikí$_6$ urʌʌk̲ʌhu$_7$ ʌ$_8$ mi-?a̲ka$_9$, karʌru?i̲$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 24. —noo$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ bʌetsʌ̲ʌku$_3$ nʌ$_4$ rʌhkaru?i̲ha$_5$ himahtsi$_6$, kimanu̲$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwii-yu̲$_{10}$. 25. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ̲$_2$ marʌʌk̲ʌhu$_3$ toyametʌ̲$_4$ weehtsi$_5$, pʌ$_6$ pukuba?a$_7$ to?i̲tsi$_8$. urʌʌk̲ʌhu$_9$ mi?anu̲$_{10}$, si?ana$_{11}$ marʌʌk̲ʌ$_{12}$ ik̲ʌhúpiitʌ̲$_{13}$. marʌʌma?ai$_{14}$ wokwetʌhka-nu̲$_{15}$. 26. ma$_1$ raahkak̲ʌse?$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ taarʌhkaru?i̲ha$_5$ sʌmʌ?a$_6$ nai?bihta$_7$ paama?aihku$_8$ tsawekwi̲ka$_9$, sitʌʌ$_{10}$ tʌhkánu̲$_{11}$, wihnu$_{12}$ kʌanu̲$_{13}$. 27. sitʌk̲ʌse?$_1$ tuibihtsi?$_2$ suhka$_3$ pʌ$_4$ na?wa?ihpʌ?a$_5$ tʌhkaru?i̲ha$_6$ himahtsi$_7$, —mia-ru?i̲$_8$ nʌ?$_9$. — me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{11}$. 28. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ mi?a̲tsi$_2$, pʌ$_3$ na?wa?ihpʌ?waka$_4$ bitʌnu̲$_5$, mahka$_6$ pʌ$_7$ tʌk̲ʌhimakʌ-?i̲ha$_8$ ma$_9$ makanu̲$_{10}$. 29. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ rʌk̲ʌka$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ pukunʌhba?a$_5$ kʌahtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnik̲ʌhu$_8$ mi?anu̲$_9$. 30. suni$_1$ u$_2$ nahaniikuk̲ʌse?$_3$ sʌmʌ?$_4$ u$_5$ haitsi̲$_6$ atabi-tsi̲$_7$, —tsaati$_8$ nʌ?$_9$ nʌmʌnahnie$_{10}$ suwaaitʌ̲$_{11}$. — me$_{12}$

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23. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{11}$, —Yes$_3$. As$_9$ you$_8$ go$_9$ to them$_7$. I$_5$ will$_{10}$ just$_4$ stay$_{10}$ here$_6$.— 24. —You$_2$ must$_1$ (be) getting$_6$ what$_5$ I$_4$ will eat$_5$ (in the) morning$_3$, come$_7$,— (she) said to$_8$ $_{10}$ him$_9$. 25. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ going down$_5$ to them$_3$ away from the mountain$_4$ (having) mounted$_8$ on$_7$ his$_6$ horse$_7$ went$_{10}$ to them$_9$. here$_{11}$ (he) arrived and went in$_{13}$ to them$_{12}$, ate peyote$_{15}$ with them$_{14}$. 26. When$_2$ it$_1$ was morning$_2$, when$_9$ one$_6$ young woman$_7$ with water$_8$ entered carrying$_9$ what$_5$ they$_4$ /these ones$_3$/ will eat (in the) mornings$_5$, these ones$_{10}$ ate$_{11}$, then$_{12}$ went out$_{13}$. 27. This$_1$ young man$_2$, getting$_7$ that$_3$ (which) his$_4$ woman$_5$ will eat$_6$, said$_{10}$ $_{11}$. --I$_9$ will go$_8$.— 28. At this place$_1$ going$_2$ (he) arrived$_5$ to$_4$ his$_3$ woman$_4$ and fed$_{10}$ her$_9$ what$_8$ he$_7$ got to eat for$_8$ that one$_6$. 29. These two$_1$ when$_3$ she$_2$ ate$_3$, mounting$_6$ on$_5$ their$_4$ horses$_5$ went$_9$ to$_8$ their$_7$ camp$_9$. 30. As$_3$ it$_2$ happened along$_3$ that way$_1$, one$_4$ (of) his$_5$ friend(s)$_6$ [from] another tribe$_7$ said to$_{12}$ $_{14}$ him$_{13}$. --I$_9$ want$_{11}$ (a) good$_8$ Indian name$_{10}$.-- 31. This$_1$ young Indian man$_2$ (said),

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539 u$_{13}$ niikwiiyu$_{14}$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌruibihtsi?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tsaaku$_4$ nʌʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ nahníamakʌhutu?i$_7$. — 32. —hakaise?$_1$ ʌnʌ$_2$ nʌ$_3$ niháhutu?i$_4$? — mekʌse?$_5$ surʌ$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 33. —tsaati$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ ʌ$_3$ nahniamakaru?i$_4$, — mekʌse?$_5$ surʌ$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 34. —toyama$_1$ karʌʌrʌ$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ nahniahkatu?i$_4$. — mekʌse?$_5$ suurʌ$_6$. 35. surʌ$_1$ usʌ$_2$ u$_3$ haitsi$_4$ sʌme$_5$ u$_6$ niha?i$_7$, ʌkʌsʌ$_8$ suhka$_9$ pʌmʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ nahniamaka?iha$_{12}$ nahníaba?i$_{13}$ toyama$_{14}$ karʌʌri$_{15}$. 36. subetʌ$_1$.

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—I$_5$ will give$_7$ you$_6$ (a) very$_3$ good$_4$ name$_7$.— 32. —What$_1$ will$_8$ you$_2$ name$_4$ me$_3$?— that one$_6$ said to$_5$ $_8$ him$_7$. 33. —I$_2$ will give$_4$ you$_3$ (a) good$_1$ name$_4$,— that one$_6$ said to$_5$ $_8$ him$_7$. 34. That one$_6$ said$_5$, —You$_3$ will be named$_4$ 'Sits$_2$ on Mountain$_1$'. — 36. That one$_1$ /that$_2$/ his$_3$ friend$_4$ named$_7$ him$_6$ that way$_5$, still$_8$ that one$_9$ /what$_{12}$/ he$_{11}$ gave (a) name to$_{12}$ /him$_{10}$/ had a name$_{13}$ 'Sits$_{15}$ on Mountain$_{14}$'.— 36. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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539 1. su?anakatsa?$_1$ raa$_2$ saamaʔnaa$_3$ namanaa$_4$ nobitanu$_5$. 2. taatata$_1$ uraa$_2$ petaʔkase?$_3$ hunuʔbetu$_4$ miʔanu$_5$. 3. su-?ana$_1$ u$_2$ raehbasiwanooʔkarakukase?$_3$ taatata$_4$ kaʔrahúuʔ$_5$ uma$_6$ wanaʔ$_7$. 4. sitakasu?$_1$ pa$_2$ taehtaahkaʔaʔma$_3$ u$_4$ wahkáʔanu$_5$. 5. tataati$_1$ wihtue$_2$ pa$_3$ tsayaahkaku$_4$, u$_5$ bomanu$_6$. 6. u$_1$ saabomatsi$_2$, baa$_3$ kahnikahu$_4$ miʔanu$_5$. 7. pitahtsi$_1$, ba$_2$ piaʔa$_3$, —ihka$_4$ na$_5$ bomapaha$_6$ rayu-ʔnetsi$_7$, nami$_8$ hanikaʔ$_9$. — 8. sitakase?$_1$ ma$_2$ piaʔ$_3$ pa$_4$ huuʔawokaku$_5$ marii$_6$ tayuʔnekanu$_7$, pa$_8$ taahtsohpeʔa$_9$ kuhpitsunikatsi$_{10}$, ubaʔaihtu$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ roʔkwarianu$_{13}$ 9. taraehbarakwihtsipaha$_1$ tsahkohiʔhuniihtsi$_2$, ukahi$_3$ yaaʔeta$_4$, uma$_5$ u$_6$ matsabakiʔeta$_7$, marii$_8$ himimiʔa$_9$. 10. sitaa-

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1. Somewhere$_1$ it is said$_2$ some$_3$ Indians$_4$ camped$_4$. 2. Their$_2$ little$_1$ daughter$_3$ went$_5$ towards the creek$_4$. 3. There$_1$ where$_3$ that$_2$ little sand hill -sits$_3$, (a) little$_4$ hackberry$_5$ stood$_7$ on it$_6$. 4. This one$_1$ chopped$_5$ it$_4$ down$_5$ with$_3$ her$_2$ little axe$_3$. 5. As$_4$ she$_3$ is carrying$_4$ (a) little$_1$ bucket$_2$, (she) picked$_4$ it$_3$. 6. Picking all of$_2$ it$_1$, (she) went$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ home$_4$. 7. Arriving$_1$, /she/ said to$_4$ her$_2$ mother$_3$, —Pounding$_7$ this$_4$ my$_3$ pickings$_6$, fix (them) for$_9$ us$_8$.— 8. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ mother$_3$ pounded$_7$ them$_6$ in$_5$ her$_4$ wooden bowl$_3$, rendering$_{10}$ her$_8$ marrow fat$_9$, (she) poured$_{13}$ it$_{12}$ all over it$_{11}$. 9. Finding and breaking off$_2$ little switches$_1$, (she) takes$_4$ some of it$_3$, sticks$_7$ it$_6$ /on/ it$_5$, gives to$_9$ them$_8$. 10. These$_1$ children$_2$

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590 kʌse?$_1$ tʌrʌehpʌ?rʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kohtoopʌba?a$_4$ u$_5$ ku?tsiyaa?eeyu$_6$. 11. nanisuyakeku$_1$ u$_2$ otʌkwasʌkʌ?eeyu$_3$. 12. wihnu$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ u$_3$ rʌhká?eeyu$_4$. 13. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ rʌrʌehpʌ?rʌʌ$_2$, —tʌbitsi$_3$ tsaa$_4$ ma?$_5$ bihnakamatʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ bʌʌ$_8$ pia?a$_9$ niikwi?eeyu$_{10}$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌrʌehpʌ?rʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kʌhto-?ipʌha$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ kahtʌ́i?nʌʌ$_6$ tʌrʌe?tii$_7$ makama?eeyu$_8$. 15. urii$_1$ urii$_2$ makahkakʌse?$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ pia?$_5$, —nohi?$_6$ tsaaku$_7$ mʌnʌ$_8$ nʌ$_9$ rʌrʌe?tii$_{10}$ makanu$_{11}$. — mekʌ$_{12}$. 16. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$, —nʌsu?atsa?$_4$ tsaa$_5$ mʌi$_6$ manʌʌsukaaru?i$_7$. — me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 17. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ oo?rʌna$_4$ narʌbakina$_5$ tsahtó?inu$_6$, ukuhpaku$_7$ bʌ$_8$ ta?siwóo?wana?ʌhi$_9$ tsahtó?inu$_{10}$. 18. suhka$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ tʌebatsi?a$_3$, —ihka$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ʌ$_6$ wana?ʌhʌmaka?i$_7$. — 19. surʌkʌse?$_1$ suhri$_2$ bihi?anih$_3$ wahabahtih$_4$ naropʌsi?iitih$_5$ uhri$_6$ napʌmákanu$_7$. 20. si-tʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$, pʌmʌ$_7$ u$_8$ sutaa?iha$_9$ bʌʌ$_{10}$ pia?a$_{11}$ tsahpúnikʌnu$_{12}$, pʌʌ$_{13}$ ahpʌ?a$_{14}$ bitʌhka$_{15}$, u$_{16}$ narʌmu?ikʌnu$_{17}$. 21. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$

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over$_4$ their$_3$ fire$_4$ roasts$_6$ it$_5$ on sticks$_6$. 11. Nicely$_1$ it$_2$ cooks brown$_3$. 12. Then$_1$ those ones$_2$ eat$_4$ it$_3$. 13. Those$_1$ children$_2$ say to$_{7\ 10}$ their$_8$ mother$_9$. —It$_3$ really$_3$ tastes$_4$ good$_4$ (and) sweet$_6$.— 14. Those$_1$ children$_2$ went to feed to$_8$ their$_5$ neighbor's$_6$ children$_7$ their$_3$ left overs$_4$. 15. As$_3$ they$_2$ are feeding$_3$ them$_1$, their$_4$ mother$_5$ said$_{12}$. —You all$_8$ fed$_{11}$ my$_9$ children$_{10}$ very$_6$ good$_7$.— 16. /That$_1$/ their$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ them$_9$. —I also$_4$ will make$_7$ you$_4$ feel$_7$ good$_5$.— 17. At this place$_1$ that one$_2$ pulled out$_6$ her$_3$ clothes$_4$ (which are) bagged$_5$ [in a bag], from inside it [the bag] (she) pulled out$_{10}$ her$_8$ buffalo blanket$_9$. 18. (She said to) that$_1$ their$_2$ little sister$_3$, —I$_5$ give$_7$ you$_4$ this$_4$ blanket$_7$.— 19. That one$_1$ gave$_7$ /them$_6$/ those two$_2$ boys$_3$ two$_4$ beaded$_5$ moccasin$_7$. 20. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_6$, (and) arriving$_6$ at$_5$ their$_4$ homes$_5$, (they) showed$_{12}$ their$_{10}$ mother$_{11}$ what$_9$ she$_8$ thought of$_9$ them$_7$, (and) when$_{13}$ their$_{13}$ father$_{14}$ arrived$_{15}$, (they) told$_{17}$ him$_{16}$.
21. That one$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ said$_9$, —Very$_4$ good (I think$_5$)

539 ahpʌ?$_3$, —nohi?$_4$ tsaakukia$_5$ tahʌ$_6$ tʌrʌe?tii$_7$ hanikʌnu$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 22. pʌetsʌkusʌkʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ yʌtsʌhtsi$_3$, tʌhʌyaro-?itsi$_4$, urʌʌkʌhu$_5$ nuhkínu$_6$. 23. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ tekwʌ-nínu$_3$, —namaka?mukika$_4$, tai$_5$ nʌhkaru?ika$_6$. 24. inakwʌ-tsa?$_1$ hayarokwetʌʌ$_2$ pimoróo?nʌʌ$_3$ yuupʌnʌʌ$_4$ tai$_5$ tʌkwʌ-sʌru?i$_6$. — 25. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ renahpʌ?$_2$, —hakani?yutʌ$_3$. ʌnʌ$_4$ sinihku$_5$ tai$_6$ hanitʌ́ni$_7$? — 26. —nah$_1$ nʌ?tsu$_2$ ohka$_3$ wa-?ihpʌ?$_4$ tʌtaa$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ naahkaku$_7$, nʌ$_8$ rʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_9$ ma$_{10}$ hanikʌ?iha$_{11}$ tsaa$_{12}$ wʌsukaatʌ$_{13}$, sunihku$_{14}$ rai$_{15}$ hani-kʌʌtʌ$_{16}$. — mekʌ$_{17}$. 27 sitʌʌ$_1$ nʌkʌtsi$_2$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ tʌkwʌsʌ́nu$_4$. 28. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tʌhtʌ-taatʌʌ$_4$ tʌrʌshpʌ?rʌʌ$_5$ tai$_6$ tsaahtʌhkakʌnu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 29. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌkʌtsi$_3$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ oo?ri$_5$ nahí-minu$_6$. 30. u$_1$ yʌihka$_2$, bʌʌ$_3$ nʌhkana$_4$ bʌanu$_5$. 31. usʌ-kʌ$_1$ sunihku$_2$ suhka$_3$ tʌtaatʌna$_4$ tʌehpʌ?rʌna$_5$ pomapʌnai$_6$ uhka$_7$ urii$_8$ namakʌkʌ$_9$, surʌʌ$_{10}$ usʌ$_{11}$ umetʌ$_{12}$ biahaninu$_{13}$. 32. subetʌ$_1$.

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our$_6$ children$_7$ (were) fixed for$_8$ (treated).— 22. Early morning$_1$ that one$_2$ getting up$_3$, mounting horseback$_4$, ran$_5$ to them$_6$. 23. That one$_1$ announced to$_1$ them$_2$, —Get ready$_4$, we$_5$ will dance$_6$. 24. In this direction$_1$ (are) four$_2$ fat$_4$ cattle$_3$ we$_5$ will butcher$_6$.— 25. One$_1$ man$_2$ (said), —Why are$_3$ you$_4$ in this way$_5$ telling$_7$ us$_6$ to do$_7$? — 26. —That$_3$ woman$_4$, when$_7$ we$_6$ happen to be$_7$ poor$_5$, what$_{11}$ she$_{10}$ did for$_{11}$ my$_8$ children$_9$ I$_2$ just$_1$ feeling$_{13}$ good$_{12}$ about$_{13}$ (it), in that way$_{14}$ (I) am fixing for$_{16}$ us$_{15}$,— (he) said$_{17}$. 27. These ones$_1$ dancing$_2$, butchered$_4$ a lot$_5$. 28. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ said$_8$, —Very$_3$ little$_4$ children$_5$ fed$_7$ us$_6$ good$_7$.— 29. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ dancing$_3$, gave each other$_4$ much$_4$ clothings$_5$. 30. When$_2$ it$_1$ was evening$_2$, their$_3$ dancing$_4$ left off$_5$. 31. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ from$_6$ that$_3$ little$_4$ child's$_5$ pickings$_6$ as$_9$ they$_8$ fed each other$_9$ that$_7$, those ones$_{10}$ /that$_{11}$/ because of that$_{12}$ had a big doings$_{13}$. 32. That is all$_1$.

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534 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ su?ana$_3$ tuhkanáai?nʌ$_4$ kahrríba?i$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ tʌrʌní?inu$_3$, hanibihta$_4$, kamúuta?a$_5$, puhibihnáa?a$_6$, taiboo?bihnáa?a$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ nakwʌsi?a$_9$. 3. sunihku$_1$ urii$_2$ naahkakukʌse?$_3$ nʌmʌnʌ$_4$ urʌʌkʌ$_5$ nobitʌnu$_6$. 4. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ bʌ$_2$ nʌmʌhanihne$_3$ atakwa?ʌ-?ai?etʌ$_4$, rʌasʌ$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ nakwʌsi?a$_7$ wʌhtsito?a?etʌ$_8$, pahpa-?aku$_9$ u$_{10}$ koo?i?etʌ$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ rohtsáni?i?eeyu$_{13}$. 5. u$_1$ wʌhta-kʌmi?eku$_2$, u$_3$ kwisí?eeyu$_4$. 6. surii$_1$ nʌmʌnii$_2$ suma$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ atakwa?ʌ?aipʌma$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ pʌʌ$_7$ nakwʌsi?ma$_8$ nakwʌ-sipʌma$_9$ surii$_{10}$ nʌmʌnii$_{11}$ tʌmʌʌ?eeyu$_{12}$. 7. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ nahbi?anʌʌ$_3$, —ohka$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?a$_6$ tʌmʌʌapʌkahti$_7$ noohtsi$_8$, oko$_9$ hunu?matu$_{10}$ mi?atsi$_{11}$.

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (the) Wichitas$_4$ had a home$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ planted$_3$ much$_2$ corn$_4$, sweet potatoes$_5$, watermelons$_6$, cantaloupes$_7$, and$_8$ pumpkins$_9$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ are living$_3$ in that way$_1$, Indians$_4$ camped$_6$ by them$_5$. 4. Those ones$_1$ make parched corn of$_4$ their$_2$ Indian corn$_3$ also$_5$ (they) peel$_8$ their$_6$ pumpkins$_7$, cut$_{11}$ it$_{10}$ up$_{11}$ long$_9$, (and) hang$_{13}$ it$_{12}$ up$_{13}$. 5. When$_2$ it$_1$ partially dries$_2$, (they) braid$_4$ it$_3$. 6. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ with that$_3$ (and) with$_5$ their$_4$ parched corn$_5$ also$_6$ with$_8$ their$_7$ pumpkins$_9$ with prepared pumpkin$_9$ those$_{10}$ Indians$_{11}$ trade with$_{12}$. 7. Those$_1$ Indian$_2$ boys$_3$ said$_{17}$, —Carrying off$_8$ some of$_7$ that$_4$ Wichita man's$_6$ crop$_7$ (and) going$_{11}$, there$_9$ on to the creek$_{10}$, we$_3$ cooking

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hanikwasʌʌkʌ̲tsi$_{12}$, tʌasʌ$_{13}$ puhibihnáa?a$_{14}$ tanʌ$_{15}$ piarʌhka- 539
ne$_{16}$. — mekʌ$_{17}$. 8. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ si?anetʌ̲$_2$ mi?anu̲$_3$, suku̲$_4$
hunu?ma$_5$ pitʌnu̲$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ pabi?a$_8$. —tai$_9$ kohtookʌ̲$_{10}$, —
mekʌ$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu̲$_{13}$. 9. si?anetʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ kohtoo-
htsi$_3$, hanikwasʌʌkʌnu̲$_4$. 10. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌmatʌ$_2$,
—tsaati$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ su?ura?i̲$_5$. -- mekʌ$_6$. 11. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —hini$_2$
usʌ$_3$?— me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu̲$_6$. 12. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —tanʌwitsa$_2$
ruhkanáai?niwanʌ̲katʌ̲$_3$, ihka$_4$ raa$_5$ hanikwasʌkʌpʌ̲ha$_6$ tʌkʌ̲-
bʌʌni̲$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 13. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —yee$_2$. haa$_3$. tsaatʌ$_4$
u?$_5$. tuhkanáai?niwanʌ̲banika$_6$. -- mekʌ$_7$. 14. —sube?tsa?$_1$
urʌ$_2$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?$_3$ taa$_4$ tuhkanáai?bihi?anii$_5$ tai$_6$
suatʌ̲$_7$, ke$_8$ tamʌmatu$_9$ musasuawa?itʌ̲$_{10}$. — 15. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$
urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —namʌ̲sohihtsika$_3$ nami̲situhkanáai?niwanʌ$_4$.
tamʌmatu$_5$ u?$_6$ ro?itu?i̲$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 16. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$ urʌʌ-
matʌ$_2$, —yee$_3$ haitsi̲$_4$. ma$_5$ ma?oome$_6$. ma$_7$ nakwʌ̲si?tsa?-
nikakʌ̲tsi̲$_8$, ma$_9$ ma?oome$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 17. sʌme$_1$ u$_2$
ʌkʌyʌkwikakʌ̲se?$_3$ surʌ$_4$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?$_5$ urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_6$
kimaayu̲$_7$. 18. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —yee$_2$. ikise?$_3$ ihka$_4$ hani-

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corn$_{12}$ (and) also$_{13}$ watermelons$_{14}$ we$_{15}$ will eat much$_{16}$.—
8. These ones$_1$ went$_3$, to this place$_2$ there$_4$ on the creek$_5$
arrived$_6$, (and they) said to$_{11}$ $_{13}$ /him$_{12}$/, their$_7$ older brother$_8$,
—Make a fire for$_{10}$ us$_9$.— 9. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ mak-
ing a fire$_3$, cooked corn$_4$. 10. One$_1$ of them$_2$ said$_6$, —I$_4$
thought of$_5$ a$_4$ good thing$_3$.-- 11. These ones$_1$ said to$_4$ $_6$ him$_5$,
—What$_2$ it that$_3$?— 12. That one$_1$ said$_8$, —We ought to$_2$ talk
Wichita$_3$ (and of) this$_4$ our$_5$ cooked corn$_6$ eat much$_7$.—
13. Those ones$_1$ said$_7$, —Oh$_2$. Yes$_3$. It$_5$ is good$_4$. All talk
Wichita$_6$.— 14. —That way$_1$ that$_2$ Wichita man$_3$ '(They are) our
Wichita boys$_5$,' will think$_7$ us$_4$ (to be), (and)/not$_8$/ won't be
concerned$_{10}$ over us$_9$.— 15. That one$_1$ of them$_2$ said$_8$, —All
hurrying up$_3$, quickly talk Wichita$_4$. On to us$_5$ he$_6$ will come
up$_7$.— 16. One$_1$ of them$_2$ said$_{11}$, —Oh$_3$, friend$_4$. It$_5$ [the
fire] stir up$_6$. Sticking pumpkin in$_8$ it$_7$, stir$_{10}$ it$_9$ up$_{10}$.—
17. As$_3$ he$_2$ just said$_5$ that$_1$, that$_4$ Wichita man$_2$ was coming$_7$
to them$_6$. 18. Those ones$_1$ (were) saying$_8$ $_9$, —Oh$_3$. Here$_3$

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539 bihta$_5$ naʌmi?$_6$ kimaayu$_7$. — me$_8$ niwʌnʌtsi$_9$, surʌʌ$_{10}$ tunehtsʌnu$_{11}$. 19. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ pabi?$_3$, —ma$_4$ pamutsaa?matuka$_5$ tunehtsʌ$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ marii$_3$ miakʌnu$_4$. 21. urii$_1$ miakʌtsi$_2$, sʌmʌ?a$_3$ ku?nikakʌnu$_4$. 22. sitʌ$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ u$_3$ wʌhpá?inu$_4$, —nanaʌʌ?maikuka$_5$ nʌ$_6$ rʌmʌsʌa?ena$_7$ po?sabihi?anʌʌ$_8$ ahi?bʌniyʌhka$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ nʌmʌbihi?anʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌhu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, urʌʌkʌ$_7$ bitʌhtsi$_8$, —ʌʌ$_9$ tua?ʌʌtukutsa?$_{10}$ nʌ$_{11}$ rʌmʌsʌapʌha$_{12}$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_{13}$ ahi?bʌni?nʌʌ$_{14}$. — mekʌ$_{15}$. 24. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌbihi?anʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?nʌʌ$_3$, —usʌ$_4$ tanʌ$_5$ mʌʌ$_6$ po?sahanipʌkahtu$_7$ mʌʌ$_8$ pukunii$_9$ uhka$_{10}$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?a$_{11}$ rʌmakaru?i$_{12}$. — mekʌ$_{13}$ 25. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌna$_2$ samohpʌ?$_3$, —nʌtsa?$_4$ nʌh$_5$ suhka$_6$ renahpʌ?a$_7$ tua?a$_8$ kuhmaruru?i$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 26. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ samohpʌ?$_3$ tsaati$_4$ bʌ$_5$ puki$_6$ narʌnoo?rʌkitsi$_7$, wihnu$_8$ suhka$_9$ bʌ$_{10}$ samohpʌ?a$_{11}$ uba?a$_{12}$ u$_{13}$ rohtó?inu$_{14}$. 27. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?wakatu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$, mawaka$_6$ bitʌnu$_7$. 28. sitʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ samohpʌ?$_3$

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this$_4$ corn$_5$ owner$_6$ is coming$_7$,— (and) /those ones$_{10}$/ ran$_{11}$. 19. That one$_1$ their$_2$ older brother$_3$ said$_7$. —Run$_4$ onto$_5$ its$_4$ [the river's] bend$_5$.— 20. This$_1$ man$_2$ chased$_4$ them$_3$. 21. Chasing$_2$ them$_1$, (he) roped$_4$ one$_3$. 2. This one$_1$ [man] beat$_4$ him$_3$ a lot$_2$, (and) said$_{10}$. —(I) worked$_5$ hard (on) my$_6$ crop$_7$ (but) crazy boys$_8$ go around destroying$_9$.— 23. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_4$ to$_5$ these$_3$ boys'$_4$ homes$_5$, (and) arriving$_8$ /to them$_7$/ (he) said$_{15}$. —Your$_9$ sons$_{10}$ destroyed$_{14}$ my$_{11}$ crop$_{13}$ much$_{13}$.— 24. These$_1$ Indian boys'$_2$ fathers$_3$ said$_{13}$. —(For) /that$_4$/, for$_7$ your$_4$ crazy doings$_7$, we$_5$ will pay$_{12}$ that$_{10}$ Wichita man$_{11}$ your$_8$ horses$_9$.— 25. One$_1$ sister$_3$ of theirs$_2$ said$_{10}$, —I$_4$ will$_9$ just$_5$ marry$_9$ that$_6$ man's$_7$ son$_8$.— 26. /That one$_1$/ her$_2$ brother$_3$, saddling up$_7$ his$_5$ good$_4$ horse$_6$, then$_8$ that one$_9$ helped$_{14}$ /her$_{13}$/ his$_{10}$ sister$_{11}$ on it$_{12}$. 27. At this place$_1$ these two$_2$ went$_3$ towards$_4$ that$_3$ Wichita man$_4$, to him$_4$ (they) came$_7$. 28. This$_1$ her$_2$ brother$_3$ said to$_{11}$ this$_4$ man$_5$, —My$_6$ sister$_7$ your$_8$ son$_9$ will have in marriage$_{10}$.—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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sihka$_4$ renahpʌ?a$_5$, —nʌ$_6$ samohpʌ?tsa?$_7$ ʌ$_8$ tua?a$_9$ kuhma- 539
baitu?i$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 29. sitʌ$_1$ nai?bi$_2$ suhka$_3$ u$_4$ tua?a$_5$
tsaati$_6$ tuibihtsi?a$_7$ kuhmárunu$_8$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tuhkanáai?-
tenahpʌ?$_2$ rʌsú?naanu$_3$, surʌʌ$_4$ pihi?anʌʌ$_5$ pʌmʌ$_6$ ai?ku$_7$
hani?ha$_8$ sukʌhu$_9$ nasúwatsinu$_{10}$. 31. subetʌ$_1$.

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29. This$_1$ young woman$_2$ married$_8$ /that$_3$/ his$_4$ son$_5$, (a) good$_6$ young man$_7$. 30. This$_1$ Wichita man$_2$ quieted down$_3$ (and) forgot about$_{10}$ what$_8$ those$_4$ boys$_5$ themselves$_6$ did$_8$ bad$_7$ there$_9$. 31. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXII

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ ʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i̱$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌ̱se?$_1$ manakwʌ̱hi$_2$ tuu?eeyu̱$_3$. 3. u$_1$ yʌihumi?akukʌ̱se?$_2$ surʌ$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ pia?$_5$ ʌsʌmʌ?a$_6$ pʌ$_7$ petʌ?a$_8$ nahnapʌ̱hi$_9$, —tai$_{10}$ tʌkʌhmanibʌni$_{11}$ nʌʌ?$_{12}$.— mekʌ$_{13}$. 4. sitʌkʌ̱se?$_1$ tʌtaatʌma?ai$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tua?ma?ai$_4$ pʌi$_5$ tuukʌmi?anu̱$_6$ 5. sitʌkwʌ̱$_1$ suku̱$_2$ parʌ-tsohpekʌ̱$_3$ pʌkʌ̱hʌna$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ tuu?ekʌ̱$_6$ bitʌnu̱$_7$. 6. sitʌ-kʌ̱se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌhi$_4$ tuukʌnu̱$_5$. 7. si?anetʌ̱$_1$ sitʌh$_2$ pitu̱ʌ$_3$ miahutu?i̱$_4$. 8. surʌkʌ̱se?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ u$_3$ tua?$_4$, —tahi$_5$ muhne$_6$. nah$_7$ nʌ?$_8$ ʌpinakwʌ̱$_9$ mi?anooro?i̱$_{10}$.— mekʌ$_{11}$. 9. sitʌkʌ̱se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌhi$_4$ muhnehtsi$_5$, mi?anu̱$_6$. 10. sitʌkʌ̱se?$_1$ bʌnʌ$_2$ tʌtaatʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ tua?$_5$ mabinakwʌ̱$_6$ nanaa-mʌano?o̱$_7$. 11. sitʌkʌ̱se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ ma$_4$ nabitʌ̱buninu̱$_5$.

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ some$_4$ had a camp$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ carried water$_3$ far$_2$. 3. When$_2$ it$_1$ is almost evening$_2$, /that one$_3$/ their$_4$ mother$_5$ said to$_{13}$ /one$_6$/ her$_7$ oldest$_9$ daughter$_8$, —You$_{13}$ cook much for$_{11}$ us$_{10}$.— 4. This one$_1$ with$_2$ her$_3$ little$_2$ son /with$_4$/ went to get water for$_4$ them$_5$. 5. These two$_1$ arrived$_7$ there$_2$ at (the) spring$_3$ (the) place$_4$ they$_5$ get water at$_6$. 6. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ got water for$_5$ them$_4$. 7. At this place$_1$ these two$_2$ are about to go$_4$ back$_3$. 8. That$_1$ little$_2$ (one) her$_3$ son$_4$ said$_{11}$, —Lead$_4$ us$_3$. I$_8$ will$_{10}$ just$_7$ travel$_{10}$ behind you$_9$.— 9. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ went$_6$ leading$_5$ them$_4$. 10. This one$_1$ himself$_2$, her$_4$ little$_3$ son$_5$, dallied$_7$ behind her$_6$. 11. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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12. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ u$_3$ tua?$_4$ ke$_5$ kimarʌ$_6$, su?ana$_7$ pu?ekʌ$_8$ wʌnʌnu$_9$. 13. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$, —namʌsohi$_4$. tukanihumi?arʌ$_5$ ma?$_6$.— me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 14. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ u$_3$ pia?$_4$ wahábisuahupiitʌ$_5$, —hakani?yutʌkia$_6$ nʌ$_7$ rua?$_8$ nʌhi$_9$ muhnehtsi$_{10}$, nʌmunakwʌ$_{11}$ nuhkinoo?etʌ$_{12}$, nʌbinakwʌ$_{13}$ nanaamʌano?o$_{14}$ — mekʌ$_{15}$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ ma$_3$ pia?$_4$ ma$_5$ wʌhtúinu$_6$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_3$ mawakatu$_4$ kimarʌ$_5$, wʌnʌhúpiitʌ$_6$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ tuupʌha$_5$ ma$_6$ tsahtʌkika$_7$, —hina$_8$ ʌnʌ$_9$ ʌpinakwʌku$_{10}$ yaahka$_{11}$?— me$_{12}$ u$_{13}$ niikwiiyu$_{14}$. 18. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$, —kehena$_3$.— mekʌ$_4$. 19. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$, —isa?aitʌ$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$. noo$_6$ ʌnʌ$_7$ hina$_8$ ʌpinakwʌku$_9$ yaarʌ$_{10}$.— me$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu$_{13}$. 20. ke$_1$ bʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ tsahpunikʌku$_4$, uwakatu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$. 21. pina$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_3$ tʌtaati$_4$ nohi?wobipuki$_5$ bʌpinakwʌku$_6$ yaahka$_7$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —isʌ$_4$ hakʌku$_5$ ʌ$_6$ yaa?i$_7$?— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 23. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$, —okoko$_3$ nʌ?$_4$

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looked back at$_5$ him$_4$. 12. That one$_1$ her$_2$ little$_3$ son$_4$ is$_5$ not$_6$ coming$_6$, (but) stood$_9$ there$_7$ in the path$_8$. 13. /That one$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ him$_8$, —Hurry$_4$. It$_5$ is about to get dark$_5$.— 14. Then$_2$ /that$_1$/ his$_3$ mother$_4$ became suspicious$_5$, (and) said$_{13}$, —Wonder why it is$_6$ my$_7$ son$_8$ [when] leading$_{10}$ us$_9$, runs on$_{12}$ ahead of me$_{11}$, [while] behind me$_{13}$ (he) dallies$_{14}$.— 15. Then$_2$ /this$_1$/ his$_3$ mother$_4$ waited for$_6$ him$_5$. 16. This$_1$ little$_2$ boy$_3$ is coming$_5$ towards her$_4$, (and) came to a stop$_6$. 17. When$_7$ he$_4$ set down$_7$ his$_6$ water load$_5$, /this$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{12\ 14}$ him$_{13}$, —What$_8$ you$_9$ taking$_{11}$ behind you$_{10}$?— 18. That$_1$ boy$_2$ said$_4$, —Nothing$_3$.— 19. /That$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{11\ 13}$ him$_{12}$, —You$_5$ are lying$_4$. You$_7$ must$_6$ be taking$_{10}$ something$_8$ behind you$_9$.— 20. As$_4$ he$_3$ showed$_4$ her$_2$ not$_1$, (she) went$_6$ towards him$_5$. 21. There$_1$ this$_2$ boy$_3$ is taking$_7$ (a) little$_4$ play wagon$_5$ behind him$_4$. 22. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$. —Where was$_8$ this$_4$ you$_6$ took$_7$?— 23. That$_1$ boy$_2$ said$_{13}$, —(At) that place$_3$, as$_{10}$ it$_9$ lay$_{10}$ beside$_8$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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529 pʌkʌ̲hʌnas tahʌ6 tuuihkahtʌna7 kʌma?kʌ̲8 ma9 habiku10, ma11 yaa?i12.— mekʌ13. 24. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 sik13 tobo?ikatʌ̲3, mahri4 nanitsu̲wahpʌniku5, tukaninu̲6. 25. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 ma2 pia?3 sihka4 ruinʌhpʌ?a5, —ma6 yaahtsi7, pitu̲sʌ8 mi?a̲tsi9, nʌʌ?10 pʌkʌ̲ku11 mahka12 ʌ13 yaaihkasʌ14 ma15 rʌkinu̲16.— mekʌ17. 26. sitʌhtsi?kʌ̲se?1 tuinʌhpʌ?2, —piah3. tʌ?ʌyatʌ4 nʌ?5.— mekʌ6 yʌkwitʌ̲7, yakeeyu̲8. 27. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 ma2 pia?3 —ke4 yaketʌ̲5, pitu̲sʌ6 mi?a̲tsi7, ma8 rʌkikwa9.— mekʌ10. 28. surʌkʌ̲se?1 si?anetʌ̲2 u3 yaahtsi4, bitu̲sʌ5 nuhkínu̲6. 29. surʌkʌ̲se?1 u2 pia?3 ke4 ma5 nabuníku6, —tʌtaatʌ7 nʌ8 rua?9 tʌ?ʌyatʌwee?10.— me11 yʌkwitʌ̲12, u13 napʌ̲hu14 mi?anu̲15. 30. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 pʌ2 napʌ̲hu3 pʌ4 pia?a5 mi?aku6, tunehtsʌmi?arʌ̲7, su?ahru8 suhka9 rʌtaati10 nohi?waikina11 suhka12 barʌtsohpe?a13 kʌma?ku14 u15 wihitsi16, pitu̲sʌ17 tunehtsʌnu̲18. 31. ma1 nuhkikiku2, si?ana3 bu?ekʌ̲4 ma5 pia?6 ma7 wʌhtúuihka̲8. 32. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 ma2 pia?3, —keta?4 kwasikʌ̲5 sinihku6 u?ahrʌna7 atʌ̲hʌna8

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(the) place5 we6 get water7 I4 took12 it11.— 24. As5 they4 are standing3 here2 arguing much with each others, it1 got dark6. 25. This1 his2 mother3 said to17 this4 boy5. —Taking7 it6 (and) going9 back8, you10 put16 it15 (in the) place11 you13 took14 it12.— 26. This little1 boy2 is saying6 7. —Mother3. I5 am afraid4.— (and) was crying8. 27. /This1/ his2 mother3 said10. —Cry5 not4, going7 back6, go to put9 it8.— 28. That one1 at this place2 taking4 it3, ran6 back5. 29. When6 it8 (was) not4 seeable6. /that1/ his2 mother3 is saying11 12. —My8 little7 son9 is afraid10 (poor thing).— his13 trail14 (she) followed15. 30. As6 his4 mother5 follows6 his2 trail3, this one1 goes running7, along there8 throwing16 /it15/ that9 little10 play wagon11, beside14 that12 spring13 (and) ran18 back17. 31. As2 he1 came running3, here somewhere5 in the trail4 his5 mother6 is waiting for8 him7. 32. /This1/ his2 mother3 said to11 13 him12. —Next time8 don't4 take10 in this way6

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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nohi?a$_{9}$ yaarʌ̲$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu̲$_{13}$. 33. sunihku$_{1}$ ra$_{2}$ hani?ekutsa?$_{3}$ ai?$_{4}$ hina$_{5}$ hanitʌ$_{6}$ tenahpʌ?$_{7}$ nʌmi$_{8}$ na?ruinʌhpʌ?rua?eetʌ̲$_{9}$. — mekʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu̲$_{12}$. 34. surʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ tʌtaatʌ$_{2}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{3}$ tʌbitsi$_{4}$ ke$_{5}$ u$_{6}$ nasúwatsiiyu̲$_{7}$, suhka$_{8}$ pʌ$_{9}$ pia?a$_{10}$ pʌ$_{11}$ tʌrʌkʌ̲ka$_{12}$, pʌmʌ$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ hani?ha̲$_{15}$. 35. surʌ$_{1}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{2}$ kwasikʌ̲$_{3}$ bʌ$_{4}$ haitsi̲nii$_{5}$ ai?ku$_{6}$ nohi-?eku$_{7}$, pʌ$_{8}$ pia?wakatu$_{9}$ mia?etʌ̲$_{10}$, —nʌtsa?$_{11}$ orʌʌma?ai$_{12}$ ke$_{13}$ nohiwa?itʌ̲$_{14}$. — me$_{15}$ yʌkwi?eeyu̲$_{16}$. 36. subetʌ̲$_{1}$.

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anyone's$_{7}$ a stranger's$_{8}$ toy$_{9}$.— 33. When$_{3}$ one$_{2}$ does$_{3}$ in that way$_{1}$, (a) man$_{7}$ does$_{6}$ bad$_{4}$ things$_{5}$ (that) person$_{8}$ will have for a son$_{9}$.— (she) said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ him$_{11}$. 34. That$_{1}$ little$_{2}$ boy$_{3}$ really$_{4}$ never$_{5}$ forgot$_{7}$ it$_{6}$, that$_{8}$ his$_{9}$ mother$_{10}$ what$_{15}$ she$_{14}$ did to$_{15}$ him$_{13}$ when$_{12}$ he$_{11}$ stole$_{12}$. 35. That$_{1}$ boy$_{2}$ next time$_{3}$ when$_{7}$ his$_{4}$ friends$_{5}$ play$_{7}$ badly$_{6}$, goes$_{10}$ to$_{9}$ his$_{8}$ mother$_{9}$ (and) says$_{15}$ $_{16}$. —I$_{11}$ won't$_{13}$ play$_{14}$ with those ones$_{12}$.— 36. That is all$_{1}$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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XXIII

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ su?ans$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. urʌʌ$_1$ tua?kʌse?$_2$ mahími?anu$_3$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ mo?obe?kaa$_2$
u$_3$ mi?a?i$_4$ tomonu$_5$. 4. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$,
—tanʌwitsa$_4$ nah$_5$ u$_6$ wehkinukwa$_7$. — me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$.
5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ makʌhuyʌkʌtsi$_4$, tʌkʌnoohtsi$_5$,
sootʌʌma?ai$_4$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌma?ai$_7$ u$_8$ wehkínukwa$_9$. 6. si-
tʌʌkʌse?$_1$ mi?anoorʌ$_2$, soo$_3$ kwabinukwa$_4$. 7. soo$_1$ u$_2$
royabaihku$_3$ sitʌʌ$_4$ uhtu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$. 8. u$_1$ biahunu?baihku$_2$,
—ma$_3$ una?ru$_4$ tanʌ$_5$ nobitʌru?inʌʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$.
9. sitʌʌ$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —namʌsikohtoohtsika$_3$ tai$_4$ maaka$_5$. —
me$_6$ bʌʌ$_7$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anii$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 10. ma$_1$ rabe?i-
kʌhumi?aku$_2$ marii$_3$ tʌhkakukʌse?$_4$ sʌmʌ?$_5$, —ikitsa?$_6$ una-
?rurʌ$_7$ hini$_8$ paratsihkwe?eetʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$
tuibihtsi?$_2$, —namʌsohiika$_3$. 12. u$_1$ buni$_2$ tanʌ$_3$. — 13. me$_1$
u$_2$ ʌkʌyʌkwika$_3$, una?rurʌ$_4$ piawoinu$_5$ pipikúuyu$_6$. 14. su-
rʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anii$_4$, —tʌhʌyakʌa-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ some$_4$ had a camp$_5$. 2. Their$_1$ son$_2$ went to fight$_3$. 3. That one$_1$ /he$_3$/ went$_4$ five$_2$ years$_5$. 4. /Those$_1$/ his$_2$ relatives$_3$ said$_8$ $_9$, —We ought to$_4$ just$_5$ go look for$_7$ him$_6$.— 5. These ones$_1$ driving up$_4$ their$_2$ horses$_3$, carrying food$_5$, with many$_6$ /with/ young men$_7$ went looking for$_9$ him$_8$. 6. These ones$_1$ travel on$_2$, (and) went$_4$ many$_3$ sleeps$_4$. 7. Where$_1$ it$_2$ had$_3$ many$_1$ mountains$_3$, these ones$_4$ went$_6$ through$_5$. 8. Where$_2$ it$_1$ had (a) big creek$_2$, (they) said$_7$ $_8$, —Along other side of$_4$ it$_3$, we$_8$ will camp$_6$.— 9. These$_1$ men$_2$ said to$_6$ $_9$ their$_7$ women folk$_8$, —Quickly making a fire$_3$, feed$_5$ us$_4$.— 10. As$_2$ it$_1$ was about sundown$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ ate$_4$, one$_5$ said$_{10}$, —Here$_6$ (on the) other side of it$_7$ something$_8$ is shining$_9$.— 11. One$_1$ young man$_2$, [said] —Hurry up$_3$. 12. Let's$_3$ see$_2$ it$_1$.— 13. As$_3$ he$_2$ just spoke$_1$ $_3$, on the other side of it$_4$ [creek] (a) big bugle$_5$ was sounding$_6$. 14. Those$_1$ men$_2$ said to$_9$ $_{10}$ their$_3$ women folk$_4$, —Mounting horses$_5$, run$_6$! It (is $_8$) white soldiers$_7$!—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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htsika$_5$, turunehtsʌ$_6$. taiboo?ekʌsahpana?ruku$_7$ ma?$_8$. — me$_9$ niwanʌʌyu$_{10}$. 15. marii$_1$ ʌkʌniwanʌka$_2$, sikʌhu$_3$ marʌʌkʌhu$_4$ pʌmʌmatʌna$_5$ we?kwiyanuna$_6$ kʌahki$_7$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ tuibihtsi?a$_3$ ahpʌ?$_4$ marʌʌkʌhu$_5$ tunehtsʌnu$_6$. 17. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ekʌsahpana?nʌʌ$_2$ sihka$_3$ renahpʌ?a$_4$ su?ahru$_5$ u$_6$ tsipéhkwa$_7$. 18. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ urii$_3$ tsipehka$_4$, habitʌ$_5$, sʌmʌ?$_6$ urʌʌmatʌ$_7$ mawaka$_8$ nahábiitʌ$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —isʌkia$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ tuah$_5$?— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ tua?$_3$, —atʌhi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ mʌi$_6$ suatʌ$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 21. sukʌhu$_1$ suhka$_2$ bʌ$_3$ ahpʌ?a$_4$ surii$_5$ taiboo?ekʌsahpana?nii$_6$ pʌmi$_7$ kwʌhʌpʌkatii$_8$ pʌ$_9$ ahpʌ?a$_{10}$ pehkákʌnu$_{11}$, surii$_{12}$ bʌ$_{13}$ na?nʌmʌniisʌ$_{14}$ soo$_{15}$ wasʌ́nu$_{16}$. 22. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tuibihtsi?$_2$ u$_3$ suabetainu$_4$. 23. —nohi?$_1$ tʌtaaku$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ ʌ$_4$ ahpʌ?a$_5$ ʌmi$_6$ wekikihka$_7$, ʌnʌ$_8$ u$_9$ nabehkakʌnu$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tuibihtsi?$_2$, —ke$_3$ takwʌ$_4$ tsaaku$_5$ hina$_6$ haniwa?i$_7$ nʌʌsukaatʌkwʌ$_8$. — me$_9$ yʌkwihtsi$_{10}$, sihka$_{11}$ ruibihtsi?a$_{12}$ bʌʌ$_{13}$

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15. As$_3$ they$_1$ just spoke$_2$, here$_3$ to them$_4$ something bright$_6$ on one of them$_5$ came out in sight$_7$. 16. /This$_1$/ that$_2$ young man's$_3$ father$_4$ ran$_6$ to them$_5$. 17. Those$_1$ soldiers$_2$ along there$_5$ unhorsed (with lance$_7$) this$_3$ man$_4$ /him$_6$/. 18. As$_4$ they$_3$ unhorsed$_4$ him$_2$, (as) that one$_1$ is lying$_5$, one$_6$ of them$_7$ happened on$_9$ to him$_8$ suddenly$_9$. 19. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_4$ him$_7$, —Is this$_3$ you$_4$, son$_5$?— 20. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ son$_3$ said to$_8$ him$_9$. —I$_5$ thought$_7$ you all$_6$ were another tribe$_4$.— 21. There$_1$ /that$_2$ his$_3$ father$_4$/ (by) those$_5$ white soldiers$_6$, those that captured$_8$ him$_7$, caused$_{11}$ his$_9$ father$_{10}$ to be killed$_{11}$ (and) killed$_{16}$ many$_{15}$ (of) those$_{13}$ his$_{13}$ very own relatives$_{14}$. 22. One$_1$ young man$_2$ recognized$_4$ him$_3$. 23. —When$_7$ your$_4$ father$_3$ came looking for$_7$ you$_4$, you$_3$ very$_1$ pitifully$_2$ /you$_8$/ caused$_{10}$ him$_9$ to kill himself$_{10}$.— (he) said$_{11}$. 24. This$_1$ young man$_2$ (was) saying$_{9\ 16}$—/Not$_3$/ we$_4$ can't do$_7$ anything$_6$ (and) feel$_8$ good$_5$.— this$_{11}$ young man$_{12}$ they$_{13}$ went finding$_{14}$ (and) shot$_{15}$. 25. One$_1$ white soldier$_2$ running$_7$ on to him$_{4\ 7}$ that one$_3$ (who)$_5$ killed$_8$ /that one$_4$/, unhorsed$_{11}$ him$_{10}$ with$_9$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Manners and Morals

529 wekikwa?iha$_{14}$ ta?wo?inu$_{15}$. 25. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ taiboo?ekʌsahpana?$_2$ suhka$_3$ uhka$_4$ behka?iha$_5$ umatu$_6$ tunetsʌtsi$_7$, bʌ$_8$ wihima$_9$ u$_{10}$ tsipʌhénu$_{11}$. 26. surʌ$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ tua?$_3$ pʌmi$_4$ ta$_5$ kwʌhʌhkaruku$_6$ sunihku$_7$ sehka$_8$ bʌ$_9$ na?nʌmisʌ$_{10}$ ekapiti$_{11}$ tuhkukati$_{12}$ wasʌ́niina$_{13}$. 27. sitʌʌ$_1$ ekʌsahpana?-nʌʌ$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ sʌmʌkutsitowakanu$_5$. 28. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ marii$_4$ mʌʌhtsi$_5$, su?anetʌ$_6$ urʌʌ$_7$ paraiboo?$_8$ pʌʌ$_9$ woinui$_{10}$ muyakenu$_{11}$. 29. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ wʌhabinukwa$_3$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ surʌsʌ$_5$ urʌʌ$_6$ tua?$_7$ urii$_8$ nakwʌsʌ́kʌnu$_9$.

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his$_8$ sword$_9$. 26. When$_5$ they$_5$ (soldiers) captured$_6$ him$_4$. /that$_1$/ their$_2$ son$_3$, in that way$_7$ those various ones$_8$, his$_9$ own people$_{10}$, having$_{12}$ red$_{11}$ flesh$_{12}$, killed$_{13}$ here and there$_{14}$. 27. These$_1$ soldiers$_2$ set$_5$ their$_3$ teepees$_4$ all on fires$_5$. 28. These$_1$ then$_2$ doing to$_5$ them$_4$ that way$_3$, at that place$_6$ their$_7$ leader$_8$ sounded$_{11}$ their$_9$ bugle$_{10}$. 29. These$_1$ then$_2$ marched off$_3$, that very one$_8$ their$_6$ son$_7$ caused$_9$ many$_4$ (of) them$_8$ to be killed$_9$.

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ADVENTURE

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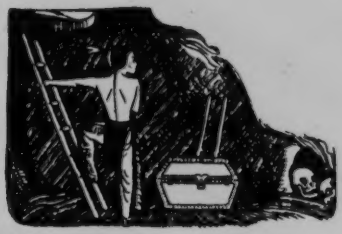

XXIV

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ nʌmʌruibihtsi?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ sarii?nii$_5$ betsʌhtsi$_4$, tʌhóinukwa$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahni$_3$ kwihne?naiki$_4$ u$_5$ esitoyabaihku$_6$ ukʌhu$_7$ tʌhóinukwa$_8$. 3. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ sarii?nʌʌ$_3$ tʌnayaarʌ$_4$, nurahkwaina$_5$. 4. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sarii?nʌʌ$_2$ suma$_3$ toyama$_4$ kʌanu$_5$. 5. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌruibihtsi?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ napʌhu$_4$ to?inu$_5$. 6 pʌmʌkʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_3$ sʌmʌ?$_4$ ma$_5$ sarii?$_6$ sokokʌ$_7$ u$_8$ raiku$_9$ uhkutʌ$_{10}$ okʌho$_{11}$ pohpínu$_{12}$, piaraitʌkʌhu$_{13}$ pohpínu$_{14}$. 7. makʌhi$_1$ ma$_2$ bunihka$_3$, si?ana$_4$ piapʌhʌ$_5$ tʌpi$_6$ tahibatʌ$_7$ habiiyu$_8$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ tuibihtsi?$_3$ sihka$_4$ tʌpihta$_5$ ubu$_6$ tsahwínu$_7$. 9. sikʌhi$_1$ taitʌkʌhi$_2$ ma$_3$ bunihkakʌse?$_4$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, (an) Indian young man$_3$, taking along$_4$ his$_5$ dogs$_6$, went off hunting$_7$. 2. Those ones$_1$ went off hunting$_2$ from the north of$_4$ their$_3$ house$_5$ where there was a grey mountain$_6$ $_6$ /there$_7$/. 3. /These$_1$/ his$_2$ dogs$_3$ are running around$_5$ /are/ trailing$_4$. 4. These$_1$ dogs$_2$ went up$_3$ on that$_3$ /on/ mountain$_4$. 5. This$_1$ Indian young man$_2$ went up$_3$ their$_3$ trail$_4$. 6. As$_3$ he$_2$ came up$_3$ to them$_1$, one$_4$ /his$_5$/ dog$_4$ jumped$_{12}$ where there was a hole$_{8}$ $_9$ in (the) ground$_7$ from there$_{10}$ to there$_{11}$ jumped$_{14}$ in (the) big cave$_{13}$. 7. As$_3$ he$_2$ looked at$_3$ it$_1$, here$_4$ (a) big$_5$ rock$_4$ was lying$_6$ /is/ flat$_7$. 8. /This$_1$/ this$_2$ young man$_3$ turned over$_7$ this$_4$ rock$_5$ that way$_6$. 9. As$_4$ he$_3$ looked$_4$ in this$_1$ /in/ cave$_2$, this$_3$ was

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sitʌ$_5$ nah$_4$ kahnibe?ku$_7$ ha?wokanu$_8$. 10. huunaro?i?kʌse?$_1$ mahtu$_2$ namahtowʌnʌka$_3$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ maba?a$_3$ ukʌhu$_5$ weenu$_4$. 12. pina$_1$ makʌhi$_2$ ma$_3$ buihwʌnʌka$_4$, si?ana$_5$ piapʌha$_4$ wobi?awo$_7$ kahtʌ$_8$, tʌasʌ$_9$ wahahtʌkwʌ$_{10}$ pahpa?atʌkwʌ$_{11}$ ta?wo?i?nʌkwʌ$_{12}$ namahtowʌnʌka$_{13}$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌasʌ$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ u$_4$ kahnitaiku$_5$ ukʌhi$_6$ wihténu$_7$. 14. pina$_1$ si?ana$_2$ nʌmʌtsuhni$_3$ hanika$_4$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ kuya?anu$_2$. 16. pituʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ sukʌhu$_3$ naro?i?kʌhu$_4$ kimanu$_5$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ uhtu$_2$ to?ikwa$_3$, ekʌhu$_4$ hunakʌhu$_5$ to?inu$_6$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ piarʌpihta$_3$ pituʌ$_4$ tʌkinu$_5$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ sarii?nii$_3$ pianimainu$_4$. 20. sihkutʌ$_1$ marii$_2$ betsʌhtsi$_3$, pituʌ$_4$ bʌʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$.

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hollow$_8$, just$_6$ as a room$_7$. 10. A ladder$_1$ stood leaning$_3$ along it$_2$. 11. This one$_1$ went down$_4$ on it$_2$ there$_3$. 12. As$_4$ he$_3$ was inspecting$_4$ it$_2$, there$_1$ (at) this place$_5$ is sitting$_6$ (a) big$_6$ wooden trunk$_7$, also$_9$ two$_{10}$ long$_{11}$ guns$_{12}$ were standing leaning$_{13}$. 13. This one$_1$ also$_2$ peeped$_7$ in /it$_6$/, in$_5$ one (of)$_3$ its$_4$ room cave$_5$. 14. There$_1$ (in) this place$_2$ were$_4$ human bones$_3$. 15. This one$_1$ got scared$_2$. 16. This one$_2$ came$_5$ back$_1$ to that$_3$ /to/ ladder$_4$. 17. This one$_1$ through there$_2$ went up out$_3$, there$_4$ outside$_5$ climbed out$_4$. 18. This one$_1$ put$_5$ back$_4$ that$_2$ big rock$_3$. 19. This one$_1$ loudly called$_4$ his$_2$ dogs$_3$. 20. From this place$_1$ taking$_3$ them$_2$ along$_3$, (they) went$_7$ back$_4$ to$_6$ their$_5$ house$_6$.

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XXV

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ hayarokwetʌʌ$_3$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_4$ mahûko?ikas. 2. urii$_1$ kimanooko$_2$, su?ana$_3$ urʌʌmunakwʌ$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaaba?i$_5$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ paa$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaayu$_3$. 4. su?ahrukʌse?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ pa?ati$_3$ kwasikatʌ$_4$ to?ihupiitʌ$_5$. 5. paakukʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ kimanu$_3$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$ paakʌhu$_2$ weenu$_3$. 7. u$_1$ kwarikʌse?$_2$ ubinakwʌ$_3$ paaru$_4$ okwemi?a$_5$. 8. —ohkaka$_1$ puuni$_2$,— mekʌse?$_3$ surʌʌ$_4$. 9. paakʌhi$_1$ urii$_2$ bunihka$_3$, su?ana$_4$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_5$ pahábimi?a$_6$. 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?a$_3$, —otsa?$_4$ ʌmʌ$_5$ nʌmʌ$_6$ maka?i$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ uwakatu$_3$ pahábikinu$_4$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_2$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, four$_3$ young men$_4$ were returning from fightings$_5$. 2. As$_2$ they$_1$ came traveling$_2$, there$_3$ ahead of them$_4$ was a big lake$_5$. 3. That$_1$ water$_2$ was much$_3$. 4. Along there$_1$ (a) panther$_2$ (having$_4$) long$_3$ tail$_4$, appeared$_5$. 5. That one$_2$ came$_3$ to (the) water$_1$. 6. That one$_1$ went down$_3$ in water$_2$. 7. His$_1$ tail$_2$ went floating$_3$ behind him$_3$ through the water$_4$. 8. —Look at$_2$ that one$_1$.-- said$_3$ those ones$_4$. 9. As$_3$ they$_2$ looked$_3$ in the water$_1$, there$_4$ (an) alligator$_5$ went swimming$_6$. 10. Those ones$_1$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ /it$_9$/, that$_2$ alligator$_3$, —That is (what$_4$) we$_6$ fed$_7$ you$_5$.— 11. That$_1$ panther$_2$ came swimming$_4$ towards it$_3$. 12. This$_1$ alligator$_2$

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maatu$_1$ tunehtsʌnu̲$_4$. 13. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ sihka$_3$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?a$_4$ tsoap̲ka$_5$ marʌkinu̲$_6$ 14. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, u$_4$ tsap̲tsánu̲$_5$. 15. surʌk̲se?$_1$ obo$_2$ okwemi?a$_3$, surʌ$_4$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_5$. 16. —orʌtukutsa?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ taa$_3$ maka?i̲ha$_4$ tsimiakʌ?i̲$_5$, — mek̲se?$_6$ surʌʌ$_7$. 17. surʌk̲se?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ pʌn̲su?a$_3$ paahkut̲$_4$ ro?i̲tsi$_5$, paakʌma?k̲$_6$ habi̲húpiit̲$_7$, pʌn̲su?a$_8$ tʌyaainu̲$_9$. 18. surʌʌk̲se?$_1$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_2$, --nakw̲sʌ?i̲tuku$_3$marʌkw̲$_4$. — me$_5$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_6$. 19. surʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhkut̲$_3$ mi?anu̲$_4$, sunihku$_5$ uhri$_6$ bunihtsi̲$_7$. 20. subetʌ$_1$ u?$_2$.

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ran$_4$ towards him$_3$. 13. This$_1$ panther$_2$ put his paw$_4$ on$_3$ this$_3$ alligator's$_4$ shoulder$_3$. 14. Doing to$_3$ him$_2$ that way$_1$, (he) ripped$_3$ it$_4$ open$_3$. 15. /That one$_1$/, that$_4$ alligator$_3$ over that way$_2$ goes floating$_3$. 16. —That one$_1$ missed getting$_3$ what$_4$ we$_3$ fed$_4$ him$_2$.-- said$_4$ those ones$_7$. 17. That$_1$ panther$_2$ himself also$_3$ coming out$_5$ from the water$_4$ suddenly laid down$_7$ beside the water$_5$, himself also$_8$ died$_9$. 18. Those$_1$ young men$_2$ said$_3$ $_6$. --They$_4$ killed each other$_3$.-- 19. Those ones$_1$ then$_2$ from there$_3$ went$_4$, seeing$_7$ them$_6$ in that way$_5$. 20. That$_2$ is all of that$_1$.

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XXVI

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ renahpʌ?$_4$ tʌhóinukwa$_5$. 2. huuhkʌma?ru$_1$ u$_2$ mi?akukʌse?$_3$ su?anetʌ$_4$ umunahkwetʌ$_5$ arʌka?$_6$ runehtsʌnu$_7$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ miakʌnu$_3$. 4. uhka$_1$ u$_2$ miakʌkukʌse?$_3$ sʌmʌ?$_4$ renahpʌ?$_5$ rʌhʌyakarʌrʌ$_6$, yu?anamʌsoarʌ$_7$, umunai$_8$ umatu$_9$ to?inu$_{10}$. 5. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —hina$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ haniniinas?— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —tʌhoiniitʌ$_2$ nʌ?$_3$.— mekʌ$_4$. 7. surʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —ʌtakʌha$_3$ nʌmiiyu$_4$?— mekʌ$_5$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —kee$_2$ sootʌ$_3$ nʌ$_4$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌtsa?$_5$ inakwʌ$_6$ ma$_7$ noo?yahne$_8$ kahnikatʌʌ$_9$.— mekʌ$_{10}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ nʌma?ai$_5$ mia$_6$. nʌma?ai$_7$ nʌʌ?$_8$ hubebinu$_9$.— me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mama?ai$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, marʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ mama?ai$_6$ pitʌnu$_7$. 11. marʌʌ$_1$ kahnikuhpati$_2$ ma$_3$ witekakʌse?$_4$ hayarokwetʌʌ$_5$ pahpa?atʌʌ$_6$ ta?wo?i?nʌʌ$_7$ su?ana$_8$ namahtowʌni?ikʌ$_9$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌrenahpʌ?$_2$ sitii$_3$ marʌʌ$_4$ ta?wo?i?nii$_5$ bunihtsi$_6$, kuya?anu$_7$ 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, one$_3$ man$_4$ went off huntings$_5$. 2. As$_3$ he$_2$ went$_3$ along the edge of the timber$_1$, at that place$_4$ away from in front of him$_5$ (a) deer$_6$ ran$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ chased$_2$ it$_3$. 4. As$_3$ he$_2$ chased$_3$ that one$_1$, one$_4$ man$_5$ is on horseback$_6$, (who) is wearing warm clothes$_7$, (he) came out$_{10}$ from in front of him$_8$ on to him$_9$. 5. This$_1$ white man$_2$ said to$_4$ him$_7$, —What$_3$ you$_4$ doing around$_5$?— 6. That one$_1$ said$_4$, —I$_3$ am hunting around$_2$.— 7. That$_1$ white man$_2$ said$_5$, —Are you by yourself$_3$ moving around$_4$?— 8. That one$_1$ said$_{10}$, —No$_3$. Many$_3$ (of) my$_4$ relatives$_5$ (in) this direction$_4$ on /its$_7$/ the other side of the hill$_8$ have a camp$_9$.— 9. This$_1$ white man$_2$ said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ him$_{11}$, —Go$_6$ with me$_5$ to$_4$ my$_3$ house$_4$. With me$_7$ you$_8$ drink coffee$_9$.— 10. This one$_1$ went$_3$ with him$_2$, to$_3$ their$_4$ house$_5$, (and) arrived$_7$ with him$_4$. 11. As$_4$ he$_3$ looked$_4$ around inside$_2$, their$_1$ house$_2$, four$_5$ long$_6$ guns$_7$ stood leaning$_9$ there$_8$. 12. This$_1$ Indian man$_2$ seeing$_6$ these$_3$ their$_4$ guns$_5$, got scared$_7$. 13. This

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wihnu$_{2}$, —yee$_{3}$. nʌkia$_{4}$ rʌrʌkʌraiboo?nʌʌkʌ$_{5}$ bitʌnu$_{6}$?— mekʌ$_{7}$. 14. me$_{1}$ suahtsi$_{2}$, suhka$_{3}$ raiboo?a$_{4}$, —haitsi$_{5}$. miaru?i$_{6}$ nʌ?$_{7}$.— mekʌ$_{8}$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ taiboo?$_{2}$, —yee$_{3}$. keta?$_{4}$ mi?arʌ$_{5}$. nʌ$_{6}$ hipʌha$_{7}$ nʌ?$_{8}$ ʌ$_{9}$ tsahpunikʌtu?i$_{10}$.— mekʌ$_{11}$. 16. si?ahru$_{1}$ pʌ$_{2}$ piawobi?awe$_{3}$ tsatuwánu$_{4}$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ tosahpuhihwima?ai$_{2}$ ekahpuhihwi$_{3}$ tʌaʌʌ$_{4}$ wanabuhihwi$_{5}$ sihka$_{6}$ ma$_{7}$ wobi?awe$_{8}$ tʌbinaa?weki$_{9}$ tʌhpé?kʌahka$_{10}$. 18. surʌkʌse?$_{1}$ taiboo?$_{2}$, —ke$_{3}$ nʌnʌ$_{4}$ mʌmi$_{5}$ nʌmʌnii$_{6}$ ke$_{7}$ hakani$_{8}$ mʌʌwa?itʌʌ$_{9}$. keta?$_{10}$ nʌ$_{11}$ kuya?akʌtʌ$_{12}$.— mekʌ$_{13}$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ nʌʌmʌ$_{2}$ pʌ$_{3}$ pukuwakatu$_{4}$ mi?anu$_{5}$. 20. —miaru?i$_{1}$ nʌ?$_{2}$,— me$_{3}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{4}$. u$_{5}$ hunu?bihta$_{6}$ una?rʌru$_{7}$ maninu$_{8}$. 21. si?anakʌse?$_{1}$ tʌhʌyanʌʌ$_{2}$ tʌaʌʌ$_{3}$ wahahtʌkwʌ$_{4}$ ku?simúura?nʌkwʌ$_{5}$ piarʌnoorʌ$_{6}$, pʌhʌ$_{7}$ natsanʌhkʌ?a$_{8}$ pʌhʌ$_{9}$ sapʌma?aihku$_{10}$ narukʌsʌapʌnaihku$_{11}$ si?ana$_{12}$ rooyʌhka$_{13}$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ tenahpʌ?$_{2}$ sihka$_{3}$ mahrʌ$_{4}$ tʌnoopʌha$_{5}$ tsapʌhesuwaaitʌ$_{6}$, u$_{7}$ mʌninu$_{8}$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ wihnu$_{2}$ hunu?bihta$_{3}$ bitusʌ$_{4}$ maninu$_{5}$. 24. si?ana$_{1}$ hunu?ma$_{2}$ paakuhpa$_{3}$ wahahtʌkwʌ$_{4}$ urʌʌ$_{5}$ waikina$_{6}$ na?omonʌkwʌ$_{7}$ hanika$_{8}$. 25. manitsi$_{1}$, sitʌ$_{2}$ pʌ$_{3}$ kahnibetu$_{4}$ pitusʌ$_{5}$ mi?anu$_{6}$.

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one$_{1}$ then$_{2}$ said$_{7}$. —Oh$_{3}$. Have I$_{4}$ arrived$_{6}$ to white robbers$_{5}$?— 14. Thinking$_{1\ 2}$, [thus](he) said to$_{8}$ that$_{3}$ white man$_{4}$. —Friends$_{5}$, I$_{7}$ will go$_{6}$.— 15. This$_{1}$ white man$_{2}$ said$_{11}$. —Oh$_{3}$. Don't$_{4}$ go$_{5}$. I$_{8}$ will show$_{10}$ you$_{9}$ my$_{6}$ belongings$_{7}$.— 16. Along here somewhere$_{1}$ (he) opened$_{4}$ his$_{2}$ big wooden trunk$_{3}$. 17. This$_{1}$ /this$_{4}$/ his$_{7}$ wooden trunk$_{8}$ was filled up$_{10}$ half full$_{9}$ with silver money$_{2}$, gold money$_{3}$ and$_{4}$ paper money$_{5}$. 18. That$_{1}$ white man$_{2}$ said$_{13}$, —/Not$_{3}$/ we$_{4}$ won't do to$_{7\ 9}$ you$_{5}$ Indians$_{6}$ in any way$_{8}$. Don't$_{10}$ be afraid of$_{12}$ me$_{11}$.— 19. This$_{1}$ Indian$_{2}$ went$_{3}$ towards$_{4}$ his$_{3}$ horse$_{4}$. 20. --I$_{2}$ will go$_{1}$,— (he) said$_{3\ 4}$. (and) crossed$_{8}$ to the other side of /it$_{7}$/ that$_{5}$ creek$_{6}$. 21. Here$_{1}$ horses$_{2}$ and$_{3}$ two$_{4}$ /grey/ mules$_{5}$ are carrying big packs$_{6}$, (and) as$_{11}$ their$_{7}$ girths$_{8}$, in with$_{10}$ their$_{9}$ stomach$_{10}$, had grown (into) flesh$_{11}$ here$_{12}$ (they) were grazing around$_{13}$. 22. This$_{1}$ man$_{2}$ tried to throw off$_{6}$ /this$_{3}$/ their$_{4}$ packs$_{5}$ [but] failed to do$_{8}$ it$_{7}$. 23. This one$_{1}$ then$_{2}$ crossed$_{5}$ back$_{4}$ (across the) creek$_{3}$. 24. Here$_{1}$ on the creek$_{2}$ in the water$_{3}$ were$_{8}$ two$_{4}$ /their$_{5}$/ wagon$_{4}$ wheels$_{7}$. 25. Having crossed$_{1}$, this

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599 26. su?anakʌse?$_1$ huuhkabaiki$_2$ u$_3$ mi?aku$_4$, wahahtʌkwʌ$_5$ raiboo?nʌkwʌ$_6$ u$_7$ ra?uranu$_8$. 27. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$, —inakwʌtsa?$_2$ nʌhʌ$_3$ tʌbehkapʌ$_4$ habitʌ$_5$. kima$_6$ umati$_7$ nʌʌ?$_8$ noohtsi$_9$, mi?anu$_{10}$. — me$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu$_{13}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, —yee$_2$. yʌihumi?arʌ$_3$ ma?$_4$. miaru?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ — mekʌ$_7$, uhri$_8$ tʌ?ʌyatʌ$_9$. 29. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$, —keta?$_2$ nʌhi$_3$ tʌ?ʌyatʌh$_4$. nah$_5$ nʌkwʌ$_6$ u$_7$ tohobematitaka$_8$ tʌtsihka?aru?i$_9$. ubuti$_{10}$ ʌnʌ$_{11}$ sʌmʌnooro?i$_{12}$. — me$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ niikwiiyu$_{15}$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ mahrʌma?ai$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, makʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 31. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ suwaihpeti$_4$ umati$_5$ tsihka?atsi$_6$, mi?anu$_7$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌrenahpʌ?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tsaaku$_4$ orʌkwʌ$_5$ tʌrʌkʌraiboo?nʌkwʌ$_6$ nʌ$_7$ hanikʌnu$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 33. sitʌʌ$_1$ taiboo?nʌʌ$_2$ tʌbehkapʌha$_3$ sʌmʌnoohtsi$_4$, pʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 34. ma$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ setʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_5$ sihka$_6$ ma$_7$ noopʌha$_8$ na?nʌbe?ku$_9$ himahkwaitʌ$_{10}$, u$_{11}$ tsahtsú?manu$_{12}$. 35. surʌh$_1$ tʌrʌkʌraiboo?nʌh$_2$ sunihku$_3$ sihka$_4$ marʌʌ$_5$ na?nʌʌmi$_6$ makahtsi$_7$, marii$_8$ tsaahtʌhkanu$_9$. 36. subetʌ$_1$.

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one$_2$ went$_6$ back$_3$ towards$_4$ his$_5$ camp$_4$. 26. There$_1$ as$_4$ he$_3$ went$_4$ among the trees$_2$, two$_5$ white men$_6$ met$_8$ him$_7$.
27. Those two$_1$ said to$_{11}$ $_{13}$ him$_{12}$. —In this direction$_2$ our$_3$ killing$_4$ is lying$_5$. Come$_6$. Carrying$_9$ some of it$_7$ you$_8$ go$_{10}$ —
28. This one$_1$ said$_7$, —Oh$_2$. It$_4$ is about evening$_3$. I$_6$ will go$_5$,— (for he) is afraid of$_9$ them$_8$. 29. These two$_1$ said to$_{13}$ $_{15}$ him$_{14}$. —Don't$_2$ be afraid of$_4$ us$_3$. We$_6$ /just$_5$/ will cut off$_9$ only some of$_8$ its$_7$ hindquarter$_8$. The rest of it$_{10}$ you$_{11}$ will haul all off$_{12}$.— 30. This one$_1$ then$_2$ went$_4$ with them$_3$, (and) arrived$_4$ to it$_5$. 31. These two$_1$ then$_2$ cutting$_6$ off from it$_5$ their$_3$ part (that they) wanted$_4$ (they) went$_7$. 32. This$_1$ Indian man$_2$ said$_9$, —Those two$_5$ white robbers$_6$ did for$_8$ me$_7$ very$_3$ good$_4$.— 33. Carrying off all$_4$ these$_1$ white men's$_2$ killing$_3$ to$_4$ his$_5$ house$_6$ (he) went$_7$. 34. When$_2$ he$_1$ arrived$_3$, /those various ones$_3$/ his$_4$ relatives$_5$, evenly dividing$_9$ /this$_4$/ his$_7$ load$_8$, came and went taking it off$_{10}$, finished$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ up$_{13}$.
35. Those$_1$ white robbers$_2$ in that way$_3$ feeding$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_5$ relatives$_6$, fed$_9$ them$_8$ good$_9$. 36. That is all$_1$.

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XXVII

589 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ renahpʌ?$_4$ pʌ$_5$ kwʌhʌma?ai$_6$ pʌhʌ$_7$ tʌe?tʌma?ai$_8$ pʌʌ$_9$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ?atahpu$_{10}$ nomi?anu$_{11}$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ u$_3$ hunu?bihta$_4$ kʌma?kʌ$_5$ nobitʌnu$_6$.
3. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ tʌhóinukwa$_3$. 4. surʌkʌse?$_1$ yuupʌ-ha$_2$ nʌmʌkuhtsu?a$_3$ tʌbehkanu$_4$. 5. si?anetʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ rʌhanitsi$_3$, pʌ$_4$ tʌnoowapiha$_5$ nookʌtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$.
6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌhi$_3$, —kohtoo-htsi$_4$, tai$_5$ ku?inakʌ$_6$.— me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tukaninu$_2$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ norʌnapʌʌka$_4$ pa?arai$_5$ habiitʌ$_6$, pʌ$_7$ eetʌma?aihku$_8$ pʌ$_9$ pake$_{10}$ himahkatʌ$_{11}$, natsahpunibʌni$_{12}$. 11. marʌʌ$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, one$_3$ man$_4$ with$_4$ his$_5$ wife$_6$ with$_8$ their$_7$ children$_8$ moved$_{11}$ away from$_{10}$ their$_9$ relatives$_{10}$.
2. Those ones$_1$ camped$_4$ there$_2$ besides$_3$ that$_3$ creek$_4$. 3. This$_1$ man$_2$ went off hunting$_3$. 4. That one$_1$ killed$_4$ (a) fat$_2$ buffalo$_3$.
5. At this place$_1$ butchering$_3$ it$_2$, (and) loading up$_6$ his$_4$ pack animals$_5$ (he) went$_7$ to$_8$ their$_7$ houses$_8$. 6. This one$_1$ arrived$_2$.
7. This one$_1$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ /her$_8$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$, —Making a fire$_4$, roast for$_4$ us$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 9. It$_1$ got dark$_2$.
10. This$_1$ man$_2$ is lying$_4$ in$_4$ their$_3$ bed$_4$ on (his) back$_5$, is holding$_{11}$ /with$_8$/ his$_7$ bow$_8$ /and/ his$_9$ arrow$_{10}$ (and) is testing (them) much$_{12}$. 11. As$_3$ their$_1$ teepee$_2$ sat$_3$, (a) big tree$_4$

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nʌmʌkahni$_2$ karʌʌkukʌ̲se?$_3$ piahuuhpi$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ kahniba?aiki$_6$ mupi̲hábiiyu̲$_7$. 12. siba?akʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ mupi̲habihpa?a$_3$ wasáasi?$_4$ habiiyu̲$_5$. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ siki̲$_3$ habitʌ̲$_4$, natsa-hpuni̲bʌnitʌ̲$_5$, sihka$_6$ wasáasi?a$_7$ pʌʌ$_8$ kahniku?ekʌ̲ku$_9$ pʌmi$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ kuhiyʌ̲kaku$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ buninu̲$_{14}$. 14. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌ-hi$_3$, --taa$_4$ kahku?ekʌ̲$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ kwʌhtitu?i̲$_7$.— me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_9$. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ pakamaku$_3$ tsahtúnehtsʌnu̲$_4$, pʌʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ ku?etu$_7$ wʌhkínu̲$_8$. 16. suni$_1$ u$_2$ naahkakʌ̲se?$_3$ hunakwʌ̲$_4$ piawʌnʌ?yʌ?i̲$_5$. 17. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, --hini$_4$ usʌ̲$_5$?— 18. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ kʌahkwa̲$_2$. 19. sitʌ$_1$ wasáasi?$_2$ ma$_3$ kwʌhti?$_4$ si?ana$_5$ hahpi̲$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —namʌ̲-sohi$_3$. taa$_4$ pukunii$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ umaru?i̲$_7$. namʌ̲sohi$_8$. nomiaru?i̲$_9$ tanʌ̲$_{10}$,--c mekʌ̲se?$_{11}$ surʌ$_{12}$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{13}$. 21. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ narʌnoo?rʌkinu̲$_3$. 22. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_3$, pitu̲sʌ$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌkʌ̲hu$_6$ nuraanu̲$_7$, soko̲$_8$ bitʌnu̲$_9$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, --okʌ̲ho$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ pʌhkutʌ̲$_5$ nʌmʌ$_6$ kima?i̲kutʌ̲$_7$ wasáasi?a$_8$ pehka?i̲$_9$. nama-

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was lying bent$_7$ over$_6$ their$_5$ teepee$_6$. 12. /On this$_1$/ on$_3$ that$_2$ lying bent (limb), (an) Osage$_4$ was lying$_5$. 13. This$_1$ man$_2$ is lying$_4$ here$_3$, testing (bow) much$_5$, as$_{12}$ /he$_{11}$/ this$_6$ Osage$_7$ was spying on$_{12}$ them$_{10}$ through$_9$ their$_8$ teepee top$_9$, (he) saw$_{14}$ him$_{13}$. 14. This one$_1$ said to$_{8\,9}$ his$_2$ wife$_3$, —I$_4$ will shoot$_7$ through$_5$ our$_4$ teepee top$_5$.-- 15. This one$_1$ with$_3$ his$_2$ arrow$_3$ stretched (his) (bow)$_4$, (and) shot$_8$ through$_7$ their$_5$ teepee$_6$ top$_7$. 16. As$_3$ he$_2$ acted$_3$ that way$_1$, outside$_4$ (there) was a big thud$_5$. 17. /That one$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$, (said), —What is$_4$ that$_5$?-- 18. These two$_1$ went out$_2$. 19. This$_1$ Osage$_2$ he$_3$ shot$_4$ was lying$_6$ here$_5$. 20. This$_1$ man$_2$, (said) —Hurry$_3$. I$_4$ will fetch$_7$ our$_4$ horses$_5$. Hurry$_8$. We$_{10}$ will move away$_9$.-- said$_{11\,13}$ that one$_{12}$. 21. This one$_1$ saddled up [the horses] for$_3$ them$_2$. 22. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ mounting horseback$_3$, ran$_7$ back$_4$ to$_6$ their$_5$ relatives$_6$, over there$_8$ (they) arrived$_9$. 23. This$_1$ man$_2$ (said), --Over there$_3$ from the place$_5$ we$_4$ came from$_7$ I$_4$ killed$_9$ (an) Osage$_8$. Get

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5/29 ka?mukika$_{10}$. tai$_{11}$ nomiaru?ika$_{12}$.-- mekase?$_{13}$ surʌ$_{14}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{15}$. 24. sitʌʌkase?$_{1}$ nomi?anu$_{2}$, sunihku$_{3}$ suhka$_{4}$ wasáasi?a$_{5}$ namaro?inu$_{6}$. 25. suhkakase?$_{1}$ tenahpʌ?a$_{2}$ surʌʌ$_{3}$ u$_{4}$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_{5}$, —nohi?$_{6}$ o?ana$_{7}$ atahpu$_{8}$ nomi?arʌni$_{9}$.-- me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 26. subetʌ$_{1}$.

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ready$_{10}$. We$_{11}$ will move away$_{12}$.-- that one$_{14}$ said$_{13}$ $_{15}$.
24. These ones$_{1}$ moved away$_{2}$, in that way$_{3}$ (they) escaped from$_{4}$ that$_{4}$ Osage$_{5}$. 25. Those$_{3}$ his$_{4}$ relatives$_{5}$ said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ /him$_{11}$/ that$_{1}$ man$_{2}$, —Very (good$_{6}$) away$_{8}$ over there somewhere$_{7}$ (he) told (us) to move$_{9}$.-- 26. That is all$_{1}$.

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XXVIII

589 1. su?anakʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ ta$_3$ sookʌ̲nibaihku$_4$, sʌmʌ?$_5$ renahpʌ?$_6$ pʌ$_7$ kwʌhʌma?ai$_8$ u$_9$ pia?ma?ai$_{10}$ tʌasʌ$_{11}$ tʌtaatʌ$_{12}$ tua?$_{13}$ tʌasʌ$_{14}$ tʌtaatʌ$_{15}$ petʌ?ma?ai$_{16}$ urii$_{17}$ noka?inu̲$_{18}$. 2. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ mi?anoorʌ̲$_2$, so?ana$_3$ nobitʌnu̲$_4$. 3. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ bʌ$_3$ kwʌhi$_4$. —namaka?muki$_5$. tʌbehkakwatu?i$_6$ takwʌ̲$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 4. suhka$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ kaku?a$_3$ bʌhʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?-tʌhʌma?aihku$_5$ sukʌ̲hu$_6$ bʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_8$ urii$_9$ bʌahtsi$_{10}$, pʌkwʌ̲$_{11}$ mi?anu̲$_{12}$, wihnu$_{13}$ tʌkenu̲kwa̲$_{14}$. 5. su?anakʌ̲se?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ̲$_2$ nobitʌnu̲$_3$. 6. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ su?ahru$_4$ hunu?matu$_5$ ta?siwóo?a$_6$ tʌmarʌʌmoari$_7$ yuhukati$_8$ tʌbehkanu̲$_9$. 7. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ ma$_2$ noohtsi$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kwʌhʌwakatu$_5$ mi?anu̲$_6$.

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, where$_4$ we$_3$ had many houses$_4$, one$_5$ man$_6$ with$_8$ his$_7$ wife$_8$ with$_{10}$ his$_9$ mother$_{10}$ also$_{11}$ (his) little$_{12}$ son$_{13}$ also$_{14}$ with$_{16}$ (his) little$_{15}$ daughter$_{16}$ moved away from$_{18}$ them$_{17}$. 2. This one$_1$ is traveling$_2$, (and he) camped$_4$ over there somewhere$_3$. 3. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_3$ his$_3$ wife$_4$, —Get ready$_5$. We two$_7$ will go off to kill$_4$.— 4. Leaving$_{10}$ /that$_1$/ their$_2$ grandmother$_3$ with$_5$ their$_4$ two children$_5$ /them$_9$/ there$_6$ in$_8$ their$_7$ teepee$_8$, they two$_{11}$ went$_{12}$, then$_{13}$ went off hunting$_{14}$. 5. There$_1$ these two$_2$ camped$_3$. 6. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ along there$_4$ /on to/ [by] the creek$_5$ killed$_9$ (a) buffalo$_6$ /having$_8$/ much$_7$ fat$_8$. 7. At this place$_1$ carrying$_3$ it$_2$, he went$_4$ towards$_5$ his$_4$ wife$_5$. 8. When$_2$ he$_1$ arrived$_3$,

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8. ma$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ kwʌhʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ tsayumi?itsi$_7$, pʌhi$_8$ makanu$_9$. 9. pʌhi$_1$ tʌhkamaahka$_2$, pʌhʌ$_3$ tʌhkapʌ-ha$_4$ inanu$_5$. 10. sitʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ ma$_3$ ina?etʌ$_4$, ma$_5$ ro-htsani?imi?$_6$ hunakwʌ$_7$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —inakwʌhi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ma$_6$ noo?yahnehti$_7$ bunikwatu?i$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —namʌsohihtsi$_4$, nʌʌ?$_5$ pitusʌ$_6$ kimanu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 13. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ mi?aka$_3$, waha-htʌ$_4$ wasáasi?tenanʌkwʌ$_5$ mawaka$_6$ bitʌnu$_7$. 14. surʌkwʌ-kʌse?$_1$, —hakʌse?$_2$ ʌ$_3$ kumahpʌ?$_4$? — mekʌ$_5$. 15. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —ibu$_3$ u?$_4$ mi?a?i$_5$. — mekʌ$_6$. 16. pʌ?atahpu$_1$ u$_2$ mi?a?iha$_3$ uhri$_4$ tʌ?awekʌnu$_5$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$, —mawaka$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ karʌru?i$_5$. ʌnʌ$_6$ ma$_7$ kumahpʌ?$_8$ weki-kwa$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ bʌwaka$_3$ karʌ?iha$_4$, —ihka$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ rʌhkapʌha$_7$ hunakwʌ$_8$ rohtsanaru?i$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$, ma$_{11}$ yaahtsi$_{12}$, to?inu$_{13}$. 19. pʌ$_1$ puki$_2$ narʌnoo?rʌkitʌ$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnimiihtsi?$_5$ nʌʌtsʌkʌnaaku$_6$, uwakatu$_7$ tʌbitsi$_8$ tunehtsʌnu$_9$, uba?$_{10}$ to?itsi$_{11}$, pʌ$_{12}$ kumahpʌ?$_{13}$ pʌpetu$_{14}$ mi?a?ibetu$_{15}$ nuhkínu$_{16}$, pʌ$_{17}$ kumahpʌ?$_{18}$ ra?uranu$_{19}$.

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this$_3$ his$_4$ wife$_5$ unloading$_7$ it$_6$, fed$_9$ them$_8$. 9. When$_2$ they$_1$ finished eating$_3$, (they) jerked$_5$ their$_3$ meat$_4$. 10. This$_1$ woman$_2$ jerks$_4$ it$_3$, (and) goes hanging$_6$ it$_5$ up$_4$ outside$_7$. 11. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_9$, —I$_5$ will go to look$_8$ (in) this direction$_4$ along the other side of$_7$ this$_6$ hill$_7$.— 12. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ said$_8$, —Hurrying up$_4$, you$_5$ come$_7$ back$_6$.— 13. At this place$_1$ as$_2$ he$_3$ went$_3$, two$_4$ Osage men$_5$ arrived$_7$ to her$_6$. 14. These two$_1$ said$_5$, —Where is$_2$ your$_3$ husband$_4$?— 15. That$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_6$, —He$_4$ went$_5$ this way$_3$.— 16. (She) told$_5$ them$_4$ (a direction) away from him$_1$ that$_3$ he$_2$ went$_3$. 17. That one$_1$ /one$_2$/ said$_{10}$, —I$_4$ will sit$_5$ with her$_3$. You$_4$ go look for$_9$ her$_7$ husband$_8$.— 18. This one$_1$ said to$_{10}$ this one$_2$ /what/ [who] is sitting$_4$ with her$_3$, —I$_6$ will hang up$_9$ this$_5$ meat$_7$ outside$_8$.— Taking$_{12}$ it$_{11}$, (she) went out$_{13}$. 19. As$_6$ her$_1$ horse$_2$ is saddled$_3$, (and) is tied$_4$ near$_5$ their$_4$ teepee$_5$ (she) really$_8$ ran$_9$ towards it$_7$, climbing up$_{11}$ on it$_{10}$, (she) ran to$_{16}$ her$_{12}$ husband$_{13}$, /towards him$_{14}$/ towards the way (he)

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589 20. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hakanikia$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ nahánu$_5$?— mekʌ$_4$. 21. —wahahtʌkwʌ$_1$ wasáasi?tenanʌkwʌ$_2$ nʌwaka$_3$ bitʌ?i$_4$.— mekʌ$_5$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ si?anetʌ$_4$ uhri$_5$ kuhíyami?anu$_6$. 23. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?anetʌ$_2$ uhrʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ muhyʌhkutʌ$_5$ ku?inʌbʌni$_6$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pitusʌ$_2$ pitʌnu$_3$. 25. —ʌkʌsʌ$_1$ urʌkwʌ$_2$ tahʌ$_3$ kahnikʌ$_4$ yʌkwihkatʌkwʌ$_5$,— mekʌ$_1$. 26. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ u$_3$ bianoo?karʌku$_4$ u$_5$ manaa?nakwʌhu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 27. surʌ$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ suma$_4$ u$_5$ noo?ma$_6$ to?i?etʌ$_7$, uhri$_8$ kuhíya?eeyu$_9$. 28. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —tʌmarʌʌmoakutsa?$_4$ surʌ$_5$ sʌmʌ?$_6$ nʌwaka$_7$ karʌ?i$_8$ nʌ$_9$ bukuba?a$_{10}$ to?itsi$_{11}$, nʌ$_{12}$ runetsʌka$_{13}$, nʌ$_{14}$ miakʌ?i$_{15}$. noha$_{16}$ u?$_{17}$ nʌ$_{18}$ kwʌhʌru?i$_{19}$. ʌnʌse?$_{20}$ nʌmatu$_{21}$ to?itsi$_{22}$. nʌ$_{23}$ makwitso?ainu$_{24}$.— 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ u$_4$ rukanika$_5$, uhrʌwakatu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 30. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wasáasi?nʌkwʌ$_2$ hunai$_3$ hʌhi$_4$ u$_5$ nakʌkaku$_6$, pia?ʌsuakibʌni$_7$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ tʌhkapʌha$_3$ hunaiki$_4$ narohtsani?iku$_5$, ma$_6$ tsayumi?itsi$_7$, ma$_8$ noohtsi$_9$, hʌ$_{10}$ kwʌhʌwakatu$_{11}$

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went$_{15}$, (she) met$_{19}$ her$_{17}$ husband$_{18}$. 20. That$_1$ man$_2$ said$_6$, —Wonder what$_3$ happened to$_5$ you$_4$?— 21. —Two$_1$ Osage men$_2$ arrived$_4$ to me$_3$.— (she) said$_5$. 22. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ at this place$_4$ went to spy on$_6$ them$_5$. 23. Those two$_1$ at that place$_2$ to the east of$_5$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$ were roasting much (meat)$_6$. 24. This one$_1$ arrived$_3$ back$_2$. 25. —Those two$_2$ still$_1$ are sittings$_5$ in$_4$ our$_3$ teepee$_4$, (he) said$_6$. Those two$_1$ there$_4$ where that big hill sits$_3$ went$_3$ further from its$_5$ [camp]. 27. That$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ climbs up$_7$ on that$_4$ /that$_5$/ hill /on$_6$/, and was spying on$_9$ them$_8$. 28. /That$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$, said$_{23}$, —That one$_5$ /one$_6$/ [who] sat$_8$ with me$_7$ chased$_{15}$ me$_{14}$ much$_4$, when$_{13}$ I$_{12}$, climbing$_{11}$ on$_{10}$ my$_9$ horse$_{10}$, ran$_{13}$. He$_{17}$ nearly$_{16}$ caught$_{19}$ me$_{18}$. You$_{20}$, coming out$_{22}$ /on/ to me$_{21}$, saved$_{24}$ me$_{23}$.— 29. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$, when$_5$ it$_4$ got dark$_5$, went$_7$ towards them$_4$. 30. These$_1$ Osages$_2$, as$_4$ he$_5$ listened to$_6$ them$_4$ from outside$_3$, are snoring much$_7$. 31. As$_5$ their$_2$ meat$_3$ is hanging$_5$ around outside$_4$, this one$_1$, taking$_7$ it$_6$

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bituʌ$_{12}$ mi?anu$_{13}$. 32. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ tʌnoowapiha$_4$ tsakʌtsi$_5$, mi?anú$_6$, so?ana$_7$ surʌʌkʌ$_8$ pʌʌ$_9$ kaku?waka$_{10}$ bʌʌ$_{11}$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌwaka$_{12}$ bitʌnu$_{13}$. 33. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ bʌʌ$_3$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌkʌhu$_4$ pituʌ$_5$ nomi?anu$_6$. 34. soko$_1$ ra$_2$ soohkahnibaihku$_3$ urʌʌkʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$. 35. subetʌ$_1$.

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down$_7$, /and/ carrying$_9$ it$_8$, went$_{13}$ back$_{12}$ towards$_{11}$ his$_{10}$ wife$_{11}$. 32. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ leading$_3$ their$_3$ pack animals$_4$, went$_6$, (they) arrived$_{13}$ over there$_7$ /to those ones$_8$/ to$_{10}$ their$_9$ grandmother$_{10}$ (and) to$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ children$_{12}$. 33. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ moved$_6$ back$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ relatives$_4$. 34. There$_1$ where we had many teepees$_{2\ 3}$, among them$_4$ (they) camped$_5$. 35. That is all$_1$.

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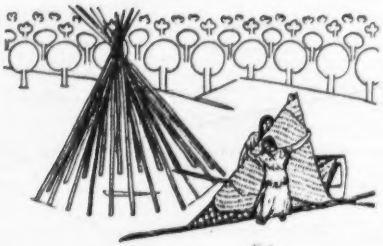

XXIX

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ nʌmʌkahnikʌ$_3$ nʌmʌnaahkatʌʌ$_4$. 2. nʌ$_1$ bia?se?$_2$ pibiapʌhi$_3$ waawatayʌkwi?eeyu$_4$, nʌmʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ pʌmatu$_7$ pʌ$_8$ karʌkʌtu?iha$_9$. 3. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_5$, u$_6$ karʌkʌ?eeyu$_7$, kʌhtaaku$_8$ u$_9$ rawʌni?i?eeyu$_{10}$. 4. ukuhpa$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ ʌmakʌni?aikʌ?eeyu$_3$. 5. surʌse?$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, pahibahku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ wʌhtaráa?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$, pʌpa?a$_8$ nʌmʌ$_9$ ʌhkooitu?iha$_{10}$. 6. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ kutʌhó-rakʌ?eeyu$_4$, bʌkʌku$_5$ bʌ$_6$ tʌkʌhmanitu?iha$_7$. 7. surʌse?$_1$ ukuku$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ saakʌ?etʌ$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ ku?inakʌ?etʌ$_6$, nʌmi$_7$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌ?eeyu$_8$. 8. surʌse?$_1$ pianohko?awobaaitʌ$_2$, ukuku$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ nohkókʌ?eeyu$_5$. 9. sʌsʌ?ana$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ yuhúnohkokʌ?-

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1. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ lived$_4$ in (a) teepee$_3$. 2. My$_1$ mother$_2$ sets up$_4$ long$_3$ cedar poles$_4$ [then] she$_8$ will set up$_9$ our$_5$ house$_6$ on to it$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ then$_2$ does$_3$ it$_4$ that way$_3$, sets$_7$ it$_6$ up$_7$, (and) tightly$_8$ stakes$_{10}$ it$_9$. 4. Inside it$_1$ (she) makes a rain house for$_3$ us$_2$. 5. That one$_1$ does$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, three separate$_5$ bed steads (she) makes for$_7$ us$_6$, what$_{10}$
539 we$_9$ will sleep$_{10}$ on /it/$_8$. 6. That one$_1$ then$_2$ digs a fire hole
252 for$_4$ us$_3$, where$_5$ she$_6$ will cook$_7$. 7. That one$_1$ in that$_2$
[fire hole] boils for$_4$ us$_3$, roasts for$_4$ us$_3$, (and) cooks on
262 coals for$_8$ us$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ has a big biscuit oven$_2$, in it$_3$ (she) bakes biscuits for$_5$ us$_4$. 9. Sometimes$_1$ (she) cooks

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eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. sur^se?$_1$ nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$. 539
11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$ ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. sur^se?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwaaʌkʌ?eku$_4$, tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. sur^se?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌhpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌn^se?$_1$ onama?ɔi$_2$ tʌhkap^ma?aihku$_3$ u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. sur^se?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌn^se?$_1$ tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?et^$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$ sibe?et^$_7$, u$_8$ hima?et^$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌn^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibep^has$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$ kʌyu?ne?et^$_2$, paak^$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ xotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. suni-se?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, tut^tsaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$ sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. sur^se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ sanahkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ hʌnihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?-ai?ena$_4$. 22. subet^$_1$.

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fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_6$ /that$_5$/ fat$_6$ (she) roasts (it) on a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$ tastes$_4$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_4$, also$_7$ tastes$_9$ good$_8$ (and) sweet$_9$. 13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it) in ashes for$_6$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_5$ it$_4$ with salt$_2$ (and) with meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_5$ sap$_6$, take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_6$ /that$_5$/ our$_4$ shavings$_5$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_6$ it$_5$ in water$_3$. 19. We$_2$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$ clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we) make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$.

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XXX

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ Fort Sill-kutʌ$_3$ wahahtʌh$_4$ nʌmʌre-
nanʌh$_5$ tʌwoonukwa$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soo$_2$ u$_3$ royabaihku$_4$
nanisuyake$_5$ u$_6$ rʌrʌehbaahunu?baihku$_7$ ukʌhu$_8$ nobitʌnu$_9$.
3. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, —nah$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ ke$_5$ ka-
hni?aiwa?itʌʌ$_6$. 4. ihka$_1$ ranʌ$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ toponiwekiku$_4$
robo?iti$_5$ kahnibaitu?i$_6$. — 5 surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌkwʌ$_2$,
—tsaatʌ$_3$ ma?$_4$. — me$_5$ niwʌnʌ$_6$. 6. surʌh$_1$ bʌhʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$
urii$_4$ narʌnoo?ro?yanu$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ tʌnoopʌha$_7$ tsayumi?inu$_8$.
7. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ norʌnʌ́kʌnu$_3$. 8. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tuu-
hunii$_2$. 9. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ konoohonii$_2$. 10. sʌmʌ?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?$_3$
toyamatu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihtua$_2$ tʌhpe?ku$_3$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, from Fort Sill$_3$ two$_4$ Indian men$_5$ went hunting$_6$. 2. Those ones$_1$ where$_4$ it$_3$ had$_4$ many$_2$ mountains$_4$, where$_7$ it$_6$ had$_7$ pretty$_5$ little creeks$_7$, there$_8$ (they) camped$_9$. 3. Those two$_1$ women$_2$ (said) —We$_4$ just$_3$ won't$_5$ make a house$_4$. 4. We$_2$ will have a house of$_6$ these$_1$ cedars$_3$ standing$_5$ in a circle$_4$.— 5. Those two$_1$ men$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$, —It$_4$ is good$_3$.— 6. Those two$_1$ unsaddled$_9$ their$_2$ horses$_3$ for$_5$ them$_4$, took down$_8$ their$_6$ packs$_7$. 7. Those two$_1$ made beds for$_3$ them$_2$. 8. One$_1$ went to fetch water$_2$. 9. One$_1$ went to fetch firewood$_2$. 10. One$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ went to
[262] pick$_5$ [huckleberries] on /to/ the mountain$_4$. 11. That one$_1$

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huabokóo?a$_4$ bomanu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ bʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ bituʌ$_9$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 12. u$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ pomapʌha$_4$ uhri$_5$ tʌkʌbʌniku$_6$, uhrʌ$_7$ kumahpʌ?nʌkwʌ$_8$ noohpitʌnu$_9$. 13. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ noopʌha$_3$ tʌayumi?inu$_4$. 14. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ puhipʌba?a$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kohtoopʌha$_4$ kʌma?kʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ rahní?inu$_7$. 15. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ bʌi$_2$ saakʌnu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ huba?ainu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ rʌasʌ$_7$ yuhúnohkonu$_8$. 16. ma$_1$ sʌmʌkwasʌhka$_2$, sitʌʌ$_3$ puhipʌha$_4$ rʌkʌsónanu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, tʌhkánu$_8$. 17. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ tʌhkamaahka$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ awe$_5$ tahní?-inu$_6$ 18. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ ta?siwóo?rʌhkapʌka$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$ pʌhʌ$_6$ arʌka?rʌhkapʌka$_7$ yʌkwinu$_8$. 19. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ inanu$_3$. 20. tʌasʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ bʌhʌ$_3$ pomapʌkahti$_4$ tʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 21. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ pihnákamanu$_3$. 22. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ inahpʌni$_3$, nanaarʌmu?ikatʌ$_4$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nanisuyakeku$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ puhipʌha$_4$ yʌ?yʌkaku$_5$ norʌnánu$_6$. 24. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ inana$_4$ marʌkanu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ hubébinu$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌnu$_9$. 25. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ 539

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picked$_5$ a bucket$_2$ full$_3$ (of) huckleberries$_4$, then$_6$ went$_{10}$ back$_9$ to$_8$ her$_7$ camp$_8$. 12. When$_2$ she$_1$ arrived$_2$, as$_6$ they$_5$ are eating much$_6$ (of) their$_3$ pickings$_4$, their$_7$ husbands$_8$ arrived packing$_9$. 13. These two$_1$ took$_4$ their$_2$ load$_3$ down$_4$. [262]
14. These two$_1$ put$_7$ it$_6$ on leaves$_2$ beside$_5$ their$_3$ fire$_4$.
15. These two$_1$ boiled for$_3$ them$_2$, also$_4$ made coffee$_5$, then$_6$ also$_7$ made fry bread$_8$. 16. When$_2$ it$_1$ all was cooked$_2$, these ones$_3$ made a table of$_5$ leaves$_4$, then$_6$ sitting down$_7$, ate$_8$. 17. When$_3$ they$_2$ finished eating$_3$, these two$_1$ put away$_6$ their$_4$ dishes$_5$. 18. These two$_1$ then$_2$ sat down$_8$ at$_4$ their$_3$ buffalo meat$_4$ also$_5$ at$_7$ their$_6$ deer meat$_7$. 19. These two$_1$ jerked$_3$ it$_2$. 20. Also$_1$ these two$_2$ were eating$_5$ from$_4$ their$_3$ pickings$_4$. 21. Those ones$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$ (and) sweet$_3$. 22. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ jerked much$_3$, (they) are telling stories$_4$. 23. These$_1$ made a bed of$_4$ nice$_2$ soft$_3$ cedar$_3$ limbs$_4$. 24. These two$_1$ then$_2$ finished$_5$ their$_3$ jerking$_4$, also$_6$ made coffee$_7$, also$_8$ cooked on coals$_9$. 25. These two$_1$ fin- 539 251

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Oklahoma

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[249] tʌhkamaahtsi$_2$, pʌhʌ$_3$ inapʌha$_4$ pʌhʌ$_5$ inawatapa?aiki$_6$ rohtsáni?inu$_7$. 26. wihnukʌse?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ kwabinu$_3$, ʌhkóoinu$_4$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌnakiku$_2$ taanu$_3$. 28. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ yorihtsi$_2$, kohtoohtsi$_3$, huba?airu$_4$. 29. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 30. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kumahpʌ?ʌkwʌ$_3$, —pitusʌ$_4$ tanʌ$_5$ nomiaru?i$_6$.— me$_7$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 31. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kwʌhʌnʌkwʌ$_3$, —nohi?$_4$ tsaaku$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_7$. 32 sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ tsakʌhuyʌkʌtsi$_4$, urii$_5$ narʌnoo?rʌkitsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ tʌnoowapinii$_8$ tʌnookʌnu$_9$. 33. tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_1$, bʌʌ$_2$ tʌnoowapinii$_3$ tsakʌtsi$_4$, pitusʌ$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ na?ʌmʌnʌʌkʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 34. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$. 35. setʌʌ$_1$ ʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ nah$_3$ noo$_4$ marʌʌkʌhi$_5$ ta?óo?himahkwaina$_6$. 36. subetʌ$_1$.

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[251] ished eating$_2$, hung$_7$ their$_3$ jerked meat$_4$ over$_6$ their$_5$ meat poles$_6$. 26. Then$_1$ these two$_2$ lay down$_3$, (and) slept$_4$. 27. This$_1$ was$_3$ (a) quiet$_2$ morning$_3$. 28. These two$_1$ getting up$_2$, making a fire$_3$, made coffee$_4$. 29. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 30. Those ones$_1$ their$_2$ husbands$_3$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —We$_5$ will move$_6$ back$_4$.— 31. /These two$_1$/ their$_2$ wives$_3$ said$_{6\ 7}$, —Very$_4$ good$_5$.— 32. These ones$_1$ rounding up$_4$ their$_2$ horses$_3$, saddling$_6$ them$_5$ up$_4$, loaded$_9$ their$_7$ pack animals$_8$. 33. Mounting horses$_1$, (and) leading$_4$ their$_2$ pack animals$_3$, (they) went$_5$ back$_5$ to$_7$ their$_6$ relatives$_7$. 34. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 35. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ /just$_3$/ must$_4$ come and go getting pounded meat$_6$ from them$_5$. 36. That is all$_1$.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXI

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ wa?ihpʌ?$_4$ sʌmʌ?ma?ai$_5$ tʌehpʌ?rʌma?ai$_6$ toyabetu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 2. waikin̲ba?akʌ$_1$ urʌkwʌ̲$_2$ mi?a?i$_3$. 3. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ natsamukwe?a$_3$ hani̲kaku$_4$, makʌ̲$_5$ bitʌnu̲$_6$. 4. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ waikin̲ʌkutʌ̲$_2$ makʌ̲hu$_3$ weenu̲$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ wihtue$_6$ himanu̲$_7$. 5. sitʌkwʌ̲$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌhpe?ku$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ wihtuaku$_5$ sihka$_6$ natsamukwe?a$_7$ pomanu̲$_8$. 6. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ sukʌ̲hu$_2$ wihtuaku$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pomana$_5$ nʌʌ?mainu̲$_6$. 7. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ waikin̲ʌkahtu$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pomapʌ̲ha$_5$ to?wʌ?wenimi?a̲$_6$. 8. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ sinihku$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ pomana$_4$ nʌʌ?mainu̲$_5$. 9. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ tʌtaati$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ tʌhka?a?a$_4$ yaanu̲$_5$, wihnu$_6$ sihka$_7$ natsamukwe?a$_8$ sʌki$_9$ wʌhpómi?inu̲$_{10}$, pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikin̲ʌkahtu$_{12}$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, one$_3$ woman$_4$ with one$_5$ child /with$_6$/ went$_8$ towards the mountains$_7$. 2. On a wagon$_1$ those two$_2$ went$_3$. 3. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_5$, where there were$_4$ much$_2$ grapes$_3$. 4. These two$_1$ went down$_4$ from (the) wagon$_2$ to it$_3$, (they) took$_7$ their$_5$ buckets$_6$. 5. These two$_1$ picked$_5$ /that$_2$/ their$_4$ buckets$_6$ full$_3$ /in$_6$/ (of) these$_4$ grapes$_7$. 6. These two$_1$ there$_2$ tired of$_4$ their$_4$ pickings$_5$ in buckets$_3$. 7. These two$_1$ kept on dumping$_4$ their$_4$ pickings$_5$ into$_3$ their$_2$ wagon$_3$. 8. These two$_1$ tired of$_5$ their$_3$ picking$_4$ in this way$_2$. 9. These two$_1$ took$_8$ their$_3$ little$_2$ ax$_4$, then$_4$ these$_7$ grapes$_8$ vines$_9$ (they) chopped down$_{10}$, (they)

Comanche Texts

ma$_{13}$ betinu$_{14}$, ma$_{15}$ rʌhpé?kʌanu$_{16}$. 10. mahka$_1$ mahri$_2$ tʌhpe?kʌahkakʌse?$_3$ si?ana$_4$ pimoróo?a$_5$ piakuhma$_6$ tuhubʌ-hkapʌ$_7$ mahrʌwakatu$_8$ nuhkíkina$_9$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌehpʌ?-rʌ$_2$, —itʌtsa?$_3$ narʌ?ʌyatʌ$_4$ pimoróo?$_5$ tahʌwakatu$_6$ kimaa-rʌ$_7$ — mekʌse?$_8$ sitʌ$_9$ yʌkwihtsi$_{10}$, pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikinʌkahtu$_{12}$ pohpínu$_{13}$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kaku?$_3$ pʌnʌsu?a$_4$ makʌ$_5$ tʌhʌ́yaro?inu$_6$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ sihkutʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ nuraanu$_5$. 14. mahri$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ mahrʌ$_3$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ sihka$_5$ natsamukwe?a$_6$ tsayumi?inu$_7$. 15. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ pibiarʌsone$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, makʌhu$_6$ ma$_7$ tsahpómi?inu$_8$, ma$_9$ kotsenu$_{10}$, pʌʌ$_{11}$ huu?awokʌ$_{12}$ ma$_{13}$ rahni?inu$_{14}$. 16. pʌʌ$_1$ tʌrayu?ne?a$_2$ yaahtsi$_3$, uma$_4$ u$_5$ rayu?nenu$_6$. 17. u$_1$ sʌmʌrayu?netsi$_2$, u$_3$ maroponi?inu$_4$. 18. wihnu$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ hʌkiba?aiki$_3$ pibiawobihta$_4$ tahni?itsi$_5$, sihka$_6$ natsa-mukwe?a$_7$ pʌʌ$_8$ maroponi?ipʌha$_9$ uba?aiki$_{10}$ pasáhtahni?inu$_{11}$. 19. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, muhpóo?wanapʌha$_4$ uba?aiki$_5$ wʌhpá-ri?inu$_6$. 20. hayarokwe$_1$ u$_2$ habihka$_3$, sunihku$_4$ narʌni?itʌ$_5$, 539

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threw$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ into$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$, it$_{15}$ filled up$_{14}$. 10. As$_3$ they$_2$ filled up$_3$ that$_1$, here somewhere$_4$ (a) big bull$_5$ cow$_5$ (an) angry one$_7$ came running$_9$ towards them$_8$. 11. This$_1$ child$_2$ (said), --This$_3$ dangerous$_4$ cow$_5$ is coming$_7$ towards us$_6$.— This one$_9$ saying$_{8\ 10}$, jumped$_{13}$ into$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$. 12. This$_1$ his$_2$ grandmother$_3$ herself also$_4$ mounted up$_6$ in it$_5$. 13. These two$_1$ from there$_2$ ran$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ house$_4$. 14. When$_2$ they$_1$ arrived$_2$, their$_3$ relatives$_4$ unloaded$_7$ these$_5$ grapes$_6$. 15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ takings$_5$ their$_3$ big dishpans$_4$, in it$_6$ (they) stripped$_8$ it$_7$, washed$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them], (and) placed$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ [them] in$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wooden bowls$_{12}$. 16. Takings$_3$ their$_1$ pestle$_2$, with it$_4$ (they) pounded$_6$ it$_5$. 17. Completely pound-ing$_2$ it$_1$, (they) made balls of$_4$ it$_3$. 18. Then$_1$ placings$_5$ big boards$_4$ over$_3$ their$_2$ arbor$_3$, (they) placed$_{11}$ these$_6$ their$_8$ balls$_9$ of grapes$_7$ over it$_{10}$ to dry$_{11}$. 19. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that way$_1$, (they) spread$_4$ mosquito netting$_6$ over it$_5$. 20. As$_3$ it$_2$ lies$_3$ four (days$_1$), (it) stays$_8$ in that way$_4$, /and/ when it is 539 252

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Oklahoma

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539 u$_4$ rʌbitsibasahka$_7$, pibianarʌ̨sokʌ̨$_8$ u$_9$ rʌbakinu̱$_{10}$. 21. sitʌʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tomo$_3$ u$_4$ karʌkʌ?etʌ̨$_5$, tsaa$_6$ u$_7$ bihnakamaku$_8$, u$_9$ rʌhkâ?eeyu̱$_{10}$. 22. usʌse?$_1$ pʌnihku$_2$ pʌewatsi?$_3$ natsamukwe?a$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ tʌkʌ?ai?ena̱$_6$. 23. subetʌ̨$_1$.

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539 really dry$_6$ $_7$, (they) load$_{10}$ it$_9$ in big sacks$_8$. 21. These
252 ones$_1$ then$_2$ in winter$_3$ cook$_5$ it$_4$, as$_8$ it$_7$ tastes$_8$ good$_4$ (and) sweet$_5$, (they) eat$_{10}$ it$_9$. 22. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ they$_3$ fix$_4$ wild$_3$ grapes$_4$ to eat$_6$. 23. That is all$_1$.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXII

539 1. su?anakʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_3$ kahníba?i$_4$. 2. surʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ ke$_2$ tsihánabeni?eeyu$_3$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ nana-
wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$, —hina$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ taa$_6$ tʌrʌe?tii$_7$ tʌhkákʌhutu-
?i$_8$?— mekʌ$_9$. 4. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ urʌʌmatʌ$_3$, —tsaati$_4$
nʌ?$_5$ su?ura?i$_6$,— mekʌ$_7$. 5. —tanʌwitsa$_1$ ma$_2$ yʌihka$_3$,
raa$_4$ nanahtenanʌʌma?ai$_5$ okʌho$_6$ huuhkabatu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$.—
6. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa'mpʌ?$_2$, —hina$_3$ hanitu?i$_4$ mia$_5$?— mekʌ$_6$.
7. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —ehka$_2$ kuyuníi?a$_3$ huuhkabanai$_4$ tahkʌaru?i$_5$,—
mekʌ$_6$. 8. —suni$_1$ urii$_2$ tai$_3$ mʌʌhkase?$_4$ taa$_5$ nanahtena-
nʌʌ$_6$ pʌʌ$_7$ ta?wo?i?a$_8$ himahtsi$_9$, ohto$_{10}$ ma$_{11}$ huuhkʌma?ru$_{12}$
wihnu$_{13}$ robo?ihutu?i$_{14}$.— 9. —soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ sunihku$_3$
puhitóo?a$_4$ rʌkʌwasʌ?etʌʌ$_5$.— 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ oyetʌ$_2$ si?a-
netʌ$_3$ bʌʌ$_4$ kahnikutʌ$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ omomʌsʌ$_8$ surʌʌ$_9$
ukʌu$_{10}$ bitʌnu$_{11}$. 11. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ wa?ihpʌ?$_{R4}$
pʌmʌ$_5$ u$_6$ ni?atsi?nihku$_7$, huuhkʌma?ku$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 12. sitʌʌ-

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1. Somewhere$_1$, it is said$_2$, some$_3$ had a camp$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ became hungry$_{2\,3}$. 3. /Those$_1$/ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$ said$_9$, —What$_4$ (are) we$_5$ going to feed$_8$ our$_6$ children$_7$?— 4. /That one$_1$/ one$_2$ /is/ of them$_3$ said$_7$, —I$_5$ thought of$_6$
539 something good$_4$.— 5. —When$_3$ it$_2$ is evening$_3$, we ought to$_1$
223 with$_5$ our$_4$ menfolk$_5$ go$_8$ over there$_6$ in among the trees$_7$.— 6. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_6$, —What$_3$ will (we) do$_4$, go$_5$?— 7. That one$_1$ said$_4$, —(We) will drive$_8$ those various$_2$ turkeys$_3$ from among the trees$_4$.— 8. —As$_4$ we$_3$ do to$_4$ them$_3$ that way$_1$, then$_{13}$ our$_5$ menfolk$_6$, taking$_9$ their$_7$ guns$_8$, will stand$_{14}$ along there$_{10}$ along /its$_{11}$/ the timber's edge$_{12}$. 9. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ in that way$_3$ killed$_8$ turkeys$_4$ to eat$_5$.— 10. All$_2$ those ones$_1$ at this place$_3$ went$_6$ from$_5$ their$_4$ camp$_8$ on$_8$ their$_7$ feet$_8$ those ones$_9$ arrived$_{11}$ there$_{10}$. 11. These$_1$ men$_2$, in the way$_7$ that$_3$ woman$_4$ /she$_6$/ advised$_7$ them$_8$, went$_9$

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k^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ wa?ihp^?an^^$_3$ ma$_4$ huuhkabaiki$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, 539
si?ana$_7$ p^ma$_8$ sehka$_9$ kuyunîi?a$_{10}$ y^kwi?ena$_{11}$ piaba?sa-
hpunîi?tuhka$_{12}$ y^kwinu$_{13}$. 13. marii$_1$ y^kwihkakuk^se?$_2$
set^$_3$ kuyunîi?$_4$ sooyorikit^$_5$, sima$_6$ pa?sahpunîi?ma$_7$ y^-
kwinu$_8$. 14. sit^^k^se?$_1$ maa$_2$ y^kwihkat^$_3$, wihnu$_4$ sokoko$_5$
pohbîanu$_6$. 15. sit^^$_1$ wa?ihp^?an^^$_2$ mar^^matu$_3$ tunehts^nu$_4$
16. sit^^k^se?$_1$ kuyunîi?n^^$_2$ huuhk^ma?ku$_3$ tunehts^nu$_4$.
17. huuhk^ma?ku$_1$ ma$_2$ k^ahka$_3$, sit^^$_4$ tenan^^$_5$ t^mar^^-
moaku$_6$ marii$_7$ wasǻnu$_8$. 18. sit^^k^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ p^^$_3$
was^p^ha$_4$ wa?wahku$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, pitus^$_7$ b^^$_8$ kahnik^hu$_9$
mi?anu$_{10}$. 19. p^^$_1$ kahnik^$_2$ b^i$_3$ bit^hka$_4$, set^^$_5$ marii$_6$
no?inu$_7$. 20. wihnu$_1$ mar^^$_2$ nanawa?ihp^?an^^$_3$ ma$_4$ maka?-
mukitsi$_5$, kohtoohtsi$_6$, sehka$_7$ kuyunîi?a$_8$ sooko$_9$ kwasǻk^nu$_{10}$.
21. sit^^$_1$ suk^hu$_2$ sunihku$_3$ kuyunîi?a$_4$ p^^$_5$ was^?ima$_6$
tsihǻkwitso?ainu$_7$. 22. subet^$_1$.

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to the edge of the timber$_8$. 12. Then$_2$ these$_1$ women$_3$ went$_6$ 539
through$_5$ that$_4$ timber$_5$ here$_7$ (they) sat down$_{13}$ under (a) 223
big oak$_{12}$ on /it$_8$/ [which] those various$_9$ turkeys$_{10}$ perch$_{11}$.
13. As$_2$ they$_1$ were sitting$_2$, many$_5$ (of) those various$_3$ tur-
keys$_4$ came flying$_5$ (and) perched$_8$ on this$_6$ /on/ oak$_7$.
14. These$_1$ (turkeys) are perching$_3$ on it$_2$, then$_4$ jumped$_6$
to the ground$_5$. 15. These$_1$ women$_2$ ran$_4$ on to them$_3$.
16. These$_1$ turkeys$_2$ ran$_4$ to the edge of the timber$_3$. 17. As$_3$
it$_2$ [they] came out$_3$ to the edge of the timber$_1$, these$_4$ men$_5$
killed$_8$ much$_6$ [many] (of) them$_7$. 18. These$_1$ then$_2$, carrying$_6$
two each$_5$ (of) their$_3$ killings$_4$, went$_{10}$ back$_7$ to$_9$ their$_8$ camp$_9$.
19. When$_4$ they$_3$ arrived$_4$ (at) their$_1$ camp /to$_2$/, those var- 539
ious ones$_5$ [the women] picked$_7$ them$_6$ [the turkeys]. [252]
20. Then$_1$ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$ preparing$_5$ it$_4$, making a fire$_6$,
cooked$_{10}$ those$_7$ many$_9$ /various$_7$/ turkeys$_8$. 21. These ones$_1$
there$_2$ in that way$_3$ with$_6$ (the) turkeys$_4$ [which] they$_5$ killed$_4$
[were] saved from hunger$_7$. 22. That is all$_1$.

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Oklahoma

XXXIII

589 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ ɪʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ tamutʌso?ihunu?betu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soohuuhkaba$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. uku$_1$ bʌi$_2$ kwabihkakʌse?$_3$ surʌʌ$_4$, —soohtuku$_5$ ma?$_6$ bʌewatsi?$_7$ mubipó?roo?katʌ$_8$. taa$_9$ muhyi$_{10}$ nʌʌ?ka$_{11}$ kʌhtaaku$_{12}$ rahtʌmi?inu$_{13}$.— mekʌse?$_{14}$ surʌʌ$_{15}$. 4. —etʌtsa?$_1$ bʌewatsi?$_2$ mubipó?roo?$_3$ taa$_4$ narʌhka?a$_5$ tai$_6$ tʌhkakʌtu?i$_7$,— mekʌ$_8$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pomami?anu$_2$, na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sooko$_4$ bomanu$_5$, tʌaaʌ$_6$ tuhpokóo?a$_7$. 6. pʌʌ$_1$ pomapʌha$_2$ pibianarʌsokʌ$_3$ rʌbakinu$_4$. 7. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 8. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ$_2$ marii$_3$ bitʌhka$_4$, setʌʌ$_5$ marʌʌ$_6$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_7$, —etʌʌtukutsa?$_8$ bʌewatsi?$_9$ mubipó?roo?$_{10}$ taa$_{11}$ narʌhka?a$_{12}$ sʌmʌrʌhka?i$_{13}$.—

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went to pick$_5$ along Briar Creek$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ camped$_3$ among much timber$_2$. 3. When$_3$ they$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_1$, /those ones$_4$/ those ones$_{15}$ said$_{14}$, —There is$_6$ (are) many$_5$ wild$_7$ pigs$_8$. You all$_{11}$ shut$_{13}$ our$_9$ doors$_{10}$ tightly$_{12}$.— 4. —Those various$_1$ wild$_2$ pigs$_3$ will
[222] eat$_7$ our$_4$ groceries$_5$ for$_7$ us$_6$,— (they) said$_8$. 5. These ones$_1$ went to pick$_2$, (they) picked$_4$ much$_4$ (many) pecans$_3$, also$_4$ a black berry (tree)$_7$. 6. (They) loaded$_4$ their$_1$ pickings$_2$ in big sacks$_3$. 7. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ went$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$. 8. When$_4$ they$_3$ came$_4$ to$_2$ their$_1$ camp$_2$ /those various$_8$/ their$_6$ womenfolk$_7$ said$_{14\ 15}$. —Those various$_8$ wild$_9$

Comanche Texts

mekʌ$_{14}$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{15}$. 9. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —mʌʌ$_3$ 539
ta?wo?i?aka$_4$ maka?muki$_5$, urii$_6$ nubipó?roo?nii$_7$
tai$_8$ wasʌru?ika$_9$.— mekʌ$_{10}$. 10. —ke$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ hina$_3$ rʌhka$_4$.—
11. ma$_1$ yʌihkakʌse?$_2$ urʌʌ$_3$ kahnitutʌ$_4$ ta?kwʌba?i$_5$, surʌʌ$_6$
sehka$_7$ mubipó?roo?a$_8$ sɔoti$_9$ wasʌ́nu$_{10}$. 12. suhka$_1$ mubipó-
?roo?a$_2$ u$_3$ pʌhʌma?aikusʌ$_4$ u$_5$ tsihpomi?itsi$_6$, u$_7$ rohtsáni-
?inu$_8$. 13. u$_1$ tukanikʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ tomoahupiitʌ$_4$, tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_5$ urii$_6$ ʌmanu$_7$, ʌmarʌsʌ$_8$ taanu$_9$. 14. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahnihkutʌ$_4$ ro?itsi$_5$, hunu?betuti$_6$ buninu$_7$.
15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hakani$_3$ mʌi$_4$ naahkaku$_5$ ma?$_6$
tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_7$ baro?ikitʌ$_8$. tsaąku$_9$ mʌnʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ supana?-
itʌʌ$_{12}$ sihka$_{13}$ tamutʌso?ihunu?bihta$_{14}$ atabaro?ina$_{15}$. — mekʌ$_{16}$.
16. —namʌsohiika$_1$. ikʌhu$_2$ ma?$_3$ bʌesʌ$_4$ to?i?$_5$,— mekʌ$_6$.
17. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ oo?ri$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ waikinʌkahtu$_5$ petinu$_6$.
18. u$_1$ noo?matu$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ oo?ri$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, tunehtsʌnu$_7$.
19. marii$_1$ nabitʌbunihkakʌse?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ oo?rʌ$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$
marʌʌ$_6$ kahni$_7$ o?okwenunas$_8$. 20. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$,

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pigs$_{10}$ ate up all$_{13}$ our$_{11}$ groceries$_{12}$.— 9. Those$_1$ men$_2$ said$_{10}$, —Get ready$_5$ your$_3$ guns$_4$. We$_8$ will kill$_9$ those$_6$ pigs$_7$. 10. We$_2$ (have) not$_1$ (a) thing$_3$ to eat$_4$.— 11. When$_2$ it$_1$ was evening$_2$, those ones$_6$ were shootings about$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$, (and) killed$_{10}$ /those various$_7$/ many$_9$ pigs$_8$. 12. Cutting$_6$ /it$_5$/ up$_4$, those$_1$ pigs$_2$ still in$_4$ its$_3$ skin$_4$, (they) hung$_8$ it$_7$ up$_8$. 13. That$_1$ night$_2$ it$_3$ suddenly clouded up$_4$, (and) rained on$_7$ them$_6$ much$_5$, (and) is still raining$_8$ [when] morning came$_9$. 14. One$_1$ man$_2$, going out$_5$ from$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$, looked$_7$ along towards creek$_4$. 15. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{16}$, —As$_5$ you all$_4$ were continuing$_5$, in some way$_3$ it$_4$ [water] is come up$_8$ much$_7$. You all$_{10}$ know$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ well$_9$, (that) this$_{13}$ Briar Creek$_{14}$ overflows easily$_{15}$.— 16. —Hurry up$_1$. It$_3$ already$_4$ came up$_5$ here$_2$,— (he) said$_6$. 17. These ones$_1$ threw$_6$ their$_2$ clothes$_3$ into$_5$ their$_4$ wagons$_5$. 18. These ones$_3$ carrying$_6$ their$_4$ clothes$_5$, ran$_7$ onto$_2$ that$_1$ hill$_2$. 19. As$_2$ they$_1$ looked behind themselves$_2$, their$_3$ clothes$_4$ (and) also$_5$ their$_4$ teepees$_7$ are float- [251]

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Obtaining and Preparing Food

53A —nʌ$_3$ rʌʌhka?a?a$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$ nʌ$_6$ kukʌme?awetuku$_7$ nʌ?$_8$ nasu-watsi?$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 21. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ pʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ wʌhpiwokʌkatʌ$_5$, tʌhʌyaba?a$_6$ urʌʌkʌ$_7$ bitʌnu$_8$. 22. surʌ-kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ sukʌhu$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ kahnipʌkahtu$_5$ pahábinukwa$_6$. 23. si?anʌku$_1$ bʌ$_2$ tʌʌhka?a?a$_3$ tʌasʌ$_4$ pʌ$_5$ kukʌme?awe$_6$ uranu$_7$, u$_8$ batutsanikaku$_9$. 24. urʌʌ$_1$ nanahtenanʌʌkʌse?$_2$, —taa$_3$ mubipó?roo?rʌhkapʌrukutsa?$_4$ sʌmʌ?okwehkwa?i$_5$. — mekʌ$_6$. 25. —ma$_1$ basahka$_2$ ranʌ$_3$ taa$_4$ pomapʌha$_5$ ehtuti$_6$ bamʌtso?noti$_7$ tso?metu?i$_8$. — 26. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ basanuahka$_3$, hunu?ru$_4$ mi?anu$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ pomapʌha$_7$ ehtu$_8$ huuma$_9$ ma$_{10}$ tsahni?i?etʌkaku$_{11}$, ma$_{12}$ u?uruhkunu$_{13}$. 27. sitʌʌ$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —ai?ku$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ hani?nʌʌ$_5$. taa$_6$ pomapʌha$_7$ sooti$_8$ tanʌ$_9$ watsikʌ?inʌʌ$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 28. sitʌʌ$_1$ su?anetʌ$_2$ sʌmʌnomi?-anu$_3$, tʌwooyʌkarʌʌ$_4$. 29. subetʌ$_1$.

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ing$_8$. 20. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{10}$. —I$_8$ forgot$_9$ my$_3$ ax$_4$ and$_5$ my$_6$ skillet$_7$.— 21. One$_1$ man$_2$ /is/ dragging$_5$ his$_3$ teepee$_4$ on horseback$_6$, came$_8$ to them$_7$. 22. That$_1$ woman$_2$ swam off$_6$ there$_3$ towards$_5$ their$_4$ camping places$_5$. 23. Here$_1$ (she) found$_7$ her$_2$ ax$_3$ and$_4$ her$_5$ skillet$_6$, as$_9$ it$_8$ was caught in water$_9$. 24. Their$_1$ menfolk$_2$ said$_6$. —Our$_3$ pig meat$_4$ all floated off$_5$. 25. When$_2$ it$_1$ dries$_3$, we$_3$ our$_4$ pickings$_5$ along these various$_6$ drifts /along$_7$/ will gather up$_8$.— 26. When$_3$ it$_2$ went down and dried$_3$, these ones$_1$ went$_5$ along the creek$_4$ (and) found$_{13}$ /it$_{12}$/ their$_6$ pickings$_7$ here and there$_{13}$ at various places$_8$ as$_{11}$ /it$_{10}$/ each one hung$_{11}$ on trees$_9$.
27. These$_1$ men$_2$ said$_{11}$. —We$_4$ did$_5$ badly$_3$. We$_9$ lost$_{10}$ lots of$_8$ our$_6$ pickings$_7$.— 28. These ones$_1$ at that place$_2$ all moved away$_3$, (and) are moving around hunting$_4$. 29. That is all$_1$.

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XXXIV

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. urʌʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$, --taa$_3$ kunatsa?$_4$ tsu?ma?i$_5$. --
3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌhi$_3$, --tahi$_4$ nomohkakʌtu?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$.
tahi$_7$ konookwatu?ika$_8$. -- mekʌ$_9$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$
mi?anu$_3$, hunu?betu$_4$. 5. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$,
si?ana$_4$ tobo?ihupiitʌ$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ waikinʌkahtu$_7$ pʌhʌ$_8$ tso?-
mepʌha$_9$ tʌbakimi?a$_{10}$, pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikina$_{12}$ tʌhpé?kʌakʌnu$_{13}$.
6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, --ikʌhi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ma$_6$ pamʌ-
tso?nikʌhi$_7$ punitu?i$_8$, -- mekʌse?$_9$ surʌ$_{10}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{11}$.
ukʌhu$_{12}$ mi?anu$_{13}$, piahuuma$_{14}$ ukʌhi$_{15}$ tsiwainu$_{16}$. 7. si?ana-
kʌse?$_1$ pamʌtso?nikaaba$_2$ parúuku?$_3$ haahpi$_4$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
ma$_2$ wʌhkúpanu$_3$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ yuupʌ$_2$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$, --nohi?$_3$ tsaahtʌkʌhútu?i$_4$ tanʌ$_5$. -- me$_6$ yʌkwii-
yu$_7$. 11. pʌhʌ$_1$ waikinʌkahtu$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ wihínu$_5$. 12. si-
tʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌhu$_5$. 13. si-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, somewhere$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$.
262 2. Their$_1$ father$_2$ (said), --Our$_3$ firewood$_4$ is used up$_5$.--
3. That one$_1$ said to$_2$ his$_3$ wife$_3$, --I$_4$ will hitch up for$_5$ us$_4$.
We two$_7$ will go to get firewood$_8$.-- 4. These two$_1$ at this
place$_2$ went$_3$ towards (the) creek$_4$. 5. These two$_1$ went$_3$ to-
wards (the) creek$_2$, (and) here$_4$ came to a stop$_5$, (they) went
on loading$_{10}$ their$_8$ gatherings$_9$ into$_7$ their$_6$ wagon$_7$, (and)
their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$ filled up$_{13}$. 6. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said),
--I$_5$ will look$_6$ in this$_4$ /this$_4$/ drift /in$_7$/,-- that one$_{10}$ (was)
saying$_{9\ 11}$, (and he) went$_{12}$ there$_{12}$, (and) poked around$_{14}$ in
this$_{15}$ with (a) big stick$_{14}$. 7. Here$_1$ among the drifts$_2$ (a)
raccoon$_3$ was lying$_4$. 8. This one$_1$ killed$_3$ it$_2$. 9. That one$_1$
was (a) fat one$_2$. 10. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{4\ 7}$. --We$_5$ are about
to eat$_4$ very$_3$ good$_4$.-- 11. This one$_3$ threw$_5$ it$_4$ into$_2$ their$_1$
wagon$_2$. 12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$ to$_5$ their$_4$ houses$_5$.

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tʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ konoopʌ̲ha$_5$ tsayumi?inu̲$_6$, 539
wihnu$_7$ piakohtoonu̲$_8$, sihka$_9$ parúuku?a$_{10}$ pʌhʌ́tsahkwe?yanu̲$_{11}$.
14. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ sukʌ̲hu$_4$ ma$_5$ kohtoopʌ̲ka$_6$ ma$_7$
ku?inanu̲$_8$. 15. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ rʌhkánu̲$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$
ahpʌ?a$_6$ pʌmʌ$_7$ tʌbehkakʌ?i̲ha$_8$ u$_9$ ku?inʌ̲tsi$_{10}$, tsaahtʌhkanu̲$_{11}$.
16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?$_3$, --tʌbitsi$_4$ tsaaku$_5$ tamʌ$_6$
tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_7$ tʌhka?i̲nʌʌ$_8$. -- me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 17. pʌi$_1$ tʌkʌ̲-
kakʌ̲se?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_4$ nohínuraahkwainu̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$
tʌhka?i̲ha$_7$ tʌbitsi$_8$ tsaa$_9$ wʌsukaatʌ̲$_{10}$. 18. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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13. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ unloaded$_6$ their$_4$ firewoods$_5$, then$_7$ (he) 539
made a big fire$_8$, (and) (they) skinned$_{11}$ this$_9$ raccoon$_{10}$. 26L
14. /This one$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ roasted$_8$ it$_7$ there$_4$ in$_6$ his$_5$ fire$_6$.
15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ ate$_3$, roasting$_{10}$ /it$_9$/ this$_4$ what$_8$ their$_5$
father$_6$ killed for$_8$ them$_7$. (They) ate good$_{11}$. 16. This$_1$
their$_2$ father$_3$ said$_{9,10}$. --Our$_6$ children$_7$ really$_4$ ate$_8$ good$_5$.--
17. When$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, their$_3$ children$_4$ ran around playing$_5$,
/and/ really$_8$ felt$_{10}$ good$_9$ about$_{10}$ what$_7$ they$_6$ ate$_7$. 18. That
is all$_1$.

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Oklahoma

XXXV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ atabitsinʌʌ$_3$ su?ana$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narʌhka?tsu?manu$_2$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ-
?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 4. urʌʌmatʌkʌse?$_1$,
—tanʌwitsa$_2$ ohʌhi$_3$ ma$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaakʌhi$_5$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_6$
taa$_7$ yʌihtʌhkaru?iha$_8$ ahwemi?anu$_9$.— 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si-
?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ku?wʌhora?a$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, sukʌhu$_6$ ʌmahpaa-
kʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 6. tahkwe?yu?itsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ muhpe?ma?ai$_3$
makʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_8$
ahwénu$_9$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —keta?ka$_3$ mubisi-
tʌʌ$_4$ mahka$_5$ tai$_6$ ahweku$_7$.— me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.
8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ahwepʌha$_4$ narʌsokoko$_5$
noohtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$.
10. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌku$_2$ kohtoo?etʌtsi$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahwe-
pʌha$_6$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_7$. 11. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ tsuhnipʌma?-
aihku$_3$ ma$_4$ karʌkʌnu$_5$. 12. sʌsʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ u$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, other tribe of Indians$_3$ camped$_3$
222 there somewhere$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ ran out of groceries$_2$.
3. Their$_1$ women folk$_2$ set up$_3$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$. 4. One of
262 them$_1$ (said), —We ought to$_2$ go dig$_3$ water lily roots$_4$ in
that$_5$ /this$_6$/ big lake$_7$ /in/ /what$_8$/ [which] we$_7$ will eat for
supper$_8$.— 5. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_3$ their$_3$ hoes$_4$,
went$_5$ there$_6$ to (the) lake$_7$. 6. Taking off (their) shoes$_1$,
with$_3$ their$_3$ hoes$_3$ went down$_5$ in it$_6$, (and) dug up$_9$ a lot of$_6$
these$_7$ water lily roots$_8$. 7. One$_1$ of them$_3$ said$_8$ $_{10}$ to them$_9$,
—Don't$_3$ blow your noses$_4$ as$_7$ we$_6$ dig$_7$ this$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$
at this place$_2$, carrying$_6$ their$_3$ diggings$_4$ in sacks$_5$, went$_9$ to$_8$
539 their$_7$ camp$_8$. 9. These ones$_1$ arrived$_3$. 10. Each one mak-
262 ing a fire$_3$ in$_3$ their$_1$ homes$_2$ (they) cooked$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_8$
252 diggings$_4$. 11. Some$_1$ of them$_3$ boiled$_5$ it$_4$ with bones$_3$.
12. Some$_1$ /themselves$_2$/ fried$_4$ it$_3$ in$_4$ that$_3$ fat$_4$. 13. One$_1$

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yuhuk^$_4$ u$_5$ kwasáka^nu$_6$. 13. sʌmʌ?k^se?$_1$, --nʌtsa?$_2$ nah$_3$ nʌ$_4$ ahwep^ha$_5$ kusiwʌhpimaru?i$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 14. sitʌʌk^se?$_1$ huba?ainu$_2$. 15. sʌmʌ?oyet^$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ yuhúnohkonu$_3$. 16. marʌʌ$_1$ nanahtenanʌʌk^se?$_2$, --tai$_3$ makaaka$_4$. -- me$_5$ urii$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 17. sitʌʌk^se?$_1$ tʌk^sonʌtsi$_2$, pʌʌ$_3$ tʌkʌhmanip^ha$_4$ tsawʌni?inu$_5$. 18. sitʌʌk^se?$_1$, —nohi?$_2$ tsaaku$_3$ mʌnʌ$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_5$ tzi$_6$ tʌkʌ?ahwekʌnu$_7$. 19. tan^se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaaku$_3$ ma$_4$ rʌhkánu$_5$. 20. pʌetsʌ^ku$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ itʌʌmati$_3$ pimozóo?taiboo?nʌʌ$_4$ kuhtsu?k^hi$_5$ tʌbehkaru?inʌʌ$_6$, — mek^se?$_7$ surʌʌ$_8$ tenanʌʌ$_9$ niwʌ-nʌʌyu$_{10}$. 21. surʌʌk^se?$_1$, --ke$_2$ tanʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ tsihakoobiwa?i-tʌʌ$_5$, ihka$_6$ sokokuhpaiki$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ sʌa?eku$_{10}$. — mek^se?$_{11}$ surʌʌ$_{12}$. 22. surʌʌk^se?$_1$ u$_2$ bʌetsʌ^ku$_3$ suhka$_4$ piayuup^ha$_5$ pimoróo?a$_6$ tʌbehkanu$_7$. 23. si?anet^$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ inanu$_4$, ma$_5$ basahka$_6$, nomi?anu$_7$. 24. subet^$_1$.

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said$_7$, —I$_2$ will$_4$ just$_3$ cook$_4$ my$_4$ diggings$_5$ in ashes$_6$.— 14. These ones$_1$ made coffee$_2$. 15. All of them$_1$ made$_3$ lots of$_2$ fry bread$_3$. 16. Their$_1$ menfolk$_2$ said to$_5$ them$_6$, —Feed$_4$ us$_3$.— 17. These ones$_1$ spreading a cloth$_2$, set out$_3$ their$_3$ cooked things$_4$. 18. These ones$_1$ (said), —Very$_2$ good$_3$ [that which] you$_4$ women$_5$ dug for$_7$ us$_6$ to eat$_7$. 19. We$_1$ really$_2$ ate$_5$ it$_4$ good$_3$. 20. Tomorrow$_1$ we$_2$ will kill$_4$ one of these$_3$ coyboys'$_4$ cattle /one of$_5$/,— said$_7$ $_9$ those men$_8$. 21. Those ones$_1$ (said), —We$_3$ just$_4$ won't$_2$ starve$_5$, as$_{10}$ our$_8$ food$_9$ grows$_{10}$ inside$_7$ this$_6$ earth /about$_7$/,— said$_{11}$ those ones$_{12}$. 22. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ killed$_7$ that$_4$ big fat$_5$ cow$_6$. 23. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ jerked$_4$ it$_3$, (and) when$_6$ it$_5$ dried$_6$, (they) moved away$_7$. 24. That is all$_1$.

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XXXVI

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ tʌa$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$. 2. okuse?$_1$ Lawton-a$_2$ kwihne?nakwʌ$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ paraiboo?$_5$ kahníba?i$_6$. 3. sukukuse?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ kahnikʌku$_4$ wahaʌ u$_6$ kahnitaikʌku$_7$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_8$. 4. surʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$ tʌhimʌrabeni$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nobitʌrʌni?eeyu$_6$. 5. setʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tabeni$_4$ ukʌhu$_5$ sʌmʌnokima?etʌ$_6$, nobitʌ?eeyu$_7$. 6. wihnu$_1$ tʌehbuharabeni$_2$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$, nah$_5$ hina$_6$ oyo?kʌsʌ$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ wanakotse?a$_{11}$. 7. surʌʌse?$_1$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ wanakotse?a$_5$ petihtai?eeyu$_6$. 8. tʌasʌse?$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ wo?arʌhkapʌha$_3$, —wo?abi$_4$ ma?$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌrʌ$_7$, u$_8$ betihta?eeyu$_9$. 9. nʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?se?$_2$ suhka$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ tʌhimana$_5$ urii$_6$ hanikʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_3$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_4$. 2. There
657 to$_1$ (the) north of$_3$ Lawton$_2$ our$_4$ agent$_5$ had a house$_6$.
262 3. There$_1$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_3$ to$_4$ that$_5$ house$_6$ to$_7$ two$_8$ /that$_6$/ rooms$_7$. 4. /That$_1$/ our$_2$ agent$_3$ (on) ration day$_4$ tells$_6$ us$_5$ to camp$_6$. 5. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ that$_3$ day$_4$ all come moving$_6$ there$_5$, (they) camp$_7$. 6. Then$_1$ early$_3$ Saturday$_2$ morning$_3$ (we) get rations$_4$, just$_5$ what$_6$ /all$_7$/ one$_8$ eats$_9$ also$_{10}$ soap$_{11}$. 7. /Those$_1$/ some$_2$ women$_3$ throw away$_4$ that$_4$ soap$_5$. 8. Also$_1$ those ones$_2$ (are) saying$_{6\ 7}$ (of the) rice$_3$, —It (is)$_5$ worms$_4$,— (and) throw$_9$ it$_8$ away$_9$. 9. My$_1$ father$_2$ /that$_3$/ their$_4$ rations$_5$ fixes for$_7$ them$_6$. 10. Those

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ʔeeyu$_7$. 10. surʌʌse$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tabetʌkʌ̲tsi$_3$, pimoróoʔa$_4$ 539
tʌkwʌ̲sáʔeeyu$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ. nʌmʌnaahkanʌ̲se$_2$
sʌmʌʔa$_3$ pimoróoʔa$_4$ naʔnʌbeʔku$_5$ tʌhániʔeeyu$_6$. 12. tʌasʌ-
se$_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ urii$_5$ hanikʌʔeeyu$_6$. 13. setʌ̲se$_1$
nʌʌmʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhkaʔruaʔetʌ̲$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tʌhka-
pʌ̲ruaʔetʌ̲$_7$, pʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_9$ pitu̲sʌ$_{10}$ nomiaʔeeyu$_{11}$.
14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimiaʔeeyu$_4$. 15. nʌmʌ$_1$
sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatu̲wahka$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌ̲nu$_6$. 16. subetʌ̲$_1$.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kill$_5$ cattle$_4$. 11. Four$_1$ 539
families$_2$ butcher$_6$ one$_3$ cow$_4$, dividing (it) evenly$_5$. 12. Also$_1$ 657
my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_6$ that$_4$ for$_6$ them$_5$. 13. Those various$_1$ 262
Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_5$ lots of$_4$ groceries$_5$, also$_6$ (they) get meat$_7$,
(then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$
those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ [829]
our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_6$ us$_5$. 16. That is
all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOCABULARY

[p. 131]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Items are listed according to the following alphabetical order: a e i o u ʌ h k kw m n p/b s t/r ts w y ?. Due to their interplay and close relationship with each other, the phonemes p and b are treated in the lists as though they were the same letter. This is also true of the phonemes t and r. 104

With verb forms, phonemes following the slant line indicate the verb form as used in certain dependent clauses best identified as such by the suffixes -tsi and -ka. If the phoneme is h, it is added to the verb form. If the phoneme is a voiceless vowel, it replaces the final vowel of the stem.

All possible ramifications of those pronouns listed here are by no means included.

A sincere word of appreciation is given here to Mrs. Helen Seahmer for her extremely valuable help in compiling these lists.

A

aai-mi?a-/a̲ to lope, sing.
wahka-mi?a- pl.
aawo̲/awo a cup, a vessel.
ai- bad, evil.
ahi?bʌni-/i̲ to destroy, to plunder.
ahna under the arm or foreleg, the armpit
ahpʌ? father.
ahtakî? a grasshopper, small.
ahtamúu? a grasshopper, large.
ahwe-/h do dig, to dig up.
ahwepʌ̨ anything dug up.
anáa ouch. For physical hurt, other than a burn.
anikwita-mi?a-/a̲ to roll, to roll along, as a ball.
animui a housefly.
ata-/atah-/atʌ̨- different, another, other.
atakwa?aʌ? roasted dried corn made into soup with meat or bones.
atakwa?aʌ?ai-/h to partially roast and dry corn.
atakwa?aʌ?aipʌ̨ partially roasted dried corn.
ata-ba-ro?i-/i̲ co come up easily, as water in a creek.
atabitsi̲ a tribe or person other than Comanche.
ara? uncle.
araka? a deer.
araka?-rahkapʌ̨ deer meat.

E

estʌ̨/stʌ a bow, for shooting arrows.
ehka see sehka
eka-/ekapi̲- red.
ekah-puhihwi̲ gold, gold money.
eka-kuh-tabea-/h to give forth a red light as from fire.
ekʌ̨-sah-pana? a soldier. (red-cheated, early uniforms had red sashes).
ebu see sebu.
esi-toyaabi̲/esi-toya- a grey mountain.
esi-taʌnʌ?i-/i̲ to appear grey.
etʌ see setʌ.
etʌ̨si-kawo?a-/a̲ to have a soiled or dirt-streaked face.
etʌ̨sipʌ̨ ashes.
e?kabápi? a buzzard. (red head).

I

i- see si-.
ihka see sihka.
ika-/h to go in, to enter, sing.
wekwi- pl.
iki̲/ikʌ̨hu see siki̲/sikʌ̨hu.
ina-/h to jerk meat.
i-nakwʌ̨ this direction, (near at hand).
inapʌ̨ jerked meat
ina-waata̲/ina-wata poles erected for drying jerked meat.
ibu see sibu.
isa?ai-/h to lie, to tell a lie.
isʌ this, this one, (near at hand, definite).
itʌ see sitʌ.
itʌʌ see sitʌʌ.
itʌh/itʌkwʌ̨ see sitʌh/sitʌkwʌ̨.
itʌ̨hi see sitʌ̨hi.
iyaa?i-/i̲ to watch over, to guard.
i?a- see si?a-.

O

o that, (at a distance), with tsa?.
oomo̲/omo the leg, usually the whole leg.

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oo?rʌ clothing, any type of apparel.
oha-/ohapi- yellow.
oha-?ahnakatʌ/ᵃ a coyote, (yellow under its forelegs).
ohnáa? a baby.
okǫ/okᵃho see sokǫ/sokᵃho.
okᵃhi see sokᵃhi.
okwe-/h to flow, of any liquid.
onaabi/ona- salt.
obo that way, over there, (at a distance).
osʌ that, that one, (at a distance, definite).
orʌ see sorʌ.
orʌʌ see sorʌʌ.
otʌ-kwasʌkʌ-/ᵃ to cook something brown.
otʌ-/otʌpi̲ brown.
oyetᵃ all.
o?a- see so?a-.
o?yᵃsʌ every time

U

u 3rd per. sing. (removed).
uih- one of a different kind.
uhka see suhka.
uhri see suhri.
uhtu-/utu̲- to give one thing.
himi- to give several things.
uku̲/ukᵃhu see suku̲/sukᵃhu.
uma-/h to lead animals or people, pl. tsaka- sing.
una?- other side.
usúni always, forever.
usʌ that, that one, (removed, definite).
ura-/h to find something, sing.
u?gruhku- to find several things, pl.
uril see suril.
urʌ see surʌ.
urʌʌ see surʌʌ.
urʌkwᵃ see surʌkwᵃ
u?3rd per. sing. subj. (removed).
u?a- see su?a-.
u?ahrʌ- anyone.
u?u̲ruhku-/u̲ to find several things, pl. ura- to find something, sing.

A

ʌ 2nd per. sing.
ʌhʌ a blanket.
ʌhkoot-/h to sleep, pl.
ʌhpʌi- sing.
ʌhpʌi-/h to sleep, sing.
ʌhkooi- pl.
ʌhtsuma-/ᵃ to close the eyes, sing. ʌhtsumi- pl.
ʌhtsumi-/h to close the eyes, pl. ʌhtsuma- sing.
ʌkihtsi? now.
ʌkʌnaa first.
ʌkʌ-niikwi-/i̲ to be still saying, pl. ʌkʌ-yʌkwi- sing.
ʌkʌ-niwʌnʌ-/ᵃ to be still talking, pl. ʌkʌ-rekwa- sing.
ʌkᵃsʌ still, yet.
ʌkʌ-rekwa-/h to be still talking, sing. ʌkʌ-niwʌnʌ- pl.
ʌkʌ-yʌkwi-/h to be still saying, sing. ʌkʌ-niikwi- pl.
ʌkwi-/h to smell something.
ʌma-/h to rain.
ʌmah-paa a pond or lake, (rain water).
ʌma-kᵃni (rain house), a shelter hung in the teepee to deflect rain coming through the teepee top.
ʌmi 2nd per. sing. obj.
ʌmʌ 2nd per. sing. pos.

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ʌʌʌ/ʌʌ̨ 2nd per. sing. subj.
ʌbia oh, exclamation of surprise by women only.
ʌsuaki-/l̨ to snore.

H

haa yes, affirmative.
haitsį friend, of a man only.
hahpa?ne- a level place between hills or below a hill.
hakai what, how.
hakahpu which way.
hakani what way, in some way.
hakanihku in what way.
hakani?yu- why is it.
hakarʌ who.
hak̨ where.
hani-/l̨ to do, to fix.
haniibį/hani- corn.
hanįka- to be lying somewhere, of objects.
hani-kwasʌkʌ-/ʌ̨ to roast corn.
hanip̨ anything fixed or prepared.
habi-/h to lie down, sing.
kwabi- pl.
habi-kono night cradle. (to lie down-cradle).
haya-rokwe- four.
ha?woka-/h to be hollow.
hima-/h to take several things, pl.
yaa- to take one thing, sing.
himi-/h to give several things, pl.
uhtu- to give one thing, sing.
hina what, what thing, something.
hini what, what thing, something, subj.
hipe? when.
hipe?sʌ at some time.
hibi-/h to drink.
hibikʌ-/ʌ̨ to water an animal.
hibip̨ one who has become intoxicated.
hip̨ a thing, most anything owned by someone.
hora-/h to dig a hole, well.
hua-bokóo? huckleberries.
huu-hima-/h to carry or have a stick, pl. huuh-yaa- sing.
huuhpį/huuh- a tree, stick, club, log, woods.
huuh-yaa-/h to carry or have a stick, sing. huu-hima- pl.
huu-ma-sʌap̨ a tree grown by someone.
huu-na-ro?i? a ladder.
huu-ba/huba coffee (tree-water).
huu-?aawo/huu-?awo a mortar, a wooden vessel.
huhkup̨ dust.
huhku-wʌʌʌ-/ʌ̨ to stir up dust, to blow dust.
huhtsúu a bird.
hu-nakw̨ outside.
hunu?bį/hunu?- creek, stream, river.
hu-ba-?ai-/h to mak coffee.
hubebi-/h to drink coffee. (huba (obj. form)andhibi- to drink, contracted).
hʌʌsʌ a few times.
hʌka-/h to cool off.
hʌki- a shade, a brush arbor.

K

kaa-kwaku-/h to defeat someone by cheating.
kaa-bahka/bek̨- to cheat, deceive.
kah-ku?e teepee-top opening.
kahni/-k̨ani house, home, teepee.
kahni-ku?e house top, teepee opening.

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kahni-miʔa-/a̲ to visit. (house-to go).
kahni-tai- a room, a cave.
kahtʌ́iʔ a neighbor. (from kahni house and tʌiʔ a woman's friend).
kakuʔ grandmother. (the wife's mother).
kama-/△ to have a taste, to be tasteful.
kamʌ́utaʔ sweet potato.
kasa̲ a wing.
kasa-bipiku-/h to make fluttering or wing noises.
karʌ-/h to sit down, sing. yʌkwi- pl.
karʌkʌ-/△ to set up a teepee, sing. yʌkwikʌ- pl.
kaʔwi-/1 to get together.
ke/kee no. negative.
kehena nothing.
kehe-wa-/h to be all gone, to no longer have.
kesua-/h to be mean, hard to get along with.
kesʌ before.
ketaʔ don't.
kia expressing wonder, doubt, inquisitiveness, see 1.4.2; 3.14.3; 4.8.5; 5.4.4; 5.7.1; 5.9.1; 5.28.1; 5.35.2; 7.3.2; 7.12.3; 7.20.3; 7.27.2; 8.4.3; 8.30.13; 13.29.1; 14.23.4; 16.22.3; 20.21.5; 22.14.6; 23.19.3; 26.13.4; 28.19.3;
kima-/△ to come.
kooi-/h to die, pl. tʌyaai- sing.
koobo̲/kobe the face.
kooʔi-/1 to cut up something.
kohno/-kono a cradle.
kohtoo-/h to make a fire.
kohtoopʌ a fire.
ko-noopʌ a load of firewood.
kono-ho-nii-/h to fetch firewood, sing. kono-ho-yʌka- pl.
kono-ho-yʌka-/△ to fetch firewood, pl. kono-ho-nii- sing.
kotse-/h to wash.
koyama-/△ to return, to turn back, pl. koʔi- sing.
koʔi-/1 to return, to turn back, sing. koyama- pl.
kuhiya-/△ to spy on someone.
kuhma male.
kuhma-bai-/h to have for a to have for a husband.
kuhma-ru-/u̲ to marry, of the woman.
kuh-pitsuni-/1 to render, to try out fat.
kuhtsuʔ a cow, cattle.
kukʌme-ʔaawo̲/awo a skillet, used for parching corn.
kumahpʌʔ a husband.
kuuna̲/kuna firewood.
ku-nakʌʌʔi-/1 to bob [illegible] to stick the head out, pl. ku[illegible]ʔi- sing.
kusi-/kusipi̲- grey.
kusipʌ ashes.
kusi-wʌhpima-/△ to roast something buried in ashes.
ku-roʔi-/1 to bob up, to stick the head out, sing. ku-nakʌʌʔi- pl.
kutʌ-hora-/h to dig a fireplace.
ku-tsitoma-/△ to set something on fire, sing. ku-tsitowaka- pl.
ku-tsitowaka-/△ to set several things on fire, pl. ku-tsitoma- sing.
ku-wekwakʌ-/△ to rope someone, pl. kuʔ-nika- sing.

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ku-wo?nepΔ a burned-out hollow tree trunk.
kuya?a-/ə to be frightened.
kuyunî? a turkey.
kuyúu?si? a quail.
ku?ə/ku?e roof, teepee opening, top of mountain.
ku-?ina-/Δ to roast jerked meat.
ku-?inapΔ roasted jerked meat.
ku?-nikakʌ-/Δ to rope someone, sing. ku-wekwakʌ- pl.
ku?si-múura? a grey mule.
ku?-tsi-hima-/h to roast something on a stick, pl.
ku?-tsi-yaa- sing.
ku?-tsi-yaa-/h to roast something on a stick, sing.
ku?-tsi-hima- pl.
ku?-wΔ-hora? a hoe, a mattock.
kʌa-/h to appear, to come out, to climb, to escape, pl.
to?i- sing.
kʌah-bitʌ-/Δ to come out at a certain place, pl.
to?i-bitʌ- sing.
kʌʌkə/kʌka an onion.
kʌh-ka?a-/ə to bite off a piece of something.
kʌh-kupa-/Δ to bite to death, sing. kʌh-tokwe- pl.
kʌhtaa- tight, strong, hard.
kʌhtaa-nʌe-/h to storm, to blow hard.
kʌh-tokwe-/Δ to bite to death, pl. kʌh-kupa- sing.
kʌh-to?ipΔ leftover or excess food, (something from the mouth).
kʌh-tsia-/h to bite someone.
kʌma?- beside, along the edge of.
kʌssa-/h to open the mouth.
kʌrʌ?atsi a water lily.
kʌ-yu?ne-/ə to chew.
kʌ?rahúu? hackberry tree.

KW

kwahi the back, of a person or animal.
kwahi-noo-/h to carry on one's back.
kwaku-/h to defeat someone in a game or race, to win out.
kwabi-/h to lie down, pl. habi- sing.
kwasi/kwasi a tail.
kwasikΔ next time, last.
kwasi-naboo? a snake.
kwasu?u a dress, coat, shirt, suit.
kwasu?u-tua-/h to get a coat, dress, shirt, suit.
kwasu?u-tamʌʌ-/h to buy a coat, dress, suit, shirt.
kwasa-/h to cook.
kwasaʌpΔ something cooked.
kwe?ya-/Δ to be tired, to get tired.
kwihne-/h to turn cold.
kwihne?-nakwΔ north.
kwinuma-/Δ to get dizzy.
kwisi-/h to braid something.
kwi?tanísi? a woman's name.
kwʌhʌ a wife.
kwʌhʌ-/h to catch, to capture.
kwʌhapΔ a captive.
kwʌhti-kwʌti- to shoot something once, sing. kwʌtiku- pl.
kwʌhti? one who is shot.
kwʌtiku-/h to shoot several times, pl. kwʌhti- sing.

M

ma 3rd per. sing. (near at hand) pos. obj.

maa- 3rd per. sing. (near at hand). with post- positions.

maa/maai 3rd per. sing. (near at hand) obj. of dep. cl.

mahi-ko?i-/i̲ to return from the warpath.

mahi-mi?a-/a̲ to go on the warpath.

mahka 3rd per. sing. (near at hand). obj. or with noun obj.

mahkʌ-/makʌ̲- to drive up animals.

mah-be-/h to drop something from the hand.

mahri 3rd per. dual. (near at hand). obj. of main vb., subj. of dept. cl.

mahrʌ 3rd per. dual. (near at hand). pos., obj. of post-position.

maka-/h to feed, to give to eat.

maka?muki-/i̲ to prepare, to get ready.

makʌ̲hu/makʌ̲/makʌ̲hi here, to here, to it. (near at hand).

ma-kwinuma-/ʌ̲ to make one dizzy, to make one drunk.

ma-kwitso?ai-/h to save someone.

manaa?-nakwʌ̲ still farther off.

ma-nakʌa-/h to make something stick out, sg. **ma-nakʌʌ?i-** pl.

ma-nakʌʌ?i-/i̲ to make something stick out, pl. **ma-nakʌa-** sing.

ma-nakwʌ̲ far, far off.

mana?koroomi-/i̲ to cover something over.

mani-/i̲ to cross over.

ma-ŋkikʌ-/ʌ̲ to make someone run off.

ma-nʌʌ-sukaa-/h to make one feel (good or bad) in body or spirit.

ma-sukaa-/h to feel with the hand.

ma-sʌapʌ̲ anything grown by someone.

marii 3rd per. pl. (near at hand). obj. of main vb., subj. or obj. of dep. cl.

ma-ropo?na-/ʌ̲ to make round, to coil, sing. **ma-ropo?ni?i-** pl.

ma-ropo?ni?ipʌ̲ anything made round or into balls.

ma-ropo?ni?i-/i̲ to make round, to coil, pl. **ma-ropo?na-** sing.

marʌʌ 3rd per. pl. (near at hand). pos., subj. of main vb.

marʌka-/ʌ̲ to finish something.

ma-rʌki-/i̲ to touch, to put the hand on something.

ma-rʌ̲ki?ne-/e̲ to press down with the hand.

marʌ̲ni-/h to hurt someone.

ma-tsʌ̲baki-/i̲ to stick something to, to glue, sing. **ma-tsʌ̲baki?i-** pl.

ma-tsʌ̲baki?i-/i̲ to stick something to, to glue, pl. **ma-tsʌ̲baki-** sing.

ma? 3rd per. sing. (near at hand). subj. of main vb.

ma?ome-/e̲ to stir up a fire.

me indicating something spoken, used with verb to say.

meeku now.

meh particle indicating something spoken.

mia-/mi?a-/a̲ to go.

miakʌ-/ʌ̲ to run after, to chase.

miihtsi?- near, soon, shortly.

mooka̲/moka a branch of a tree.

motso̲/motso a beard.

motso-taiboo? a bearded white man.

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mo?o̲/mo?o the hand.
mo?obe?- five.
mo?o-tsaai-/h to hold hands.
muura? a mule.
muhne-/h to precede, to go ahead of someone.
muh-pa?arai- on one's face, face downwards.
muhpe? a hoe.
muhpóo?-wanapʌ̲ mosquito netting.
muhyʌ a door, doorway.
muhyʌ-nakwʌ̲ east.
mupi̲-habi-/h to be bent over, as a tree limb.
mubi-pó?roo? a pig.
mubi-pó?roo?-rʌhkapʌ̲ pork, (pig-meat).
mubʌ̲si-/h to blow the nose.
musasua-/h to worry, to be concerned.
mutsipʌ̲ anything sharp pointed.
mu-yake-/h to blow a horn or other wind instrument.
mʌa the moon.
mʌah-tabe-ba?i-/i̲ to have moonlight.
mʌi 2nd per. pl. obj. of main vb.
mʌhʌ 2nd per. dual. pos., obj. of post-position.
mʌkwʌ̲ 2nd per. dual. subj. of main vb. sometimes mʌh.
mʌmi 2nd per. pl. obj. of dep. cl.
mʌmʌ 2nd per. pl. pos., obj. of post-position.
mʌni-/h to be unable to do something, to fail to do.
mʌnʌ̲/mʌnʌ 2nd per. pl. subj. of main vb.

N

naahka-/h to continue doing something, to continue to be.
naa-habi-/h to continue lying down, to become one lying down, sing. naah-kwabi̲ka- pl.
naah-kwabi̲ka-/h to continue lying down, to become one lying down, pl. naa-habi- sing.
naape/napo lower leg, foot.
nai?bi a young woman.
nah just, expression of will. see 2.7.2; 2.19.2; 2.44.4; 5.14.5; 5.16.8; 5.28.1; 5.33.4; 6.6.3; 6.14.4; 6.19.4; 7.24.7; 8.30.13; 11.16.4; 11.23.6; 11.35.3; 13.4.1; 13.29.1; 18.22.9; 19.2.2; 19.24.4; 20.26.1; 21.26.5; 22.8.11; 23.4.5; 24.9.6; 26.30.5; 30.3.3; 30.35.3; 35.13.3; 35.25.5; 36.6.5.
nah- with each other, together.
naha-/h to happen, to become, to continue.
nahanii-/h to continue along, sing. nayʌkwi- pl.
naha-bitʌ-/ʌ̲ to happen to be somewhere, to come on to someone.
na-himi-/h to give several things to each other. na-?uhtu- sing.
nahubinii-/h to groan.
nahubiyaa-/h to sing a song for someone.
nahnapʌ̲ the oldest child or a grown child.
nahnia a name.
nahnia-maka-/h to give a name to someone.

nahbi?a- boys which are relatives.
nahwool-/h to cry, pl.
yake- sg.
naka-/ᵃ to hear.
nakl the ear.
nakwᵃsipᵃ prepared pumpkin.
nakwᵃsi? pumpkin.
na-kwᵃsʌ-/h to kill each other.
na-kwᵃsʌkʌ-/ᵃ to make or cause several to be killed, pl.
na-behkakʌ- sing.
na-mah-towʌna-/ᵃ to be leaning against something, sing.
na-mah-towʌni?i- pl.
na-mah-towʌni?i-/l to be leaning against something, pl.
na-mah-towʌna- sing.
na-maka?muki-/l to get one's self ready.
nama-nuhki-/nukl- to run off afraid, sing. nama-nuraa- pl.
nama-nuraa-/h to run off afraid, pl. nama-nuhki- sing.
nama-ro?i-/l to get rid of, to escape from.
nama-runehtsʌ-/-netsᵃ- to run to something through fear.
na-marᵃni-/h to hurt one's self.
namᵃsi-kohtoo-/h to make a fire quickly.
namᵃsi-tʌhka-/tʌkᵃ- to eat quickly.
namᵃsoa-/h to change clothes, to get dressed.
namᵃsoapᵃ clothing.
namᵃsoapᵃ-rʌmʌʌ-/h to buy clothing.
namᵃsohi-/h to hurry up.
nanahbiso?ai-/h to be slow in movement.
nanahtena- men relatives.

nanakwᵃhʌ a married couple.
nanamʌanoo-/h to stall, to delay.

nananʌʌ?mai-/h to tire one's self out, to get tired of something.
na-nih-kupa-/ᵃ to laugh very hard, sing. na-nih-tokwe- pl.
na-nih-tokwe-/e to laugh very hard, pl. na-nih-kupa- sing.
nanisuyake-/e to be pretty, to be beautiful.
nanitsuwa-/h to argue with someone.
na-nᵃ-su?uyaa-/h to be made a laughing-stock.
na-behkakʌ-/ᵃ to cause one to be killed, sing. na-kwᵃsʌkʌ- pl.
na-bi-so?a-/h to stick one's self with something.
nabitᵃ-buni-/h to look behind one's self.
na-bulhwʌnʌ-/ᵃ to notice one's appearance, to examine one's person.
na-buni-/h to look at one's self, to appear (as to dress).
napᵃ shoe, footprint, trail.
napᵃ-maka-/h to give moccasins away.
na-su-tama-/ᵃ to remember.
na-su-tamakʌ-/ᵃ to remind someone.
na-su-tamᵃ-habi-/h to lie down thinking of something.
na-su-watsi-/l to forget. (self-mind-to lose).
na-su-yake-/e to desire, to wish for. (self-mind-to cry).
na-rah-ka?wi-/l to congregate, to get together.

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na-rah-kupa-/△ to give up, to stop trying.

nararʌna-/△ to gamble over some kind of competition.

na-roh-tʌma? a can, a lid.

na-roh-tsana-/h to be hanging up, sing. na-roh-tsani?i- pl.

na-roh-tsani?i-/1 to be hanging up, pl. na-roh-tsana- sing.

na-ropʌsa-/h to be beaded, sing. na-ropʌsi?i- pl.

na-ropʌsi?i-/1 to be beaded, pl. na-ropʌsa- sing.

na-rʌhka? groceries.

na-rʌhka?-rua-/h to get or receive groceries.

na-rʌhka?-rʌmʌʌ-/h to buy groceries.

na-rʌhka?-tsu?ma-/△ to run out of groceries.

na-rʌki-/1 to be put or placed, sing. na-rʌni?i- pl.

narʌmi? owner, master, Lord.

narʌmuhku/narʌmuhku reins.

narʌmu?i-/1 to relate, to tell.

na-rʌmʌʌ? a town, a store.

na-rʌni?i-/1 to be put or placed, pl. na-rʌki- sing.

na-rʌnoo? a saddle.

na-rʌnoo?-rahni?i-/1 to saddle up, pl. na-rʌnoo?-rʌki- sg.

na-rʌnoo?-roo?i-/1 to unsaddle a horse, pl. na-rʌnoo?-ro?ya- sing.

na-rʌnoo?-ro?ya-/△ to unsaddle a horse, sing. na-rʌnoo?-roo?i- pl.

na-rʌnoo?-rʌki-/1 to saddle up, sing. na-rʌnoo?-rahni?i- pl.

narʌso/narʌso a sack, a bag.

narʌ?ʌya-△ to be dangerous, to be mean.

natsa- indicating remonstrance, accusation, complaint. See 2.42.4; 6.3.2; 9.4.3; 12.18.5; 17.23.4.

na-tsah-puni-/h something being tested.

natsamukwe? grapes.

natsanʌhkʌ? a saddle girth, a pack girth.

natsa?ani? a buggy.

nayʌkwi-/1 to continue along, pl. nahanii- sing.

na?ani-/1 to roll over or around, sing. na?ani?i- pl.

na?ani?i-/1 to roll over or around, pl. na?ani- sing.

na?aruu-/h to fight with each other (not of warfare).

na?oomo/na?omo wagon wheels.

na?oki-/1 to rejoice.

na-?uhtu-/na-?utu- to give one thing to each other, sing. na-himi- pl.

na?kʌhtaba?i? pecans.

na?nʌʌmʌ/na?nʌmʌ- a relative, a tribesman.

na?nʌbe?- divided evenly.

na?'seeka? persimmons.

na?renahpʌ? a man relative.

na?tso?me? dried plums.

na?wa?ihpʌ? a woman relative.

na?yʌne-/h to laugh, pl. yahne- sing.

niikwi-/1 to say to someone, with the particle me.

niha-/h to name someone, to be called.

nimai-/h to call someone, to call out for someone.

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nimaihkana the one who is called.

ni-nʌ-su-tamakʌ-/ʌ to be reminded by something someone says.

niwai-/h to ask for.

ni-wekwi-/h to invite in, pl.
ni-?ika- sing.

niwʌʌʌ-/ʌ to say, to talk, pl.
tekwa- sing., to talk. yʌkwi- sing. to say.

ni-yu-karʌ-/h to sit still and keep quiet.

ni?atsi-/i to give advice to.

ni-?ika-/h to invite in, sing.
ni-wekwi- pl.

noo must, indicating definiteness. See 2.24.4; 3.10.3; 5.9.3; 5.16.9; 5.28.4; 5.35.2; 7.6.4; 7.22.4; 12.18.5; 14.20.1; 15.23.5; 19.35.1; 22.19.5; 30.35.4.

noo-/h to carry off, to haul.

nooh-pitʌ-/ʌ to arrive carrying.

noo-mani-/i to carry across.

noopʌ a load of anything.

noo?bi/noo?- a hill, a knoll.

noha nearly.

nohi-/h to play.

nohi-nuraa-/h to run around and play.

nohi-tʌetʌ a doll, a playtoy.

nohi? any kind of playtoy.

nohi? very.

nohi?-waikinʌ a play-wagon.

nohi?-wobi-puuku/puku a toy wagon. (to play-wood-horse).

nohko-/nokʌ- to bake biscuits.

nohko-?aawo/?awo a biscuit oven.

noka?i-/i to move off, to camp separately from the main group.

no-kima-/ʌ to come moving.

no-mi?a-/a to move away, of a camp or home.

nomohka-/nomokʌ- to put a bridle on a horse.

no-bitʌ-/ʌ to arrive and camp.

no-bʌahrai-/h to move away leaving someone behind.

norʌna-/h to make a bed.

norʌnapʌ a made-up bed.

notsa?ka? a sweetheart, with generally a bad connotation.

no?i-/i to pluck, to pick a bird.

nuhki-/nuki- to run away, to run off, sing. nuran- pl.

nunurawʌ-/ʌ to run off one by one rather than as a group.

nuraa-/h to run away, to run off, pl. nuhki- sing.

nʌ- 1st per. sing.

nʌ 1st per. sing. pos., obj. of main vb., obj. of post-position.

nʌe 1st per. sing. obj. of dep. cl.

nʌena a wind.

nʌepi/nʌe- a wind.

nʌetʌ 1st per. sing. obj. emphatic.

nʌʌh-kupa-/ʌ to trip one's self, to fall down.

nʌʌh-kwitubi-/i something wrapped up.

nʌʌh-tʌma? a fence.

nʌʌmʌ/nʌmʌ a Comanche, sometimes of any Indian.

nʌʌ-sukaa-/h to feel (good or bad) in body or spirit.

nʌʌ-tsʌkana-/ʌ to be tied up.

nʌʌ?/nʌʌ one or ones spoken to, usually imperative. see 1.7.3; 1.11.2; 3.6.4; 3.25.9; 5.18.3; 9.12.4; 16.26.5; 19.32.5; 22.3.12; 22.25.10; 26.9.8; 26.28.8; 28.11.5; 33.4.3.

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ʌʌʔ-kwipuna-/ᵃ to twist one's self around something.

ʌʌʔmai-/h to get tired of, to get lazy.

ʌhi 1st per. dual exclusive, obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl.

ʌhka-/ʌkᵃ- to dance.

ʌhkana a dance, dancing.

ʌkwᵃ 1st per. dual exclusive subj. of main vb.

ʌmi 1st per. pl. exclusive, obj. of main vb., obj. or subj. of dep. cl.

ʌmi-/h to move about, to walk, sing. yʌka- pl.

ʌmʌ 1st per. pl. exclusive, pos., obj. of post-position.

ʌmᵃ-hani Indian corn, squaw corn.

ʌmʌ-kahni a teepee. (Indian-house)

ʌmʌ-kuhtsuʔ buffalo. (Indian-cattle).

ʌmʌ-naahka-/h to dwell, to live somewhere.

ʌmʌ-nahkana a family.

ʌmʌ-nahnia an Indian name.

ʌmʌ-narʌmʌʌʔ trading post, Indian store.

ʌmʌ-renahpʌʔ a Comanche man, sometimes any Indian man.

ʌmʌ-ruibihtsiʔ a Comanche brave, sometimes any Indian young man.

ʌmʌ-tsuhni Indian bones, bones of a human being.

ʌʌbᵃ/ʌʌbʌ 1st per. pl. exclusive, subj. of main vb.

ʌʌbʌmʌni-tahtsʌ very badly, very poorly.

ʌʌbʌ- yʌwiʔ an alligator. (people-swallowe).

ʌʌʔ 1st per. sing. subj. of main vb.

P

paa water.

paakᵃ/paka an arrow.

paapi/papi the head.

paa-rua-/h to come up, to rise, as water in a creek.

pa-habi-/i to swim, sing.
pa-kwabi- pl.

pahi-/h to fall, to be born, to attack (sing. only), sing.
yuma- pl.

pahi-bah three separate items.

pahoopi/pahopi hail.

paho-ʔʌma-/h to hail. (hail-to rain).

pahtsi-noʔi-/i to pluck, to pick a bird clean.

pa-kwabi-/i to swim, pl.
pa-habi- sing.

pa-mu-kwarʌʔrʌki-/i to make bubbles in the water.

pamutsaaʔ a bend in a creek.

pamᵃtsoʔno debris left when flood water recedes.

pabiʔ a brother older than yourself.

pasa-/h to dry something.

pasah-tah-niʔi-/i to set something out to dry, pl.
pasah-tahtʌki- sing.

pasah-tah-tʌki-/i to set something out to dry, sing.
pasah-tahniʔi- pl.

pasa-nua-/h to go down and begin to dry up, as a creek.

pasiwaapi/pasiwapi sand, fine gravel.

pasiwa-nooʔ a sand hill, a dune.

paraiboo? chief, boss, agent.

paratsihkweʔe-/h to shine, as metal, animal's eyes, etc.

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pa-ro?i-/i̲ to come up, to rise, as water in a creek.
parúuku? a raccoon.
patu̲-tsani-/i̲ to get hung up along the water's edge, sing.
patu̲-tsania- pl.
patu̲-tsania-/h to get hung up along the water's edge, pl.
patu̲-tsani- sing.
parʌkwihtsipʌ̲ switches, new tree shoots.
parʌtsohpe? a spring of water.
patsi? a sister older than yourself.
payaapo̲/payape a kind of potato-like root.
pa?a- long, high, tall.
pa?arai- to be on one's back, face upwards.
pa?i̲soke-/o̲ to be wet, to be soaked.
pa?sahpu'nii? oak tree.
pehka-/pekʌ̲- to kill, sing.
wasʌ- pl.
pekwi-/h to swell up.
peti-/h to throw something down.
petih-tai-/h to throw something down in order to dispose of it.
petʌ? a daughter.
petaʌ-/h to invite, to take along someone.
pia-/piapʌ̲- big, large, loud.
pia particle used with rʌa (tʌa) to mean because.
pia? mother.
pihi̲/pihi the heart.
pi-hima-/h to carry behind one, as on a horse, pl.
pi-yaa- sing.
pihi-si?apʌ̲ a coward.
pihi?a- boys, pl.
tuinʌhpʌ? sing.

pihka-/pikʌ̲- to make a drumming or repetitive noise, sing.
pipi̲ku- pl.
pihnáa? sugar.
pihná-kama-/ʌ̲ to taste sweet.
pika-namʌ̲soapʌ̲ buckskin clothes.
pikapʌ̲ buckskin.
pimo'roo? a cow.
pimo'roo?-taiboo? a cowboy.
pina emphatic locative, there! it is — see 2.27.1; 22.21.1; 24.12.1; 24.14.1.
pipi̲ku-/h to make a drumming or repetitive noise, pl.
pihka- sing.
pisaa-/h to apply make-up, to put on war-paint.
pi-sikwanúu?i-/i̲ to slide in a sitting position.
piaʌtʌki-/i̲ to pace, as a horse.
pitu̲sʌ back, (direction).
pitʌ-/h to arrive.
pitsipʌ̲ milk.
pitsipʌ̲-bimo'roo? a milk cow.
pi-woka-/ʌ̲ to drag someone or something.
pi-yaa-/h to carry behind one, as on a horse, sing.
pi-hima- pl.
pi?to?na?i bobtailed.
poo-/h to write, to design.
pohpi-/popi̲- to jump, sing.
pohbia- pl.
pohbia-/h to jump, pl.
pohpi- sing.
pokopi̲ berries, fruits, nuts, goodies.
poma-/ʌ̲ to pick fruit, berries, nuts.
pomana the process of picking berries, fruits, nuts.

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pomapΔ anything which has been picked, as berries, fruits, nuts.

po?a cover, bark, skin.

po?ayaa-/h to blow away, to be carried off by the wind.

po?aa-hanipΔ anything done of a mischievous nature.

po?aa-bihi?a- mischievous boys.

po?aa? crazy, mischievous.

po?tse-/h to bounce, to jerk.

pui/puih the eye.

puih-wʌʌʌ-/Δ to examine, to look over.

puuku/pukı a horse, personal and specific.

puha/puha medicine, spiritual power.

puha-na-maka?mukipΔ paraphernalia for a ceremony, peyote meeting, prepared herbs, rattles, gourds, etc.

puha-rabeni Sunday.

puhipΔ/puhi- grass, leaves, weeds.

puhihwi money, occasionally any kind of metal.

puhihwi-kahni a bank building.

puhihwi-maka-/h to give money to.

puhihwi-paraiboo? a banker.

puhihwi-tua-/h to get money, to have money.

puhihwi-yaa-/h to receive money, sing.

puhihwΔ-hima- pl.

puhihwΔ-hima-/h to receive money, pl.

puhihwi-yaa- sing.

puhi-bihnía? a watermelon (leaf-sugar).

puhitóo? a turkey. (grass-to graze).

puhwaai-/h to look for, with the eyes.

puku-tsaka-/Δ to lead a horse or another animal.

puni-/h to see, to look at.

putsiwaipΔ a dead, white, dried tree-trunk.

pu?a/pu?e road, trail, path.

pʌ 3rd per. sing. pos., with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌa-/h to leave, to forsake, to quit.

pʌah-tai-/h to forsake someone, to desert.

pʌehtʌpΔ an old person, an old-time Indian.

pʌesʌ already.

pʌetsΔku morning.

pʌetsΔkusʌ early morning.

pʌewatsi? wild.

pʌewatsi?-kʌʌka/kʌka a wild onion.

pʌi 3rd per. pl. obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌʌ 3rd per. pl. pos. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌhi 3rd per. dual, obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌhʌ hair, fuzz, certain types of vegetation.

pʌhʌ 3rd per. dual, pos. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌhʌ-tsahkwe?ya-/Δ to skin an animal.

pʌhʌ-wahtΔ/pʌhʌ-wahtʌ the prairie.

pʌhtsΔ-/pʌtsΔhah- to burst, to explode.

pʌkΔ/pʌkΔhu/pʌh- where, a place, (followed by a description).

pʌkwΔ 3rd per. dual in the imperative.

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pʌmi 3rd per. pl. obj. of dep. cl. with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌmʌ 3rd per. pl. obj. of dep. cl. (-ha), obj. of post-position, with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

pʌnʌ̨/pʌnʌ 3rd per. sing. intensive with subj. of main vb. as its antecedent.

bbb bbb bbb description of noise made by the bouncing skull.

S

saa-/h to boil something.

samohpʌ? a sibling, male or female.

sanahkena the sap of a tree.

sanah'koo? chewing gum.

sanah'koo?-kʌyu?ne-/ṡ to chew chewing gum.

sapʌ̨ stomach.

sarʌa an item no longer recognized as meaningful.

sarii? a dog.

sehka/ehka those (scattered) obj. or with noun obj.

sekwi-kʌ̨ni a storm cellar, a sod or mud house.

sekwipʌ̨ mud.

seni- different ways, various ways.

senihtʌhtsi? one of an inferior kind.

sebu/ebu different ways, various directions.

setʌ/etʌ those (scattered), subj. or with noun subj.

si-/i- this (near at hand), obj. of post-position.

sihka/ihka this (near at hand) obj. or with noun obj.

sihwa-/ʌ̨ to tear something.

sikl/sikʌ̨hu/ikl/ikʌ̨hu here, to here. (near at hand).

sini like this, this way.

sibe-/h to shave off, to scrape off.

sibepʌ̨ anything scraped or shaved off, shavings.

sibe?nikiyu- from now on.

sibu/ibu this direction, this way, (near at hand).

sitʌ/itʌ this (near at hand). subj. or with noun subj.

sitʌʌ/itʌʌ these (near at hand). subj. or with noun subj.

sitʌ̨hi/itʌ̨hi these, dual. (near at hand). obj. or with noun obj.

sitʌh/sitʌkwʌ̨/itʌh/itʌkwʌ̨ these, dual (near at hand). subj. or with noun subj.

si?a-/i?a- somewhere, someplace. (near at hand).

soo- many, much.

soo-kʌ̨ni town, village.

soo-be?sʌ a long time ago.

soho-kʌa-/h to climb, pl.

soho-ro?i- to climb, sing.

sohobokóo? a mulberry tree.

soho-ro?i-/i to climb, sing.

soho-kʌa- pl.

sokoobl/sokobi ground, earth.

sokg/sokʌ̨ho/okg/okʌ̨ho there, to there (at a distance).

soko-kima-/ʌ̨ to come walking.

sokohna land, country.

soko-rʌtsʌpʌ̨ a mile; (land-count).

sokʌ̨hi/okʌ̨hi there, to there (at a distance). in dep. cl.

sonipʌ/soni- grass.

soni-too-/h to graze on grass.

sorʌ/orʌ that, that one (at a distance). subj. or with noun subj.

sorʌʌ/orʌʌ these, those ones (at

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a distance), subj. or with noun subj.

so?a-/o?a- somewhere, someplace (at a distance).

sua-/h to think.

suabetai-/h to recognize, to know, to learn.

suurA see surA.

suhka/uhka that, (removed), obj. or with a noun obj.

suhri/uhri those, those ones, dual (removed), obj. or with a noun obj.

suku/sukAhu/uku/ukAhu there, to there (removed).

suni that way (method, not direction).

supana?i-/l to know of, to know about, to know someone.

sube?sA at that time.

sube?tA that is all, the end of it, as of a story.

sutaai-/h to bless someone.

surii/urii those, those ones (removed), obj. or with noun obj.

surA/urA that, that one (removed), subj. or with noun subj.

surAA/urAA those, those ones (removed), subj. or with noun subj.

surAkwA/urAkwA those, those ones, dual (removed), subj. or with noun subj.

suwaai-/h to want, to desire.

su?a-/u?a- somewhere, someplace, (removed).

su?ura-/A to think of something, to have an idea.

su?uyaa-/h to laugh at someone or something.

saa-/h to grow.

sAA together, of a group.

sAAhpe?sA all at once, all at the same time.

sAAh-po?tse-/g to kick a thing over, away, off.

sAkweebi/sAkwebi/sAkwe- half, the end of a row.

sA-me referring to something particular that was said.

sAmA-/sAmA-/sAmAh- with verbs, indicating something done completely, thoroughly.

sAmA-ku-tsiitona-/A to set completely on fire, sing.

sAmA-ku-tsiitowaka- pl.

sAmA-ku-tsiitowaka-/A to set completely on fire, pl.

sAmA-ku-tsiitona- sing.

sAmA-kwaaA-/h to cook ever thing, to complete cooking.

sAmA-na?ane-/h to be alike or similar in some sort of succession.

sAmA-na?ani-/l to roll around thoroughly.

sAmA-noo-/h to haul off completely.

sAmA-no-kima-/A to come moving the whole camp or everybody.

sAmA-no-mi?a-/g to move away the whole camp or everybody.

sAmA-sihwa-/A to be torn completely.

sAmA-soko-raisapA one mile.

sAmAsA once.

sAmA-rayu?ne-/g to pound something completely or thoroughly.

sAmA-rAhka-/rakA- to eat up completely, to devour.

sAmA? one, someone.

sAmA-?okwe-?h to float everything completely away.

sAmA-?oyeiA everyone.

sAmA-?AhtsUmi-/h to close the eyes tightly, without exception.

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sʌsʌmʌ? some.
sʌsʌ?ana sometimes.

T

ta see taa.
taa- to be morning, to become day.
taa 1st per. pl. inclusive, pos.
taamg/tama a tooth.
taa-makʌ-/h to make breakfast for.
taabg/tabe the sun.
taa-rʌhkʌ-/rʌkʌ̨- to eat breakfast.
taa-yori-/h to get out of bed in the morning, to arise, pl.
taa-yʌtsʌ- sing.
taa-yʌtsʌ-/h to get out of bed in the morning, to arise, sing.
taa-yori- pl.
tai 1st per. pl. inclusive, obj. of main vb., subj. of dep. cl.
tai-/taina a hole, a cave, a room.
taiboo? a white man.
taiboo?-ekʌ̨-sah-panʌ? a white soldier.
taiboo?-bihnʌ́? cantaloupes.
tah see takwʌ̨.
tahi 1st per. dual inclusive, obj. of main vb., obj. or subj. of dep. cl.
tahiba-/tahibah- anything flat, of objects.
tah-kobʌ-/ʌ̨ to break or snap off with the foot.
tah-kʌa-/h to drive something out, pl. ta-?ika- sing.
tah-kwe?ya-/ʌ̨ to take off the shoes, sing. tah-kwe?yu?i- pl.
tah-kwe?yu?i-/ʌ̨ to take off the shoes, pl. tah-kwe?ya- sing.
tah-ni?i-/ʌ̨ to put something away, pl. tah-tʌki- sing.
tah-too-/h to put on shoes.
tah-tʌki-/ʌ̨ to put something away, sing. tah-ni?i- pl. 104
tah-tʌma-/ʌ̨ to close, to shut, sing. tah-tʌmi?i- pl.
tah-tʌmi?i-/ʌ̨ to close, to shut, pl. tah-tʌma- sing.
takwʌ̨ 1st per. dual inclusive, subj. of main vb.
tahʌ 1st per. dual inclusive, pos., obj. of post-position.
tabú?kina? a rabbit.
tami? a brother younger than yourself.
tamih-tsi?-benihtʌh-tsi? dear little brothers, a term of endearment.
tamutʌ̨so?i-hunu?bi/i briar creek.
tamutʌ̨so?i? briars.
tamʌ 1st per. pl. inclusive, pos., obj. of post-position., subj. obj. of -ha cl.
tanʌ̨/tanʌ 1st per. pl. inclusive, subj. of main vb.
ta-nʌ?yʌki-/h to make a sound of footsteps, to make a running noise.
tabeeni/i morning, day.
tabe-tʌhkʌ-/tʌkʌ̨- to eat dinner.
tabe-?ika-/h to go down (of the sun), to be sunset.
ta-pʌ̨he-/h to remove, to take off, to drop, (involving foot or claw), sing. ta-yumi?i- pl.
tasʌkʌ-puni-/h to squint, to look through slitted eyes.
ta-wia-/h to wear out shoes.
ta-wʌnʌ-/ʌ̨ to stake down, to nail down, sing. ta-wʌni?i- pl.
ta-wʌni?i-/ʌ̨ to stake down, to nail down, pl. ta-wʌnʌ- sing.
ta-yaa-/h to carry something in the claws.

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tayaahkana something carried in the claws.

ta-yumi?i-/i to remove, to take off, to drop (involving foot or claw), pl. ta-pʌhe- sing.

ta-yu?ne-/e to pound with a pestle, to crush.

ta-?ika-/h to drive something out, sing.
tah-kʌa- pl.

ta?oo? dried pounded meat.

ta?oo?-hima-/h to get or receive pounded meat, pl.
ta?oo?-yaa- sing.

ta?oo?-yaa-/h to get or receive pounded meat, sing.
ta?oo?-hima- pl.

ta?ura-/ʌ to meet someone.

ta?kwʌbai-/h to shoot a gun, pl.
ta?wo?i- sing.

ta?siwóo? a buffalo.

ta?siwóo?-rʌhkapʌ buffalo meat.

ta?siwóo?-wana-?ʌhʌ a buffalo skin blanket.

ta?wo?i-/i to shoot a gun, sing.
ta?kwʌbai- pl.

ta?wo?i? a gun.

tekwa-/ʌ to speak, to talk, sing.
siwʌʌa- pl.

tekwʌ-ni-/h to announce, to make a public proclamation.

tenahpʌ? a man.

too-/h to graze (as cattle).

too-nii-/h to graze from place to place, sing.
too-yʌhka- pl.

too-yʌhka-/yʌkʌ- to graze from place to place, pl.
too-nii- sing.

too?i-/i to unhitch a horse, pl.
to?ya- sing.

to-hima-/h to lift up, to carry in arms, pl. to?-yaa- sing.

tohoobe/e the hindquarter of an animal.

toh-kʌa-/h to help one mount, to go out forcibily, pl.
toh-to?i- sing.

toh-poroa-/h to scatter by force.

toh-to?i-/i to help one mount, to go out forcibly, sing.
toh-kʌa- pl.

toh-tʌma-/ʌ to stop up, to can something, sing.
toh-tʌmi?i- pl.

toh-tʌmi?i-/i to stop up, to can something up, pl.
toh-tʌma- sing.

toh-tsana-/h to hang something up, sing. toh-tsani?i- pl.

toh-tsani?i-/i to hang something up, pl. toh-tsana- sing.

tokwe- exact.

to-kwite-/h to peep into something.

tomo-/tomo- to be winter, a year.

tomoa-/h to cloud up.

toponiweki- round, spherical, in a circle.

tobo?i-/i to stand, pl.
wʌʌa- sing.

tosa-/tosapi- white, silver.

tosah-puhihwi/i silver money.

tosa-na-buni-/h to appear white, to look white in color.

toyaabi/tuya- a mountain.

toyopʌ the neck.

to?i-/i to appear, to come out, to climb, to escape, sing.
kʌa- pl.

to?i-bitʌ-/ʌ to come out at a certain place, sing.
kʌah-bitʌ- pl.

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to?-kwarıa-/h to spill out, to pour on.

to?-nika-/a to load something (wagon, gun, sack). to put something into something else, sing. tʌbaki- pl.

to?-wʌ?weni-/ı to empty something.

to?ya-/a to unhitch a horse, sing. too?i- pl.

to?-yaa-/h to lift up, to carry in arms, sing. to-hima- pl.

tua-/h to have a child.

tua? a son.

tuinʌhpʌ? a boy, sing. pihi?a- pl.

tuibihtsi? a young man, a brave.

tuu-/h to get or fetch water.

tuu-hu-nii-/h to fetch water, sing. tuu-hu-yʌka- pl.

tuu-hu-yʌka-/a to fetch water, pl. tuu-hu-nii- sing.

tuu-kʌ-mi?a-/a to go get water for someone.

tuupa water being carried.

tu-hanı- something black.

tuhu/tuhu bone marrow.

tuhupı-/tuuh- black.

tuhubʌhka-/tuhubʌka- to get angry.

tuhu-rʌhka-/rʌka- to eat bone marrow.

tu-hʌkia-/h to have deep or dark shade.

tuhkanáai? Wichita Indians.

tuhkanáai?-bihi?a- Wichita Indian boys, pl.

tuhkanáai?-tenahpʌ? Wichita Indian man.

tuhkanáai?-niwʌʌʌ-/a to speak Wichita, pl.

tuhkanáai?-rekwa- sing.

tuhkanáai?-rekwa-/h to speak Wichita, sing.

tuhkanáai?-niwʌʌʌ- pl.

tuhku/tuhku human flesh.

tuhpokóo? tree-grown black berries with a hard seed. (not choke-cherries).

tuhpokóo?-huuhpı/i a tree bearing black berries with a hard seed.

tuhtsaiwai- to be clean, to be pure.

tukani-/ı to become night, to get dark.

tukani/tukaanı night.

tunehtsʌ-/tunetaa- to run, to run to something.

tusi-/h to spit.

tʌa/rʌa 'it is said'. complete meaning is still dubious. see the second item of each new text and 4.10.1; 5.7.1; 9.3.3; 15.23.4; 36.1.3.

tʌasʌ also, again, and.

tʌe- little, small.

tʌeh-puha-rabeni Saturday. (little-Sunday).

tʌe?tʌ a little one, a child.

tʌi? a woman's friend.

tʌʌh-ka?a-/a to chop with an axe, sing. tʌʌh-pomi?i- pl.

tʌʌh-ka?a? an axe.

tʌʌh-pomi?i-/ı to chop with an axe, pl. tʌʌh-ka?a- sing.

tʌʌhtsohpe? rendered bone marrow.

tʌʌpe/tʌpe the mouth, the lips.

tʌʌpı/tʌpi a stone, a rock.

tʌ-hani-/ı to butcher.

tʌ-ha?woka-/a to be hollow.

tʌ-hima-/a to get or receive rations.

tʌ-himana rations.

104 tʌ-himʌ̨-rabeni ration day.
tʌhoi-/h to go hunting.
tʌhʌʌyə/tʌhʌya a horse (general term). see puukə.
tʌhʌya-karʌ-/h to ride horseback, sing. tʌhʌya-yʌkwi- pl.
tʌhʌya-kʌa-/h to mount on horseback, pl. tʌhʌya-ro?i- sing.
tʌhʌya-ro?i-/i̲ to mount on horseback, sing. tʌhʌya-kʌa- pl.
tʌhʌya-yʌkwi-/h to ride horseback, pl. tʌhʌya-karʌ- sing.
tʌhka-/tʌkʌ̨- to eat.
tʌhka-nʌmi-/h to move about eating, sing. tʌhka-yʌka- pl.
tʌhkapʌ̨ meat.
tʌhkapʌ̨-rua-/h to get meat, to receive meat.
tʌhka-yʌka-/ʌ̨ to move about eating, pl. tʌhka-nʌmi- sing.
tʌhpe?- full.
tʌhpe?-kʌa-/h to fill up something.
tʌh-tʌki-/i̲ to plant one thing.
tʌrʌ̨ni?i- pl.
tʌke-/h to hunt several days away from the main camp.
tʌki-/h to put something away, sing. tahni?i- pl.
tʌkʌ̨-hima-/h to take to eat, pl. tʌkʌ-yaa- sing.
tʌkʌh-mani-/i̲ to prepare a meal.
tʌkʌh-manipʌ̨ something prepared to eat.
tʌkʌh-pehka-/pekʌ̨- to kill something to eat, sing.
tʌkʌ-wasʌ- pl.
tʌkʌh-tʌmʌʌpʌ̨ something purchased to eat.
tʌkʌ-noo-/h to carry along food.
tʌkʌ̨-sona-/ʌ̨ to spread a cloth on which to place food to eat.
tʌkʌ-wasʌ-/h to kill things to eat, pl. tʌkʌh-pehka- sing.
tʌkʌ-yaa-/h to take to eat, sing. tʌkʌ̨-hima- pl.
tʌkʌ-?ahwe-/h to dig up something to eat.
tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌ-/h to kill for meat, to butcher, pl. tʌ-behka- sing.
tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌkʌ-/ʌ̨ to roast something over coals.
tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌkʌpʌ̨ roasted meat.
tʌ-mah-kupa? a panther.
tʌ-maka-/ʌ̨ to pay someone.
tʌ-ma-kotse-/h to wash dishes.
tʌmarʌʌmoa- much, many, a lot.
tʌmeh-/tʌme- to gamble.
tʌmʌʌ-/h to buy, to trade.
tʌ-mʌ̨-sʌapʌ̨ crops.
tʌnahyaa-/h to trail something (of dogs).
tʌnaki- quiet, calm, soundless.
tʌnikwʌ-/ʌ̨ to sing.
tʌ-nookʌ-/ʌ̨ to load an animal, etc.
ʌ-noopʌ̨ a pack, for an animal.
tʌ-noo-wapi̲ a pack animal.
tʌbaki-/i̲ to load something (wagon, gun, sack), to put something into something else, pl. to?-nika- sing.
tʌpana the bank of a creek, an incline.
tʌ-behka-/tʌ-bekʌ̨- to kill for meat, to butcher, sg. tʌ-kwʌ̨sʌ- pl.
tʌ-behkapʌ̨ something killed for food.
tʌbi̲naa?weki̲- one-half, divided in half, in the middle of.
tʌbitsi̲-/tʌbitsi-/tʌbitsʌ̨- really, surely, very.
tʌbitsi-basa-/h to become very dry.

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tʌ-soona̲/tʌ-sona a large pan, a dish pan.
tʌsu?naa-/h to become quiet, to calm down.
tʌtaa- to be small, to be poor, to be pitied.
tʌrahya-/h to mix sugar and pounded meat together.
tʌrahyapʌ̲ pounded meat mixed with sugar and suet.
tʌ-rayu?ne? a pestle.
tʌrahka-/tʌrakʌ̲- to steal.
tʌrakʌ̲-raiboo? a robber, a thief.
tʌ-rʌ̲ni?i-/l̲ to plant several things, pl. tʌh-tʌki- sing.
tʌ-tsih-ka?a-/a̲ to cut off, to cut up, sing. tʌ-tsih-pomi?i- pl.
tʌ-tsih-pomi?i-/l̲ to cut off, to cut up, pl. tʌ-tsih-ka?a- sing.
tʌtsʌ-/h to count.
tʌ-woo-/h to go hunting, involving movement of the whole camp.
tʌyaai-/h to die, sing.
kooi- pl.
tʌ?a̲we-/h to tell.
tʌ?eka-/ʌ̲ to paint.
tʌ?ʌya-/ʌ̲ to be afraid of something.
tʌ?rikúu? a prairie dog.

TS

tsaa-/tsaah- good, fine, well.
tsaai-/h to take hold of something.
tsaah-tʌhka-/tʌkʌ̲- to eat well.
tsa-hani-/l̲ to drive a car or team, to do or fix something by hand.
tsa-hima-/h to carry something in the hand, pl. tsa-yaa- sing.
tsah-karʌka-/ʌ̲ to set something upright, sing.
tsa-yʌkwika- pl.
tsah-ka?a-/a̲ to snap, to break off with the hand, to cut.
tsah-koba-/ʌ̲ to break something with the hands, sing.
tsah-kobi?i- pl.
tsah-kobi?i-/l̲ to break something with the hands, pl.
tsah-koba- sing.
tsah-kʌa-/h to make go up, to pull up, pl. tsah-to?i- sing.
tsah-kwe?ya-/ʌ̲ to take off clothing, to pull off or up, sing.
tsah-kwe?yu?i- pl.
tsah-kwe?yu?i-/l̲ to take off clothing, to pull off or up, pl.
tsah-kwe?ya- sing.
tsah-poma-/ʌ̲ to break up, to shell, to pick off grapes, sing.
tsah-pomi?i- pl.
tsah-pomi?i-/l̲ to break up, to shell, to pick off grapes, pl.
tsah-poma- sing.
tsah-po?tse-/h to jerk someone.
tsah-puni-/h to show someone something, to test something.
tsah-tahni?i-/l̲ to set something down, pl. tsah-tʌki- sing.
tsah-to?i-/l̲ to make go up, to pull up, sing. tsah-kʌa- pl.
to pull out, to take out, sing. tsa-pʌye- pl.
tsah-tunehtsʌ-/tunetsʌ̲- to stretch something, to stretch a bow.
tsah-tʌki-/l̲ to set something down, sing. tsah-tahni?i- pl.
tsah-tʌma-/ʌ̲ to close, to shut, sing. tsah-tʌmi?i- pl.
tsah-tʌmi?i-/l̲ to close, to shut, pl. tsah-tʌma- sing.

104 tsah-tʌwa ʔi-/ʌ̲ to open a box, trunk, jar, to take down a teepee, tsa-tʌwa- sing. pl.

tsah-tsu ʔma-/ʌ̲ to finish up something involving the hands.

tsahwi-/h to open, to turn over something.

tsaka-/ʌ̲ to lead by the hand, or reins, sing. uma- pl.

tsakʌ̲-hu-nii-/h to lead up a horse, sing. tsakʌ̲-hu-yʌka- pl.

tsakʌ̲-hu-yʌka-/ʌ̲ to lead up horses, pl. tsakʌ̲-hu-nii- sing.

tsani-/h to get hung or snagged on something, sing. tsania- pl.

tsania-/h to get hung or snagged on something, pl. tsani- sing.

tsa-pʌ̲he-/h to take down from, to take off of, sing.
tsa-yumi ʔi- pl.

tsa-pʌ̲he-suwaai-/h to want or try to throw something off.

tsa-pʌ̲tsa-/h to rip open with the hand or claws.

tsa-pʌ̲ye-/h to pull out, to take out, pl. tsah-to ʔi- sing.

tsatʌwa-/h to open a box, trunk, jar, to take down a teepee, sing.
tsah-tʌwa ʔi- pl.

tsa-wee-/h to haul a person.

tsa-wekwi-/h to enter carrying several things, pl.
tsa-ʔika- sing.

tsa-wʌ[illegible]ne-/ʌ̲ to scratch.

tsa-wʌna-/ʌ̲ to set out, as food on a table, sing.
tsa-wʌni ʔi- pl.

tsa-wʌni ʔi-/ʌ̲ to set out, as food on a table, pl.
tsa-wʌna- sing.

tsa-yaa-/h to carry something in the hand, sing. tsa-hima- pl.

tsa-yuma-/ʌ̲ to make someone fall, to make something fall.

tsa-yumi ʔi-/ʌ̲ to take down from, to take off of, pl.
tsa-pʌ̲he- sing.

tsa-yʌkwika-/ʌ̲ to set something upright, pl. tsah-karʌka- sing.

tsa-ʔika-/h to enter carrying something, sg. tsa-wekwi- pl.

tsiha-kooi-/h to be hungry, to starve, pl.
tsiha-ʌayaai- sing.

tsiha-kwitso ʔai-/h to save from starvation.

tsiha-nabeni-/ʌ̲ with negative particle ke, to become hungry, to be without food.

tsiha-ʌayaai-/h to be hungry, to starve, sing. tsiha-kooi- pl.

tsi-hima-/h to carry on a stick, pl. tsi-yaa- sing.

tsih-ka ʔa-/a̲ to cut something with a knife.

tsih-poma-/ʌ̲ to cut up into pieces, sing. tsih-pomi ʔi- pl.

tsih-pomi ʔi-/ʌ̲ to cut up into pieces, pl. tsih-poma- sing.

tsimiakʌ-/ʌ̲ to miss out on something.

tsipe-/h to unhorse with a spear or lance.

tsi-waai-/h to feel around with something sharp.

tsi-yaa-/h to carry on a stick, sing. tsi-hima- pl.

tsi ʔ-nika-/ʌ̲ to put something pointed into, to stick into.

tsoapʌ̲ the shoulder.

tso-wekwa-/h to put on a hat, pl.
tso ʔ-nika- sing.

tso-wekwa? hats, pl.
tso?-nika? sing.
tso?me-/e̲ to gather up.
tso?mepʌ̲ anything gathered up.
tso?-nika-/ʌ̲ to put on a hat, sing. tso-wekwa- pl.
tso?-nika? a hat, sing.
tso-wekwa? pl.
tsuhni-/tsuhnipʌ̲ a bone.
tsuhni-tekwa-/h to talk mean, to talk rough, to curse, sing.
tsuhni-niwʌʌʌ- pl.
tsuhni-niwʌʌʌ-/ʌ̲ to talk mean, to talk rough, to curse, pl.
tsuhni-tekwa- sing.
tsu?ma-/ʌ̲ to disappear, to be used up, to cease to be.
tsʌhki-/tsʌki- to be crowded.
tsʌ?ni-/l̲ to stay a while.

W

waa-hima- to take a cedar tree, to celebrate Christmas.
waah-kusi-?okwe? grey flowing cedar creek.
waahpi̲/waah-/waa- cedar, cedar tree.
waata̲/wata a pole, a teepee pole.
waa-waata̲/wata cedar teepee poles.
waa?aki-/l̲ to yell, to wahoo.
waikinʌ̲ a wagon.
waja-/wahah- two.
waha-bah- two separate items.
wahabi̲-sua-/h to become suspicious of, to suspect.
wahka-mi?a-/a̲ to lope, pl.
aai-mi?a- sing.
wakaré?ee? a turtle.
wana-kotse? soap.
wana-buhihwi̲/i paper money.
wanapʌ̲ cloth.
wana-roh-peti-/h to gamble. (to throw down yard goods). 104
wana-?ʌhʌ a cloth blanket.
wana-?ʌhʌ-maka-/h to give away a blanket.
wasáasi? an Osage Indian.
wasáasi?-tenahpʌ? an Osage Indian man.
wasápe? a bear.
wasʌ-/h to kill, pl.
pehka- sing.
wasʌpʌ̲ a number of persons or animals killed.
warʌ?i-/l̲ to miss someone, to fail to make connections.
watsih-puni-/h to watch from hiding, to spy on.
watsih-tah-ni?i-/l̲ to put away secretly, pl.
watsih-tah-tʌki- sing.
watsih-tah-tʌki-/l̲ to put away secretly, sing.
watsih-tah-ni?i- pl.
watsikʌ-/ʌ̲ to lose something.
wa?ihpʌ? a woman.
wa?wah- two apiece.
wee-/h to go down, to get off.
wehki-/weki- to look for, to search for.
wekwi-/h to go in, pl.
ika- sing.
wenuunuki̲- swinging back and forth.

we?kwiyanu̲- to flash, to shine, (jewels, reflected sunlight).
wihi̲/wihi a sword.
wihi-/h to throw at a distance.
wih-kama-/ʌ̲ to taste oily.
wihnu then.
wihte-/wite̲- to peep.

104 wihtua a bucket.

-witsa ought, should. see 2.20.1; 6.17.3; 6.19.3; 21.13.2; 23.4.4; 32.5.1; 35.4.2.

woinu a bugle, a horn.

woobi/wobi a board, wood.

wohya- a row, in a row.

wokweebi/wokwebi peyote.

wokwe-kahni a peyote teepee.

wokwe-tʌhka-/tʌkʌ- to eat peyote, to have a peyote ceremony.

wobi-kʌni a wood or frame house.

wobi-puuku/puku a wagon.

wobi-wihtua a drum.

wobi-ʔaawo/ʔawo a trunk.

wosa/wosa a box, a suitcase.

wosa-ʔáaʔraʔ the largest of the grasshoppers. (suitcase-uncle).

woʔaabi/woʔabi/woʔa- a worm.

woʔa-rʌhkapʌ rice. (worm-meat).

wʌhabi-/i to march off in formation, to parade.

wʌh-kaʔa-/a to cut, to chop down, sing. wʌh-pomiʔi- pl.

wʌhki-/wʌki- to shoot a gun, bow, etc.

wʌhki-tsuʔtsuʔi-/i to rattle (of a snake), to make a rattling noise.

wʌhki-tsuʔtsuʔiʔ a snake's rattles, a rattle.

wʌh-koba-/ʌ to break or snap something, to break a leg.

wʌh-kupa-/ʌ to kill with a club or weapon, sing.
wʌh-tokwe- pl.

wʌh-para-/ʌ to spread a cloth over something, sing.
wʌh-parʌʔi- pl.

wʌh-parʌʔi-/i to spread a cloth over something, pl.
wʌh-para- sing.

wʌh-paʔi-/i to beat, to hit something several times.
wʌh-tʌkwa- hit once.

wʌh-pitʌ-/ʌ to reach a destination.

wʌh-piwoka-/ʌ to drag something by force.

wʌh-pomiʔi-/i to cut, to chop down, pl. wʌh-kaʔa- sg.

wʌhtakami-/i to dry something partially.

wʌhtaráa? a camp bed made of a scaffold of branches, a travois.

wʌh-tokwe-/ʌ to kill with a club or weapon, pl.
wʌh-kupa- sing.

wʌh-tokweʔ those which are clubbed to death.

wʌhtui-/h to wait for someone or something.

wʌh-tʌkwa-/ʌ to hit something once. wʌh-paʔi- hit several times.

wʌh-tsitoʔa-/h to peel with a knife.

wʌ-mua-/h to sweep.

wʌbʌ-/ʌ to stand, sing.
toboʔi- pl.

wʌ-nʌʌh-kupa-/ʌ to be knocked down by force, to be thrown down.

wʌ-nʌʔyʌʔi-/i to make a heavy noise, to thud, to bump.

wʌ-pʌhe-/h to frail, to knock off with a stick, sing.
wʌ-yumiʔi- pl.

wʌ-siboʔa-/h to shave off, to scrape with an instrument.

wʌ-sukaa-/h to feel (good or bad) in body or soul about something.

wʌ-su-warʌki-/i to miss someone, to be lonesome for, to be concerned over someone's absence.

wʌ-tsʌ̨kʌna-/ʌ̨ to tie something.
wʌ-yumiʔi-/i̲ to frail, to knock off with a stick, pl.
wʌ-pʌ̨he- sing.
wʌʔ-kwipuna-/ʌ̨ to twist something violently.
wʌʔ-yʌrʌhki-/i̲ to scare or frighten with something.

Y

yaa-/h to take something, sing.
hima- pl.
yaa expression of surprise or derision, by women only.
yaa-hu-nii-/h to fetch, to scrounge for, sing.
yaa-hu-yʌka- pl.
yaa-hu-yʌka-/ʌ̨ to fetch, to scrounge for, pl.
yaa-hu-nii- sing.
yaapʌ̨ anything which has been taken.
yahne-/h to laugh, sing.
naʔyʌ̨ne- pl.
yake-/h to cry, sing.
nahwool- pl.
yee expression of surprise or derision, by men only.
yori-/h to fly, pl.
yʌtsʌ- sing.
yuu-karʌ-/h to sit still.
yuupʌ̨ anything fat.
yuhu/yuhu/yuhu- fat, grease, lard.
yuhu-nohko-/nokʌ̨- to make fried bread.
yuhu-wehkipʌ̨ one looked for that is fattest.
yuma-/ʌ̨ to fall, (to be born, to attack, sing. only), pl.
pahi- sing.
yuʔa-/yuʔah- to be warm (of the weather).
yuʔa-namʌ̨soa-/h to have on warm clothing.
yʌi-/h to be night, to be evening.
yʌlh-tʌhka-/tʌkʌ̨- to eat supper.
yʌka-/h to move about, to walk, pl.
nʌmi- sing.
yʌkwi-/h to say, intransitive, with particle me, sing.
niwʌna- pl.
yʌkwi-/h to sit down, pl.
karʌ- sing.
yʌkwikʌ-/ʌ̨ to set up teepees, pl.
karʌkʌ- sing.
yʌrʌhki-/yʌrʌki- to frighten, to scare.
yʌtsʌ-/h to fly, sing.
yori- pl.
yʌwi-/h to swallow something, to go out of sight.
yʌyʌmuhku-/yʌyʌmukʌ̨- to move or to have movement.
yʌʔyʌka- soft.

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13: Simmons

NO6 Comanche NO6

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[The text category for this source has not been processed.]

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[title page]

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000 ALTERNATE PHONEMIC ANALYSES OF COMANCHE

VENDA RIGGS
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

0. Introduction
1. Consonants: Analysis A
2. Consonants: Analysis B
3. Discussion
4. Vowels
5. Stress

128 0. This paper presents two alternate phonemic analyses of the consonants of Comanche, a Uto-Aztecan language.[1] The 128 question involved is whether the sequence h 194 plus consonant should be regarded as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme in 128 this language.[2] In section 3 the relative advantages and disadvantages of each solution will be discussed without any attempt to favor either analysis. The writer, however, prefers analysis B.

128 1. Consonants: Analysis A. In this analy- 194 sis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a consonant cluster.

194 1.1. Stops and spirants generally occur in unique allophones, namely voiceless; h is assimilated to preceding vowels and following nasals.

Stops: p, t, c (an affricate, patterning as stop), kʷ, k, ʔ. Examples: paa *water*, picpə *milk*, təaʔ *son*, peetə *daughter*, caatə *good*, paciʔ *little sister*, kʷeeniʔ *pointed hill*,

[101] [1] The data on which this paper is based was gathered during the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of [115] Oklahoma. Comanche informants were Molly Weryavah, Emily Riddles, and Mrs. Joe Harry. I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin for suggestions in the presentation of the material.

[2] A third possible analysis, that of interpreting preconsonantal h as a voiceless vowel has not been considered due to the fact that Comanche voiceless vowels are contrastive as to quality, while the phoneme h is not. See section 1.1., Spirants.

[p. 229-A]

194 tənikʷərə *singing*, kooko? *hen*, toko? *grandfather*, ?ara? *uncle*, mo?O *hand*.

Spirants: s, h. Examples: sarii? *dog*, kesautə *wicked*, hiipI *drink*, paha? *aunt*.

1.2. Oral and nasal sonants are voiceless before voiceless vowels, only slightly voiced following h, fully voiced elsewhere.

Oral sonants: w, ʙ, r, y. In intervocalic position, w and y have idiolectal variants gw and dž respectively. The phoneme ʙ is a bilabial fricative; r an alveolar flap. Examples: wa?oo? *cat*, ?awO *cup*, təʙicI *very*, naiʙi? *young lady*, tərə?aitə *working*, karərənə? *I am sitting*, yakeetə *crying*, təhəəyA *pony*.

Nasal sonants: m, n. Examples: mi?arə *going*, kimA *come!*, nə-rəa? *my son*, səsə?anA *sometime*.

1.3. The distribution of the consonants according to analysis A is as follows:

All consonants occur in utterance medial.

The phonemes ʙ and r occur in word initial but not in utterance initial.[3] All other consonants occur in utterance initial.

Only ? and h occur in utterance final.

Consonants occur in the following clusters, which appear only in utterance medial:

h + p, t, c, kʷ, k, w, r, m, n
? + n, r
n + h

2. Consonants: Analysis B. In this analysis the sequence h plus consonant is inter-

[3] The phonemes ʙ and r alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively. Conditions of alternation are not always phonologically defined. Cf. nə-rəa? *my son*, ?ə-təa? *your son*. In utterance initial position, however, v and r are always replaced by p and t respectively, and r is always replaced by t following i.

[p. 229-B]

194 [128] In this analysis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a unit phoneme, i.e. a preaspirated consonant.

2.1. Consonants which show an opposition of preaspirate versus simple are certain stops and continuants. The stops always appear voiceless; the preaspirate continuants are only slightly voiced, the simple continuants are voiceless before voiceless vowels, voiced elsewhere.

The stops are:

Preasp. ʿp, ʿt, ʿc, ʿkʷ, ʿk

Simple p, t, c, kʷ, k

Examples: ʔaʿpə ʔ *father*, kaʿpeʔ *bed*, ʔəʿtui- *to give (sing.)*, moʿtoʔA *pimple*, tuneʿci- *to run*, paʿcikeetə *slick*, yaʿkʷi- *to say*, təəcaʿkʷeyaʔi- *to skin*, təʿka- *to eat*, naʿkia *maybe*, pahaʔ *aunt*, tamiʔ *little brother*, caatə *good*, kʷiipə *smoke*, kakuʔ *grandmother*.

The continuants are:

Preasp. ʿm, ʿw, ʿn, ʿr

Simple m, w, n, r

Examples: naʿmeitə *table*, kaʿnI *house*, taʿniʔikI- *to put (with plural object)*, wokoʿwiʔ *squirrel*, puhiʿwI *money*, noʿrənəpI *bed*, ʔuʿri- *third person obj. dual*, marə́aʿweʔ *greeting*, waʔooʔ *cat*, naramaʔipA *story*, karərə *sitting*.

2.2. Remaining consonants are those consonants in analysis B which do not show opposition of preaspirate versus simple. Their allophones are as described under analysis A.

Stop: ʔ. Examples: miʔarə *going*, ʔaraʔ *uncle*.

Continuants: ʁ, s, y, h. Examples: ʔonaʁiʔ *salt*, muʁipóroʔ *pig*, ʁariiʔ *dog*, ʁahopA *broth*, yəʿkʷi- *to say*, təhəəyA *pony*, ʁaicI *friend*, pahaʁitə *swimming*.

2.3. The distribution of consonants under analysis B is as follows:

All consonants occur in utterance medial.

All simple (i.e. non-preaspirate) consonants except ʁ and r (as explained in section 1.3.) occur in utterance initial.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final.

There are only three consonant clusters.

[p. 230-A]

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight,* where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual
121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long,* paˈpaʔatə *long(redup.).* In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem təˈka-), təkənəninəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem təkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely
197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of
197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[113] [4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106–109 (1949).

[p. 230-B]

197 pirate consonants, while consonant clusters are not at all rare in the Uto-Aztecan lan-
197 guage family. Comanche preaspirates may
194 correspond to simple consonants in cognate languages. cf. So. Paiute yəŋə, Com. yə'nəʔ *porcupine*; Tübatulabal tək-, So. Paiute təq.a, Com. tə'ka- *to eat*; So. Paiute qan.i-, Tübatulabal hani, Com. ka'nI *house*; So. Paiute ap.əi-, Com. ʔa'pəi- *to sleep (sing.)*; So. Paiute aq.əi-, Com. ʔə'koʔi- *to sleep (pl.)*.

194 4. Vowels. Only one analysis is presented for the vowels; these are voiced and voiceless.

Voiced: i, e, a, o, u, ə. Vowel ə is a high, unrounded vowel varying from central to back position. Vowels i, e, o, u vary from close to open varieties; a varies to [ʌ] in unstressed position. Examples: piapə *big*, tena'pəʔ *man*, papI *hair*, sonipə *grass*, hunuɴI *creek*, wənə-nəʔ *I stop*.

Voiceless: I, E, A, O, U, ə. These are of the same quality as their corresponding voiced vowels. In normal speech, utterance medial ə appears somewhat shorter than other voiceless vowels.[5] Examples: ʔekaɴItə

[5] This fact has given rise to still another interpretation of Comanche phonemes: namely that of considering voiceless, when occurring in medial position, as aspiration of the preceding consonant.
[113] See Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93-99 (1949), where the form təkəbənituʔi-nəʔ *I will always be eating*, is transcribed [tikʰbinituʔi-nIʔ]. This interpretation admits of a

[p. 231-A]

194 *red*, hayarokʷEtI *four* (*as used in counting*), sahopA *broth*, ssəmanUrii *ten* (*used as object*), moʔO *hand*, təkəɒənitə-nəʔ *I keep on eating*.

The distribution of the vowels is as follows:

All vowels occur in utterance medial.

Only voiceless vowels and vowel clusters occur in utterance final. When a morpheme with a final single voiced vowel occurs in utterance final position its final vowel is replaced by a voiceless vowel of corresponding quality.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. These are of two members, which may consist of identical or diverse vowels. All voiced vowels occur in identical clusters. Examples: tiipE *mouth*, kʷeeɒiʔ *pointed hill*, caatə *good*, kooɒeʔ *face*, huupI *tree*, pəərA *arm* (*wrist to elbow*). The following clusters of diverse vowels have been observed: a, u, e, o followed by i. kasarǽiɒoʔ *angel*, pui *eye*, na'meitə *table*, kookʷaʔənoi *egg*, i, ə, o followed by a. piapə *big*, təasə *again*, moakU *lots*. ə, a followed by e. nəetə *wind*, pae *water* (*obj.*).

128 5. In the examples given above stress is unmarked when it falls on the first syllable of a word; in all other cases it is marked.

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few more consonant clusters, but these are much less frequent in occurrence than the type h plus consonant, with which we are concerned.

[p.231-B]

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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

HENRY OSBORN AND WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

193
128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, k^w, ?; c; s, s, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; I, Ī, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /'/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

[p.93-A]

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affixes in Comanche. Some classes of affixes are not exhaustive (e.g. derivational affixes, class 100, which includes many more morphemes), but the pertinent classes for stem and word formation are represented.

Classification of affixes by centuries is as follows: 100 derivational, 200 verbal inflectional, 300 nominal inflectional. Classification by decades is generally on the basis of relative order. However, morphemes 201, 253, 254, 323 have been classified otherwise for convenience of description since their relative order is not as pertinent as their identity with the group in which they are placed. Decimal numbers indicate mor-

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[104]
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logical juncture where clitic stems are bound to other stems or words (see 3.1.3., 3.1.4., 3.3.).

The recurrent morphophonemic changes are as follows: (1) Single morpheme-final vowels generally become voiceless in utterance-final position. 'kahrinII *houses* > 'kahnI *house*.

(2) In certain combinations morpheme-final vowels reduce to open transition of neutral vowel quality. In certain combinations morphemes reduce medially by the loss of one or more morae. Compare 'tĩhka *eat* in the following: 'tĩhkaru?i-nI? *I will eat*, 'tĩknĩnitu?i-nI? *I will always be eating* (['tĩkʰnĩnitu?i-nI?] in which [kʰ] is approximately [kI] but without vowel mora); 'puukU *horse* + 'kahnI *house* > 'pukuknI ['pukukʰNI] *barn*.

(3) t interchanges with r; and p interchanges with n, utterance medially at morpheme boundaries under conditions not always phonologically determined. 'pani? *older brother*, nI-'sani? *my older brother*; 'tĩnoorĩ-ma? *he is writing*, 'caa-nI? 'rĩnoorĩ *I write well*. After pause the p and t always occur: 'tenahpI?a 'rĩnikʷĩri-nI? 'nuni? *I see the man singing*, but 'tenahpI?a / 'tĩnikʷĩri-nI? / 'puni? (in which / indicates tentative pause). t (but not p) always occurs after i. '?itI *this one* < ?i 3rd person close + -tI nominalizer; '?orI *that one* < ?o 3rd person distant + -tI; 'pinĩapĩrII *large ones* <'piapĩ *big*.

(4) ? + ? = ?. 'sarii? *dog* + -?a genitive > 'sarii?a *dog's*.

[p.93-B]

193 pheme alternants. Distribution classes of
128 stems and affixes are defined below.

Reference to affix classes is made in even century and/or decade numbers (e.g. reference to tense is made by 260). Reference to specific morphemes is made by the list number (e.g. reference to -tuʔi future, is made by 261). The distribution of alternants in respect to each other is indicated in the list.

193 Class 100: 110, 120 1st and 2nd order derivational prefixes respectively; 130 derivational suffixes.

111. caʔ-[3] *with an upward movement of the hand*
112. maʔ- *pertaining to the hand*
113. roʔ- *with a violent movement of the hand*
114. coʔ- *with the head*
115. kiʔ- *with the elbow*
116. huʔ- *with the back*
117. taʔ- *with the leg or foot*
118. kīʔ- *with the mouth or scissors*
119. ciʔ- *with something sharp*

121. na- reflexive

131. -pĬ nominalizer
132. -ʔ nominalizer
133. -pI[4] classificatory affix
134. -pīʔ classificatory affix
135. -BI classificatory affix
136. -ciʔ classificatory affix

Class 200: 201 infix; 210–250 verbal suffixes in relative order by decades.

201. -*V*-[5] imperative → (distribution restricted to an arbitrary class)

[3] Morphemic alternation of affixes in class 110 is not completely analyzed. Each affix in this class has an alternant with final h instead of final ʔ.

[4] Classificatory affixes here listed do not make any determinable difference to the root. That they are derivational affixes, however, is shown by the fact that t[illegible] are generally lost from R in the formula R + S = S.

[104] [5] *V* is used here and in morpheme 321.1 as a morphophonemic symbol for a lengthening of a single vowel to two morae.

[p.94-A]

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211.	-kĭ	**benefactive**
221.	-ma	completive
222.	-ʔe	habitual
231.	-kʷa	motion away
241.	-yu	verbalizer
251.1	-tuʔi	future → (in positive statements)
251.2	-waʔi	future → (in negative statements)
252.	-ʔi	past
253.	-yU	past (?)
254.	-nU	past (?)

Class 300: 310–330 nominal suffixes in relative orders by decades.

311.1	-tĭ	nominalizer, pre-plural → (with S^a except as described for 311.2; and after all verbal inflection except 251.1)
311.2	-∅	nominalizer, pre-plural → (with S^{pr} 1st and 2nd persons)
311.3	-nĭ	nominalizer, pre-plural → (with S^a, and after 251.1; never occurs except with 321 or 322)
312.1	-ʔ	subjectivizer → (with S^{pr} 1st and 3rd persons singular)
312.2	-nĬ	subjectivizer → (with S^{pr} 2nd singular)
313.	-ʔa	genitive
314.	-hka	(meaning undetermined)
321.1	-*V*	plural → (occurs except as defined in alternants below)
321.2	-mĭ	plural → (with S^{pr} nĭ 1st person exclusive, in proclitic position, and fluctuates with 321.1 after ta 1st person inclusive and mĭ alternant of 2nd person)
321.3	-nĬ	plural → (with S^{pr} 1st and 2nd persons in plural free forms and 1st person exclusive in enclitic position)

[p. 94-B]

193

322.1	-k^{w}Ī	dual → (fluctuates freely with 322.2 except as defined in alternants below)
322.2	-h	dual → (occurs in objective forms (plus 331); otherwise fluctuates freely with 322.1 except as in 322.3)
322.3	-hī	dual → (occurs on proclitic S^{pr})
323.	C_1V_1-	non-singular (for alternants and patterns of reduplication see **3.1.1.**).
331.1	-ha	objective → (generally with singular S^{a} ending in 131 or 132; reduction occurs: -ʔ + -ha > -ʔn)
331.2	-hta	objective → (with a group of S^{a} ending in a bilabial consonant + I)
331.3	-i	objective → (with a group of S^{a} ending in -tO and -cO without assimilation and reduction; occurs with S^{a} other than all above, and after 311, 321, or 322, with assimilation and reduction)[4]

2. Stem formation. Comanche stems are derived according to the formulae below. Patterns of stem formation do not coincide with stem classes. In these formulae a root (R) is a morpheme, free or bound, to which

[104]

[194]

[4] Final back vowels become voiced front vowels on the same level. The resulting vowel cluster is reduced by loss of the second member. 'yuhhu *grease* > *'yuhhii > 'yuhhi *grease* (object); 'wihtua *bucket* > *'wihtuei > 'wihtue *bucket* (object). When following 311 and 321 or 322, the assimilation applies to both morphemes. 'sonipĪnII *grass* (plural) > *'sonipĪnIII > 'sonipĪnii *grass* (plural object); 'huniyanīh *songs* (dual) > *'huniyanīhi > 'huniyanihi *songs* (dual object).

Examples of alternants 331.1 and 331.2: 'waʔooʔ *cat* > 'waʔooʔa *cat* (object); 'pihīsikīi *peach* > 'pihīsikīiha *peach* (object); 'tosahwI *silver* > 'tosahwihta *silver* (object); 'tosiitO *hoof* > 'tosiitoi *hoof* (object).

A stem which does not fit the pattern: 'yīhnī *porcupine* > 'yīhne *porcupine* (object).

[p.95-A]

193 derivational affixes may be attached, or with
104 which other roots may be compounded. R_1 is a free root. A stem (8) is a root, with or without derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes may be attached, or which functions as an uninflected particle.

193 Stems contain only one stress, generally on
194 the first syllable, or none at all in the case of clitic stems. Examples: 'puhihwI *money*, 'to?I *pipe*, 'tīrī?ai *work*, wa'sape *bear*, nī-'ʁia? *my mother*.

193 Formulae for stem formation cover observed formations, but do not imply that any root may occur in all possible formational combinations.

R_1 = S. 'pui? *eye*, 'wa?oo? *cat*, '?ara? *cross uncle*, 'tīhka *eat*, 'mi?a *go*, 'haa *yes*.

110 + R = S. 'tahpaana *sole of foot* < 117 + -paana *palm*; tahto'koo *big toe* < 117 + -to'koo *first digit*; mahto'koo *thumb* < 112 + -to'koo *first digit*; tah'tua *little toe*; 'co?nika? *hat* < 114 + -nika? *push into*; 'soko-kī ma-'ci?nikatī-nī? *I am sticking it into the ground* < 119 + -nika? *push into*; ma'cihorarī-nī? *I am digging it* (*with a stick or spade*) < 111 + hora *dig*; ?u-'hu?kʷĪri-?a?i-nī? *I spilled it with my back* < 116 + kʷĪri?a *spill*.

120 + R ± 130 = S. 'naʁoopĪ *picture* < 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; 'narihka *groceries* < 121 + 'tīhka *eat*.

120 + (110 + R)[7] = S. 'narohtīkʷa?i-?inĪ *you hit yourself* (*with hand*) < 121 + (113 + tīkʷa *hit*).

R + 130 = S. 'tīhka? *table* < 'tīhka *eat* + 132; 'piapĪ *big* < 'pia- *big* + 131; 'tīhkapĪ *meat*; 'poopĪ *drawing* < 'poo *draw* + 131; 'huupI *tree* < 'huu- *wood*, *log*, *tree* + 133; 'paapI *head* < 'paa- *head* + 133; 'tenahpī? *man* < 'tenah- *man* + 134.

R + S = S (in which the S preceding the equation sign may be any stem including the resultant of this formula; however, the maxi-

[7] Immediate constituents are divided in this way because *120 + 110 (without R) never occurs. 110 + R = S above, but S cannot be substituted for 110 + R here because S resulting from other formulae do not occur with 120.

[p. 95-B]

193 mum observed number of roots in any combination is four: 'piarosawoвikni *big white house* < 'pia- *big* + 'tosa- *white* + 'woвi *wooden* + 'kahni *house*). Examples: 'pukuknI *barn* < 'puuku *horse* + 'kahni *house*; '?esiwanah *gray blanket* < '?esi- *gray* + 'wanah *blanket*; 'tīkʷikʷitu?i-?urīkʷĬ *they* (dual, distant) *will sit down to eat* < 'tīhka *eat* + yīkʷi *sit down* (non-singular); 'tīrī-ehpī?rīī-ca? ma-'вiacahora?I *the children dug out a deep hole* (*with hand*) < 'pia- *big* + 111 + -hora *dig*; 'puica?nika? *eye glasses* < 'pui? *eye* + 111 + -nika? *push into*; 'koвena-вoopĬ *portrait* < 'kooвE *face* + 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; nī-'вia?-ca? 'pianacahki?a?I *my mother scratched herself deeply* (*with something sharp*) < 'pia- *big* + 121 + 111 + -ki?a *scratch*; 'nīmīkʷa?ihpī? *Indian woman* < 'nīmI *Indian* + 'kʷa?ih- *woman* + 134; '?eso?ekaвItĬ *pink* < '?eso *not quite ripe* + '?eka- *red* + 135.

193 128 3. Stem classes. The above stems are divided into distributional classes S^s, S^a, S^p, on the basis of potential occurrence with alternants of 311. Stems as such are not equated with words.

193 3.1. S^s may take alternants 311.1 or 311.2, with the formal sub-classes S^q, S^v, S^o, S^{pr}:

3.1.1. S^q (qualitative stems) take 323. They are inflected for future according to the formula S^q + 241 + 251. '?eвIвI *blue* + 311.1 > '?eвIвItĬ *blue, blue one*; '?eвIвI *blue* + 241 + 251 > '?eвIвIyutu?i-marīī *they will be blue* (-marīī 3rd person plural close).

The initial syllable of stems beginning $C_1V_1C_2$- reduplicates with 323 in two patterns: $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$- and $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$-. 'huyunihtĬ *cylindrical* > 'huhuyunihtīkʷĬ *cylindrical ones* (dual); 'tītaatī *little one* > 'tīhtītaatīkʷĬ *little ones* (dual).

Some S^q show morphophonemic reduction when occurring with 323, with some initial $C_1V_1C_2$- becoming stem-initial -C_1C_2- when occurring with 323 (see fn. 2). 323 +

[p. 96-A]

193 'pohotatĪ *thick, thick one* + 321 > 'pophotatīī *thick ones* (plural).

Some non-S^s which contain as the initial morpheme a root which generally forms an S^s may take 323 in the same manner. ʔī-'totsaʁimoroo'nīī-ca'. 'koi'nīī *your white cows died* < 'tosaʁimoroo' *white cow*; ʔī-'pīʁiarosaʁimoroo'nīī-ca' 'koi'nīī *your big white cows died* < 'piarosaʁimoroo' *big white cow*.

3.1.2. S^v (verb stems) do not take 323. They are inflected for future tense according to the formula S^v + 251. 'mi'a *go* + 311.1 > 'mi'arī-tah *we* (dual inclusive); *are going, we are the ones going* (-tah 1st person dual inclusive); 'mi'a *go* + 251 > 'mi'aru'i-tah *we* (dual inclusive) *will go*.

3.1.3. S^e (phonologically bound enclitic stems) may take 200 and/or 300 (but not 323). These stems are considered clitics in that (1) they are phonologically bound to words[a] being normally unstressed and not uttered in isolation; (2) they occur after any inflection on the stem, although they may themselves be inflected. 'kahninīī-kīyutu'-inīī *the ones who will be in the houses* < ('kahni *house* + 311) + (-kĪ + 241 + 251 + 311). 'tenanīī-ma'aiyutu'inīī *the ones who will be with the men* < ('tènah- *man* + 311) + (-ma'ai *with* + 241 + 251 + 311). Immediate constituents are divided on the analogy of 'nī-ma'aiyutu'i-'urīk^{w}Ī *they* (dual) *will be with me*. nī 1st person exclusive (see 3.1.4) does not take 200 inflection.

3.1.4. S^{pr} (pronoun stems) may take no other inflection than 300 (but not 323). In clitic form they are unstressed.

Non-demonstrative S^{pr} (1st and 2nd persons): nī 1st person exclusive, ta 1st person inclusive, ʔī-mī 2nd person (ʔī is never inflected with 311; mī is always inflected with 311). nī-ʁia' *my mother*, ʔī-'po'oro' *your* (sg.) *pig*, mīhī-'sarii' *your* (dual) *dog*.

[a] For the formation and definition of words, see 4.

[p. 96-B]

193 Demonstrative S^{pr} (3rd person): ma 3rd person close, si and ?i[9] 3rd person close, so and ?o 3rd person distant, su and ?u 3rd person distant or out of sight. 'pae ma-'?uhtu *give him* (close) *the water*, 'sitĬ-ha ?u-'ʁuni? *did he* (close) *see him* (distant)?

S^{pr} with specialized meanings: pĭ 3rd person identical with subject, ʁĭ 2nd person predual imperative. These have also a specialized distribution. pĭ appears only in proclitic position as possessor of nouns and verbal nouns. pĭ-'sariĭ? *his own dog*, pĭ-'kahni-kĬ-?u? *he is in his own house*. ʁĭ always appears in enclitic position inflected with 322. 'kʷaʁi-ʁĭkʷĬ *lie down* (dual)*!*, 'keta-ʁĭkʷĬ '?ĭhkoitĭkʷĬ *don't go to sleep* (dual)*!*, nĭ-'rami?a-ʁĭkʷĬ 'ʁuuni? *look at my brother* (dual)*!* < nĭ- 1st person exclusive + 'tami? *younger brother* + 331 + -ʁĭ 2nd person imperative + 311 + 322, 'puni? *see* + 201.

ma, ?o, ?u and all non-demonstrative S^{pr} may be proclitic or last order enclitic. Proclitic position indicates possession of a noun or object (with objective inflection in the non-singular) of a verb or verbal noun.[10] nĭ-'ʁia?-ca? nĭ-'suwaitĬ *my mother wants me, my mother is the one wanting me* < nĭ 1st person exclusive + 'pia? *mother* + -ca? stative particle (S^p), nĭ 1st person exclusive (object) + 'suwai- *want* + 311.

Enclitic position (with 312 in the singular) indicates subject of a noun, a verb, or a verbal noun. ?ĭ-'pia-?u? *she* (distant) *is your mother*, mĭhĭ-'tohpa?i-marĭkʷĬ *they* (dual, distant) *hit you* (*dual*) (mĭ + 311 + 322 + 331; ma + 311 + 322); 'yaketĭ-?ĭnĬ *you are crying*. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that word. 'picipĬha-?oriĭ 'hiʁitĭĭ *they* (distant) *are drinking the milk, they are the ones drinking the milk*.

Non-demonstrative S^{pr} may be free forms when inflected with 321.3 or 322.1. They

[9] Meaning distinction between ?- and a- undetermined.

[10] For the formation and definition of words, see 4.

[p.97-A]

193 carry stress in this form (see 4). 'nīnĬ *we* (plural exclusive), 'mīkʷĬ *you* (dual).

Demonstrative S^{pr} may be free forms (with stress) when inflected with 311.1 or 314. (ma has never been found inflected with 314.) '?itī *this one*, 'surīī *those* (out of sight), '?ohka *that one* (distant).

Demonstrative and non-demonstrative S^{pr} may cluster with other clitics (S^{pr}, S^{c}, S^{p}) to constitute a free form with one stress. 'sukīrĬ-?u? *it is over there* < su 3rd person distant + -kĬ *in, at* (S^{c}) + 211 + -?u 3rd person distant + 312; 'nī-?u?, *it is I*.

3.2. S^{n} (noun stems) may take alternant 311.3.[11] 'peekʷinīī *fish* (plural) < 'peekʷi *fish* + 311.3 + 321; tahto'koonīkʷĬ *big toes* (dual); 'tīʁoopĬnīī *paper* (plural); 'pīʁarosawoʁikninīī *big white houses* (plural).

One group of S^{n} does not take 323 in the non-singular. 'pui?nīkʷĬ *eyes* (dual); 'kwasu?unīī *shirts* (plural).

Two groups of S^{n} take 323 in the non-singular: (1) stems which contain as the initial component a root which generally forms an S^{q} (see 3.1); (2) a class of simple stems. 'yuyuupĬnīī 'tenanīī *fat men* < 'yuupĬ *fat*; '?i?irī?nīī *good natured ones* < '?irī? *good natured*; 'mumucipĬnīkʷĬ *sharp ones* (dual) < 'mucipĬ *sharp*.

3.3. S^{p} (particle stems) never take inflection. They are of two types, free and bound, e.g:

Free: 'kee *no*, 'haa *yes*, 'nah *just*.

Bound: -ca? stative particle (generally used in declarative sentences), nī-ʁaci?-ca? ?i-'paʁi?-ʁetĬ *my older sister is the size of your older brother*; -se? narrative particle (gener-

[11] In one loan-translation, '?ohaʁItĬ *orange* (a fruit), '?ohaʁItīnĬī *oranges*, both -tĬ and -nĬ (alternants of 311) occur in sequence in the non-singular. Apparently the S^{q} '?ohaʁĬ *orange* (color) and -tĬ with which it generally occurs as a noun, form an S^{n} in this case. S^{q} take 323 in the non-singular while the S^{n} '?ohaʁItĬ, now the name of a specific object, does not. In one informant's speech the transformation has been made more complete: '?ohaʁItīī? *orange* (with 13? nominaliser).

[p. 97-B]

193 ally used in tales), 'surī-kĬ-se' 'wihnu 'rīya-ainU *he then died*; -ha interrogative particle, 'surĬ-ha pin'haa?a 'caa 'kīsuka *does he like sugar?*

4. Word formation. Stems and affixes may be combined into words according to formulae presented below. Words generally contain only one major stress. A second stress may occur late in a long word. 'tīkkahni-'ku-ma? 'mi?arĬ *he is going to the dining hall.* Words of each class are mutually substitutable in the syntactic positions defined for each class. Inflected words are partially identifiable by the class of the final
193 affix with which they occur. If the final
104 affix is of class 300 the word is a noun (N) or verbal noun (VN). If the final affix is one of class 200 the word is a verb (V). Words which consist of uninflectable S^p are particles (P).

193 Although clitic S^p and S^{pr} enter into word formation they are not included in formulae for word classes. S^p and proclitic S^{pr} do not change the class of the word in which they are bound and are therefore non-pertinent to the formulae. Enclitic S^{pr}, always subject, are not generally in the same immediate constituent with the word in which they are bound. It is syntactically convenient to define word classes without the limitations which enclitic S^{pr} place on them. 'po?ro?a-ma? 'ruhinIti 'suwaitī *he wants the black pig* [N (object) -S^{pr} (subject), N (object), VN]; 'kanaɪihci?-ma? *he is slender* [N-S^{pr} (subject)].

4.1. Verbs (V) may take subject or object; they may not be subject or object.

$S^v \pm 200 = V$. nī-'rīi-ca? 'narīmī-kU 'kahnimi?a?I *my friend went visiting in town* < $S^{pr} + S^n$ ('rīi *friend*) + S^p = N (subject), S^n ('narīmī *town*) + S^c (-kU *in*) = N (object), S^v ('kahnimi?a *go visiting*) + 252 = V; 'mahitenahpī?-ca? pī-'pake ɪī-'nahu-ma 'wīsaka?I *the warrior split his arrow with his knife* < S^n ('mahitenahpī? *warrior*) + S^p = N (subject), $S^{pr} + S^n$ ('pake *arrow*) + 331 =

193 N (object), S^{pr} + S^{a} ('nahu *knife*) + S^{a} (-ma *with*) = N (object), S^{v} ('wīsaka *split*) + 252 = V.

S^{a} + 200 = V. 'sīsūpe?yutu?i-marīī *they will be even* (*level*) < 323 + S^{a} ('sūpe? *even*) + 241 + 251 = V, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject). 'pīprīyutu?i-marīī *they will be heavy* < 323 + S^{a} ('pīrī *heavy*) + 241 + 251 = V, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject).

N + S^{s} + 200 = V (in which N is the resultant of any formula in **4.2**). 'tīhtītaatī-ca? 'wobiawonīī-kīyutu?i *the little ones will be in the boxes* < 323 + S^{a} ('tītaa *little*) + 311 + S^{p} = N (subject), [S^{a} ('wobiawo *box*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^{e} (-kĪ *in*) + 241 + 251 = V. 'marīī-kīyutu?i-ma? *it will be in them* < ['S^{pr} + 311 + 321 = N] + S^{e} + 241 + 251 = V, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject). ka'huu-ca? 'cena-kuhpayutu?i *the rat will be inside the fox* < S^{a} (ka'huu *rat*) + S^{p} = N (subject), S^{a} ('cena *fox*) + S^{e} (-kuhpa *inside*) + 241 + 251 = V.

4.2. Nouns (N) may be subject or object; they may take a subject but may not take an object inflected with 331.

N_1 is substitutable in the last formula of this section; N_2 is not. Otherwise both are referred to as N.

S^{a} ± 300 = N_1. ka'huunīī-ca? 'kīhtaaɪcipĪha 'rīhka?I *the rats ate the cheese* < S^{a} (ka'huu *rat*) + 311 + 321 + S^{p} = N (subject), S^{a} ('kīhtaɪcipĪ *cheese*) + 331 = N (object), S^{v} ('tīhka *eat*) + 252 = V. '?arīka-ca? 'wacipĪ *the deer is wandering* < S^{a} ('?arīka *deer*) + S^{p} = N (subject), S^{a} ('wacipĪ *wanderer*) = N.

S^{a} ± 300 = N_1. pimo'ro?raiɪonīī-ca? 'keksuatīī *the cowboys are near* < S^{a} (pimo-'ro?raiɪo *cow-white man*) + 311 + 321 + S^{p} = N (subject), 323 + S^{a} ('kesua *near*) + 311 + 321 = N. 'pīhtīti-nī? ma-'?uhtu?I *I gave him the heavy one* < S^{a} ('pīhtī *heavy*) + 311 + 331 = N (object), + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), S^{pr} + S^{v} ('?uhtu *give*) + 252 = V. '?orī '?esiɪItĪ 'rīhka?-ruhka *that gray one is under the table* < S^{pr} + 311 = N (subject), S^{a} ('?esiɪI *gray*) + 311 = N (subject),

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193 [S^a ('tĩhka? *table*) = N] + S^e (-ruhka *under*) = N.

'S^{pr12} + 300 = N_1. 'surĩ-?u? *it* (distant) *is he* (distant) < 'S^{pr} + 311 = N, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject). 'sitĩ-ca? 'rĩtaati 'wobiknıba?I *he* (close) *has a little wooden house* < 'S^{pr} + 311 + S^p = N (subject), S^q ('tĩtaa *little*) + 311 + 331 = N (object), S^v ('wobiknıba?i *have a wooden house*) = V. pimo'roo-ca? '?urii 'makUye?I *the cow chased them* (plural) < S^a (pimo'roo *cow*) + S^p = N (subject), S^{pr} + 311 + 321 + 331 = N (object), S^v ('makUye *chase*) + 252 = V.

V + 300 = N_2 (with limitation noted in 4.3). '?ekabIyutu?inũ-?urũ *they will be red ones* < [S^q ('?ekabI *red*) + 241 + 251 = V] + 311 + 321 = N, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject).

N_1 + S^e ± 300 = N_3. '?ok^{w}etũ-kIrĩ-?urũ *they are in the river* < [S^v ('?ok^{w}e *flow*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^e (-kĨ *in*) + 311 = N, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject). '?e?ekabItũ-ca? '?e?ebIbItũ-'kima? *the red ones are beside the blue ones* < 323 + S^q ('?ekabI *red*) + 321 + S^p = N (subject), [323 + S^q ('?ebIbI *blue*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^e (-kũna? *beside*) = N. 'tĩhtĩtaatĩ-ca? 'wobiawo-kUpatĨ *the little ones are in the box* < 323 + S^q ('tĩtaa *little*) + 311 + S^p = N (subject), [S^a ('wobiawo *wooden box*) = N] + S^e (-kUpa *in*) + 311 = N. 'paapasi-nĩ? 'sahuba-ma?ai-ku 'mahiaru?I *I mixed the potato in with the stew* < S^a ('paapasI *potato*) + 331 = N (object), + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), [S^a ('sahuba *stew*) = N] + S^e (-ma?ai *with*) + S^e (-kU *in*) = N (object), S^v ('mahia *mix*) + 251 = V. 'tĩpinĩ-hoikIt-Ĩca? '?ekabItĨ *the thing around the stones was red* < [S^a ('tĩpi *stone*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^e (-hoikI *around*) + 311 + S^p = N (subject), S^q ('?ekabI *red*) + 311 = N.

[12] Any formation with S^{pr} unstressed is a clitic within a larger word unit (see 4).

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193 **4.3.** Verbal nouns (VN) may be subject or object; they may take subject and object.

$S^v \pm 200 + 300 = VN$ (note that VN = N formationally, in V + 300 = N above, but distributionally it is distinguished by the fact that it may take an object inflected with 331). 'tĩhoitĩ-ca? '?arĩka?a ?a'ʁehka?I *the hunter shot the deer* < S^v ('tĩhoi *hunt*) + 311 + S^p = VN (subject), S^n ('?arĩka *deer*) + 331 = N (object), S^v (?a'ʁehka *shoot*) + 252 = V. 'kohtoorĩ-?urĩh *they* (dual) *are building the fire* < S^v ('kohtoo *build a fire*) + 311 = VN, + S^{pr} + 311 + 322 (subject). 'surĩ pĩ-'tĩetuka?a 'muruka?etĨ 'haʁĩ?eeyU *he, blowing out his little lamp, was asleep* < 'S^{pr} + 311 = N (subject), S^{pr} + S^n ('tĩetuka? *little lamp*) + 331 = N (object), S^v ('muruka *blow out*) + 222 + 311 = VN (subject), S^v ('hani *sleep*) + 222 + 253 = V. hu'cu?anĩ? 'yaketi 'naka?I *I heard the bird singing* < S^n (hu'cu? *bird*) + 331 = N (object), + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), S^v ('yake *sing*) + 311 + 331 = VN (object), S^v ('naka *hear*) + 252 = V. ka'huu-ca? 'haniʁihta 'kuu?etĩ 'rĩyai *the rat that used to store away the corn is dead* < S^n (ka'huu *rat*) + S^p = N (subject), S^n ('haniʁI *corn*) + 331 = N (object), S^v ('kuu *store away*) + 222 + 311 = VN (subject), S^v ('tĩyai *is dead*) = V. 'tĩhka?eeru?inĩĩ *ones who will be eating continually* < S^v ('tĩhka *eat*) + 222 + 251 + 311 + 321 = VN.

4.4. Particles (P) may not be subjects or objects, nor may they take subjects or objects. Only those particles which carry their own stress may stand as words.

S^p = P. 'haa 'ciharĩyaihumi?arĩ-nĩ? *yes, I am hungry* < S^p ('haa *yes*) = P, S^v ('ciharĩyaihumi?a *go hungry*) + 311 = VN, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject). 'ke-nĩ? 'wananapĨha 'suwaitĨ *I do not want the sock* < S^p ('kee *no*) = P, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), S^n ('wananapĨ *sock*) + 331 = N (object), S^v ('suwai *want*) + 311 = VN.

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PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

121 emphatic stress and attentative rhythm[3]
194 (and by particles), but pitch contour is conditioned by other factors.

121 A minimum of intonational contrast has previously been reported for Oto,[4] another Indian language of Oklahoma, but languages with little or no contrastive pitch system have not generally been described. In Oto intonational contrast occurs only on ex-
[194] clamations. Comanche however has not even that minimum of pitch contrast.

In discussing the nature of intonation, Bolinger has declared that it is 'both conventional and instinctive', that the physiological tension which is the basis of intonation can be 'trained out' (which, he feels, accounts for lexical pitch systems), and that English intonation is not an arbitrary structure because we do not 'occasionally deliberate about our choice of contours'.[5]

On the other hand, without denying the physiological basis of any part of speech or denying the close physiological association of GRADIENT differences of pitch, or of intensity of stress, this paper would lend weight to an understanding of the 'arbitrariness' of into-
121 national SYSTEMS where they occur. Lan-
194 guages range from the complicated and contrastive system structure of English intonation to the lack of any such contrastive structure in Comanche.

The data presented here will show that in Comanche length, stress, and rhythm are interconnected in their distribution and mutual conditioning, patterning together in the total phonological structure,[6] and that

[3] A distinctive rhythm pattern with meaning 'attention here' (see 2).

[113] [4] Kenneth L. Pike, The Intonation of American English, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 21.

[113] [5] Dwight E. Bolinger, Comments on Pike's American English Intonation, SIL 5.69–70 (1947).

[113] [6] For a tentative list of other Comanche Pho-

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194 an adequate description of the phonology
[121] must include phonemic rhythm. The prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by
[104] such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /ˌ/. ˌ'tenahˌpɪʔˌcaʔ ˌ'pɪsiaˌnakIˌkatI ˌ'puʔ-etu ˌ'miʔaarĪ *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* ˌ'nameˌwahˌsīkʷIˌtīī ˌ'pɪsiaˌkahniˌnīī *eight big houses.*

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[113] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription
[104] used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /,/ anticipation pause, /./ non-anticipation pause, /ˈ/ emphatic stress, /ˌ/ rhythm marker, and /ˌˌ/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [Ĭ], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

[p 298-A]

194 Rhythm units in sequence tend to have perceptually the same timing, with some fluctuation and variation. So important is this timing that rhythm units of one, two, or even three syllables are sometimes perceptually alike in duration. In the following example the rhythm unit ˌʔa (because of the accompanying pause) is perceptually of the same length as such sequences as ˌˈpariʁo. ˈʔiknī ˈkahnikĬ ˈʔikahˌciʔ, ˈtīʁooˈʔa, ˈtīʁooˌpha, ˈtīhkaˌʔa, ˈnakarīˌʔa, ˈtīasī, ˈparīnooˌʔa, ˈpuniʔ *As I come into the room I see the pencil, the paper, the table, the chair, and the pen.* In sentence (21) of the text[4a] (6.1) there is some variation in timing due to the disparity of number of syllables in the units, but there is a tendency toward perceptual equalization wherever possible.

This perceptual regularity of rhythm unit timing is accomplished by several devices including pause (as in the example of the paragraph above) and the non-phonemic lengthening of a consonant to keep a phonemically short vowel relatively so and yet preserve the perceptual length of rhythm unit time.[7] ˈpiaroˌsanIˌt[·]I nIˈkahnicaʔ ˈkuhcuʔ ˌmaʔI *My big white house burned down.* ˈnīˌmanoˌwīmĬˌnaˌt[·]II ˈteˌnaˌnII *nine men.* In sentence (9) of the text there occurs the example ˈtīmaˌrīˌm[·]uakuˌʁai *lots of water*; in sentence (18): ˌsuniˌˈnah[·]ˌkatĬ *staying as he was.* In cases of irregularity of number of syllables in the rhythm group there may occasionally be no timing compensation, and irregular timing may occur. See text (20): ʔuˌˈtīrīcʔˌtīhˌciʔˌnII *his dear little children,* where there is no adequate compensation for the disparity between the

[4a] Section 6, Illustrative text will appear in a later issue of IJAL.

(104) [7] In the otherwise phonemic transcriptions of data in this paragraph the non-phonemic length is enclosed in brackets [·]. In the first example the consonant length is necessitated by the fact that voiceless vowels occur shorter than voiced vowels.

[p.298-B]

194 number of syllables in the respective rhythm units.

Rhythmic structural contrasts exist within utterances and between utterances, and the rhythm pattern of a given morpheme or sequence of morphemes is not always the same. In the following examples the sequence of morphemes ˈnī-mī-kuhcu? *buffalo* occurs with different rhythm patterns. ˌˈnīmīˌkuhˌcu?a ˌˈkumaˌīˌca? ˌˈpiaˌʁīhīˌkʷahˌtītu ˌˈtooˌyīkaˌrīī *The buffalo bulls are grazing out on the prairie.* ˌˈsooˌtīīˌca? ˌˈpueˌkʷaci?ˌnīmīˌkuhcu? ˌnīmīˌˈpiaˌʁīhīˌkʷahˌtītu ˌˈtooˌyīkaˌrīī *Those wild buffalo are grazing out on the prairie.* Compare also the morpheme ˈ?ahpī? *father* in text sentences (17) and (20), ˈtīasī *also* in (4) and (8), ˈmekī *said* in (2) and (6), ˈsurīkse? in (4) and (8).

Rhythm stress generally coincides with lexical stress where it occurs (see 2), but in some utterances lexical stress may be suppressed by rhythm. In such a case the high pitch feature of lexical stress is left to mark the point of its placement (see 4). In the following examples wherever rhythm stress does not coincide with lexical stress /ˌˈ/, but lexical stress occurs without rhythm /ˈ/, the lexical stress should be read with high pitch but no stress. nīˌˈrua ˈrīˌtaatī ˌˈyuupīˌca? nīˌˈnīasīˌmapīru ˌˈnīmiitī *My fat little son is in the yard.* ˌˈsurīkˌse? ˌˈsu?aˌna ˈ?uˌrīkī ˌˈbihˌtīn *He took it out of the water.* Other examples may be found in text sentences (6), (11), (12), (14), (15), (19), and (20).

[104]

The rhythm units between pauses (/,/ or /./*) comprise a rhythm group. There are more likely to be differences of timing between rhythm groups than between rhythm units of the same group. In text sentence (1), for example, the rhythm group ˌˈpekʷi ˌnīˌˈtīrīˌe?ˌtīīˌmaˌ?ai *a fish with his children* occurs with even timing but different timing from the rhythm groups preceding or following. There is also a marked change of timing between the final rhythm group and those

* See 4.

[p. 299-A]

194 preceding it in (15). So far as has been ascertained at present, such differences are fluctuant and not meaningful.

194 The only association between rhythm and meaning differences so far detected is in
196 situations demanding attention ('attentative') as in imperative constructions and the drawing of exaggerated attention to words or specific parts of utterances. This rhythm pattern consists of a deliberate, slow rhythm with few syllables to the rhythm unit and marked extra lengthening. It may optionally
[104] correlate with emphatic stress. In the following illustrations attentative rhythm (symbolized /‖/ for each rhythm unit with which it occurs) should be read with each modified syllable long, and such rhythm units containing vowel clusters with exaggerated length. ‖ˈʔorii ‖ˈnīmī‖kuh‖cuʔ‖nii ‖ˈpuuni *Look at those buffalo!* ‖ˈpia‖rīksī‖-kīpĬ ‖ˈkima ‖ˈʔinU‖ni‖tU *Beefsteak,* (nickname of a person) *come here!* Text examples may be found in sentences (5), (7), (8).

194 2. The contrastive placing of lexical stress may be seen in the following words: ˈtosahwI *silver*, waˈsape *bear*, mahtoˈkoo *thumb*, kuyuˈ-niʔnII *turkeys*, nīmīˈkuhcuʔ *our* (pl.) *cow*, ˈnīmīkuhcuʔ *buffalo*.

Emphatic stress, which occurs occasionally for affective purposes, always coincides in point of placement with lexical stress. (See text sentences (9), (13), (14), (18).) Emphatic stress is used to give extra intensity to a situation, and not as in English to emphasize one word as against another. It may occur on a single point of lexical stress or at several such points in sequence. The distribution of lexical stress is most prevalent on one of the first three syllables of a word* and most often on the first syllable of a root or compound.

3. Interpretation of vowel length. Contrastive length of vowel may be seen in

[104] * The word is defined by implication as an intrapotential in Formulae pp. 98, 99. It is written bounded by space.

[p. 299-B]

194 such pairs as ˈʔurī *that one* vs. ˈʔurīī *those*, ˈtīhkati *the one eating* (obj.) vs. ˈtīhkatii *the ones eating* (obj.), ˈsookonai *lots of water* (obj.) vs. ˈsokona *on the ground*, ˈmeeku *now* vs. ˈmekī *said*. These phonetically contrastive vowel lengths are interpreted phonemically as a sequence of two identical vowels by analogy to other VV sequences as ˈmīa *moon*, ˈpīeckU *tomorrow*, ˈpiapĪ *big*, ˈʔihpīi *sleep*, ˈtuaʔ *son*, ˈtuinihpīʔ *boy*, and ˈtīrīcʔtīī *children*.[10]

Single vowels or sequences of identical vowels maintain their relative contrast except under conditions of morphemic alternation—but the relative amount of difference in length between the two is conditioned by rhythm and position in the utterance. Sequences of identical vowels before pause (either /./ or /,/, see 4) are generally extra long. Non-phonemic modification of length is conditioned by rhythm as follows. (1) Within the same rhythm group (but not before pause) a sequence of identical vowels is perceptibly longer than a single vowel, but not as long as if before pause. (2) A single vowel in a rhythm unit containing only one syllable with only one vowel will still contrast with a rhythm unit containing a sequence of vowels or two syllables, even when the timing is maintained as approximately the same, by a non-phonemic compensatory lengthening of a following consonant or by slight pause if the short syllable comes at a point of optional pause (see 1). (3) When two parts of the utterance occur with rhythm groups which contain varying numbers of rhythm units, the relative contrast between single vowels and sequences of identical vowels applies only within the rhythm group be-

[128] [10] We cannot here decide the question as to whether or not such sequences constitute two syllables or one. For purposes of description here they are assumed to be one. So far as prosodic evidence is concerned, the evidence of pitch level would lend weight to interpretation as single syllables, whereas rhythm stress may occasionally occur on the second member of such a cluster as in ˌˈtīrīˌeʔˌtīī [6.1 (1), (2)].

[p. 300-A]

194 cause a vowel of one group may be non-phonemically longer than a sequence of another group. In text sentence (21), ˌˈtīhtīˌtaayuˌtuʔiˌnīī *ones who will be little* at least three perceptible phonetic vowel lengths occur. taa is phonemically long but phonetically shorter than nīī because the latter occurs alone in a rhythm group and the former does not. taa is shown to be phonemically long by its contrast with several short vowels in the same rhythm group.

4. The importance of rhythm (as limited as its affective meanings seem to be) is accentuated by the complete conditioning of pitch contours. In Comanche all utterances occur with the same relative intonational pitch contour. That contour may be described roughly as high pitch on lexically stressed syllables and regular pitch elsewhere, but there are other modifying factors which must be described.

194 Three basic phonetic pitch differences
104 have been distinguished on voiced vowels:[11] pitch level[1] (high) occurs on lexically stressed syllables, sometimes with a slight drop on the end of a VV sequence. The height of pitch is correlative with the contrast between lexical and emphatic stress, extra height being sometimes associated with emphatic stress. Pitch level[2] (mid) occurs elsewhere except for optional[3] (low) before /./.

Variations of these pitches are: [1] > [1a] (high-falling glide) on stressed syllables which contain an identical VV cluster if the syllable is the last voiced syllable of the word (i.e., if the following syllable contains no voiced segments). [2] > [2a] (slightly higher than [2]) optionally preceding lexical stress within a word. [3] > [3a] (mid falling

[11] The superscript numbers, assigned to pitch differences which have been heard, have no significance except that of labels for phonetic phenomena. Examples in this section will be transcribed phonemically except for the pitch symbol in brackets with each syllable.

[p. 300-B]

194 to low) optionally on unstressed syllables containing a VV sequence before /./.
[104] ˈʔa[1]ˈnaa[1a]. (exclamation); ʔo[2a]ˈnoo[1a]. (exclamation); ˌˈʔī[1]ˌbia[2]ro[2]ˌko[2]ʔI. (exclamation); ˌˈʔī[1a], ˌˈsī[1]ma[2]nu?[2], ˌˈwa[1]-na[2]ˌwi[2]ˌwih[2]ˌta?[2], ˌˈsī[1]ma[2]ˌnai[2]ˌku[2] ˈna[1]ˌBo[2]ri[2] ˌˈʔu[1]ra[2]ʔI *Oh, I found a dollar bill!*; ˌˈʔu[2]sī[2a] ˈha[1]kaa[2]rī[2] *Who's that?*; nī[2a]ˈha[1]kai[2], ˌˈyī[1a]k*I *What shall I say?*; ˌˈkee[1a] nī[2]ˈrī[1]Boo?[2]ˌma?[2] *No, that's my pencil!*

194 A check of texts, both narrative and
128 conversational, made on tape recording, and observation of Comanche speech in other situations than informant ones, revealed that this one pattern with its variants occurs on all utterances.

[104] The distinction made here between /,/ anticipatory pause, and /./ non-anticipatory pause, is as follows. Non-anticipatory pause is a pause preceded or followed by a modification of pitch or rhythm. It may be preceded by a drop of intonation to [1] or [1a]. It may be preceded by a dropping of the general height of voice through the utterance and followed by a sudden raising of voice height at the beginning of the next utterance. It may be followed by a quickened tempo of rhythm in the beginning of the next rhythm group. Anticipatory pause, on the other hand, is a pause without any modification of the pitch or rhythm of preceding or following utterances.

194 /./ may coincide with grammatical sentence units or may group several such grammatical units. In the text compare (1),
[104] (2), (3), etc., where the non-anticipatory pause coincides with grammatical units, and the latter parts of the text where fewer such pauses occur. /,/ anticipatory pause, may occur at any potential (symbolized here by space).

[p. 301-A]

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Oklahoma.

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5. Some of the prosodic features described above occur occasionally in gradient degrees of difference. The range between non-phonemic pitches may vary without structural contrast under situations of extra stimulus.[12]

The total contour of an utterance or part of an utterance may be raised gradiently, especially in quotation situations, so that the quotation is optionally spoken on a higher pitch. This is true of text examples (2) and (7) but not of others which contain quoted materials. When the gradient raising occurs, the same relative contours, conditioned by stresses, vowel clusters and pause, are maintained, but all are gradiently higher.

Rhythm units may likewise be slowed or extended gradiently from normal speech to that of sleepy or tired situations. The non-structured variation lacks the intensity and precision of attentative rhythm types.

[12] Gradient differences of pitch in English or Comanche as opposed to the structured contrastive levels of English, are more directly associated with the physiological conditioning of which Bolinger speaks (see fn. 5). Physiological tension may vary the range between English phonemic pitch levels, as it may vary the range between the levels of languages with phonemic lexical tone, but so long as there is a point in any speech context beyond which the meaning changes, the levels are arbitrarily contrastive and not physiologically conditioned. Pike points out to me that the contrast between John, John, John, (with tone 4–3, 4–2, 4–1 respectively), may be maintained in normal voice, falsetto, or laryngealised speech ('low voice') and that the range may be small or great, but WITHIN ANY SPEECH STYLE THE CONTRAST IS PRESENT AND ARBITRARY, not 'instinctive' or 'physiologically' determined. The contrast is a conventionally structured one even though high pitch may be associated with emotional tension.

[p. 301-B]

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[title page]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
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COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began when the child was old enough to under-
868 stand, at about one year according to inform-
856 ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data
124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔá̵ʔh, ʔá̵x, ʔá̵ʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔá̵ʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔá̵ʔhI, ʔá̵ʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[101] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the
[122] Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

192 195 ʔasí·, ʔaʔsí· *rectum; feces, defecation; anything nasty.*

ʔeroró·ʔ, ʔeró·ʔ, ʔetó·ʔ *white man* [táivo·ʔ *white man*].

ʔítí·ʔ, ʔítítítí·ʔ *it's hot!* (command to stay away); *fire, lamp, lightning, sun, flashlight, firewood; anything that will burn* [ʔírí·ʔ, ʔírírírí·ʔ].

ʔí·kéta? *don't; let me alone.*

ʔí· exclamation of surprise (women or babies).

hí·, hí·kéta? as above; also used by adults; *don't* (scared).

ʔicí·ʔ, ʔicicicí·ʔ *cover me, dress me, I'm cold; it's cold; command to stay away from something cold.* [ʔicí· used only as an exclamation].

ʔiní·ʔ *insect; any small noxious animal, to babies when one wants child to be afraid of something or leave it alone; bug, snake, scorpion, ant, person;* exclamation of fright. [ʔíní·].

ʔúʔtU *give it to me!* [ʔú·tU].

ʔum·á? *good! nice! beautiful;* said by mother when she wants to comb child's hair, dress it; said to attract child's attention to clothes, toy; *anything bright or colorful that attracts the child: red, yellow, blue.*

ʔumó·ʔ, mó·ʔ *cattle, cow, bull* [onomatopoeia].

papá·ʔ *I want a drink;* water [pá· *water*].

papó·ʔ, popó·ʔ *dog.*

pepé·ʔ *ball* (it was said by one informant that this word was used only by girls as boys didn't play with balls) [na? sihpé·ʔ].

pikí·ʔ *pig* [English; pig, piggy].

tatá·ʔ *something to eat, especially meat; I want, give me . . . ; eat!* [tí·kap *food, meat*].

tató·ʔ *shoes, moccasins* [ta prefix meaning *foot:* tàhtokó·ʔ *toe*].

táʔsi *vagina* (táʔsip to baby when bouncing it on the knees. A personal name: *one who has a vagina*) [táʔI].

[p. 11-B]

192 **tutú·ʔ** *automobile, train, anything that whistles* [onomatopoeia].

195 **kaká·ʔ, kaká** *bird; head louse.*

kanî·ʔ *house, tipi* ['ǽnhI].

kokó·ʔ *fruit, candy, cookies; any snack between meals;* give me. . . .

cikî·ʔ *chicken* [English].

cicî·ʔ *breast, bottle, milk, I want to be suckled!* [pícip *milk, breast*].

cíʔci?, pící? mother to child when she is going to nurse it.

mamá·ʔ *horse;* said by child when it wants to be carried on someone's back.

mamá·ʔ *mother* [English].

mukî·ʔ, mu·kî·ʔ *giant, owl, bogey* (to scare child) [related to mú·pic, the legendary *giant owl*].

mumú·ʔ used to scare child; child's exclamation of fright; *the dark, thunder; cow.*

naná·ʔ *it might hurt, get away; blood, sore, hurt;* said if baby doesn't feel well; if it is bitten or hurt by another child [see ʔaná·].

nînî·ʔ *doll; baby; little ones of animals; little. . . .*

nînîcî·ʔ *dear little doll. baby* [related to the pronominal prefix, nî-, *I, me*].

waʔó·ʔ, wa·ʔó·ʔ *cat* [adult: wáʔo·].

ʔîʔsI, nîʔîsik *cover me!* [adult: ʔîhîkI, nîʔîhîkI].

wîʔasI *penis* [adult: wîʔA (wîʔasi? male personal name *one who has a penis*)].

The sI here, and also in the baby word for *vagina,* **táʔsI**, is probably derived from the diminutive suffix, -cI.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 195 **piá** *mother* (the regular adult word; there is no special baby word in common use).

pipiá said by some babies.

ʔapî·ʔ *father, father's brother, father's haic (friend)* [ʔápÎ address form; ʔáhpî? reference form].

ʔatá·ʔ *mother's brother, husband of mother's friend* [ʔárhA address form; ʔára? reference form].

pacî·ʔ *older sister* [pácI address form; páci? reference form].

[p. 12-A]

601 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form;
195 námi? reference form].

taká·? *sibling* [tákA address form; táka? reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pávI address form; páví? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; káku? reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kĩnú·? *father's father* [kĩnU address form; kĩnu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first
[591] used for all grandparents. This suggests matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned.
195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the re-
193 lated -sI to words; e.g., haicí·? for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[3] as might be inferred

[113] [3] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

[p. 12-B]

195 from the above list, is another feature: tîtî
193 is said by little girls for tî·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammati-
195 cal function in the child's speech. Various phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pîhI for kwîhÎ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for I as tiás for tîas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·siʔ *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study of the above list of baby words. First, it
195 must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple:
194 there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

[2] Language development poses several problems for the genetic psychologist and anthropologist as well as the linguist. Some baby words are to be found in all languages, written and unwritten,[3] though not commonly as formalized and in such abundance as in Comanche. In all these baby words two facts claim attention: the universality of reduplication, and the use of simple phonemes, especially the labials p, b, m, the stops t, d, k, g, and cardinal vowels. The use of simpler phonemes is probably explained in terms of the baby's limited ability to manipulate his speech organs, since learning to speak even one's native tongue involves the induction of an intricate set of motor habits and is a maturational process comparable to acquiring such other skills as walking or skipping. But the problem of reduplication is not so easy of solution. Jespersen has this to say, "It is simpler and more natural to refer these reduplications to the pleasure always felt in repeating the same muscular action until one is tired."[4] But this seems an oversimple explanation. A natural tendency to reduplicate may perhaps be granted and seems to be supported by the oft-made observation of the infant's babbling repetition of the same sound. This proclivity seems to have been tacitly recognized by adults and conventionalized by them in reduplicated baby words.[5]

[113] [3] The following references list baby words: Wayne Dennis, The Hopi Child, 1940, p. 35; also words from Shungopavi, Zuni, and Cochiti (personal correspondence); A. F. Chamberlain, Notes on Indian Child-Language, AA, o. s., 3.237–41 (1890), 6.321–2 (1893); Edward Sapir, Nootka Baby Words, IJAL 5.118–9; Leo J. Frachtenberg, Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute, IJAL, 1.295–9; A. L. Kroeber, op. cit.; Otto Jespersen, Language, Book II, The Child, pp. 103–88 (1923).

[4] Jespersen, op. cit., p. 109.

[113] [5] Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, p. 36 ff., discusses the child's speech education in Manus, and mentions the endless repetition back and forth between adult and baby of the same monosyllable. She says, "This random affection for repetitiousness makes an excellent atmosphere in which the child acquires facility in speech". p. 37.

[p. 13 B]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

|2| As the growth of speech facility parallels to a marked degree the maturation of the child's intellectual capacities, one might ask how comparative speech phenomena reflect this. Does it take longer for a primitive child who has to learn a highly complex language, such as many North American Indian languages, to gain control of his language than, say, a Chinese or American child?[6] At what age is the primitive child capable of making the subtle analogical formations[7] that many primitive languages require?

Some knowledge of children's speech development and baby words seems essential for the anthropologist or psychologist interested in problems of personality development and character structure. From the vocabulary itself one can form some idea of the child's world in a given culture; what objects [863] and affects impinge upon it. Discipline and attitudes are reflected, as in Comanche where

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, who has made extensive observations on Navaho children, feels that the Navaho child, as compared with the English-speaking child of the same age, is somewhat retarded in acquiring equal facility with his extremely difficult language.

[113] [7] See Leonard Bloomfield, Language, pp. 275 ff. (1933), and Chapter X of Edgar H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (1947).

[p. 14-A]

7: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times [113] results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940).

[113] [9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction.

[p. 14-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128

ABSTRACT

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett, 122 Director of Research at the Institute, provided all 114 equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of 114 the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p. 316-A]

18: Jackson - A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE SITE

172 The Jared Site (34CM221) is located in the
131 bottom of a deep ravine about one-half mile west-northwest of the summit of Medicine Bluff Number Four at 98° 25' 31" west and 34° 41'
172 18" north (Fig. 1). The ravine is a branch of a small unnamed intermittent stream that empties into Medicine Creek. Erosion has cut through clay soils into fine conglomerate bedrock, leaving many boulders and gravel in the bed and sides of the ravine. The area is a highly dissected upland now covered with oaks, cacti, and short grasses.

The grave was located in the bed of the ravine against the south bank in a triangular area framed by three large boulders. The body was covered with large flat stones, probably gathered from the immediate area. When we first saw the burial, soil that had long ago slumped from the bank was covering most of the stones. Immediately above the skeleton and among the stones was soil
[114] that had been deposited by the stream. Erosion had recently exposed a portion of the skull, leading to its discovery by an alert zoology student, Jon Nickles.

126 Before excavating, we set up a mapping
172 station and two datum points in an east-west line on the south bank. All finds were triangulated from these points. We then exposed and mapped the stones covering the grave (Fig. 2). The stones were removed, and the area was troweled and brushed. Everything was left *in situ* until the entire site was open to view (Fig. 3).

172 With the possible exception of the removal of large stones, there had been no preparation of the grave site. A black rubber-coated cloth, probably part of a poncho or light tarpaulin, had been spread out and the body laid upon it with the right side down, head to the west, facing south. The hands had been placed in front of the

[p. 316-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) - 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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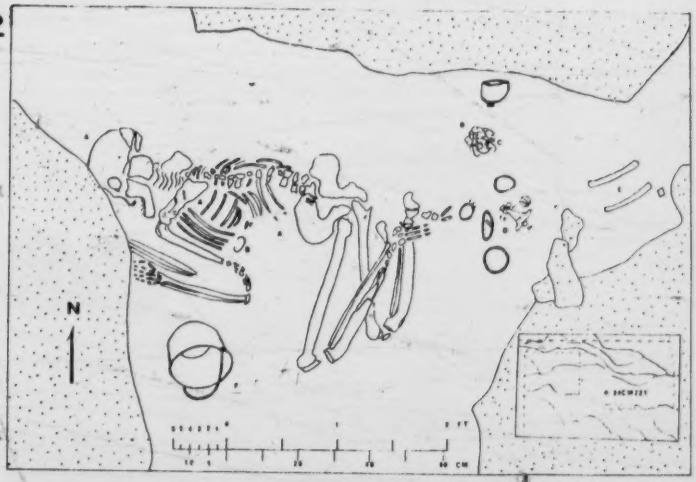

Figure 1. Plan of 34CM221. *a*, rubber coated cloth; *b*, bracelets; *c*, beaded bag; *d*, saddle parts; *e*, iron straps; *f*, pail.

Figure 2. View of the grave with the stone cover exposed.

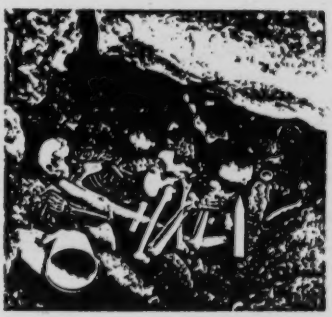

Figure 3. View of the grave with the stone cover removed.

172 face, the right hand palm up, fingers curled, the left hand palm down, fingers extended. The upper part of the legs had been brought up to approximately a right angle with the body, with the lower part of the legs tucked back toward the hips. Soil movements, the weight of overlying stones, and a tree root had caused considerable displacement of the bones. The left humerus was shattered just above the proximal end, having been pressed against a stone by a tree root. The left radius and ulna had been moved up vertically two to four centimeters by the same root. The left ribs had collapsed into the thoracic region; the vertebrae had separated in the lumbar and thoracic regions; and the right ribs had broken as the thorax and shoulder girdle collapsed. The left tibia was shattered near the distal end, and both legs had been raised vertically some 5 cm. by the tree root. A galvanized pail had been placed upright in front of the chest (Fig. 4). A saddle and a beaded bag containing 52 brass wire bracelets had been placed below (upstream from) and behind the feet. In front of the body near the base of the sternum was one brass wire bracelet, which may have been on the left arm above the elbow at the time of burial and may have become displaced by the action of the root that grew through the burial and crushed the humerus against an overlying stone. Two partial iron hoops or straps were found east of (upstream from) the saddle parts.

THE SKELETON

127 This section draws freely from and with grateful acknowledgment to the work of Dr. Clyde Snow.

144 Only one investigator has reported in detail on the anthropometry of the Southern Plains tribes: Goldstein worked with the Comanches in 1931 and concluded at the time of his research that only ten percent of the adults could be considered full-blood Comanches (Goldstein [172] 1934:290). The measurements and indices made by Dr. Snow closely agree with the data pre- 128 sented by Goldstein. In Table 1, Dr. Snow lists the skeletal measurements and descriptions. It should be noted that cranial capacity was derived using the Lee-Pearson formula (Lee and Pearson 1901). In addition to the measurements and indices obtained from the skeleton, Dr. Snow has prepared a table summarizing the data as traits indicative of sex, race, and cultural status. Table 2 thus shows at a glance some important characteristics of this skeleton.

A [See p. 320-B—A lyst.]

[p.318-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Figure 4. Galvanized pail from 34CM221.

172 141 128 *Sex:* Table 2 shows the morphological and metric traits diagnostic of sex. Both the pelvis and the skull are typically female. A more objective assessment of sex is obtained with the discriminant function formula of Giles and Elliot (1963). The value derived from the formula, 899.02, lies on the "female" side of the sectioning point of 912.14 for American Indian crania.

172 144 [141] [128] *Race:* Table 2 indicates a predominately Mongoloid racial affinity. The Giles-Elliot discriminant analysis for race (1962) would classify the skull as "indeterminate" but with rather less likelihood of being white than Negro or American Indian. A possible explanation for the "indeterminate" status of the skull lies in the fact that Southern Plains tribes have long been active in assimilating non-Indian captives into their breeding populations.

172 141 128 *Age:* Since the symphyseal facets of the pubis were largely destroyed, cranial suture were relied on for age. The mean for 16-segment closure ratings is 1.09 (Nemerski, Harsanyi, and Ascadi: 1960:95), indicating an age of 25-35 years. This estimate is partly supported by the minimal osteo-arthritic lipping of the lumbar vertebrae,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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TABLE 1

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SKELETAL MEASUREMENTS AND DESCRIPTION

SKULL	Millimeters or degrees
Cranium	
Maximum length	179
Maximum breadth	140
Basion-bregmatic height	124
Minimum frontal diameter	89
Bizygomatic breadth (estimate)	131
Prosthion nasion length	66
Nasal height	51
Nasal breadth	26
Orbital height	36
Orbital breadth	39
Basion-nasion length	96
Basion-prosthion length	91
Foramen magnum length	36
Bimaxillary breadth (M2)	63
Cranial thickness (parietal)	5
Palate length	38
Palate breadth	41
Arch length	48
Facial angle	85°
Subnasal angle	75°
Biorbital breadth	98
Nasion protrusion	14
Bizygomaxillary breadth	97
Auricular head height	104
Mandible	
Total length	109
Bicondylar breadth	123
Bigonial breadth	94
Mandibular angle	119°
Ramus height	59
Ramus breadth	32
Symphyseal angle	70°
Body height	
M2	27
PM 1-2	29
Symphyseal	28
Body thickness	
M2	13
PM 1-2	11
Symphyseal	12

Cranial and Mandibular Indices and Derived Measurements

Index or Measurement	Value	Classification
Cranial index	78.2	Mesocranial
Mean height index	77.8	Low skull
Upper facial index	51.1	Mesene
Transverse facial index	93.5	Phenozygene
Transverse frontal index	80.1	Divergent
Fronto-parietal index	63.5	Sthenometopic
Fronto-zygomatic index	67.9	—
Orbital index	92.3	Hypsicouch
Nasal index	50.9	Mesorrhine
Palatal index	107.8	Brachystaphyline
Alveolar arch index	131.2	Brachyuranic

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Flower's index	94.7	Orthognathic
Facial flattening	14.4	Flat
Upper facial angle	75°	Orthognathic
Subnasal angle	75°	Mesognathic
Index of robustness (PM1-2)	37.9	—
Cranial capacity	1297±cc.	—
Mandibular index	88.5	Mesognathic
Fronto-gonic index	105.6	—
Gonio-condylar index	76.4	—
Ramus index	54.2	—

Descriptive Characters

Vault (vertical)	Ovoid
Inion	0
Nuchal lines	Slight
Dental arch	Parabolic
Palatine torus	Absent
Metopic suture	Closed
Mandibular torus	Absent
Nasal margin	Fossicula
Vault contour (sagittal)	Platycranic
Mastoid process	Small
Pterion	"H" type
Supraorbital ridges	Slight
Vault sutures	Simple
Suture closure (mean of 16 segment closure ratings)	1.09
Chignon	Moderate

POST-CRANIAL SKELETON

Clavicle - not measured
Scapula - not measured
Vertebrae and sacrum - not measured

Innominates		
Coxal height	—	196
Iliac breadth	147	146
Iliac height (cotyloid)	—	122
Ischial length	—	87
Pubic length	—	—
Sciatic notch angle	76°	77°
Sciatic notch width	—	48
Sciatic notch depth	—	27
Cotylo-sciatic breadth	32	32
Cotylo-sciatic index	—	—
Coxal breadth index	—	119.7
Iliac breadth index	—	74.5
Ischio-pubic index	—	—
Apertural index	—	56.2
Humerus		
Maximum length	300	302
Maximum diameter	19.6	20.4
Minimum diameter	15	15.1
Head diameter, vertical	43	42
Head diameter, horizontal	40	40
Bicondylar diameter	—	—
Supracondylar foramen breadth	10	—
Radius		
Maximum length	216	220
Ulna		
Maximum length	246	239

[p 319-B]

Table 1 (continued)

172 Transverse diameter	18	18
141 Anterior-posterior diameter	21	21
Femur		
Maximum length	415	---
Physiological length	409	---
Transverse diameter	26	---
AP diameter	27	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, AP	25	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, transverse	30	---
Head diameter, vertical	45	---
Head diameter, horizontal	46	---
Bicondylar diameter (estimate)	73	---
Collo-diaphyseal angle	137°	---
Tibia		
Maximum length	322	318
AP diameter (nutrient foramen)	32	30
Transverse diameter (nutrient foramen)	22	21
Bicondylar diameter	---	70
Fibula		
Maximum length	318	---

Long bone indices	Value	Class
Diaphyseal index, humerus	75.2	Platybrachic
Brachial index (humerus/radius)	72.4	Short
Platoleneal index, ulna	85.7	Urolenseal
Index of robustness, femur	13	Average
Pilasteric index, femur	103.8	Weak
Platymeric index, femur	83.3	Platymeric
Tibio-femoral index	78.7	---
Cnemial index	69.4	Mesocnemic
Humero-femoral index	73.3	---
Intermembral index	70	Average

172 the general texture of the bones, and the
141 relatively unworn second and third molars.

Stature: Since there are no reliable estimates for
128 determining female Mongoloid stature, the Trotter-Gleser table (Trotter and Gleser 1952, Table 13) for white females was used. Thirteen
172 calculations were made; the results range from
141 152.78 cm. to 162.80 cm., averaging 157.31 cm. Since Mongoloids have rather shorter legs relative
144 to trunk height than do whites, this average may be an underestimate by two to five centimeters.
[128] Goldstein (1934:299) reported an average stature of 156.1 cm. for 25 full-blood Comanche females measured in 1931. Since Indians of mixed blood almost always exhibit maximum dimensions greater than full-bloods, the skeleton would fit into the range of variation expected for either the full-blood or the mixed blood population.

172 *Cultural status:* The heavy dental attrition indi-
141

[p. 320-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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TABLE 2
TRAITS INDICATIVE OF
SEX, RACE, AND CULTURE STATUS

Trait	Sex		Culture		Race		
			Primitive	Modern	Negroid	Caucasoid	Mongoloid
Skull and Mandible							
Mesocrany		x	x			x	x
Low Skull			x				
Cranial Capacity		x					
Chagnon							x
Metopy							x
Phenotypeney			x				x
Sphenomethopia					x		x
Fronto-sphenoidic Index					x		x
Opisthocranic		x					x
Mesognathic							x
Brachystaphylinx							x
Brachycrany						x	x
Orthognathy (Upper Face)		x				x	x
Mesognathy (Alveolar)		x					x
Facial Flatness							x
Nuchal Crests		x					
Mastoid Processes		x					
Supra-orbital Ridges		x					
Arch Form						x	x
Molar Form							x
Prognathic Alveolar							x
Dental Wear			x				
Shovel-shaped Incisors							x
Edge-to-Edge Bite			x				
Mandibular Index					x	x	
Fronto-gnatic Index			x				
Gonio-Condylar Index						x	x
Ramus Index							x
Gonial Angle		x					x
Symphyseal Angle							x
Simple Sutures					x		x
Post-Cranial							
Humeral Head Diameter		x					
Platybrachia							x
Supracondylar Foramen Breadth		x					x
Brachial Index						x	
Urolenic		x					x
Iliac Breadth Index		x					
Sciatic Notch Angle		x					
Acetabular Index		x					
Preauricular Sulcus		x					
Bicondylar Diameter Femur		x					
Index of Robustiness							x
Platymeric Index		x				x	
Platymeria			x			x	
Mesopsemia		x					x
Squatting Facets			x				

172 141 144

172 141 cates a coarse diet with much gritty contamination. This wear is relatively greater in the anterior dental arcade, indicating some use of the teeth in preparing hides, cordage, etc. At least one tibia shows the presence of squatters facet, and the femurs are platymeric. Both conditions are indicative of primitive living.

Conclusions: The osteological evidence thus indicates an adult female Plains Indian, 25-35 years old, who lived at a time before acculturative shifts in diet would reduce tooth wear. Although 172 the observations fit the data given by Goldstein 141 (1934), it is not possible to assign the skeleton 128 definitely to the Comanche because of the 144 limited sample on which the comparison was based.

[p. 320-B]

ARTIFACTS

172 The upper case letter preceding each unit can
[128] be used to locate that unit in Figure 1.

(A) The body had been placed on part of a black rubber-coated cloth tarpaulin or poncho, possibly of U.S. Army issue. Among the small pieces that remained of the poncho were five circular brass grommets with five-millimeter openings and several pieces of finished edge showing machine stitching.

(B) Of the fifty-three brass wire bracelets found, one was in front of the chest, and 52 were in the remnants of a beaded skin bag near the saddle parts at the foot of the grave. Viewed in cross section, two of the bracelets are round and 51 have flattened sides. The bracelets were made from lengths of brass wire, cut with a chisel, most of them with the ends smoothed by filing. Two of the parallel-sided bracelets are decorated with chisel cuts on their top surfaces (Fig. 5*f-g*). The bracelets range in diameter from 1.7 mm. to 2.8 mm., averaging 2.3 mm.

172 Bracelets similar in diameter and design were
171 found at the White site (Suhm 1962:94-7 and Fig. 2), a mid-to late-19th century child's grave of assumed Comanche affiliation in Yoakum County, Texas. Similarly decorated brass wire bracelets of a larger diameter were found at the W. H. Watson site (Ray and Jelks 1964:135-7 and Fig. 5) in Fisher County, Texas. The authors reported a crevice burial of a woman in a standing position and interpreted the site as a Comanche grave dating before 1840.

172 (C) Two small fragments of skin from the bag were preserved under the bracelets. Also preserved were two small patches of the beaded design originally made up of at least 1,857 beads. All of the beads are of the simple cylindrical "seed bead" type. Colors present are opaque white, blue, and green; and translucent turquoise, light blue, dark blue, red, and amber. Lengths of the beads range from 1.5 mm. to 2.5 mm., diameters from 2.1 mm. to 3.1 mm. The amber beads are slightly smaller than the other beads, and the light and dark translucent blue beads have thinner walls than the other beads.

A broken shell hair pipe bead, probably
[171] *Strombus gigas*, was among the bracelets. This bead, whose broken end had been smoothed, may have been threaded on a drawstring of the bag, as is the case with two hair pipe beads on a Kiowa bag illustrated by Ewers (1957, Plate 29).

(D) While none of the wooden frame or leather covering remained, the nature of the

A [See p. 317--Analyst.]

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5a) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5b) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm. by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5d), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button
172 face or rosette (Fig. 5c). Identical rivets were
171 found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig. 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered

172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle.
[127] Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum
[439] (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

172 [p.322-A]

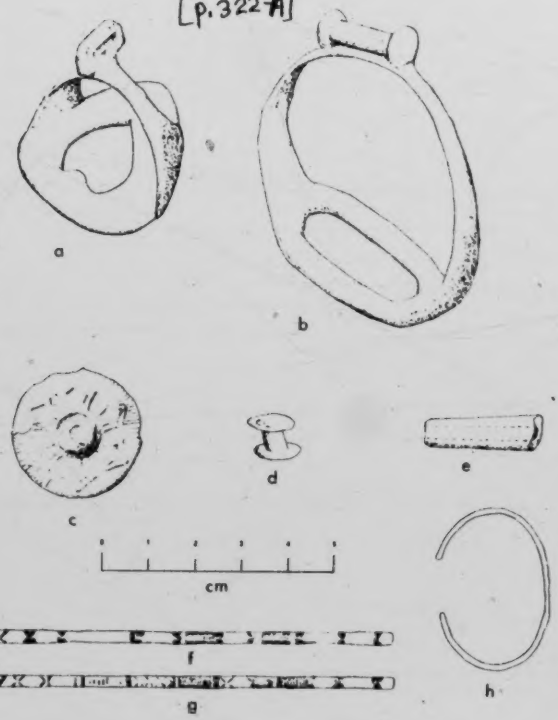

Figure 5. Artifacts from 34CM221. *a-b*, stirrups; *c*, rosette; *d*, rivet; *e*, hair pipe bead; *f-g*, bracelets; *h*, side view of bracelet. Stirrups are approximately 3/8 actual size. Top views of bracelets are 1/2 actual length, side view of bracelets is 1/2 actual size. The rosette, rivet, and hair pipe bead are actual size.

172 long were lying parallel to one another 60 centimeters east of (upstream from) the skeleton's feet. These straps are badly corroded, and the ends are irregular -- hence their original length is unknown. They are slightly curved in cross section from end to end, are 20 mm. wide, and appear to have been about 1.5 mm. thick. Although their purpose is unknown, they were possibly hoops on a barrel or other circular wooden container; they may have been used in
172 making ornaments. At Fielder Canyon Cave,
171 Kirkland found several fragments of flat hoop iron of approximately the same width as the straps from the Jared site, along with some iron tinklers and trapazoidal ornaments cut from the iron straps (Kirkland 1942:62 and Plate 15).
172 These trapazoidal pieces may be unfinished tinklers.

[p. 322-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different -- the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is [114] rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

> The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information—he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

764 171 101 114

[p. 323-B]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these
172 villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial,
764 however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than
171 in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the
171 custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican
175 traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substan-
764 tiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

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DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS SHOSHONE.

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS SHOSHONE. ooo

By Robert H. Lowie.

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Wind River NQ19
Ute NT19

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming.. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah. [101]

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

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COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:— 621 [535] 101

Yápairḕka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natḕka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairḕka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwi a'ö'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Cult (tírewṑku-nö'ö'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatḕka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nö[ö]'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anö'kā̀r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself. 621 535

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast."[3] [726]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organized in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company. 701

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."

[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.

[3] Clark. 355, 141.

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796 If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several in-
72 formants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even
exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration,
[535] called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to
the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony origi-
nated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some
hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy
that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general as-
[216] semblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass
a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general
he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more
than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned war-
[533] rior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied
the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pre-
tended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he
finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drum-
mers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the
tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking
next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several
[796] dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the
bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the
[292] dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would
wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a consid-
erable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted
men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the
group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[621] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the
exclusive property of the Yápairē'ka band. The performers marched
through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed
with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with
tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the
procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded
some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance
began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others fol-
lowed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would
stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the
nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the
same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 535 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nîotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [297] 727 [297]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (naíimeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

466 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any 224 police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinî said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by 302 themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied 301 hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would 534 flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche
Wind River NQ19

DANCES AND SOCIETIES OF THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE.

The Yellow Noses and the Logs.

The Wind River Shoshone had at least one institution that clearly corresponds to a typical feature of the Plains Indian societies. Whenever the tribe was on the march or engaged in a communal hunt, two bodies of men directed the movements of the people and were invested with special political functions. On such occasions the rank and file of the Shoshone were preceded by a group of about twenty or thirty men, called óho mū'pe, literally "Yellow Noses or Mouths," but commonly interpreted to mean "Yellow Foreheads." Approximately equal in number, but forming the rear of the procession came the wō'bine, "Logs." Some of my informants referred to these divisions by different names. The Logs were several times spoken of as "Big Horses," while for the term "Yellow Noses" some informants substituted haſhe, an untranslated word. Others explained that the haſhe were simply scouts chosen by both the Yellow Noses and the Logs. 575 484 [171] [224] [486] 575

The Yellow Noses cut their hair short, with a square bang, which they plastered with yellow clay. The Logs parted their hair in the middle, and wore a braid on each side, wrapped with weasel (or some other) skin. 575 302

Entrance into these companies was not dependent on purchase and there was no age qualification. Bi'vo said that membership was hereditary in the male line, and that he himself had belonged to the Yellow Noses like his father before him. However, this is contrary to statements of other witnesses, and indeed contradicts his own report of a novice's admission. So far as I can see, any one who so chose might become a member of either body, though the Yellow Noses were expected to be especially brave. If a man had an elder brother or friends in one of the two companies, he was likely to follow their example. Sometimes the societies asked a man to join. When the Yellow Noses gave a dance, their two headmen might say, "So-and-so is looking on, he is brave and shall join us if he is willing." Then they would ask him, and if he meant to give an affirmative answer, he would say, "No," and *vice versa*, for it was a peculiarity of the Yellow Noses to use "inverted speech." If he had signified his willingness in the manner explained, they cut his hair and thus made him a member. A prospective Log did not use "inverted speech" when asked to join. In the case of a new Yellow Nose, one of the headmen merely cut his hair roughly after the fashion of the society, which was called "branding" a new member. 575 [195] [302] 575 302

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Wind River NQ19

575 Afterward when at home, the novice had his hair arranged more elaborately.
302 This form of hairdress was always adhered to, not merely in dancing. In one case mentioned by Bī'vo a novice refused to have his hair cut square, so one of the headmen got another man to recite his deeds, and thus the candi-
575 date was absolved from the haircut. The headmen were usually older
[622] than the rest and had attained distinction as warriors, but the tribal chief belonged to neither organization. Mō'wo said that the headmen of the
[292] Yellow Noses wore buffalo robes fringed at the bottom.

It was possible for a man to leave one society and join the other. If a
[203] man could not get along with some fellow-member and desired to resign from the society, he was expected to inform its herald, who would make public announcement of the fact. Bī'vo said that in such a case the resigning member would have to pay the chief a blanket or horse, or some other property; but this is denied by other informants. If a man did not feel sufficiently brave to remain with the Yellow Noses, he would tell the other members and withdraw; a long time after he might perhaps join the Logs.

[554] There was no rivalry between the two societies. It is clear that the Yellow Noses enjoyed a higher social position on account of their bravery, and in a sense the Logs were even definitely subordinated to them. For
575 example, the Yellow Noses would sometimes give a dance at night and say,
224 "Tonight we shall detail two or three of the Logs as scouts to locate the buffalo." Then the scouts would set out to sight buffalo and report back to the camp, where all the people got ready under the directions of the Yellow Noses. On the march the order was that already described. Both companies might restrain anyone trying to rush at the buffalo prematurely, but owing to their position in front this seems to have been the special duty of the Yellow Noses, who were accordingly called tīrakṑne, herders.[1] Hā'wi said that if a man started for the buffalo before the proper time, one of the Big Horse (Log) headmen would bring him back, whipping his horse over the head. He knew of no case where the offender offered resistance; should he have done so, he thinks the police would have disfigured his horse,
[689] e. g., by lopping off the ears. If a stampeder succeeded in killing some of the game, the police destroyed his buffalo hides, so that he reaped no benefit
575 from his precipitate haste. Naturally the Yellow Noses were also the ones
[72] expected in the first place to repel an enemy's attack from the front. On the other hand, it was the special function of the Logs to protect the women,
[486] to show them where to put up their lodges, to keep order in the rear, and to look out lest any one be left behind; they would also fix lodge poles for the people if some of them were broken in dragging them along.

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[1] At Lemhi, Idaho, I learned that during dances and hunts a chief was assisted by tīrahō'se, policemen, armed with quirts. Lowie, (d), 206.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche
Wind River NQ19

There was a feeling that when a Yellow Nose had once started he should 575
not stop for anything. Accordingly, a member would never pick up any- 484
thing he had dropped; any one else might seize the object and keep it.
If a woman dropped something on the march and tried to pick it up, the Logs
might say to her, "You belong to the Yellow Noses, you are not supposed
to pick up anything you drop."

Another distinctive trait of the Yellow Nose company has already been 575
noted,— backward speech (nā'nōma pō'nait). When the first white men 195
came to the Shoshone and asked the Yellow Noses whether they wished to
be friends, the answer was, "No," but this meant, "Yes." The members
of the society would speak backward even in their own family, viz., "Don't
give me a cup of water." If a young woman wished to marry a Yellow Nose,
he would refuse her offer when he meant to accept and *vice versa*. When 575
the Shoshone were fighting the enemy and the chief desired the Yellow Noses 195
to charge, he would say, "Don't charge the enemy." The headman of the 726
society would answer, "No, we shall not charge," but at the same time they
would do so. If, on the other hand, the chief bade them charge, they would
not go at all.

The Yellow Noses and Logs performed exactly the same dance, the 575
bíepùngo nōqá, Big Horse dance, but according to most of my authorities 535
they generally performed it separately, joining only by some special agree-
ment when they wanted to discuss the camp movements together. On such
occasions they put up a very large tipi for the dance. Otherwise, when the
Yellow Noses danced, the Logs merely looked on, and *vice versa*. A man
was not obliged to join his fellow-members in the performance; if he pre-
ferred he might remain a spectator. The dance had no particular object;
the Indians simply thought they should feel better by performing it. It
might be danced at any season of the year, but was especially appropriate
before setting out on the buffalo hunt.

Ordinarily the performance took place in the daytime, beginning in the
morning or about noon and terminating before sundown. A big buffalo-hide [345]
tipi was set up for the occasion, and one or two of the headmen went round [203]
to announce the dance. The bottom of the lodge cover was raised, so that
the people could look on. The women were seated in a circle all round the
circumference of the lodge and helped in the singing. In the rear of the 575
lodge, but in front of the women stationed there, sat several musicians, the 535
best singers from the dancing company, equipped with hand-drums. In 533
front of the musicians were the dancers. There was no difference between
the songs of the two societies; there was no meaning to the words sung.
Several informants said that the step was nearly or quite like that of the
tásayùge (see p. 822). This statement seems at first irreconcilable with the 575
535

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575 general description of the older performance as a mere jumping up and down
535 without change of position. However, at Lemhi I was told that the old form of tásayùge also involved a mere dancing up and down.[1] When a Big Horse song had been intoned, the headmen went round with a quirt, to make the members present get up and dance. At the close of a song the dancers sat down, to rise again at the next one. There was no special
[291] costume. Some men wore beaded leggings and buckskin shirts, others
[302] merely a breechclout; there were also individual differences in painting. A dancer might carry a tomahawk or stick an eagle feather into his hair.
[301] Yellow Noses sometimes wore a small stick with beadwork on one side of the head, and a longer stick of the same type on the other. The headmen
[554] had no distinctive badge. After the dance there would be a recital of war
[262] deeds. Finally came the feast, for which a great deal of wild-carrot stew had been prepared. With the distribution and eating of the food the performance came to a close.

Foolish One.

701 There was a man associated neither with the Logs nor with the Yellow Noses. He rode a horse with docked tail and went through camp singing,
[533] without any one annoying him. In his hand he would hold a spherical rattle. When the enemy were in sight the Foolish One (wi′ + ag· ait) advanced re-
701 gardless of danger, even if a man should aim a gun at him. If the enemy
726 missed him, the Foolish One would rush upon him and strike him with his only weapons, a quirt and the rattle. After such an exploit he might cease
[555] to act as a Foolish One and would be acclaimed as a war chief for his bravery. Sometimes a man would touch two or three of the enemy before retreating. Any one might become a Foolish One if he considered himself sufficiently brave not to turn back before striking an enemy in the manner
[65] described. In this undertaking many Shoshone were slain, but others would take their place.

701 It is clear that the Foolish One corresponds closely to the Crazy Dogs
171 of the Crow and Blackfoot; and a specific similarity also exists with a Flathead institution described by Clark.[2]

Hai Noqai.

726 During the sun dance buffalo tongues were strung together, hung from a
237 pole, the ends of which rested on two men's shoulders, and carried inside a
585

[1] Lowie, (d), p. 222.
[2] Clark, p. 255 f.

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lodge. Then the hafhe (see p. 813) came and imitated the noise and actions of magpies. They would rush in, seize the tongues and try to get away with them, while the other Indians beat them off with sticks. This practice was called haf nöqal. 796 237 535 [575]

NAROYA.

This is regarded as an old dance; the meaning of the name is obscure. 535
According to one informant, it is identical with the ā'pö nöqà and the nū'akin; another Shoshone identified it with the dzō'a nöqà and the nadzaf nöqà of Idaho.[1] The first-mentioned authority gave the following origin 535
account:— 773

After the Father (ā'pö) had created the world, there was a man with his wife and two children. Coyote came along and said, "I am your father and made all these hills and trees. Now I will give you this ā'pönöqā." So he taught them the nā'röya dance. Coyote was merely fooling the people.

The nā'röya might be danced at any season of the year. The Shoshone 535
believe it always keeps storming when the dance is performed; thus last [821]
winter (1911) it was snowing all the time because of several performances. Any man might give the dance if some member of his family was smitten 535
with a cold or some more serious disease; to drive this away the performers 755
would shake their blankets at the close of the ceremony. Hā'wi recalled several instances where sick people attended the dance and also shook their blankets when the headman bade the participants do so. Both men and 535
women took part; the men first formed a circle, then each woman would step between two men, all interlocking fingers. Sometimes there were so many dancers that a larger concentric circle, or part of one, had to be formed. Within the (smaller) circle, though not in the center but rather near the circumference, there was a pine tree; this remained standing and was used for subsequent ceremonies. The dance might be performed either in the daytime or at night; in the latter case a big fire was built in the center of the circle, or sometimes on the outside. In the early days the ceremony lasted five consecutive nights, only the final performance took place in the daytime. Nowadays the Shoshone only dance for one or two days. The dancers move clockwise. There is no musical instrument; the performers [533]
move in accompaniment to their own singing. At the close of the ceremony [515]
all go to take a bath.

[1] Cf. Lowie, (d), 217–219.

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Wohonoqin.

535 This dance,[1] which was supposed to be started by a man born in the
[821] summer, was expected to bring warm weather. The Wind River Shoshone have not danced it since the disappearance of the buffalo; it is an old cere-
[171] mony of theirs, though one witness declared he did not know whether it originated with the Shoshone or the Ute, to whose Bear dance it obviously corresponds. Indeed, there is another Shoshone name for it, ā'gwai nōqá, which means Bear dance.

The ceremony was celebrated about New Year's, in the open air, without
534 any enclosure. It was danced for four days. A hole was dug in the ground and covered with a pan for a resonator. On top of this were placed the notched sticks (wō'hönöki) serving as musical instruments, which were
535 rasped by five or six musicians grouped round in a circle. The women were all on one side of the ground and would choose a man partner from the opposite side. Two girls selected one man to stand between and facing them. Then they would go forwards and backwards in sets of three. At first they held up their hands in imitation of a bear's paws and acted as if afraid of each other, but finally they clasped each other and danced together. The performance was limited to the daytime, but was danced on four consecutive days. On the last day only two performers participated, the giver of the dance being one of them, otherwise anyone who chose might take part. In one part of the ceremony a man would kick his partner's foot (or
[291] *vice versa*) causing her to fall. Then the headman, who was naked save for a clout, took the resonator and musical instrument near the prostrate form and made a noise there. The fallen one would then sit up, jump round, and move his hands in imitation of a bear; without this performance he would be liable to be killed by a bear some time.

According to one informant, the wō'hönöqin was always performed at
[178] the initiative of the same individual, and when he died the Shoshone ceased to dance it.

Banda Noqai.

The meaning of bánda nöqaí is unknown. The dance, though practised by the Shoshone long ago, is associated in their minds mainly with the Bannock, who according to my authorities still keep it up (1912). Only
[292] men took part. They wore breechclouts painted white and black and
[302]

[1] Cf. Lowie, (d), p. 219.

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painted themselves all over with black dots. Each had a pair of very large artificial testicles fixed on, and carried a bow and bl .nt-headed arrows. The women or other non-participants split sticks, putting a bead or other small object within the cleft, and set them in front of the dancers. The performers danced up to the sticks, but pretended to retreat in fear until finally they snatched them up. Before so doing they would rush at some spectators and pretend to shoot them. Spectators were supposed to be outdoors while looking at the dance; if any one peeped through a hole in the tipi cover, the dancers would shoot him. When they had seized the sticks, some men who had water at hand threw it at the dancers as they started away, so that some would get wet. The performers proceeded a short distance, then danced again, and tapped bows and arrows together. Finally, they ran off as fast as possible to the place where they had put away their clothes. The entire performance was merely a pastime. 535 [292] [302] [293]

Bead-Gathering.

The men chose a site for the performers and began to sing and beat drums. The young women would get up and choose partners. A man had his arm and blanket round his partner, and they would slightly raise the feet above the ground with a quick jump. Then they would fall down together, whereupon onlookers threw one blanket after another on top of them. While in this position the man presented his companion with all sorts of trinkets. The blanket-owners recovered their blankets. The ceremony is called nádzo móyuk. [431]

Pitcemonoqa.

The meaning of pítcemṑnöqa is unknown. The dance was performed at night inside of a lodge. It was danced only for a short time. The step was like that of the Wolf dance. Men and women both participated. One dancer held the skin of an animal in his hand. [237]

Akwi Noqai.

One or two headmen riding on horseback and dressed in their best clothes, would head a party of dancers (ā'kwi nöqai). They would go in front of a lodge and begin to dance round while a singer started a song, beating a drum. [292]

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535 This was done at each lodge in succession. The inmates of the lodge would join the ranks of the dancers, who thus gradually acquired a large following. After visiting all the lodges, the paraders ended their performance.

War Dances.

726 535 Long ago, when a war party was about to set out they would get a blanket on the eve of departure and beat it, saying, "Tomorrow we shall go on the warpath." This custom is called páraian by the Wind River Shoshone.[1]

When the scouts had discovered that the enemy was close and came to report their presence, the chief would say: "Today we will have the Afraid dance (töya nō'qa roi)." Then they got a lot of firewood for the evening, and built a big fire. The best singers acted as musicians, beating their hand-drums, accompanied by women, while the other men danced, merely [292] raising each leg, alternately without change of position. War-bonnets were worn. The performance lasted only a very short time. According to one version, the men came in on horseback, dismounted, and danced pretending to dodge shots fired at them. The dance was meant to give a warning to the people as to the proximity of their enemies.

727 535 When an enemy had been killed and scalped, the wutáp[i] ceremony was held. Here five or six men played the part of musicians, standing up with their hand-drums, while any women that chose might take an active part in the dance. The women all lined up in a row with the scalps at the end of their sticks, and danced toward the men. When close, they stopped, walked to their original places, and waited for the next song, when the same procedure was repeated. Usually they began about ten o'clock in the morning and ceased at three or four in the afternoon.

727 A ceremony called ganí' wútap, and possibly related to that just described, was also performed when an enemy had been killed. The performers got their best horses, tied up their tails, and mounted, a man and a woman riding double. Lining up abreast of one another, they rode round the camp. One of the men carried a scalp at the end of a stick, and all sang a war song during the procession. They rode up to a tipi, stopped there, struck it with willow branches, and then stopped.

727 535 [533] The wutáp[i] was followed by the nā'wūya (r[i]) in which every man stood between two women, each embracing his two partners. Thus a circle was formed, and all the dancers walked slowly in a clockwise direction. Drums were beaten with a slow measure, and the dancers themselves also sang.

[1] Cf. p. 811.

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Finally came the nä'rupina'ru. The performers were young people. All the men lined up in a row, facing another line of women. Some (one?) of the men beat drums. The women went backward, followed by the men, who continued to face them. The men might select any woman and put her on their own side, and the women had a corresponding privilege. Thus they walked for a long distance in one direction. Then the men began to walk backwards, followed by the women. This was done several times until some headman ordered them to stop, when all would go home. 127 535

The nü'nühan was held when some enemies had been slain by a war party. Then some eight or ten old men and women marched through camp, went to the lodge of a warrior, who had been of the party, and sang there, beating little sticks. The warrior would come out with a fine buffalo blanket for the men and some meat for the old women. The procession then went on to the lodge of another warrior and went through the same performance, until all the members of the successful expedition had been visited.

Peqowa Noqan.

In this dance (peqówa nóqán) both sexes took part. The young people went into a lodge and the men painted the women. Then all went outside. The women lined up in one row, and the men in another row behind. They walked to the dance ground, where the women turned about to face the men, danced up to them, and then stepped back again, repeating the performance at subsequent songs. 535

Then the headman announced the ä'ⁿnöqâ. The men stood still, beating drums, and the women went round, all abreast.

There followed the Knee dance (tánga nöqâ'). The women were in two rows, facing each other, and thus approached the men. When close, they split up into two sections and went back to their starting point.[1] Then all the women formed a circle, and the men got between them. Any onlooker might join.

Women's Dance.

This is a modern dance (waípe nöqâ or waípe nö'kakin) that came from the Crow, according to one informant, and from the south according to another. My interpreter thought it had been introduced not more than [109]

[1] The statement possibly means that the women advanced in one row, which broke up into two as they approached the men.

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535 eight or ten years ago (in 1912). It alternates with the tásayùge as among
[177] the Lemhi. There are four or five different singers with hand-drums. The women choose partners, and the men must pay for the privilege of dancing with them.[1]

Tasayuge.

Instead of using the Indian name, tásayùge, the Whites call this the Wolf dance, or sometimes the War dance.[2] The Indians do not connect it with the wolf; one informant thought the name might have been derived from the fact that the headman's quirt is decorated with a coyote tail.

As already hinted above, there may be an obsolete form of the dance
[262] in which the performers do not change their position. The dance as now practised is certainly identical with the Grass dance of other tribes, though the Shoshone did not eat dog meat. The performers wore war-bonnets with long streamers and feather bustles. One Indian told me that while sick a man from another tribe had a dream in which he was instructed to perform the tásayùge and promised to get well. He obeyed, and recovered.
[177] The dance passed from tribe to tribe and finally the Shoshone are said to have obtained it from the Crow.

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[1] Cf. Lowie, (d), p. 221.
[2] Lowie, (d), 221–223.

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UTE DANCES.

Dog Company.

So far as I understand conditions among the Ute, the Dog company (sari' tsi + u) is the only institution comparable to the Plains societies. According to Charlie Buckskin, this company was not connected with the Dog dance (p. 833); it existed before my informant's time, in the days before the Ute had guns. 575 701 [171]

The Dog company consisted of a number of men and one woman. They dressed like other people, but wore a distinctive necklace made from a slit wolfskin. Like dogs, they were to give an alarm to the Ute whenever an enemy approached. Accordingly, they went scouting round the village in the daytime and at night, and if they saw anyone coming they ran back to camp to warn the tribe. Sometimes they stayed on a high hill, watching and singing songs. When the camp moved, the Dogs stayed in the rear; when the new site was occupied they approached. They were always afoot. [291] [301] [721]

In every way the Dogs tried to imitate the animal from which they derived their name. They usually ate raw meat, and when they bled from a wound they tried to lick up the blood with the tongue dog-fashion. [262] [752]

After the old Dog company had disappeared, the sole survivor revived it for a while, inviting anyone who wished to join.

Bear Dance.

The Bear Dance (mamáqunikap')[1] is the most important of Ute ceremonies. It was known in the three divisions of the tribe visited and has been referred to by earlier writers. Thus, Clark writes:— 196 535

> Their annual dance, which is a religious ceremony, generally takes place some time during the month of February or March. With willow-boughs a large circular enclosure is formed, and the ground within is stamped smooth and hard. Places are set apart for fires, so that the "dance-hall" may be properly illuminated. At one end is the orchestra. I will endeavor to give a brief description of the musical instrument used. A hole is dug in the ground, and into it is fitted snugly a large [346] 196 534 535

[1] Also recorded as mamáxuni'kal. The native name is said to contain no reference to the bear. I do not know whether this applies to another name, kwi+arat n'kal, given by Charlie Buckskin as a synonym of the usual one.

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796 tin bucket, bottom upwards. Each musician takes a stick, about eighteen inches
534 long, notched from one end to the other. One extremity of this stick is held in the
535 left hand, and placed in contact with the edge of the tin bucket. In the right hand the performer holds a small piece of wood, square or rectangular in shape, and from three to four inches in thickness, and scraping this upwards and downwards on the notched stick, he produces the ravishing music which so delights the dusky
796 dancers. The men and the squaws arrange themselves into two lines, so that the sexes stand opposite and facing each other. When the music commences two squaws
535 clasp hands, advance to the male line, and choose their partners; then two more in the same manner make their selection, and so on until all are supplied. Now the males and the females from their respective lines advance towards each other with a trot and a swaying motion of their bodies, until the couples are almost face to face, and then with similar backward movements return to the places from which they started. This alternate advance and retreat is all there is to the dance, but the participants apparently enjoy the exercise immensely, and often continue the dance until they are completely exhausted. What are termed "Bear-Dances" are frequently indulged in merely for sport, they have no religious significance.[1]

The fullest account of the Bear dance known to me is that by Mr. Verner Z. Reed,[2] who witnessed a performance in March, 1893, in the valley of the Rio de los Pinos. His evidence will be drawn upon in the consideration of special points.

796 Of the origin of the dance Severo (Ignacio) gave the following account:—
535 Long ago the Bear was a person. He went about alone and found a cottonwood
773 stump. He thought he would dance toward the tree by himself, unseen by any one. So he danced back and forth, originating the Bear dance.[3] When he got back to the village he announced the new dance and began to perform it, but though everybody liked it the young men were bashful and the women merely sang in chorus. The Bear did not like this, so he appointed two leaders who should make the men and women rise without tarrying too long. He said: "I want you to have this dance while I am still inside my house in the winter time. I won't allow it in the summer. If you perform it then, I shall be angry. Some people may have it in the winter, but it will also be well to have it at the beginning of spring. I shall be very glad to hear the songs from within my house. It does not matter how far away I shall be when they perform the dance, I'll hear and rejoice. You must keep this up all the time. I'll come out, and be glad, and look for a female bear for a consort. If they keep up the dance, the leaders may announce the celebration to other villages that are far off, and all may join. Do not confine the dance to one village, I like a big crowd. We will dance four days, then you may have a big feast within the corral, and after the feast go away." This is why the Bear dance is kept up.

Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) gave a different version:—

Long ago the Bear sang a song for a Ute, showed him the dance, and said: "You shall dance this way. If you teach the Indians how to do this, they will be

[1] Clark, 388–389.
[2] "The Ute Bear Dance," American Anthropologist, 1896, pp. 237–244.
[3] Cf. Mason, p. 363.

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kind to one another and to their wives. The women shall also join in the dance." In showing the dance to this man, the Bear had no corral but he told the Ute how the performance should be conducted. "You shall dance back and forth with your woman partner, while the others sit in the rear and sing songs." The man went to teach his fellow-tribesmen, and the Bear watched him. The Indian had a wife, and during the performance she danced with a young man. When the dance was over, the husband took a club and knocked her down. The Bear came and said to the man, "I did not tell you to hurt your wife, I told you to be good and to tell the other Indians not to hurt their wives." He pulled the man outside his lodge and struck him with his paws. The man howled and promised not to hurt his wife thereafter, then the Bear let him go. Long after this the same man again announced a Bear dance, and after this second performance he was kind to his wife. This is how the Bear dance began. 796 535 713

Still another version by Buckskin Charlie, chief of the Ignacio Ute, merits recording because it connects the ceremony with Sünä'wav[1] (Wolf), the mythical culture hero:— [796]

Sünä'wav[1] told the Indians to have a Bear dance in the spring, but not in the summer when the Bear was out on the mountains since then he might fight anyone he met. The time to dance is while the Bear is still asleep. In the spring the Fly enters his dwelling and begins to buzz about. Then the Bear awakes and asks, "It is spring already, is it not?" "Yes, why do you sleep so long? It is spring, you had better go out. It is time for you to scratch a person's face and make him look bad. Do that, as you always do." "Why, that's nothing. I only make him brave, I don't hurt him. Now, you, when it is hot, you always spoil meat." "Oh, no, I do that to put salt on it, so people can eat it."

When the first thunder is heard, the Bear stretches himself. Later, when there is good sunshine, he comes out again. Sünä'wav[1] said: "If you celebrate the ceremony every spring, the Bear will know it and will not bother you when you are hunting in the mountains. If you do not, he may hurt you. You must always keep up the dance. If any one won't dance with the woman who chooses him for a partner, the Bear will bite him and is liable to kill him."

This is why the Bear ceremony is kept up.

Beyond the desire to conciliate the bear, I was unable to detect any supposed object for the performance. Tony Buckskin, my interpreter at Ignacio, said that the Navajo and Apache performed the Bear dance for the purpose of curing the sick, but that the Ute did not. 796 535

According to Reed, "one of the purposes of the dance is to assist the bears to recover from hibernation to find food, to choose mates, and to cast the film of blindness from their eyes. Some of the other motives of the ceremonies are to charm the dancers from danger of death from bears, to enable the Indians to send messages to their dead friends who dwell in the land of immortality, and one or two minor ceremonies are performed usually for the purpose of healing certain forms of sickness." [1] [124] [171] 825 775 [75]

[1] Reed, p. 220.

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796 535 As indicated in the origin accounts and in the quotation from Clark, the Bear dance was properly celebrated very early in the spring. A man urging another to start the dance would say, "I want to shoot your back with arrows." Tony Buckskin told me that in former times the death of a tribesman shortly before the prospective performance would cause its omission, but that now such a mishap was no longer considered as a preventive. Panuyū's said that the proper time for the dance was when the [825] first thunder was heard in the spring; if the Ute delayed its performance, they greatly feared that people would be killed by bears while out in the mountains. There were sometimes several performances of the ceremony in the spring; in 1912 the Ute of Navaho Springs had two dances on account of the unfavorable weather during the first.

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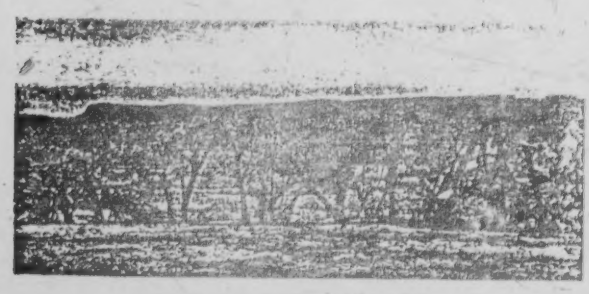

Fig. 1 Ute Bear Dance Enclosure at Navaho Springs, Colorado.

The Bear dance is held in a very nearly circular, roofless enclosure. Reed says it is sacred during the performance and must be kept free from horses or dogs. The enclosure I saw at Navaho Springs (Fig. 1) had a diameter, according to rough measurements, of from seventy-one to seventy-nine feet. At distances of several feet from one another forked cedar trees had been set in the ground to form the circumference, and the spaces between these posts were filled with crossbeams and brush, except on the east side, where a space about 4½ feet in width was left for an entrance.[1] In the rear 796 I found a round pit of irregular shape, about two feet deep and three feet 535 wide. This marks the place of the musicians, of whom Reed says not less [346] than twenty had been drilled for the occasion, and from eight to fourteen [533] were constantly employed during the dance. In the pit I found a consid- [534] erable number of notched instruments (wū'nūrūgū'nap, wū'nōrō'enop), as

[1] According to Reed, the entrance was to the south or southeast.

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well as several rasps. A few of the instruments were also seen scattered 796
about the dance ground, but all except one in the immediate neighborhood 535
of the pit. About two feet away there was an inverted washtub, and a 534
little farther off a bottomless wooden case. Max Joy, my interpreter, [124]
explained that during the performance the tub was placed in the pit, the
case over the tub, and a sheet of tin on the case. When the notched stick
is rasped on this series of resonators, the noise produced is said to be tremendous. In former times a large basket took the place of the tub. What seemed to be four drumsticks were resting on a horizontal cedar log, just south of the pit; according to Max Joy, these had nothing to do with the Bear ceremony, but were used for the war dance. The brush enclosure 796
seen at Whiterocks also faced east. It was somewhat larger, the diameter 535
being about 90 feet,[1] the height was in part above six feet, but at other spots 346
not more than five feet. In the rear, about three feet east of the enclosure, the place of the pit was taken by a trench about five feet long, two and a half feet wide, and one foot in depth. This was covered with a wooden box, 534
and on this were tin sheets. The ground was strewn with several notched 535
wooden sticks and rasps of cattle bone. All round the ground, some 796
distance from the circumference, there were the traces of fires. These, my [354]
interpreter explained, had served to illuminate the place when the people danced in the night.

The instruments, of which several specimens actually used in the cere- 534
mony were secured, are illustrated in Fig. 2. At Whiterocks my interpreter said that one end ought to be carved into the head of a mule, horse, bear or rattlesnake and that the stick should be daubed all over with red or yellow paint. At Navaho Springs I was told that the origin of the notched instrument is ascribed to an old woman.

At Ignacio "Ute Jim" is considered the headman of the ceremony, 796
having been appointed by a council some time ago.[2] He sets the date of 535
the performance and directs the erection of the brush fence; he also appoints
two men to act as deputies. These men carry sticks. Before the ceremony [532]
the picture of a bear is made on cloth and fastened flag-fashion to a tall
staff, which is set in the rear of the dance ground (Fig. 3). Mrs. Molineux, [824]
who had been a teacher at both the Uintah Reservation and the Ignacio School, showed me a picture by one of her pupils, in which a tree was drawn in the center of the entrance to the dance site. Mrs. Molineux told me that a sprig is really planted there at one stage of the performance but does not remain there permanently.

[1] The one seen by Reed was still larger, from 100 to 130 ft. in diameter.

[2] Recently some of the young men wished to choose someone else as conductor of the Bear dance.

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According to my Navaho Springs interpreter, the men first range themselves in a half-circle on the north side of the ground, while the women form a similar arc on the south side. Severo (Ignacio) described a different arrangement: according to him, there were two half-circles on the north and south side, respectively, but in each arc the men formed the western and the women the eastern half. The women invariably were the ones to choose partners, and the men selected by them are obliged to accept the invitation. If a man refuses, an officer lashes him with a willow. Sometimes

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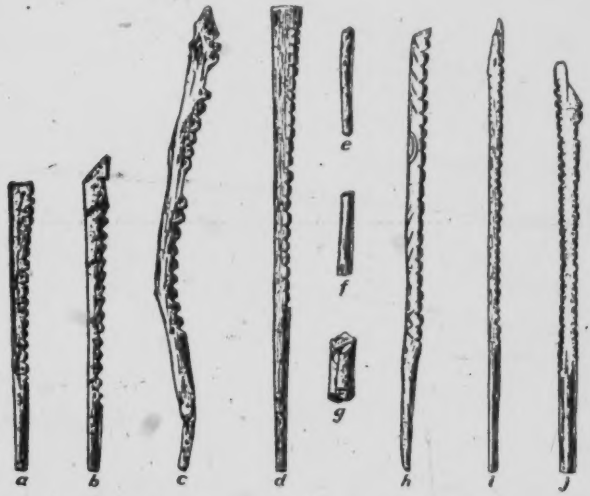

Fig. 2a (50.1–6971), *b* (50–1205a), *c* (50.1–7897a), *d* (50.1–6972), *e* (50.1–7897b), *f* (50–1205b), *g* (50.1–6976), *h* (50.1–7896), *i* (50.1–6981), *j* (50.1–6974). Notched Sticks and Rasps used as Musical Instruments in the Ute Bear Dance. *e, f, g*, Rasps.

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a woman will choose one of the musicians, whose place must then be taken by some other man. Dancers receive no fee from their partners. In dancing the women and men face each other forming two straight lines, on the east and west side respectively (Fig. 4).

According to Panayū'ś, the proper old-style method is to start the first day's performance in the evening and continue it until about nine o'clock; to stop at about ten or eleven on the second night; about twelve or one on the third; and to dance throughout the fourth night until about one or two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day. On the Uintah Reservation all

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche
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the Ute come to camp near the enclosure on the last day of the ceremony. Towards the end of the ceremony a crow song is sung: sanaqö ä'ri, sánaqö ari. Then they dance in single pairs, partners holding each other, while on the previous days the two rows of dancers approached each other (Fig. 5). The step consists of three forward and two backward steps. The leaders warn the participants to take care lest they should fall. On this occasion friends relieve each other when tired out, but if a man is poor and has no friend he gets no chance to rest at all. Finally one dancer falls, or pretends to fall down, from exhaustion, and the dancing ceases, to be followed by a big feast. Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) said that if it was a man that succumbed first the women were said to win, and *vice versa*. Mrs. Molineux told me that according to her Uintah informants the Bear dance was formerly connected with an exchange of wives, but I obtained no corroborative evidence on this point. [196 535] [533]

There is an important rule relating to the falling down of a dancer; whether it applies only, or particularly, to the final part of the ceremony, I do not know. An individual finding himself in the plight described may not rise by his own efforts but must wait for one of the musicians. This musician comes with a notched instrument, places it on each foot, each knee, the shoulders, head and back of the person on the ground, rasps it over each part of the body mentioned, and pronounces words to this effect: "I want you to enjoy a good life without any pain, the Bear will blow it away and cure you. The Bear is great medicine and hears what I am saying." If a person got up without this rite, he might fall sick. [753]

After the conclusion of the Bear dance the songs appropriate to it must not be sung, lest the Bear should maltreat the singers. [533]

While the connection of the ceremony with the animal from which it takes its current name is clear enough from the foregoing, it is brought out even more forcibly in Reed's account. The enclosure itself, according to this witness, is meant to represent a bear's cave, and the entrance is toward the sunshine because bears were supposed to select caves with regard to their opening in that direction. An initial song by the musicians is meant to transport the noise made in the pit to the caves of the bears and transform it to thunder, which partly rouses the bears from their winter sleep and each day's performance symbolizes their gradual restoration from hibernation. Motions of the arms are made in imitation of the motion the bear makes with his forepaws. Women choose partners because the female bear chooses her mate. At the close of the ceremony the bears are supposed to have regained all their faculties, to have mated, and secured food. The spirit of the final feast, which follows an eighteen hours' fast, is supposed to be partly wafted away to the forests, where it is believed the bears feed on it. [196 825] [346] [823] [533] [535] [574]

19: Lowie - E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche
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While gambling is tabooed during the performance, Mr. Reed describes the ceremony as not lacking in social features. More particularly is it a period of courtship for the younger people.

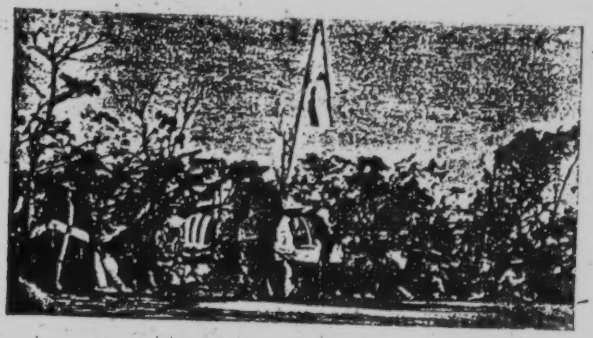

Fig. 3.

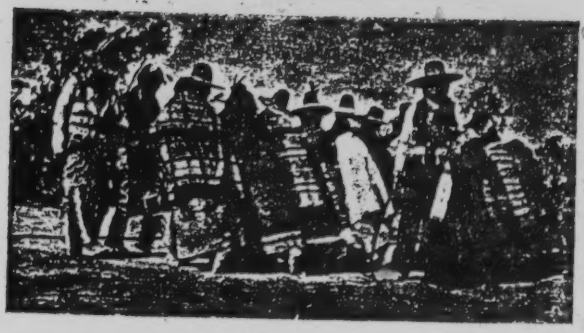

Fig. 4.

Ute Bear Dance at Navaho Springs, Colorado. The musicians (Fig. 3) are seated their round pit. *Photo by Charles D. Wagner.*

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Certain rites not mentioned by any of my witnesses may best be described in Mr. Reed's words:—

Several times during the progress of the dance messages are sent to the Land Beyond. One of the managers waves his staff for silence, and then a chief arises and

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche
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announces the rite. The men stand in silence on one side of the inclosure, the women sit mutely on the other. Then a bunch of corn-husks for cigarettes, together with a bottle of tobacco, are handed to the leader of the musicians. He takes the husks and tobacco in his hand, reverently bows his head and repeats an incantation, and then rolls a cigarette, passing the husks and tobacco to another singer, who does the same. When each of the singers has rolled a cigarette, all heads are bowed again, there is a long moment of absolute silence, and then the words of an incantation are repeated in chorus by all the singers. It is believed that the words of the incantation are heard in the sky, and that the shades there know that messages are to be sent to them from some of their immortal brothers. After this incantation the cigarettes are lighted and a few puffs blown toward the sky, it being believed that the smoke ascends and provides a smoke of friendship with the shades. Then the particular messages are

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Fig. 5.- Ute Bear Dance at Navaho Springs, Colorado. *Photo by Charles D. Wagner.*

spoken, the speaker bowing his head as he talks, and all the others maintaining the most rigid silence and not moving in their places. The Indians believe that any one can, with the aid of the incantations and the sacred smoke, send messages to the sky, but that answers can be heard only by medicine men.

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Two or three times during the continuance of the dance, but never until after the first day has passed, a handsomely beaded medicine pipe, filled with dried kinikinik leaves, is brought into the inclosure, lighted, and passed from one man to another, each taking two or three puffs, rubbing his fingers over the stem of the pipe, as though it were a flute, and then handing it to the man next to him. This ceremony is to show affection for the shades by providing them with a similar smoke, and is an important medical ceremony as well, for it is believed that it protects the smokers from pneumonia and consumption. The women take no active part in either of the smoking ceremonies, but are rapt observers. [151]

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Squaw Dances.

535 I observed part of a squaw dance on the Uintah Reservation, said to be
[123] of recent and alien origin. The men do not stand between the women, but
[177] all the participants of either sex stand together, jointly forming a single
circle. In dancing they moved clockwise, crossing the right foot over the
left, then slowly dragging the left foot after. There was no musical instru-
[533] ment, the performers dancing in accompaniment to songs sung by them-
selves. At Ignacio I saw a squaw dance of the usual type.[1]

Jim Duncan (Whiterocks) told me of another dance, of which he did not know the name, in which men and women joined hands. He said it was usually performed in the fall, but occasionally at other seasons. It may possibly be identical with the tawáni'qai, Daylight Dance, of which I heard
[533] in Ignacio. Men and women formed a ring in the daytime and danced without any music but their own singing.

Another dance in which men and women took part was the tomū'gani'-kaγa (tomū'gweni'kap'). It was held only in the night. The men all stamped their feet vigorously, and this feature is said to be expressed in the name of the performance. The men and women formed a ring to dance.
[532] They sang, but there was no drumming. When through, the performers all fell down on the ground, piling on top of one another for fun. The words
[533] of their song meant: "Now, that woman is very anxious to mate, but now
[534] we have pretty nearly done and she can have her wish."

Men and women also joined in a dance called tcinúan'kaγa. Old persons
[534] started it. There were no drums, only gourd-rattles. The young people fastened rattling objects to their clothes. This, as well as the preceding dance, might be performed at any time of the year.

In the Deer-Hoof Rattle dance (tasí tcuni'kap) from two to four old
[534] men had sticks about eight feet long and covered with buckskin, to the
[297] top of which deer or antelope hoofs were attached for rattles. When the dance had been announced, the people gathered in the place mentioned.
[533] Then the musicians began to sing a distinctive song. A woman would begin to dance, then some man came and put his arm round her; if he put his arm round her neck, the crowd called out to him to encircle her waist. Sometimes two women began to dance together, then one man would act as partner to both of them. Only a few people danced at the same time, but anyone might dance who so wished. The performers merely moved up and down without change of position. If any of them failed to keep time, the

[1] See Lowie, (e), p. 206.

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musicians prodded their ears with the rattle-sticks. This dance was not confined to any particular season of the year. 535

In the kwinū'inikaî (kwinū'ni'kara) the musicians, who were all men, also used deer-hoof rattles, according to Panayū's, but the sticks were from one to six feet in length. In addition they had a drum, on each side of which the men lined up in a row. The women asked old men to sing for them, then they danced, jumping up and down, and taking turns at different songs. Only women took part, the old ones acting as leaders. This performance always took place after dinner, and might be followed by the Dog dance. [534] [533]

In the Dog dance (sarí'nikaî) the women chose men partners. If a man danced by himself, the women would come over and dance with him. The men sometimes covered their partners with blankets and, thus covered, kissed them. They merely danced up and down. At sunset the performance ceased.

War Dances.

The tō'n'kánam was a preparation dance, performed by men about to set out on a war party. They took off all their clothes except for the gee-string, and carried weapons. The women watched to see who was going against the enemy and also sang. Drums were beaten for music. 535 726 [291]

After having slain an enemy and returned from war the braves would dance naked round a scalp attached to a high pole. Only the men took part. This performance was called 'ā'sin'kàp. It was distinct from the Shield dance, tápu ni'kàmi, in which the women danced with the scalps, their leaders sometimes wearing war-bonnets and carrying shields or spears. [533] 535 727 [292]

There was once a performance known as ninî + ewî'eo. After singing and drumming all night while out on the warpath, some Ute Indians would slowly approach a famous warrior and suddenly awake him by hallooing. One of their number was painted and dressed up as in war. When the sleeper had been roused, they thus addressed him: "We have heard that you are a brave man. You saved your life, however you were brave enough to attack and kill an enemy." Then they have some music and dance. The warrior gives a gun, horse, or some other property to the visitors, who proceed from one distinguished warrior to another, everywhere collecting gifts. 535 726 555 [431]

The modern social dance commonly called War dance (tá + uxán'kai) apparently does not differ from the Grass dance as found among the Plains Indians, except that it seems to lack all the more serious features. It alternates with the squaw dance. 535 171

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Panatsuniqai.

535 Sometimes in the night people would get a hide, beat it, and proceed
[533] singing from one tipi to another. This was called panátsuni'qai (panátcuni'-
[534] kap). They advanced towards a headman's tipi, and one member of the
party would go ahead, peep in, and might find old men seated there smoking.
[276] Then he would report: "They are smoking over there." Then the procession went to the spot, and stopped. The old men filled a pipe, made the singers sit down and gave them to smoke. When they had done, they performed a round dance, after which they went away to sleep.

535 The above account was obtained at Whiterocks. An Ignacio informant said that both men and women took part in this dance, which lasted at least until midnight. He seemed to connect with this performance another called "doubling up," nawã'tó'kwabíni'kà'. This was characterized by both men and women lining up in facing rows as in the Bear dance, but hand-drums were used. Both sides took a few steps forward, then each woman got between two men she liked.

What seems the same, or at least a related, performance was also de-
535 scribed by one informant under the caption gani'ya uwí + ev, Long Village.
276 At night while men were assembled smoking in a chief's house, a party of young men and women would gather and proceed thither as quietly as possible. One of the men in the procession opened the door, and all gave the war whoop. Then they began a song and dance just outside the lodge. The chief and his guests were asked for a smoke. After three or four songs the headman of the dancers said to his followers while they were still dancing, "You know how hard the skin from the neck of animals is, that is how those men inside are." This meant that they did not readily yield a smoke. Finally, however, they would relent, the chief handing a pipe to the leader of the procession who smoked and passed it on to his companions. This performance was repeated at other lodges and finally a dance was held in a suitable place.

Horse Parade.

527 Just before sunrise a headman would announce: "Everyone shall mount
492 a horse and take a drum to sing with on horseback!" Then all proceeded in this fashion round the camp. The headman then said, "Come to my
535 house, let all gather there." When all had assembled, they decorated them-
[302] selves with different kinds of paint and had a dance, possibly on the afternoon of the same day, the Lame dance, sañkíni'qap'. In this both men and

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women limped around, one behind another. There were two parallel rows, 535
but one would cross the other in the course of the dance. The sexes were not divided by these rows. After the dance all scattered to go home. Then someone might announce: "There will be another dance, the quni'n'-qawā'n'." In this dance the performers moved round with an up-and-down hop.

Possibly a different type of parade was described under the name of 527
kā'wirukqanàm. All the men lined up on horseback, and the women also 492
mounted, forming a line behind. A man wearing a war-bonnet and sometimes carrying a shield or spear was leader and would go from one end of the procession to the other. He rode a horse that had been painted up and had its tail wrapped with red cloth. Sometimes there were as many as three of these leaders. The musicians had hand-drums and occupied the center [534]
of the men's line. The women all sang in chorus. Sometimes the men [533]
struck their guns with ramrods to beat time. In parading they would discharge their guns into the air. After a while, the leader or chief delivered a speech in a very loud voice then they paraded again. Finally the men arranged themselves in single file, headed by the chief, who galloped to camp, followed by the rest, the women bringing up the rear. Sometimes [535]
a ring was formed by the riders and a performance of the Dog dance took place within this space, though it was not necessarily connected with the parade.

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the 105
southern Great Plains. They came down from the north 175
shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had 131
established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half 105
these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts 175
of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian char- 105
acter. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1948. [113] [177] [178] [101]

[p. 3]

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105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

648 657 These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Okla-
[131] homa. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

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omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign 648
the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure [657]
of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon
an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total
defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, 177
economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional 178
culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could
no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt [554]
and to raid there was no means by which the men could
attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen.
Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medi- [829]
cine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, [229]
leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying them- [825]
selves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and 648
stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (3 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff. [113]

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648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them [421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com- 648 423 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres 648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for [427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt, 177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves 427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

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were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3] 434 177 427 [657]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained. 177 427 [657] [657]

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into 177 427 657

3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 346. [113]

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177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

---

[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 79. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 345.

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After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid an-
nually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left with-
out any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important
factor in Comanche life. After allotment were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until
September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agri-
cultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land
for agricultural purposes were required to make certain im-
provements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five
years were required to place on each allotment a three-room
house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees
were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs.
All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease
expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 299. [113]
8. Ibid.
9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10] 427 177 434 [796] [657]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11] 427 434 [177]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the 427 423 427 423 177

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1940 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1940. [113]

11. Superintendent W. S. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 28 pp., memo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise. 427 423 177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

427 423 423 423 657

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

427 434

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 746-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-314.

[113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken
427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians
434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with
465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income.
464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut
465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the
434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 12.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1919; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. During the depression years the government provided most of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural implements to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 892.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 355. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1878, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1878, 98.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned. 657 231 236 262 286

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own. 657 231 177 471 261 434

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming. 657 241 361

20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 275, and 1876, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 '45) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 225.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Elgin-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1914. [113]
24. Prentis, op. cit, app. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. H. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1936 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $230,500; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1942); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [422] [312] [513] [514] [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28] 342 [177] [427] [514]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents. [422] [352] [359] [312] [591]

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., ann. II, 28, 18.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening
[657] and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have sup-
[251] plied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with
[342] the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs
[353] screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and
[251] shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutri-
[252] tion clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during
[251] the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food,
[294] made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

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657 Schools for the education of the Indian children of the
871 Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: govern-
[874] ment boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has
[797] become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

[648] The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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[113] 29. McOwen, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 14-24.
[113] 30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 220.

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20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Boston, 1875), 23-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 186.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend
871 school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort
[186] Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily
[874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocaticnal courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort
657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government
871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm
874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill
242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

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35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 316.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38] 657 871 874 242

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year. 797 871 [657] [657]

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 18, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 352; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 85, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year
[874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94
657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 35.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 189; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.55; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $13.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Com nche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa chil- 871
dren have attended public schools. The long range policy 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public
schools as the principal educational agency. It was gen- [177]
erally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

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657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1918; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Bunts, op. cit., sec. III, 11.

47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

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schools, they also converted the Indians to Christianity. Religious denominations were slow to send missionaries to the Comanches and the Kiowas. Shortly after his arrival in 1869, Agent Lawrie Tatum made an urgent request for missionaries, but his appeal went unheeded. Battey did some church work aside from his teaching, and the teachers of Riverside School in 1874 began a Sabbath School among the Kiowas.[48] The Reverend John McIntosh, a Baptist minister, began work in 1878 among the Wichita north of the Washita River, and two years later had completed the first church within the consolidated agency jurisdiction. But no Comanches attended any of these services. 797

It was 1881 before the Comanches heard a missionary. The Reverend J. B. Wicks, an Episcopalian, arrived at Fort Sill on June 23 and immediately began preaching to the Comanches. Wicks was accompanied by two missionaries, a Comanche and a Kiowa, who were returning to work among their own people. The two had been sent as prisoners to Florida in 1874, but had been released in 1878 and trained for missionary work. Wicks soon went to the agency headquarters on the Washita where he organized a church and conducted services for about another year, more for the whites, lamented Missionary J. J. Methvin many years later, than for the Indians.[49]

For several years after Wicks abandoned his efforts, there was no active missionary work. The Methodist held a monthly service for a time during 1885, but according to the agent, there were no Christian services for the Indians the next year. The Methodist Church, South, sent J. J. Methvin in 1887 to work with the Indians south of the Washita. Methvin confined his work to the vicinity of the agency.

Missionary activity did not begin on a significant scale until 1889, two decades after Agent Tatum had arrived to initiate the Quaker peace policy in dealing with the Comanches and Kiowas. The government provided the stim-

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48. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1874, 222.
49. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1884, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1884, 81; Methvin, op. cit., 24.

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The government provided the stim-
797 ulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting
871 with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian
[657] children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics op-
797 erated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

797 For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not
178 interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional
[756] life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions.
[191] Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gasso-
797 way was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

797 It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian
178 missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

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50. Nye, op. cit., 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants. 797 178

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51] 657 743

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52] 657 744 743

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to 657 177 178 [164]

51. Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McOwen, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

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make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

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178 They are working for a better tomorrow, reminding them-
177 selves as they build that "Wise is the Indian who cherishes his cultural heritage, and wise is he who adopts the best of the white man's, but better yet, is he who is wise enough to do both."[53] Within three-quarters of a century they have passed from the stone age to modern civilization. To some tribes the attempt to make the transition brought extinction; to others it brought a miserable existence on the fringe of civilization. There is no longer an attitude of despair among the Comanches. With the same persistence and determination which characterized their resistance to encroachment on their hunting grounds, they are adjusting themselves to live successfully in the new era. Verily, the Comanches have come a long way on the white man's road.

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53. "A History of Riverside School" is staged each year by the students of that school. During the performance an actor speaks these words.

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DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory 175
from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and 648
western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned 175
the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the 101
northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, 175
the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white 648
civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a [186]
reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche 114
society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

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114 "A series of letters originally addressed to Col. John Jamison, deceased, late Indian agent at Natchitoches." The first letter is headed "Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818." This was almost two years before Stephen Long crossed *Comancheria,* and more than two years were yet to elapse before Moses Austin sought permission of the Spanish authorities at San Antonio to settle Anglo-American colonists in Texas. The fifth letter was a reply to criticism of the article by the world-renowned naturalist and professor at Transylvania University, C. S. Rafinesque. Ranfinesque wrote in the June 19, 1824, issue of the *Literary Gazette*: "I have been much pleased with the accounts of the Comanches and Nabijos, . . . but regret that the writers have totally neglected to notice the languages of those nations, although this ought to claim the first attention in any account of Indian nations, being often the only clue to trace their origin and history. It is also wrong to give anonymous details of historical facts, while so much depends upon personal authority." Most of the reply to the criticism is of no significance; but one section is herein reproduced, since it is "A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language." The author of the account—David Gouverneur Burnet of Cincinnati, later to serve as the first president of the Republic of Texas—wrote from personal experiences of more than a year's residence among the Comanche Indians in Texas.

David Gouverneur Burnet was born on April 4, 1788, in Newark, New Jersey. The Burnet family was quite prominent. David's father was a noted physician and a member of the Continental Congress. One of his half-brothers was aide-de-camp to Washington and a close friend of Lafayette; another served as a member of the United States Senate, as an Ohio State Supreme Court Judge, and was elected a member of the French Academy of Science. His brother, Isaac, for twelve years was mayor of Cincinnati.[1]

Left an orphan at the age of three, David grew up under the guidance of his brothers, who saw that he received

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[113] 1. Dorothy Louise Fields, "David Gouverneur Burnet," in The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLIX (October, 1945), pp. 215-232.

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a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2] 114

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] [101] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request [124] [126]

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 159. [113]

3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1851), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 132-3. [113]

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114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and
126 other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 26, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 223.

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Texas

[ca. 1818]

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures 175
in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the 121
results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more partic- 175
ularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Ar- 131
kansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained 181
habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain
some interesting relations to our country. It would not be 000
altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore 175
have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the 648
mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial 721
Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them, 175
721

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable
721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their
101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time imme-
171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

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Texas

(Ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are 175
located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are cer- 721
tainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted [181]
from their political importance, by their habitual indolence,
and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and
protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the pre- 175
sumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly 114
opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements,
they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has
obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The [101]
idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish [162]
from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary
prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their 114
numbers and general character as a close observation dur- 128
ing a residence among them for several months, has en- 175
abled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is 101
divided into three great parties, each of which is distin- 175
guished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, 101
range through a section of country that is watered by the 133
Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits 175
both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

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175 101 133 of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and 648 destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is 721 this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory war- 175 fare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio 175 Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 721 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether 701 they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin 162 bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. 101 These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally 133 extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are 175 found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dis- 101 similar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but 184 are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

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exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

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175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to
202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

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auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost 562
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 175
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 684
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of muti- 175
lation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always 696
yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwith- 175
standing the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 571
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but 175
have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 771
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 776
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- [775]
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity, 771

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175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or
[796] seasons.

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seasons. In short they have no visible, operative religion; and such notions as they do entertain, are mere fanciful speculations, that apparently have not the slightest practical influence on their lives and conduct. They are enveloped in thick darkness, and live, and die in dismal estrangement from the God of Heaven. 175 771

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 22, 1824]

Letter III

The Comanchees, like all other heathen nations, mingle with the crudities of their religious tenets, some exceedingly absurd and unintelligible fantasies, to which they adhere with all the tenacity of a blind superstition. They believe in witchcraft, and impute to persons whom they suspect to be possessed of the "evil spirit", the most mischievous and diabolical propensities. All internal diseases, the nature or cause of which they do not comprehend, and they are by no means skilled in physics, they attribute to the *blasting breath* of some secret enemy, who is endowed by evil genii with the mystical powers of enchantment. They say the unhappy subject has been "blown", and represent the manner of communicating the occult infection, by blowing through the hand. These tricks of sorcery they sometimes charge to the evil disposed of their own people, but are never able to detect and identify the foul fiend, or instant immolation would be his destiny. They hold the Kitchies (a small band on a branch of the River Trinity) in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of *blowing;* and charge them with having "blown" the waters that intersect their route to Natchitoches, which has rendered their visits to that post so destructive to their people. Whatever may be the nature of the hidden disease, the consequence is often a gradual dissolution of the miserable victim, who pines away in langour and despondency, amidst unavailing threats of vengeance upon his mysterious adversary. The few persons I have seen who were supposed to have been "blown", have exhibited all the external symptoms of pulmonary affection: but the mild and equable tem- 175 754

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175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
175 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
[585] principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[687] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

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The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

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727 complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around in tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon
[567] him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him,
[178] where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

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strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration. 175 727

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cavalry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds. 175 726 492 175 492

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant parade through the village mounted and accountred, and bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These 175 726 [714]

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175 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their
[492] movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em-
[593] bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross
727 the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
714

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always ride without saddles, and without any other encum- 175 726
brance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness [492]
of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Span- [714]
ish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet 175
long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For 411
defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buf- 175
faloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which 714
fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or [237]
circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not [558]
attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the 175
use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the 411
weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and 175
their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which
enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert 721
Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

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721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] Although habitually savage and estranged from the
[181] humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In
721 the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175
152 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in

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the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eyewitnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

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157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
136 into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175 352
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their [237]
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal [251]
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times [571]
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride,
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 175
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 261
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca-1818]

175 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor
262 alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
175 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible
317 supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a
saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indur-
ated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimen-
sions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful
263 and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat
for months together without seasoning of any kind. They
do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These
262 pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which ren-
ders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though
somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible
as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan
tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the
delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes,
prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and
a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these
people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a
permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after re-
turning from the corn feast of their more provident neigh-
bours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast
or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be
supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful priva-
tions, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many in-
stances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

Men, whose furrowed [ca.1818] 175
cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would 165
call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary 887
accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not 145
relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes
on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the cli- 175
mate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual 165
prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether de-
barred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use [273]
of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their
healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused 000
and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been
equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the
moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more
refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have
been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, where-
as it has been replete with disaster.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824] 192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

192 [ca. 1818]

Sau-nipp—Grass
Hoophe—Trees
Ooth-table—Dirt, earth
Toome-pee—Stones
Paa-ve—Water
Tath-cabe—Snow
Pe-a-aiate—Gun
Arrico-aiate—Bow
Parke—Arrow
Cheeke—Lance
Nar-quitts—Powder
Nab-bark—Ball
Whee—Knife
Whee-a—Rope, Lareat or halter
Whee-o—Awl
Chome—Beads
Whan-nap—Blanket
Tosha-whan-nap—Red blanket
Inka-whan-nap—White blanket
Kit-sante—Bad, wicked, ugly
Kish-a-wante—Very bad, very ugly
Ha-a—Yes
Kaia—No
Car-nhe—House, tent
Hox-ee—Where, which
Oox-ee—There, that
Ix-ee—Here, this
Mar-tim-erow—To trade, buy and sell
Tome—Give
Me jacke—Give me, bring to me
So-base—Long time, far off
Oo-kist-ee—Now, presently, short time
Mee-isthee—Near, not far off
Man-anke—Far off, great distance
No-be-tink—To encamp
Nab-e-tink—To fight, war
Nad-de-no—Saddle
Array—Bridle
Noothe-pee—Whip
Poon kee—Horse
Cootes—Buffaloe
Sha-ree—Dog
Parrow-a—Bear
Harnish—Beaver
Too-he-a—Deer
Tooth-cap—Meat
Tooth-kee—To eat
Ho-ove—To drink
Na-rath-too-kee—Mockasin
Coo-she—Leggins
Coo-ne—Fire
Too is-chee-kee—Axe or hatchet
Pe-nar—Honey
Ha-nebe—Corn
Pohe-pe-nar—Watermelon
Nar-que-see—Pumpkin
Paam-pee—Head
Phee—Heart
Poo-ur—Arm
Oom—Leg
Tu-ruth-kee—To steal
Noof-kim—Go, begone
Kim-ai—Come
Obes-kee—To kill
Pay-ee—Blood

22: Dacus NO6 Comanche NO6

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[The text category for this source has not been processed.]

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West Texas Historical Association Year Book

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A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prsa de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Comte Gral de las Yntcrs le hace en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre varios circumstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). 113

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(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*juman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

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Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 241 262

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 133

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Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Comatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 296-328.

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[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the 175
Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made 643
themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with 623
their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all 555
their Nation and the following which they have; in the
councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the
rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs 175
and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have 157
in the Negotiations of the Nation? 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not [728]
come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the gover-
nor has not been able to learn their character, but if the
experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the
ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging],
they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more
friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other
friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that 175
the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look 648
at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them
more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the gov- 175
ernor has made of this nation, he has come to understand 648
that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness 181
and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive
nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harsh-
ness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is 175
indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all 648
love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to
behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they
begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and
manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary
that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call
Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in deal-
ing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

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Eastern Comanche

175
648

pleased and content. Through that means and by presenting them with those trinkets which they are accustomed to receiving, by which means he will be able to obtain peace treaties, trade, and communication with them, constant and truthful. That is how much the governor has been able to inquire and investigate the character of this Nation.

Royal Presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, April 30, 1876.

DOMINGO CABELLO.

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(1854-1859) Texas

THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but
657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains.
121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113] 1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 99.
Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

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(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

[423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178
829
[224]

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawa-
657 koni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1496-1498.

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(1854-1859) Texas

657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

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(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not 657 been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 578 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 181 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 178 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no [657] longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- [162] tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- 648 withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 186.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 3, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 862.

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657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554 dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two
most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643 away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578 frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-
1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643 given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could
not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273 Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 480; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 881; September 16, 1859, 871; October 30, 1858, 841; July, 1859, 882.

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657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 318, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

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628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[65] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
657 between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came
657 and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

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65 [609] ience. When this was reported to Agent Leeper he called on the detail of troops stationed at Camp Cooper (only twenty men) to come at once. The lieutenant, Van Camp, came at once and surrounded the building. But to his chagrin and alarm, fifty or sixty warriors, armed with bows and guns, together with about thirty women and boys, armed with sticks and clubs, closed in around the cabin and took the side of the visitors so positively that Van Camp saw that a fight was ahead if he forced the issue. He ordered his men to prepare for action and a battle would have followed but for the fact that he discovered that his men had but one round of ammunition. They had used up nearly all their ammunition the day before in target practice. Thus, since it was impossible to apply force, all that was left for the lieutenant to do was to use persuasion. An agreement was patched up whereby the intruders were permitted to leave and this they did at once.

On the following day the Indians who had taken an active part in protecting the visitors came to Leeper and explained that they had offered resistance to the troops because they thought when they saw the soldiers approaching that all Indians on the reservation were going to be attacked and slain and they were determined to die fighting. Obviously they thought no such thing. Their bad faith in the whole matter was made more in evidence by their telling Leeper that they expected him to say that their "talk" was "good." In case he should not assent and say that their "talk" was "good" they would kill him and his family and leave the reservation.[13]

Naturally the army officers and the Indian agents as well [609] were sorely vexed with the Indians because of this affair. About all that can be said in defense of the savages is that they regarded the intruders as visitors and felt that to abandon them to the soldiers while they were guests at the reservation would be treachery. Some of the older men and women tearfully begged Ka-tem-e-see not to force the issue, just let the man escape and he would not bother them any more.

Inadequate Protection

The lack of proper protection by the troops was largely the

[113] 13. Leeper to Neighbors, August 31, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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67 cause of the fear and uncertainty that clouded the lives of the reservation wards. During most of the year 1855 there were no troops closer than Fort Belknap, about fifty miles away, and none but infantry there. However, early in January, 1856, Camp Cooper was established on the reservation and for a time the Indians enjoyed a sense of security.[14] But after a few months, ill feeling developed between the army officers and the Indian agents, each side charging that the other would not cooperate. Both the army and the Indian records are well supplied with documents containing charges, denials and counter charges, but it would not be expedient or profitable to follow the quarrel in detail. No doubt the agents were prone to do much complaining and fault finding while the army men responded with a patronizing attitude and cynical remarks about the "beef eating" policy of the Indian department. Once Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper took it upon himself to count the Indians or to attempt to count them and, according to the agent, almost caused a panic by proceeding without the assent and knowledge of the agents. The Indians were ever shy in the presence of soldiers and army officers. Naturally Leeper and Nighbors regarded Stoneman's conduct as an insult for it implied that their reports were not correct and that supplies were being fraudently drawn. Most of the army officers naturally sided with their fellow officer and the breach widened.[15]

In the spring of 1858, the army forces decided to remove Camp Cooper from its old location near the agency and Indian camps to a point some six or eight miles away from the agency. Leeper intimated that this was for the purpose of locating the post near a ranch owned by Captain Givens of the Second Dragoons.[16] However, it seems more plausible to conclude that the change was made as an act of spite and in retaliation against the charges made by the agents that the soldiers were not properly disciplined and were spending too much time among the Indians. When the agent protested at this move, complaining that he and his wards were left in a defenseless condition, the department commander of the

113 14. Bayler's report, September 12, 1854, Thirty-fourth Congress, Third Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 725. See also, George F. Price, Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry, (New York, 1883), p. 4.

113 15. George Stoneman, Captain Second Cavalry, Camp Cooper, to Neighbors, September 5, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, December 8, 1857, Ibid.

113 16. Leeper to Neighbors, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
[627] tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
[683] might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and
[627] her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

[113] 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 18. Neighbors to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 636.
[113] 19. Bayler to Neighbors, June 8, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops
657 until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858. Ibid.

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177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 157 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 [648] At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1856, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source
648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 824.

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648 but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, how-
657 ever tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic.
[166] When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

[113] 26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 8, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives) bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

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657 648 . . . We will attack the reserve with a sufficient force to *break it up* regardless of consequences.[27]

657 In January, 1858, a select committee of the state senate criticized severely the United States Indian policy in the state, referring to the fact that only a fraction of the Comanche Indians were located on the reservation and that friendly Indians were in the habit of passing and repassing into the settlements. Thus, they contended, wild Indians were mistaken for friendly ones and the white people were thus placed at the mercy of marauding bands. In addition to their recommendations for better military protection the committee stated that the agents should not permit the Indians to leave the reservations.[28]

[648] If these charges should be accepted at their face value they would represent within themselves rather convincing proof against the reservation Indians, but the records show that the whole issue was so completely shot through with bias and personal animosity that one is unable to know what to accept or reject. Reference has already been made to the ill feeling that pervailed between Robert S. Neighbors, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, and some of the army officers. Furthermore, John R. Baylor, who seems to have been dismissed from the Indian service through Neighbor's influence, led in much of the agitation.

657 648 But regardless of the merits or injustice of the charges brought against the reservation Indians feeling against them became so widespread and bitter that in February, 1858, Neighbors asked that special instructions be given the military to protect the reserve Indians from attacks by citizens. In May he made a trip to Washington to place the matter before the officials there, alleging that the soldiers could not be depended upon to protect the Indians because of the indifference of their officers.[29] In October, the sheriff of Young county, armed with a writ issued by the county court, set forth from Belknap with a posse of about forty citizens to arrest

[113] 27. W. G. Preston and others to M. Leeper, February 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. John R. Baylor, Comanche agent until he was dismissed in May, 1857, is among the signers of this letter to Leeper.

[113] 28. "Report of Select Committee on Indian Affairs," State Gazette, Austin, March 27, 1858. George B. Erath, Henry E. McCulloch, Forbes Brittin, J. W. Throckmorton, and E. B. Searborough composed the committee.

[113] 29. Neighbors to Mix, written at Washington, D. C., May 18, 1858. Neighbors complained that Major Paul, at Fort Belknap, Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper, and Captain Givens, who owned a ranch about six miles from the reservation, had opposed him all along and had tried to incite the citizens against the Indians.

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657 a reservation Indian charged with committing an attack on a young
648 man named Johnson some months before. On hearing of the approach of the party Neighbors called on Captain Palmer at Camp Cooper for an escort, advanced with the escort and met the sheriff's party some distance from the reservation and finally persuaded the party to give up their purpose. Whether the sheriff desisted because of the law in the case or by fear of the United States soldiers was a matter of doubt in the minds of observers.[30]

657 The complaints against the agents and the reservation Indians led to the sending of a special agent to investigate the administration of affairs. This agent, Thomas T. Hawkins, stayed at Camp Cooper for five weeks and every opportunity was given the complaintants to make their appearance and testify as to their charges; but few of them did so and nothing of consequence was submitted. Hawkins' report commended the agents and the administration of both reservations very highly. The critics alleged that the investigation was *ex parte* and that it was intended from the beginning to "whitewash" the record of the Indian administration in Texas; but we should have more sympathy with them if they had gone through with their part of the program and submitted whatever evidence they had.

Perhaps the strongest testimony in favor of the Comanches is
657 that of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson of the Ranger forces. They
648 came with their command to the vicinity of the reservation in the spring of 1858 when they and their officers were practically unanimous in the belief that the reservation Indians were committing depredations. These men were seasoned frontiersmen, had the frontiersmen's natural hatred and distrust of all Indians and were determined to secure evidence against the savages that could not be refuted. However, although they stayed for some time and sent out many scouts they found nothing whatever to confirm their suspicions. Ford states in his affidavit that when they found that
657 they could not secure any evidence against the Indians Captain Allison Nelson, one of the foremost critics of Neighbors, suggested to him that it would be very easy to make a trail leading into the reservation, but Ford would not hear to this. Nelson reported that the people in the vicinity of the reservation did not want it broken up and it was decided to abandon the idea. Ford quoted Nelson as

[113] 1858.

30. See the letter of a correspondent to the New York Herald, November 16,

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657 stating that Neighbors had always escaped from the attacks of his enemies, but that men were after him "now" who were going to get his job.[31]

648 Naturally so much excitement and ill will inspired cruelty. In
657 May, 1858, an inoffensive old Comanche was slain by a party of white men who wanted to get his horses and took advantage of the fact that he was away from the reservation without an escort or
000 pass.[32] Late in December, a little party of friendly Indians from the Brazos reservation, known as Choctaw Tom's party, were attacked in their camp at night near Palo Pinto, whither they had gone by the consent of their agent and where they were regarded by the people of the immediate community as friendly and dependable. In fact, Choctaw Tom, the leader of the party, had returned to the reservation, but some of his people had remained near Palo Pinto in order to accept an invitation of some citizens of the community to stay a little longer and hunt bear with them.[33] The party that attacked the Indians was composed of citizens of Erath and neighboring counties further down the Brazos valley. They alleged that these Indians had been committing depredations but there is very little foundation for this contention.

The killing of these Indians created general excitement along the frontier because of the fear that their tribesmen would retaliate. The men who made the unwarranted attack on Choctaw Tom's party were never arrested although the governor by special proclamation called for their arrest. The grand jury of Palo Pinto county refused to indict the men but instead, indicted Jose Maria, the Anadarko chief, for horse stealing and in their report stated that the reservations were nuisances and that the people ought to take up arms
648 against the Indians.[34] "Gatherings" of frontiersmen began to take place and many white men who had up to this time maintained a neutral or indifferent attitude began to join in the clamor against the savages. No doubt many of these men felt that the party from

113 31. Affidavit of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson, November 22, 1858. University of Texas photostat copy.

113 32. Shirley to Barnard, May 6, 1858; Evans to Leeper, May 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

113 33. J. J. Sturm, farmer at the Brazos agency, to Ross, December 28, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, Vol. I, p. 588. See also, the statement of Daniel Thornton, Peter Garland and others who attacked the Indians, made at Palo Pinto, January 4, 1859, Ibid, p. 606.

113 34. A copy of the report of the Grand Jury may be found in the Runnels Papers, Texas State Archives.

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648 Erath county had made a mistake in attacking the peaceful Indians, but they believed that the kinsmen of these Indians as well as the Comanches would retaliate and that there could be no peace on the frontier until both reservations were broken up. The agitators took advantage of this state of mind and never lost an opportunity to appeal to the fears and prejudices of the frontier people. It must not be understood that these men were "the very worst frontier characters" as the Indians agents sometimes charged. Among their leaders were John R. Baylor, former Indian agent; Peter Garland, of Erath county; R. W. Pollard, of Palo Pinto county; J. B. (Buck) Barry, of Bosque county, all prominent citizens in their communities and highly regarded by most of their neighbors. The years of bitter struggle with the Indians had hardened the hearts of the frontier people. As one of the more conservative of them has written in his memoirs, the frontier people were "always crazed at the sight of Indians and determined to kill,"[35] and when the safety of their families was involved they were wont to act first and investigate afterwards.

[657] However, notwithstanding these "gatherings" of frontiersmen with all their fear and frenzy no drastic action was taken during the winter of 1858-1859, which is to be accounted for in part, at least, by the firm attitude maintained by the army officers who were guarding the reservations. The immediate objective of these threatening movements had been the "lower" or Brazos reservation. This was not because the white men regarded these Indians as the more culpable but rather because they felt that both the Brazos and Comanche reservations must be broken up and the Brazos Indians being the more numerous and powerful were regarded as the chief obstacle to be overcome.

657 Long before this crisis came the agents had felt that the Indians should be moved from Texas and as early as the summer of 1857 Neighbors had recommended that they be taken to the Indian Territory.[36] But the authorities in Washington did not give any consideration to the proposal and it was dropped for the time. Then came the demonstrations against the Indians during the winter and spring of 1859, and Neighbors again insisted that if the Indians

[113] 35. "Memoirs of George B. Erath," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 18.
[113] 36. Neighbors to Mix, August 5, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 were not removed they would be driven away by the mad settlers. The government at Washington was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the agents became frantic in their effort to secure authority to do what they knew was essential to save their wards from destruction. Finally, on March 30, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the Indians would be moved in the fall or winter following. But this announcement did not satisfy the white people and Neighbors continued his efforts to secure authority to remove his wards at once.[37] Neighbors said that he and his associates had "stood their ground" so far, but that they wanted their superiors to share with them the responsibility for determining what should be done when the next crisis came, as it certainly would come. A little later came a resolution signed by a hundred and fifty men demanding that Neighbors and the resident agents, Ross and Leeper, resign.[38]

648 The situation was already critical enough when an army officer by an imprudent act provoked a disturbance that removed the last ray of hope for peace on the frontier until the Indians were removed. A Brazos reservation Indian named Fox, had been killed by a party of Jack county rangers in brutal fashion. This officer led a party of reservation Indians in search of Fox's slayers and caused great consternation by escorting them into the town of Jacksboro one night. This incident gave the radical party an excellent torch and they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement.[39] The citizens at once organized themselves into "ranger companies" and surrounded both reservations, threatening the Indians and their agents day and night and preventing the savages from gathering up
000 their stock.[40] On May 23, John R. Baylor at the head of about 250 men came onto the Brazos reservation; but the soldiers stood their ground and the citizens withdrew, not however, until they had picked a fight with some of the Indians. The Indians pursued them for some distance and considerable fighting took place.[41]
648 The settlers declared that they would raise a thousand men and take

[113] 37. Mix to Neighbors, March 30, 1859. Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 2, p. 631. Neighbors to Mix, April 11, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 38. "Resolutions," April 25, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 39. J. R. Worrall of Jacksboro, June 1, 1859, to the Editor, The Dallas Herald, June 15, 1859.

[113] 40. Neighbors to Mix, May 12, 1859, and Ross to Neighbors, May 12, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 41. Report of Captain J. B. Plummer, of the United States Army. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.

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648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches [422] left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches [425] took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

[113] 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 645-671.

[113] 43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

[113] 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him
657 before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning
000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made successful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and
657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The ex-
171 perience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 116.

46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 701. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

[113]

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657 the savages were loathe to accept the monotonous life of farming on
171 the reservation. The old and decrepit might gladly stay but the spirited young warriors would hie away taking with them when they could their families and friends. But the record made by these reservation Comanches proved that the nomadic tribes were amenable to progress and the equals intellectually of their more sedate kinsmen of the progressive agricultural tribes.

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VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

194 121 0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113] [1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114] My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[115] Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113] [2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

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194 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It
121 is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[3]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'kuʔ-okʷekʷaiʔu ʔ *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔokʷEkʷaiʔu ʔ *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phono-
194 logical junctures are the same. The gram-
193 matical structure is also comparable: each begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d*
196 *per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku- *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -kʷa *movement away*, the morpheme -i *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔu ʔ *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔokʷe means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

[3] idem. 26.

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194 *in the following morpheme*, whereas the
196 stem ʔokʷE is a complex stem composed of
193 ʔokʷe modified by the addition of the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing, and which has the semantic implication of *stem meaning resulting in action indicated by the following morpheme.*

194 Brought about by the occurrence of this same stem-final-unvoicing morpheme, and preceding -ki *movement toward*, similar contrasts between voiced and voiceless vowels can be observed, e.g. 'norīnakikiʔuʔ *he came to pack* versus 'norīnakIkīʔuʔ *he packed and came on.* Again, no phonological or morphological conditioning factors are present. Similar contrasts can be seen in 'mayakekiʔ-uʔ *he came to play* (e.g. *the piano*), 'mayakEkiʔuʔ *he played and came on*; ʔu'hanikīkiʔuʔ *he came to fix it for him* versus ʔu'hanikĪkiʔuʔ *he fixed it for him and came on*; ʔu'niʔaciki'uʔ *he came to advise him* compared with ʔu'niʔacIkiʔuʔ *he advised him and came on.* Another contrast preceding -kʷa can be observed in 'namakaʔ-mukikʷaiʔuʔ *he went to dress himself* versus 'namaka'mukIkʷaiʔuʔ *he dressed himself and went on.* -ki and -kʷa are interchangeable in any of the illustrations listed above.

2. Utilization of analogous data should prove profitable, contrasting /u/ /U/, /o/ /O/, /e/ /E/. Thus ʔu'ʔuhtukiʔuʔ *he came to give to her* contrasts with ʔu'ʔ-utUkiʔuʔ *he gave to her and came on*; 'nohkokiʔuʔ *she came to bake biscuits* with 'nokOkiʔuʔ *she baked biscuits and came on*; and ʔu'-manahkekiʔuʔ *he came to measure it* with ʔu'manakEkiʔuʔ *he measured it and came on.* These same stems occur with similar resultant contrasts preceding -kʷa.

Nothing in these word pairs is of such a nature or in such a position as to make a non-phonemic conditioning variation from voiced to voiceless a characteristic of the vowel. The theoretical possibility of /U/ /O/ being conditioned by voiced equivalents occurring in contiguous syllables preceding these voiceless vowels is partially eliminated

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194 by the occurrence of /E/ in a similar construction in which the preceding voiced vowel is not identical with it, that is, /a/. Instances of vowel assimilation have been observed, e.g. -ru?I *future tense* occurs as -ro?I in 'nohkoro?I?u? *she is going to bake biscuits*. Here, however, a change of vocalic timbre is involved rather than a change of voiced to voiceless. A more pertinent analogy may be noted in 'sikItī?u? *it is here*, 'sokOrī?-u? *it is over there*, 'sukUrī?u? *it is out of sight* and might seem to imply some sort of vowel agreement. However, e, indicating *scattered items*, occurring in a similar construction, results in 'sekItī?urīī *they are here and there*, not *'sekEtī?urīī.

Furthermore, limited instances of the occurrence of /U/ and /O/ in environments in which neighboring voiced vowels are not of the same vocoidal timbre with them have been observed, e.g. ?u'hotUkonīī *its hindquarters* and 'tuukOnenī?'ʁuni? *I saw a black cradle*, in which the voiceless phoneme /U/ is preceded and followed noncontiguously by voiced /o/, and in which the voiceless phoneme /O/ is preceded and followed noncontiguously by voiced /u/ and /e/ respectively.

The influence of neighboring voiced vowels as a criterion for predicting the distribution of the particular vocalic timbre of the voiceless vowels can be ruled out since voiceless vowels occur in contrast in identical environment where no conditioning element is present, as in '?ica?nī'rūpI *this is my stone* compared with '?ica?nī'rūpE *this is my mouth*; and in nonconditioning analogous environment, e.g. '?ica?nī'kūkA *this is my onion*, '?ica?nī'hūkI *this is my arbor*, '?ica?nī'?eekO *this is my tongue*.

In the analogy '?uhtu-, '?utU-; 'nohko-, 'nokO-; the presence or absence of /h/ (phonetically [U] or [O] in these instances) as a possible conditioning factor can be discounted since /h/ does occur (though rarely) contiguous to a syllable containing a voiceless vowel syllabic, as in nī'?uhtU *give it to me* compared with 'kimA *come!* or '?ica?nī'-

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194 wahcĪ *this is my rib* versus ʼʼicaʔnīʼnakI *this is my ear*.

It may be noted here, furthermore, that there is frequently morpho-phonemic alternation between a pre-consonantal /h/ and a post-consonantal voiceless vowel preceding certain suffixes. Compare the stem alternants ʼpohpi- and ʼpopI- before the suffix -tuʔI *future tense* and -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* in the illustrations ʼpohpituʔIniʔ *I am going to jump* and ʼpopIciniʔʼmiaruʔI *having jumped, I will go*.

The contrast /a/, /A/ is extremely rare due to the low frequency of occurrence of /A/ and its frequent morpho-phonemic alternation with /Ī/. Whereas the analogies ʼpohpi-, ʼpopI-; ʼcoʔme-, ʼcoʔmE-; ʼʼuhtu-, ʼʼutU- preceding -ki, -kʷa and other morphemes are common, the analogy ʼtĩhka-, *ʼtĩkA- would be erroneous. Rather, the second form would be ʼtĩkĪ-. However, preceding -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* and ci, a syllable in the stem ʼniʔaci- *to advise*, a valid contrast can be observed, e.g. ʼmiʔAciniʔʼtĩhkaruʔI *having gone, I will eat* versus ʔuʼniʔaciki?uʔ *he came to advise him*.

128 The preceding illustrations have given crucial contrastive data for each of the six vowel pairs. The following miscellaneous sets of forms supplement those given above and the phonemicization postulated in reference to them.

194 In the first set of examples, the contrast between /i/, /I/ occurs following stops and preceding the identical morpheme -nĩĩ *plural*, e.g. ʼpapinĩĩ *heads*, ʼnakInĩĩ *ears*,
194 ʼtĩnoowapInĩĩ *teachers*, ʼtoʔInĩĩ *pipes*. Note that it was a pair of this type which Jakob-
114 son used for his spectrographic analysis: ʼtĩrĩʔaiwapInĩĩ *hired hands* and ʼtĩpinĩĩ
114 *stones*. At the time the tape was sent to him, the minimal pairs quoted above had not been discovered and none occur in the data of Riggs and Smalley. Nevertheless, the earlier data of contrast in analogous (non-conditioning) environment appeared to all

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114 of us conclusive even before the newer minimal pairs had been discovered and which have been included above.

194 In a specialized verb compound composed of noun plus verb, /i/, /I/ contrast preceding juncture in the set 'papiwīnĪkatīnī? *I have a headache* compared with 'nakIwīnĪkatīnī? *I have an earache.*

As the first syllable of a two syllable stem, the contrast /ī/, /Ī/ may occur in stem syllables *not* contiguous to another morpheme following, as in the set 'tīkᵛiɩukitī?u? *he is whipping* (*something*) compared with ?u'kīkᵛIya?etī?u? *he habitually tastes it.* Here, the stem in the second instance is -kᵛIya- so that the unvoicing is not a product in this instance of a change at morpheme boundaries. Possible conditioning by the morpheme kī- *use of mouth or teeth* preceding, can be discounted by 'kī?okᵛetī?-u? *he is slobbering*, in which the vowel in the syllable following kī- is voiced, i.e. /o/.

Though the morphemes -kī *benefactive* and -ki *movement toward* differ morphologically, in the following set they present a phonologically nonconditioning environment in which to contrast /e/, /E/, e.g. ?u'-wīhtokᵛekitī?u? *he is killing for her* versus ?urii'wīhtokᵛEkitī?u? *he is killing them and coming on.*

The next sets of illustrations show contrast between /ī/ and /Ī/. They can be observed, for example, preceding -ka *stative* and -?e *habitual* in ?u'karīkī?etī?u? *she habitually cooks it* compared with ?u'karīkĪkatī?u? *she is cooking it.* Note also the occurrence of voiced /Ī/ preceding -ru?I *future tense* compared with the voiceless phoneme /Ī/ within a complex verb stem, as in the constructions 'pitīru?I?u? *he will arrive* and 'patĪrīyaai?u? *he drowned.* Preceding the dependent clause clitic -ku *dependent action being performed by secondary subject* and -ka, a like clitic denoting *completed dependent action*, a similar contrast is noted, e.g. '?uhka?u'karīkīkuma?'mi?a?I *as she was boiling that, he went* versus '?uhka?u'karīkĪkama?'mi?a?I *when he boiled that, he went.*

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194 Contrast in a slightly different type of situation can be seen in the following instances in which /ĩ/, /Ĩ/ occur in syllables immediately preceded by morphemes, e.g. following nĩ- *person* and wĩ- *instrumental* in 'nĩpĩkarĩ?u? *he is burying someone* and ?u'wĩpĨkarĩ?u? *he is cutting it open*. However, stem syllables do not always unvoice following wĩ- as in ?u'wĩnucai?u? *he broke it up* compared with ?u'wĩnĨkĩ?i?u? *he tightened it*. The phonetic similarity of the syllable ka immediately following the contrast in the first set presents a valid nonconditioning environment in which to compare the occurrence of /ĩ/, /Ĩ/. Furthermore, ka in each instance is a part of different unrelated stems (-pĩka- *to bury*, -pĨka- *to cut open*) so that no morpheme boundary is involved.

Another type of analogical data is herewith mentioned, e.g. ?u'wĩminaru?I?u? *he will break it* compared with ?u'wĩmInaru?-I?u? *he will get sick over it*. The second example is written phonetically as [?u'wĩMInaru?I?u?]. This constitutes a legitimate contrast since the allophones [m], [M] are conditioned by their relationship to vowels and not vice versa. That is to say, the total distribution of the phones [M], [N], [R], [W], [Y], [P], [k^{w}], as opposed to their allophonic voiced equivalents, is preceding voiceless vowels. These voiceless consonant phones do not contrast with their voiced equivalents at any point, whereas voiceless vowel phonemes do contrast with their voiced vowel phoneme equivalents following /p/, /t/, /k/, etc. Other examples are ?u'haniki?u? *he came to do it* compared with ?u'hanIki?u? *he did it and came on*; ?u'-rĩrĩnitĩ?u? *he told him to do something* versus ?u'rĩrĨni?i?u? *he planted it*; and 'norĩnaki?u? *she packed up* compared with 'norĨnaki?u? *she came to make a bed*.

3. Phonetic voiceless vocoids in nonsyllabic position are phonemically interpreted as consonantal /h/ because of their

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194 **noncontrastive phonetic characteristics.** In postposed position, e.g. ['paAkipĬ], /'pahkipĬ/ *leather*, ['wiInu], /'wihnu/ *then*, ['noOkopĬ], /'nohkopĬ/ *biscuits*, ['paAMU], /'pahmU/ *tobacco*, ['seEka], /'sehka/ *those here and there*, ['tĩĬkapĬ], /'tĩhkapĬ/ *meat*, such vocoids always occur contiguous to, and have the same vocalic timbre as the voiced vowel syllabic. Such sequences as *aĬ, *iU, *oE, with diverse timbre between voiced and voiceless, are structurally impossible in Comanche. In [cvV] syllables, the voiced vowel is clearly heard as the peak of sonority. Thus, the distribution of /h/ in 'pohpi- *to jump* parallels the distribution of the consonant /ʔ/ in 'naʔnĩmĩnĩ *relatives*.

Similarly, pre-syllabic voiceless vocoids in utterance initial syllables, e.g. ['UuuUpI], /'huuhpI/ *tree*, ['AaʔnII], /'haʔnII/ *beaver*, ['ĬĩkI], /'hĩĩkI/ *brush arbor*, more closely parallel consonant distribution since all consonants except /n/ and /r/ occur utterance initially, whereas voiced vowels do not. In addition, the vocoidal timbre of the pre-syllabic element here is completely conditioned by that of the following voiced vowel so that no voccid sequence such as *Ĭa, *Ui, *Eo ever occurs.

Pre-syllabic voiceless vocoids also occur in the middle of words following /ʔ/, e.g., as in the sequence cvʔVv in ['naʔĬimuukU], /'naʔhĩmuukU/ *safety pin*. Interpretation of [V] as /h/ in this position reasonably follows since this position is otherwise normally occupied by consonants. For example, note 'ciʔciikiʔuʔ *he strangled*, ʔu'roʔnikaiʔuʔ *he put it away*. Here again, the voiceless vocoid in [cvʔVv] is completely conditioned by the following voiced vowel.

Phonetic voiceless vocoids occurring between voiced vowels have no distinguishing vocalic timbre, being phonetically colored at beginning and ending by the respective contiguous voiced vowels, as in 'nohituʔIniʔ *I am going to play*. Here, the phoneme /h/ is phonetically a vocoidal slur from a

[p.66-B]

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukĪni *a stable*, 'nanUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /Ī/ of 'puhakĪni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may
195 vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.

194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her
114 Analysis B in which consonant clusters resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant
121 are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hn and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

[p.67-A]

194 sonants for ʔs, ʔm, ʔy, etc., which would
reduce the number of consonant clusters to
114 zero but would produce thirteen more new
121 phonemes. All possible combinations of ʔ
followed by a consonant occur except ʔʔ.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ʔc and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ʰ'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ʰ'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p.67-B]

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[title page]

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DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

128 121 121 128 121

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects. [122]

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Mido, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931. [114] [113]

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125 Of the 79 Comanches here reported 27 are males and 52
[144] are females. Thirty-four are full-blood or probably full-blood, 41 are mixed (especially with 'Mexican') or probably mixed, and 4 are questionable. The prints were obtained by Goldstein in the course of other work on the physical anthropology of the Comanches, and the foregoing statement of the racial composition of the sample is based upon individual diagnoses employing the usual criteria (Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, character of hair, eye color, facial features, inquiry respecting geneaology, etc.). While there was no specific investigation into possible family relationships among the individuals in the series, the circumstances of collection indicate that close relationships are negligible in number if present at all.

128 The prints, prepared by the common printers' ink method,
125 are generally of excellent technical quality, and in many cases there are duplicate impressions. In certain determinations the full series of seventy-nine subjects cannot be utilized. Two subjects are each represented by prints of but one hand, and occasionally a print may be incomplete or indecipherable
128 in a critical territory. Such instances are appropriately set aside in the calculations, and it is to be emphasized that all omissions of prints in the several calculations are due solely to this correction, every available observation having been included.

The methods of interpretation and formulation of the apical finger patterns follow Galton (1892); the palmar features are formulated after Cummins et al. ('29).

Palmar main lines

142 The terminations of palmar main lines are summarized in table 1. Line A shows a high frequency of terminations in the proximal palmar margin (positions 1 and 2) and in the more proximal portion of the ulnar margin (position 3). Line C presents an exceptional abundance of suppressed and abortive states (formulated X, x, and O in accordance with the specific character of the line), which occur in 25.5 per cent

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of the hands. Line D is very rarely subject to such suppression or reduction, but in this series there are two hands so distinguished. The terminations of line D, grouped in the modal types of Cummins and Midlo ('26), are as follows: type 7, 28.1 per cent; type 9, 48.7 per cent; type 11, 23.2 per cent. The main-line formulae may be grouped in accordance with the suggestion of Wilder ('22), who points out that in any racial collection the majority of the formulae (omitting

TABLE 1

Terminations of the palmar main lines, stated in terms of the percentile occurrence of each position. Compiled from 77 right palms and 79 lefts. R, right; L, left

POSITION	LINE A			LINE B			LINE C			LINE D		
	R	L	Average	R	L	Average	R	L	Average	R	L	Average
1	1.3	30.4	15.8									
2	1.3	8.9	5.1									
3	42.9	38.0	40.4		2.5	1.2						
4	16.9	10.1	13.5		1.3	0.6						
5'	37.7	12.7	25.2	3.9	19.0	11.4						
5"				58.4	59.5	58.9	10.4	29.1	19.7			
6				6.5	2.5	4.5	10.4	3.8	7.1			
7				29.9	15.2	22.5	26.0	22.8	24.4	11.7	27.8	19.7
8				1.3		0.6				10.4	3.8	7.1
9							35.1	10.1	22.6	40.3	48.1	44.2
10							1.3		0.6	6.5	2.5	4.5
11										31.2	15.2	23.2
X							2.6	11.4	7.0		1.3	0.6
x							2.6	5.1	3.8			
O							11.7	17.7	14.7		1.3	0.6

line A) are of three characteristic forms. In this series the frequencies are: 7.5.5.–, 17.2 per cent; 9.7.5.–, 37.7 per cent; 11.9.7.–, 21.9 per cent; all others, 23.1 per cent.

Axial triradii

All the prints in the collection, namely, 77 right palms and 79 lefts, admit positive determinations of axial triradii. The occurrences are: 0, 1.3 per cent; t, 65.4 per cent; t', 29.5 per cent; t", 1.3 per cent; tt', 1.9 per cent; tt", 0.6 per cent. There is no significant bimanual distinction in the frequencies of the several types.

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Palmar patterns

142 The occurrence of patterns in the five palmar areas are
128 listed in table 2. It will be understood that in each case the determination aims only to distinguish the occurrence of patterns and patternless configurations. Each figure in the table applies to the frequency of patterns, while the implied percentile remainder indicates the frequency of patternless configurations.

142 Especially outstanding, in the figures of table 2, are the low frequency of hypothenar patterns and the abundance of the thenar/first interdigital.

TABLE 2

Percentile occurrences of true patterns and pattern vestiges (not including 'multiplications') of the five palmar areas. Compiled from 77 right palms and 79 lefts

PATTERN	RIGHT, PER CENT	LEFT, PER CENT	AVERAGE, PER CENT
Hypothenar	15.6	19.0	17.3
Thenar/First interdigital	28.6	41.8	35.2
Second interdigital	2.6	2.5	2.5
Third interdigital	41.6	19.0	30.3
Fourth interdigital	54.5	73.4	63.9

Apical finger patterns

[128] Calculation of the total frequencies of the pattern types is based upon sixty-seven individuals, the remainder of the finger-print sets being incomplete and thus unsuited to the determination. In these 670 prints the distribution of pattern types is as follows: whorls, 43.3 per cent; radial loops, 1.9
142 per cent; ulnar loops, 48.5 per cent; arches, 6.3 per cent. The corresponding figures in Downey's series of fifty Arapahoes
144 (loc. cit.) are: whorls, 47.6 per cent; radial loops, 3.6 per cent; ulnar loops, 44.2 per cent; arches, 4.6 per cent. It would appear that the abundance of whorls is a substantial Indian trait.

128 In view of the high frequency of whorls, it may be of interest to state the composition of the material in terms of

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a newly devised 'index of pattern intensity' (Cummins and M. Steggerda, unpublished manuscript). The index of pattern intensity is an expression which reduces the pattern composition of the individual finger-print set to an integral value. It is based on the assumption that arches, loops, and whorls represent successively increasing weights of pattern intensity. These configurations are assigned, respectively, the values of 0, 1, and 2. The index of pattern intensity of the individual is simply the sum of the ten digital values. The indices thus range from 0 to 20. 128

The mean index of pattern intensity in this Comanche series is 13.7 ± .31. While the available collections computed 142 000

TABLE 3

Percentile occurrences of pattern types for each digit. R, right; L, left 142

DIGITS	I		II		III		IV		V	
Hands	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L
Number of digits compiled	71	73	75	75	76	79	76	77	75	76
Arches	2.8	1.4	16.0	14.7	5.3	7.6	1.3	2.6	4.0	2.6
Radial loops	1.4	1.4	8.0	5.3				2.6		
Ulnar loops	33.8	37.0	36.0	36.0	68.4	63.3	26.3	29.9	80.0	80.3
Whorls	62.0	60.0	40.0	44.0	26.3	29.1	72.4	64.9	16.0	17.1

on this basis (Cummins and M. Steggerda, MS.) are likewise small and consequently associated with a large probable error, the following indices are noted for comparison: Eskimos, 14.25 ± .35; Jews, 13.84 ± .18; European-Americans, 12.70 ± .24; Dutch (a selected family series), 11.09 ± .23. 000

The distribution of the indices in the Comanche series may be compactly stated by dividing the 21 indices into 7 classes, identifying each class by its center as follows: 1, 0 per cent; 4, 1.5 per cent; 7, 9 per cent; 10, 15 per cent; 13, 31.3 per cent; 16, 22.4 per cent; 19, 20.9 per cent. 142 128

The distributions of pattern types, separately for each digit, are shown in table 3. While the series is too small to justify a positive conclusion, there is a suggestion of a 142

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142 tendency toward suppression of the characteristic dextral superiority in the occurrence of whorls. In this connection it may be remarked that there is yet another indication of suppression of a characteristic bimanual difference, expressed [144] in the palmar hypothenar pattern. And it should not be forgotten that corresponding bimanual comparisons, involving both apical and hypothenar patterns have been previously reported in Indians of southern Mexico and Central America (Cummins, '30).

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE

128 Inasmuch as individual diagnoses of racial admixture are available, it is possible to isolate the series of full-bloods for separate analysis. This separation is suggested not only by the obvious desirability of treating a full-blood stock when it can be secured, but also by the known results of admixture in Jamaican black-white crosses (L. D. Steggerda). In the Jamaican crosses the "Brown individuals approximate the Blacks more nearly than they do the Whites" in dermato-
142 glyphic features. It is evident that traits of the Comanches
144 are not generally obscured by the inclusion in the sample of a large proportion of mixed stock, and it may be assumed
128 accordingly that either the sources of admixture are closely allied in their dermatoglyphics or that the Comanche traits dominate the admixture. The separate calculations of palmar main lines, palmar patterns, and apical finger patterns reveal but one item in which the incidences are significantly different in the selected full-bloods. This feature is the hypothenar pattern, which occurs in only 4 per cent of the full-blood hands. With this exception, therefore, it is evident that the inclusion of mixed-bloods has not vitiated the series as a sample of Comanche dermatoglyphics.

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SUMMARY

This series, comprising seventy-nine Comanche Indians, 142
presents the following noteworthy features in the palmar dermatoglyphics:

Line A is characterized by the abundance of very low terminations. Line C is frequently abortive or absent. Line D does not commonly extend far radialward. Hypothenar patterns are infrequent, while thenar/first interdigital patterns are abundant. Apical finger patterns present a high frequency of whorls.

Though the report is presented as a mere record of find- 144
ings, without comparison with other races, it may be noted 121
that there are suggestive likenesses to the Eskimos and to 142
the Indians of southern Mexico and Central America.

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 124 101

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

W 539 171

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ă'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

C 539 171

W 825

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

C W 539 171 113

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

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C W 539 171 occurs in the same combination as in the Wind River version; the union of these two elements seems to be peculiar to these Shoshonean groups. In one myth, the widely diffused story of the hoodwinked dancers precedes Coyote's defeat in a handicap race as told at Lemhi. "The C 539 171 Deserted Children" joins a familiar Prairie tale with an ogre story. Coyote's humiliation of a white fellow-trickster is exactly paralleled in Lemhi mythology. The account of the liberation of hoarded buffalo for the benefit of mankind has rather close homologues among the Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre. In an interesting composite myth, both the regulation of the seasons and the origin of death are accounted for. W [539] [171] The first part is a somewhat more elaborate parallel of published Lemhi and Wind River narratives. As in Blackfoot mythology, the mortality of man is determined by the sinking of a rock.

1. THE BUNGLING HOST[1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

W 539 [171] (The animals visited are Beaver, Owl, and Elk. The only noteworthy peculiarity of this version, as compared with that from Lemhi, is the resuscitation of Beaver's children when their bones are thrown into the water.)

2. PORCUPINE AND COYOTE[2]

(*Shoshone Story*)

(One of Coyote's children takes the place of Coyote's excrement as his guardian.)

3. COYOTE'S FLIGHT

(*Shoshone Story*)

Coyote was walking along. He saw a bear digging. Coyote looked at him through the grass. "You bob-tailed bear!" he cried. The bear charged on him, but Coyote ran off. Then he cried, "You crop-eared bear!" The bear ran towards him. Coyote said, "You are a bear, you cannot catch me." The bear pursued him. When he was close to him, Coyote cried, "You cannot run through the brush," and took to the brush; but the bear followed him through the brush. When he was close to the fugitive, Coyote cried, "You are a bear, you cannot swim." He jumped into the water. The bear followed in; Coyote got to the other side, and ran on. "You are a bear, you cannot run on the prairie." But again the bear was gaining on him. Coyote got to a buffalo. "O brother-in-law! the bear is after me." — "Well, stand behind me!" The bear caught up to them. The buffalo advanced, hooked and killed him. Thus he saved Coyote.

Coyote walked on. He met a stranger. The man told him, "Over there on that hill there is a bad rock. If any one takes any of the pile of beads

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 265. [2] *Ibid.* p. 267.

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on it, it will pursue and kill him." — "Is that so?" Coyote went to the rock, took some beads, scratched dirt on it, and went away. The rock followed his tracks. (Then follows the story of the rolling rock.)[1] W 539

4. DREADNOUGHT

(*Shoshone Story*)

A young man was walking along. He met a stranger, who said to him, "You must not lie down in the cracks of the rocks. Some bad men will poke around there to find you." When it got dark, the young man, nevertheless, went to the rocks, and stuck his arrows upward. In the night the bad men came and poked around there. They stuck themselves with his arrows, and went away. The next day the young man met another stranger, who warned him against bad rocks in his path. The youth tied pieces of flint to his feet. He walked through the rocks, breaking them with the flint. He continued on his way, and met another youth, who warned him against snakes. Again he tied flint to his feet. The snakes merely cut themselves against the flint. He walked on and met another man, who warned him against a bad tree. He walked towards it and threw his blanket under it. The tree fell on his blanket, and broke asunder.[2] He walked on and met another young man. The stranger said to him, "There are two bad old women over there. They call people to their lodge, then they strike and kill them with their elbows." The young man went to them. He peeped in at the door, and asked them for food. They bade him enter. Instead of passing in between them, he held out his blanket. They pierced it with their elbows, and, striking each other, were killed.[3] The young man ate up their food, and went away.

5. THE FOILED LOVERS

(*Shoshone Story*)

Two comrades were looking around for girls. One of them entered a girl's house. As he was crawling in, a pet owl belonging to the young woman breathed noisily. The man asked, "What's that you say?" Then the owl grabbed him by the cheek. He ran out. His comrade ran after him, asking, "What is the matter with you?" — "Look at my eyes," he said. They could not pull the owl off. Then the man's comrade tried to cut the bird's neck with his knife, but it only held on the tighter. Then they tried to cut its leg. They could not cut it. Finally they twisted its neck and killed it.

They went to a different place. The other man wished to try this time. "Sit down on those buffalo-hides," said the other man. The

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 262.

[2] Compare Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, p. 84.

[3] The incident also occurs in Assiniboine mythology. It is found in the Dakota Potiphar tale (Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, p. 140).

W [171]

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young man went, and thought he was going to sit on the robes; but a colt rose with him, bucked around, and threw him into the brush. His comrade came to him. "They have found us out." Then they gave up their plan.

6. THE STAR-HUSBAND [1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

Once two young girls were lying outside their lodge and counting the stars. They said, "Would that those stars would come to us!" The next morning their people broke camp. The two girls were continually losing their belongings, and fell behind the rest of the people. They lost their paint-bags and went back for them. They found them and followed the trail. Looking back, they beheld two men, who soon caught up to them, and asked, "Do you two know us?" — "No," said the girls. Then the young men said, "We are those two stars you wished to come to you last night." Then the girls recognized them. The stars said, "We will take you above with us." The girls consented. Then all went up above. The stars married them.

Once, after a long time, one of the women said to her husband, "I am going with the others to dig roots." The star said, "Yes, but be sure not to dig up a big one." The woman went. While she was digging, she thought to herself, "I wonder why he forbade my digging up a big one." She dug up a big root. Looking down, she saw all her people. She came home crying. Her husband, knowing what she had done, said, "I told you not to look." The woman said, "I am going home." Her husband consented to let her go. The next morning all the people went hunting. They killed lots of buffalo. The next day they cut the skin into strips of rope. The woman's husband said to her, "Well, attach your child firmly; to-morrow they will let you down. When you get back home, you must tell your brothers not to look at your baby." In the morning they tied up the child and let down the woman with it. One of her brothers lying in his lodge saw her descending. "What is that falling from above?" The rest of the people looked for what he had seen, but could not detect it. "Something is the matter with your eyes," they said. He insisted he had seen something. After a while he again told them about it. Then they could see it. While they were gazing at the woman, she dropped to the ground. They untied the child. She said to them, "You must not see this child of mine." She lived with them for a long time. One day she went out to fetch wood, leaving her child at home. While she was gone, a sore-eyed brother of hers thought, "I wonder why she always said we must not see it." He arose and looked at it. She had said it was a baby, but he only found buckskin bundled up. Unwrapping it, he took some for a breech-clout. His sister returned. She cried when

[1] Wissler and Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 58.

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she found her child gone. Then she declared to her parents and her brothers, "I am going to follow my child's tracks." She went and touched the sky-rope, tied herself to it, and was pulled up to the sky. Her relatives all cried. They seized her youngest brother, the sore-eyed one, and threw him into the fire.

7. THE EYE-JUGGLER[1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

Coyote was eating rose-berries. He heard some yüba'çidunò (a species of birds) crying, "Eyes, eyes!" He said, "Oh, I hear my brothers!" and ran toward them. They came up to him. "Halloo, my brothers! What are you eating? Tell me, and I will go with you." — "We are eating yampas (wild carrots)." — "How do you eat them?" — "We just throw our eyes on the brush, then the yampas fall down to us, together with our eyes. Throw your eyes on the brush now, crying, 'Eyes, eyes!'" Then Coyote threw his eyes up, and the yampas fell down to him. He ate them. "Oh, they are good!" he said. "This is a fine trick. Let us go around together now and practise it." He went with them, and they all fed on yampas. After a while Coyote said, "My brothers, I can do this by myself, too." He left them. He threw his eyes on a big brush, and the yampas fell down. He ate them. "This is good," he said. "I will always continue to do this." Again he threw his eyes on a big tree, crying, "Eyes, eyes!" His eyes did not come back to him. He repeatedly tried to get them back, but failed. Giving up hope, he went away.

Coyote got to the bank of a river, and sat down. On the other side he heard the jingling of bells.[2] "What kind of girls are you two?" he cried. — "We two are Ya'yaru girls. What kind of a man are you?" — "I am a Ya'yaru man," he replied. They said, "Come over to our side." — "No, do you two cross over here." The girls came over to him, and offered to build a shade-lodge. They went upstream and erected it. Coyote sat down inside. After a while he went out at one side of the entrance. When returning, he again missed the door. The girls said, "Why do you never use the entrance?" — "Don't try to tell me," he answered; "if we went out by the entrance, the enemy might charge upon us." They told him there were some buffalo resting on the hill. Coyote offered to kill one for them. He packed his quiver, and left, scenting for the buffalo-tracks. At last he got close to them, and repeatedly shot at them. By accident he hit one buffalo, and tried to locate it by its odor. The girls came running to him. "Oh, what are you looking for?" — "I am looking for my arrows." — "Why, you are standing on one of them." — "Well, I see it, but I won't pick it up before I find another one." At last he begged the girls to look for his arrows, and

[1] Wissler and Duvall, *l. c.* p. 29.
[2] For the following incidents, cf. Lowie, *l. c.* pp. 272, 273.

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they began to search. In the mean time he had found the slain buffalo, and skinned it, but split the skin in the wrong place. The girls returned with the arrows. "Oh, what are you doing?" — "What have I done?" — "Why, you cut the skin in the wrong place." He answered, "No, the larger piece is meant for the bigger one of you, and the other one is for the smaller one." Then they helped him, and they got through skinning. They carried the game home, and roasted the ribs. As they were sitting there, one of the girls said, "Something on the other side has a bad smell." — "It is the buffalo I killed."

After the meal, Coyote said, "I wish one of you to louse me." He rested his feet on one girl's lap, and the other began to pick his lice. The girl sitting at his feet happened to look into his face, and cried, "Why, there is a worm coming out of his eyes!" Then both examined his eyes, and found them full of worms. They went out, brought in a rotten log, and laid his head on it, while they placed his feet on a rock. Then they took their belongings, hung his quiver on a tree, and fled.

When Coyote woke up, he said, "Oh, louse me!" His head bumped against the log. He found that the women were gone. He tried to find them, but in vain. He also failed to discover his quiver. At last, by smelling around, he found it, and by scenting also found the girls' tracks. He ran along, and caught up to them. When he was close, they threw their bells down a cliff. Coyote heard the bells drop, and tumbled after them. The women laughed at him. "What is the sightless Coyote doing down there?" He said, "You are just talking. I have killed a big mountain-sheep, and am eating its marrow." The girls went home and told about him.

Coyote's older brother went to look for him. Finally he found him and brought him back. For a while he was sick, then he recovered. One day Coyote played at na'hanid. His brother bet on his success. Coyote missed the mark, and his side lost. After Coyote had gone to bed and was asleep, his brother looked at his eyes, and found that he was blind. "He's blind, that is why we were beaten." Early in the morning, while Coyote was still sleeping, his brother took a yearling buffalo's eyes and inserted them in the sleeping Coyote's sockets. Then he roused his younger brother. Coyote saw well. He repeatedly defeated the people at the game. This is how Coyote came to have a yearling buffalo's eyes.

8. DZŌ'AVITS[1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

Dove was living with her two young ones. Once, while the mother was away, Dzō'avits stole the children. When Dove returned and found her children gone, she went to look for them. She got close to Dzō'avits'

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[1] In Lemhi myths (Lowie, *l. c.* pp. 254–262), Dzō'avits is a gigantic ogre frequently combated by the Weasels.

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house and began to cry. Dzō'avits came out and scolded her. "Oh, what are you bothering around here for? You might as well go away, or I will beat you to death." She left. She met an Eagle, who asked her what she was looking for and why she was crying. She told him that Dzō'avits had stolen her young ones. Eagle gave her some tallow of an animal he had killed, its paunch, and some of his fuzzy feathers. Then he bade her go near the Dzō'avits' house. He hung his game on a high pine and told Dzō'avits to get it in the morning. Dzō'avits set out to fetch it, but could not get it down. While he was being delayed, Eagle freed the young Doves, who fled with their mother.

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In the evening Dzō'avits returned. When he found his captives gone, he was furious. He followed their tracks, and nearly caught up to them. When he was very close, they were at the bank of a river, where a Crane was seated. "Dzō'avits is after my young ones, I wish you would help us across." Crane extended his leg as a bridge. "Well, cross over on my leg," he said. They crossed, and ran on.[1] Then Dzō'avits got to Crane. He asked whether the Doves had crossed there. "Yes," said Crane. Then Dzō'avits asked how they had crossed, and Crane told him. "Well, stretch out your leg for me, too." Crane extended his leg. While Dzō'avits was crossing the middle of the river, Crane pulled up his leg. Dzō'avits fell into the water. He swam, and reached the other bank. Then he again followed the fugitives' tracks.

Dzō'avits was again gaining on them. They got to a Chickadee. "Dzō'avits is after my children, help us cross," said the mother. "Well," said Chickadee, "enter my nostrils." They entered his nostrils. Chickadee blew them to the other side of the river. Then they continued their flight. Dzō'avits got to Chickadee, and inquired about the Doves. Chickadee told him how he had blown them to the other side. "Well, then blow me, too, to the other side." Chickadee bade him enter his nostrils, but only blew him into the middle of the river. Dzō'avits swam to the other bank. He again followed the Doves' tracks.

When he was close to them, the old Dove said to a Weasel, "Dzō'avits is after me, save us in some way." Weasel began to dig up the ground. "Go in here," he said. They entered, walked underground, and came out again at a great distance. Weasel then dug up the earth in another place. Dzō'avits came, and asked, "Did the Doves go in here?" Weasel said, "Yes, they have gone in here." — "Well, I also want to go in." He entered, but could not find anything. He got out again, and continued his pursuit.

When Dzō'avits got close to them, the old Dove threw down her tallow. It turned into a deep gulch behind them. Dzō'avits could not get through. He looked for a path. At last he found one and ran on. When he was close once more, Dove threw her paunch behind her. It turned into a big

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 254.

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cliff. Dzō'avits could not climb up. He looked for a path. At last he found one. He ran on. When he had nearly caught up to them, she threw down her feathers. They turned into a fog. Dzō'avits lost the trail. At last he found it again, and ran on. When he was close again, Dove asked a Badger to save them in some way. Badger dug a hole, and bade them enter. When they were inside, he dug another hole and built a fire. Dzō'avits got to the place, and asked whether the Doves had entered there. Badger told him they had. "Well, I also wish to go in." He entered. As soon as he was inside, Badger heated rocks red-hot and cast them down, plugging up the hole. Then he called out to the Doves, "I have already killed Dzō'avits. Come out! You can go."

9. THE ROC [1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

Two Weasels went hunting. They killed some game, and dried the meat. The older brother said to the younger, "It is not good to eat at night. If any one builds a fire at night in this place, a bad owl will carry him away. You had best cook meat now, then you will not have to build a fire at night." The younger man cooked plenty of meat, lay down, and ate in bed. He ate up all he had cooked. During the night he rose and built a fire. "Oh, don't build a fire!" said the older man. His brother answered, "Oh, don't make believe it is bad! I will beat it to death." He laid a bone among the food. He ate and sang. After a while a loud sound was heard. He took the bone, and sat listening. The Owl came near and sat down. He struck at him with the bone, knocking him down. Owl seized the man, and carried him to his island home. Two young men were there, and one old woman. The young men told the new-comer, "To-morrow he will eat one of us." He replied, "In the morning we will kill him." Next day Owl killed one of the young men, ate part of him, and went hunting. While he was gone, the two surviving young men dug a hole, and put a flint on the blood of the slain victim, sticking it through his flesh. Owl returned, ate of the corpse, and was killed by the flint. The two youths went into the hole, took the bird's wing, and made a boat of it. As they were starving, they ate the old woman. Then they returned home.

10. COSMOGONIC FRAGMENTS

(*Shoshone Story*)

Our own Father (Ā'pō) made us.[2] First of all, he made the moose, then the elk, then the buffalo, then the deer, the mountain-sheep, the antelope,

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 283. The story is a fragment of the Lemhi Lodge-Boy and Throwa-Away myth. The Owl corresponds to the mythical bird Nūneyunc.

[2] In the text there follow these two sentences: —

Ija apō gonɛ ma wehenge. damɛ-n- divij apō ke da sumbanain.
Wolf father fire him burnt. Our own father not we know.

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the crane, the chief of the birds, the big black eagle, the white-tailed bald eagle, the chicken-hawk (gi'ni) and the hŏ'mara, the owl, the crow, the magpie, and the dogo'a-rü'ka (snake-eater). Our Father made everything; he made us.

Our Father sent the Crow, who was sitting on a high mountain, to bring earth. "Get earth! I will once more create the drowned people." Then the Crow flew away, and after a while came back to the creator. "You must have been eating the drowned people. You stink. Go back! — Now, you, little Chickadee, bring dirt! Then I'll create all the people again." When the Chickadee returned with dirt, our Father made the earth and sky. We now walk on the ground he made. He said, "Now, my children, pray to me; then I will listen to you, and take pity on you."

The whole earth was covered with water. Only on a high mountain there was a dry spot.[1] Our Father sent the Crow to get earth in order to make our land. Then the Crow came back stinking. "You are crazy," said the Father; "you have eaten the drowned people. Now, go back, and go around homeless. You will eat whatever any one has killed. Go, now! You will be black." Then he said to the small birds, "Come, I will now hear which one of you has a good heart and good sense." He found that the Chickadee was the only one that had any sense and was good-hearted. Then he bade it bring earth. It brought it. Our Father made the earth out of it. "It will be small," he said, "for little hands brought it. You will have six moons. You will not lose track of tongues. You have good thoughts."[2]

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II. THE HOODWINKED DANCERS

(*Comanche Story*)

Coyote met a Skunk. "Halloo, brother! I am very hungry. Let us work some scheme to get something to eat! I will lead the way, do you follow." — "Well, I will do whatever you propose." — "Over there is a prairie-dogs' village. We will stay here until daylight. In the morning you will go to the prairie-dog village and play dead. I will come later and say to the prairie-dogs, 'Come, let us have a dance over the body of our dead enemy!' Well, go there, puff yourself up, and play dead." Skunk followed his directions. Coyote got to the prairie-dogs. "Come, we will have a dance. Stop up your holes tight, let every one come here. Our enemy lies dead before us. Do you all stand in a big circle and dance with closed eyes. If any one looks, he will turn into something bad." As they were dancing, Coyote killed one of them. "Well, now all open

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 247.

[2] The last sentences are obscure. There seems to be a reference to the connection between months and tongues, as indicated in one of the Comanche tales (p. 280).

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539 your eyes! Look at this one; he opened his eyes and died. Now, all of you, close your eyes and dance again; don't look, or you will die!" They began to dance once more, and Coyote commenced to kill them. At last one of them looked. "Oh, he is killing us!" Then all the survivors ran for their holes. While they were trying to get in, he killed them. Coyote and Skunk gathered all the corpses and piled them up by a creek. They built a fire and cooked them.

"Well," said Coyote, "let us run a race for them! The one that wins shall have all the good fat ones." [1] — "Oh"! replied Skunk, "you are too swift; I am a slow runner, and can never beat you."— "Well, I will tie a rock to my foot." — "If you tie a big one, I will race with you." They were to run around a hill. Coyote said, "Well, go on ahead! I will catch up to you." Skunk began to run. Coyote tied a rock to his foot, and followed. Coyote said, "The one that is behind shall make a big fire, so there will be lots of smoke, and we shall be able to see where he is." Skunk got far ahead, and turned aside to hide. When Coyote had run past him, Skunk turned back to the meat-pile. Looking back, he saw a big column of smoke rising on the other side of the hill. He took all the meat and carried it home. He cut off all the tails and left them sticking out, with two poor little prairie-dogs for Coyote. Coyote thought Skunk was ahead of him. As he ran along, he said to himself, "I wonder where that fool is! I did not know he could outrun me." He got back to the pile, and saw the tails sticking out. He seized one, and it slipped out. He tried another one. "Oh, they are well cooked!" He tried another one. Then he got suspicious. He took a stick and raked up the fireplace, but could only find the two lean prairie-dogs. He thought some one must have stolen the meat. He ate the two lean prairie-dogs. Skunk, lying in his den, was watching him. As Coyote was standing to look around, Skunk threw one of the prairie-dog bones at him. Coyote then espied him lying in his camp. He saw all the meat around him. "Give me some of them!" — "No, we have run a race for them. I beat you, I am going to eat them all." Coyote begged him in vain for some food. Skunk ate it all. He was a better trickster than Coyote.

Another Version. — Coyote was knocking about on the prairie. There was a prairie-dog village there. Coyote got there. "Well, a bad disease is coming to us," he announced. The chief of the prairie-dogs, who was named Elk-Meat, went among his people, saying, "Coyote says a bad disease is coming to us." Coyote said, "Oh, tell your people we are going to dance." The chief told his people. "We will have it right in the centre of the camp." Then they gathered a lot of wood. Towards nightfall Coyote said, "Well, we are going to dance, a bad disease is coming." Then they gathered there and began to dance. While they were dancing,

[1] Compare Lowie, *l. c.* p. 274.

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Coyote developed a scheme. As they came around to one side, he killed them with a stick while standing at the far end. Two little ones had just lost their mother. The younger of the two, peeping at Coyote, said, "O brother! they are killing us. What are we going to do? Let us run away!" He took the lead, and they fled. Looking back, one of them said, "Why, he is destroying all of us! He was merely deceiving us."

12. THE DESERTED CHILDREN [1]

(*Comanche Story*)

Long ago the Indians were camping in a certain place. Four children were playing by a creek. An older girl with a baby on her back came to join them. In the mean time all the Indians moved away without the children noticing it, as they were still playing by the creek. At last one of them happened to look up towards the camp and could not see the lodges. He called out to his mates, telling them the camp was broken. They called him a liar, and sent another one to look. He reported the same way. They did not believe him, either. A third one went to look, and also reported that all were gone. It was getting late in the evening. All left the creek and tried to follow the Indians' trail.

While they were going along, Coyote met them and warned them. "Right by the side of the road a big Owl has his house. Don't talk loudly when passing there, or he will hear you." They got to the house, and the little child began to cry. Owl heard him. "Bring my nephew here!" he said. The child thought it was really his uncle, and wanted to go to him. His older sister objected, but he persisted. At last she said, "Well, let us go over there!" Then all went to the Owl. The oldest girl was afraid. "The big Owl will eat us," she said. They got there. Owl immediately wanted to eat the child. The children began to plan how to escape. They said they wanted to wash by the creek. Owl permitted them to go, but bade them hurry back. They met a Frog there. "Frog, we are in trouble, and call upon you to help us. That Owl wants to eat us." — "Yes, I will help you." — "We are going to run off," they said. "When Owl calls us, do you answer for us, 'No, we are still washing.' Just continue fooling him, so that we will have a big start before he finds out." Owl called the children. Frog answered, "We are still washing." He repeatedly gave the same reply, fooling him. Owl at last thought they had run off. He went looking for them, and every few paces he called them as he went along. Frog continued to answer, "We are still washing." At last Owl came up to him. Frog said, "For once I have fooled you. The children went away a long time ago." Owl said, "You thin-legged rascal, you have been fooling me! You have let my game run away. I will kill you." He struck at him with his cane. Just as the

[1] Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, p. 102; Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 50.

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539 cane descended, the Frog jumped into the water, leaving him standing on the bank.

Owl followed the children's trail. He had never been known to lose anything. After a short time he came in sight of them. They were fleeing as fast as they could. He was holding his stone club in his hand. They got to a big creek. There they saw a Fish-Crane sitting. "We are coming to you. That big Owl is after us. Help us!" He took a louse from his head, gave it to the oldest girl, and said, "Put this into your mouth. Though it tastes bad, do not spit it out before you get across to the other side. If you do this, I will make a bridge of my leg, so you can go across." She took the louse in her mouth, they crossed over, and then she spat out the louse. Owl got to Crane. "O Crane! there goes my game. Help me across! I want to catch them." Crane offered to let him cross on the same conditions as before. Owl spat out the louse in mid-stream, and fell into the river. He got out, and again pursued the children. He detected them in the open prairie. Seeing him, they were frightened. "What are we going to do?" A Buffalo-Calf was lying in front of them. "Buffalo-Calf, protect us!" — "I do not know whether I can help you, but I will try. Stand behind me!" Owl came up with his maul. "Oh, you're foolish! You know I won't retreat from you. That is my game, I will kill you." Calf stood still, pawing the ground. As Owl approached him, Calf charged on him, and threw him straight up to the moon. Hence the Owl is still sitting in the moon with its maul.

13. THE INDIAN AND THE BEAR
(*Comanche Story*)

An Indian was knocking about all by himself. A bear found him and gave chase. The Indian fled to the prairie. There he stood, not knowing what to do. Then he painted all his body green. "I will let him catch me." The bear caught up to him. The man stood still. Mentulae glandem retraxit(?). The bear said, "Ah, well! I guess he died yesterday or to-day." He went away, but after a while he came back and stood there, smelling the man. "He must have been dead for two days. Judging by the smell, he must have been dead longer than one day," he said.

14. TRICKSTER TALES
(*Comanche Story*)

Coyote was thinking how he might get some money. A great many soldiers were following his trail. Coyote took his kettle and dug out a place in the bank. There he made a fire and placed the kettle over it. He put in water, which began to boil. The soldiers were coming near. Their captain approached Coyote, asking him how he was. Coyote just continued cooking. The captain said, "You have a mighty good kettle!" — "Yes, it is a good one." — "Can't I buy it from you?" — "Oh, I

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think a great deal of it." The captain said, "Well, I will give you my horse for it." — "Oh, no! You must offer something I care for very much." — "Well, I will give you two horses." — "My kettle is a mighty good one." — "Well, select whatever two horses you wish for it." Coyote then picked out two very fine horses, and departed. The soldiers left with their kettle. When they camped, they set the kettle down, poured in water, and sat watching to see it boil. They had to wait a very long time. "Evidently Coyote has got the better of us," they said. From that time on, the whites have always traded with the Indians. Coyote taught us to do so.

Second Version.[1] — One white man had heard a great deal about Coyote's trickery. He said, "Oh, I want to see him! Did you ever hear of any person getting cheated right before his eyes? Go, bring him here! I'll see whether he can beat me that way." Coyote was walking along a short distance away. One of them spied him. "There is Coyote, who always cheats everybody." The white man got out to look at him. He put on very fine clothes, mounted a good horse, and loped after Coyote until he caught up to him. "Hold on, my friend! I have heard how you always cheat people." Coyote answered, "Oh, you are mistaking me!" — "Oh, no! Go ahead and cheat me out of something." Coyote said, "My stuff for scheming is not here." — "Where is it, then, the stuff you cheat people with?" — "I have it at my house." — "Well, go fetch it and fool me!" Coyote said, "Lend me your horse." — "Where is your house?" — "Over the hill." The white man dismounted and lent him his horse. The horse was afraid of Coyote. Coyote said, "Give me all your clothes, or he will be afraid of me." So the white man gave Coyote all his clothes. Coyote put them on, mounted, and loped off. "I have fooled you already. You certainly are easily cheated." The white man stood there, waving to him to return; but Coyote did not mind him, and galloped away.

Third Version. — A short while after this adventure, Coyote was sauntering along a creek. He saw many people moving along with mules and horses. Coyote was eager to get some of them. He addressed the people, telling them they could camp by a certain clump of trees. They were small trees, which he had already cut into. The people followed his advice, and staked their horses to those little trees. In the night all the mules and horses broke loose. Coyote, who was watching at a distance from the camp, then drove them off. This is why Indians long ago always used to steal so many horses.

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 278.

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15. THE EYE-JUGGLER[1]

(*Comanche Story*)

539 Coyote was always knocking about hunting for something. He came to a creek, where there was nothing but green willows. Two little yellow-birds were playing there. He came up to them. Laughing, they pulled out their eyes and threw them on the trees, while they stood below. "Eyes, fall!" they said. Then their eyes fell back into their sockets. Coyote went to them. He greatly admired their trick. "O brothers! I wish to play that way, too." — "Oh, we won't show you, you are too mean. You would throw your eyes into any kind of a tree and lose them." — "Oh, no! I would do it just like you." At last the birds agreed to show him. They pulled out his eyes, threw them up, and said, "Eyes, fall!" Then his eyes fell back again. Coyote was well pleased. He pulled out his eyes himself, threw them up, and said, "Eyes, fall!" They returned to their places. "Let us all go along this creek!" said the birds. "Other people will see us and take a fancy to us." They went along playing. Coyote said, "I am going over there. I know the trick well now." He left them. He got to another creek. A common willow-tree was standing there. "There is no need to be afraid of this tree. I'll try it first." He pulled out his eyes, and threw them at the tree. "Eyes, fall!" he shouted. His eyes did not fall. He thus became blind. He tied something around his eyes, and left.

Walking along the creek, he met two young girls. "What kind of girls are you?" — "We are Ya'yaru girls." — "We all belong to the same people, then; I am a Ya'yaru young man." The two girls did not know he was blind. He asked them, "Where are you going?" — "We are going over there." — "Well, we will all go together." They debated the matter, then all went together. One girl said, "Just look at the buffaloes there!" Coyote laughed. "I was wondering how soon you would catch sight of them, that's why I would not tell you about them." When they had gone a little farther, one of the girls asked the other, "Why does he not kill one of those buffaloes for us?" Coyote laughed, "I was wondering how long it would take you to think of that, that's why I would not tell you before. Go around that way to the other side of the buffalo, then they won't see you. Then they will run here, and I will kill one for us." They followed his directions. The buffaloes, seeing them, ran towards Coyote. When they came nearer, he shot at them and killed one by chance. When the girls ran up, they said, "He has really killed one." Coyote laughed. "I was wondering how soon they would see it, that's what I was thinking about you." They were skinning and cutting up the buffalo. One of the girls exclaimed, "Oh, isn't he fat!" Coyote said, "Why, certainly, I was looking for a fat one. I strained my eyes mightily hunting for a fat one." The two girls said,

[1] Compare the Wind River variant, p. 269.

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"Does n't he know well how to look for a fat one?" Coyote said, "Do you two cut it up, I will build us a house by the creek." He went off to make them a lodge. There were big holes in it everywhere, because he was blind. He made it of brush. The two girls came with the meat. They said, "This must be a house built by a blind man, there are holes all over." Coyote laughed. "Oh, you two don't understand. Why, I built it this way so that if lots of enemies charge on us, we might go out in any direction. There is no danger here of our being hemmed in." The girls said, "We did not think of that." They made their home there, both becoming Coyote's wives.

Once Coyote said to them, "Louse me." The women sat down, and Coyote placed his head on one, and his feet on the other. For a while they loused him, then he fell asleep. One of the women said, "Let us pull off this rag from his head! He won't know anything about it, he's asleep. Let us look at his eyes." She raised the cover. "Why, he is blind! There are lots of worms in his eyes." The one on whose lap his head was resting bade her companion bring a stump with lots of ants on it. "Put it under his head, and fetch another one without ants for his feet." After they had fixed the stumps, one of them said, "Let us go now!" The older sister said, "Take hold of those bells!" They got some distance away from Coyote. Shortly after they had left, the ants began to bite him. He began butting with his head. "Oh, be easy, you two, louse me!" He tried to butt them, but only struck the ground. He woke up, and looked for their trail. Looking back, the women saw him coming. They began to run. "That is surely Coyote there. Let us beat him by that big red bluff." The older sister said, "Tear off those bells of yours." She pulled them off. "He can't see us, he is just following the bells. When we get to the red bluff, drop your bells, and he will fall over it." Coyote was pursuing them. The woman's bells were jingling as they ran along. When they got to the cliff, she dropped them. Coyote, hearing the bells, followed after them, and was crushed to pieces. The women went home.

16. REGULATION OF THE SEASONS;[1] ORIGIN OF DEATH[2]

(*Comanche Story*)

Coyote called all the people together to decide how many winter months and how many summer months there ought to be. They set up a large council lodge. Coyote sat down in the centre on the west side. He said, "Well, listen to me! We are to decide how many winter and summer months there are to be." One man said, "Well, let us have six cold months; let the seventh be cold in the first half, and the remainder

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 274. Cf. Boas, "Eine Sonnensage der Tsimschian" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, pp. 781–797).

[2] Wissler and Duvall, *l. c.* p. 20.

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539 warm." Coyote said, "Six cold months would be too much, we should suffer from the cold. Ten summer months would be good." Another man said, "If we had ten summer months, our meat would spoil, we should suffer from heat." Then they debated. One little man sitting by the door, who was named Snow-Bird, said, "Well, let us have six cold months, with one month half cold and one half cool." Coyote was in favor of ten hot months, because he wished to play a trick on them. They were debating. The little man by the door got up, and said, "Six cold months is plenty for us." Saying, "Six months," he went out. All the assembly rose and followed him, repeating, "Six months." Coyote bade them wait. "What makes you pay any attention to that little man?" But the people did not listen to Coyote, who was thus unable to work his scheme on them. He went out last of all, saying, "We shall have six winter months." All the people laughed at him. "This is the first time you have failed to have your way." Coyote said, "Now we shall have six cold months. Now, then, let us have another council to name the months." When they had gathered, he announced, "The little man shall have just as many tongues as there are cold months." Then he named the months: "October, November, December, January, February, March, April." All agreed. "The little man will have seven tongues; every month one of his tongues will pass away until but one is left."[1]

After the council was over, Coyote said, "Now, do all of you go over there! I shall join you, and we will decide whether our dead should return after the lapse of four days. Long ago that was our way. To-day I object to our dead coming back." They met. He called them all to the edge of the water. He picked up a rock, held it in his hand, and spoke as follows: "Behold, our dead people shall do as this rock!" He cast it into the water. "This rock will not come back. Similarly, our people will not return. This earth is very large; but if the dead were to come back, it would get crowded. That is why I object to it." All the [779] people agreed with him. Since then our dead have not returned.

17. THE LIBERATION OF BUFFALO[2]

(*Comanche Story*)

Long ago two persons owned all the buffalo. They were an old woman and her young cousin. They kept them penned up in the mountains, so that they could not get out. Coyote came to these people. He summoned the Indians to a council. "That old woman will not give us anything. When we come over there, we will plan how to release

[1] Compare Culin, *Free Museum of Science and Art, Bulletin*, 1901, p. 20 (Wind River Shoshone).

[2] Grinnell, *l. c.* p. 145; Kroeber, *l. c.* p. 65; Dorsey and Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho*, p. 276.

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the buffalo." They all moved near the buffalo-inclosure. "After four nights," said Coyote, "we will again hold a council as to how we can release the buffalo. A very small animal shall go where the old woman draws her water. When the child gets water, it will take it home for a pet. The old woman will object; but the child will think so much of the animal, that it will begin to cry and will be allowed to keep it. The animal will run off at daybreak, and the buffalo will burst out of their pen and run away." The first animal they sent failed. Then they sent the Kill-dee (dö'i).

When the boy went for water, he found the Kill-dee and took it home. "Look here!" he said to his cousin, "this animal of mine is very good." The old woman replied, "Oh, it is good for nothing! There is nothing living on the earth that is not a rascal or schemer." The child paid no attention to her. "Take it back where you got it," said the woman. He obeyed. The Kill-dee returned.

The people had another council. "Well, she has got the better of these two. They have failed," said Coyote; "but that makes no difference. Perhaps we may release them, perhaps we shall fail. This is the third time now. We will send a small animal over there. If the old woman agrees to take it, it will liberate those buffalo; it is a great schemer." So they sent the third animal. Coyote said, "If she rejects this one, we shall surely be unable to liberate the game." The animal went to the spring and was picked up by the boy, who took a great liking to it. "Look here! What a nice pet I have!" The old woman replied, "Oh, how foolish you are! It is good for nothing. All the animals in the world are schemers. I'll kill it with a club." The boy took it in his arms and ran away crying. He thought too much of his pet. "No! this animal is too small," he cried. When the animal had not returned by nightfall, Coyote went among the people, saying, "Well, this animal has not returned yet; I dare say the old woman has consented to keep it. Don't be uneasy, our buffalo will be freed." Then he bade all the people get ready just at daybreak. "Our buffalo will be released. Do all of you mount your horses." In the mean time the animal, following its instructions, slipped over to the pen, and began to howl. The buffalo heard it, and were terrified. They ran towards the gate, broke it down, and escaped. The old woman, hearing the noise, woke up. The child asked, "Where is my pet?" He did not find it. The old woman said, "I told you so. Now you see the animal is bad, it has deprived us of our game." She vainly tried to hold the buffalo back. At daybreak all the Indians got on their horses, for they had confidence in Coyote. Thus the buffalo came to live on this earth. Coyote was a great schemer.

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18. THE SEVEN STARS[1]

(*Comanche Story*)

539 A very long time ago there lived a family of seven. The parents got angry at their children, four of whom were boys, and the youngest a girl. The father declared to them, "We are going to call a council of all the people. You cannot stay here. We are going to have a council to decide what all of you are to become. I am angry at you. All of you will go far off. Make up your minds as to what you wish to become." Then the oldest brother asked the other children to give their advice as to what they were to become. One of them said, "Our father is angry at us. Let us all become stars. Would that all of us might become stars! Whatever we choose, that we shall turn into. Let us wait for our father, and tell him as soon as he returns." When their father returned, he consented to let them become stars. Then they left. That is how they became stars. That is why there are seven stars looking down upon us from above. The one in the rear is the youngest child, while the young men are in front.

[171] [1] In a more elaborate Assiniboine tale, a group of brothers debate what they are to turn into, and ultimately become stars.

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[title page]

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AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

A [See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

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175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these

175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361 eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
101 forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
162 Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621
[113

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[122

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[113

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Domingues and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

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all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Yníorme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Séville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

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Petrograph of a figure carrying two lances, points downward (from Kenton, Okla.)

[facing p. 292]

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175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
554 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
701 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
171 societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked
[175] lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
554 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
701 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809-811.

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According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

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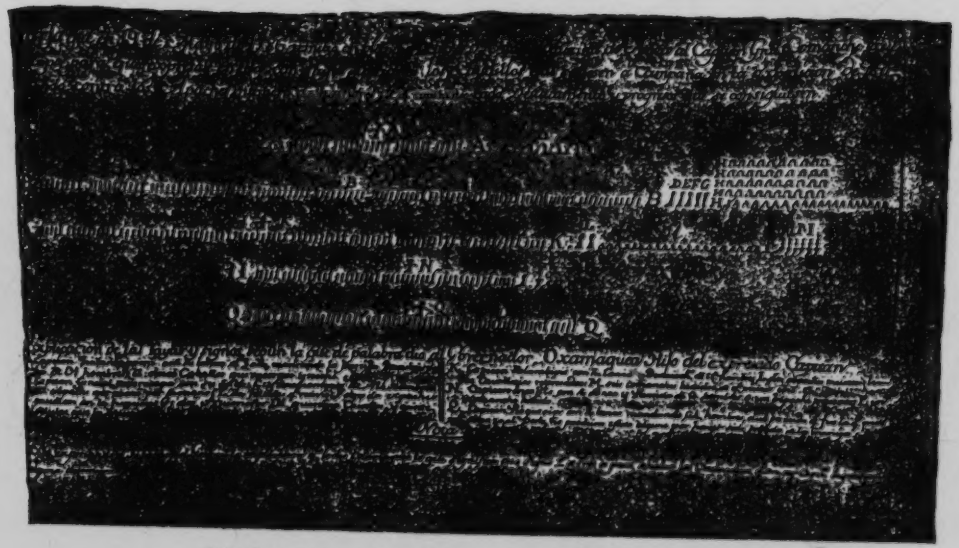

Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

175
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701
648

[facing p. 294]

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175 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures
701 represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinc-
554 tion, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight
[171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche.
171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[31]

175 Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent
212 in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captaïn General
701 Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs
[648] the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[32]

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[113] [31] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[32] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men 175
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand 212
E two wounds which he received 701
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children. 175 592 728

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

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175
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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31] Number of Tents.

First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.

Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabenl:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20

Second

Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange[34] of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6

Third led by Tosacondata

Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8 175
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm	20 551
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		701
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80 621
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for 175 701 648 726

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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(1786)

175 701 648 726 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral:	Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.
701 Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo:	He raises his hands; second son
551 Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero:	Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Cavezа:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[26]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[27]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[26] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[27] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

29: Hoebel

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[The text category for this source has not been processed.]

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/30/

KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT
FROM THE FIELD

Jerrold E. Levy*
University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 129 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true K 124 even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that 535

C K 114 *Mr. Levy has been a student at the University of Chicago for four years. He has an M.A. in Oriental Languages (Hebrew and Old Testament) and an M.A. in Anthropology.

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K one informant told me that he had seen the ghost dance performed
124 several times by the Kiowas when he was about fifteen years old. As
535 he is only sixty-two or three now and the books say that the ghost dance stopped in 1891, I thought that this story was slightly exaggerated. I found an answer to it which also explained why the informants disclaimed any knowledge of cradle boards etc. pushing such things back into the old days. I felt that Devereaux's time warping was at work here. Well after checking a little I found that in spite of a government ban, the Kiowas danced the Ghost dance as a social dance
C at least up to the First World War. Moreover, in time, the informants
K did tell us more and more about the child rearing practices etc. that
123 they "did not remember." It took time, we found, because they were
124 reluctant to admit to whites that any so called "savage" practices
C had ever been known to them at all. Other stories which seemed equally
K fantastic have also turned out to be correct upon cross examination
124 and verification from outside sources.

C /31/With two families we have made most satisfactory and happy
K friendships. But close friendships have their drawbacks. There is
123 an ever increasing involvement in the domestic and political problems of the group and it is a most arduous task keeping oneself from entering into the tangle with gusto.

C The Kiowas seem to be far more amenable to acting as informants
K than do the Comanches. This is perhaps because the Comanches I know
123 have either served as informants before or have been close friends of
124 older men who have been informants in the past. The very man who has brought me into the group as his "friend" and has introduced me to peyote and with whom we have the closest of relationships is the most reluctant to become known as an informant and to work in a formal manner as such.

C My job as curator has become a double edged blade. As time
K has passed it turns out that the people in the historical society and
123 Lawton in general are disliked heartily. They are willing to help me

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 125

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

/page 31 continued/

K 361 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school 592 or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison. C 361 This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Nermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal. K [361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects C K that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations 484 are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered 601 by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This 602 mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep [493] up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually [491] impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 177 602 patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and

[161] [582] [588] [604] Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

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C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 179 602

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 191 197 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 178 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 599 178 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 178 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

/page 34 continued/

C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 C K 608 [582] C K [178] C K [428] The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C K 177 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

C K 777 186 /35/Historically there is some evidence that this dichotomy was an important one for the Kiowas and Comanches during the period of the 1870's to say 1900. There were those who came into the reservations and those who held out till the end. Later there were the religious converts and those who clung to the old ways of faith. Ever present in the Indian's judgement of his fellows was the gauge of just how white he had become; whose side he was on so to speak. The other side of the coin also held of course; how bull headed, primitive or whatever someone still was. To an extent this attitude pattern is in effect today but it is difficult to see how it determines the factions in the tribe or even adherence to a particular religion.

K 665 [795] To date I have learned more concerning factionalism among the Kiowas than among the Comanches and shall, therefore, deal with them first. People are vocal concerning religious tensions and prejudices (Christian vs. Peyote) and splits within the council concerning allegiances, i.e. Republican vs. Democrat, nor do they seem to pertain to major policy and direction. Tension seems to be centered over the methods of operation used by those in office. It should be remembered that relatively few are active in tribal politics and that both Christians and Peyotists are minorities. The large bulk of the population are inactive and do not even follow. They may be listed as Christians as often as not but neither go to church nor know much more than the average bourgeois of the East what Christianity is all about. Past field work has used as informants members of active leading groups and this study makes no pretense of being different. The life of the "common man" remains virtually untouched in this area as far as I can tell.

K [795] 777 K [124] [114]

K 665 At present there is considerable agitation among the Kiowas between an out group and the in group which controls the business council. Leaving aside the sordid details, etc., the line up suggests that there is a split here between a traditional aristocracy and an upstart, "shanty Irish," group. The opposition party consists of

/page 35 continued/

K most of the well known families of the tribe, descendents of chiefs,
665 prominant preachers, and some families made prominant by the army in the past hundred years. The opposition includes Peyotists as Christians. The slogans used by them are anti-graft and hucksterism for the most part. The party in power has, to my knowledge, made no defense campaign except that of a name calling variety in a disorganizing way. They have tried to convince Peyotists that the opposition group is anti-Peyote but this has had no effect as some prominant
K peyotists are in the opposition. Leaving the whys of factionalism
[554] aside, the present conflict can be seen as a further breakdown of traditional status and power held by a certain few families. In the furor many accusations are flung about which would seem to reflect the above mentioned split between acculturationist and traditionalist but which in reality are tags to cover up the real intent of both sides.

My own opinion, colored perhaps by the partisanship of my informants, my own background etc., is that at the moment the opposition aristocracy does have the more able leadership. Of course this is never a permanent situation.

C The picture presented by the Comanches is not only different
665 but /36/ also more difficult to grasp. The Comanches have also objected to the present business council and have withdrawn from the
C federated tribal council entirely. But the Comanches do not have a
554 traditional group of good families which have provided leadership in the past. The present leaders of the move to separate are mainly young men of "no family" with a sprinkling of respected older leaders. But even the older leaders of the Comanches cannot be traced back to prominent families. In general, the prestige due to descent is not active among the Comanches. In fact, with the exception of the Parker family (lionized by the Whites) it is difficult to find out who the descendants of the chiefs are.

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

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C K 829 665 According to the other view such earlier factioning is recognized but felt to be unimportant. It is maintained that the unity of the tribes was not impaired until during the past four or five years. The older men were sensible and had great integrity. But the age group most active today are the product of a period in which people learned to lean on the government. These men, so the argument runs, are weaklings because they have been able or even allowed, to solve something for themselves. In other words it is a "lost generation" theory of sorts. The remedy for this state of affairs would be for a withdrawal of the Indian Service from virtually all areas of Indian life. /37/It is felt that a sink and swim period would be painful but would ultimately make the Indian self sufficient.

One is led to consider a view which explains present phenomena in the light of earlier cultural conditioning as well as one which attempts to explain in terms of exterior factors acting upon the community in the recent past. The ruminations of the informants on their own problems are not far from the thought processes of the anthropologist analyzing them. Both lines of thought seem rational and realistic if a trifle too pat. But a merging of the two might also be an easy out. Perhaps unfortunately, my own inclination, is to fashion an answer which would satisfy both sides of the argument to a greater or lesser extent.

C K 665 795 It has been mentioned above that the composition of the factions does not correspond with religious cleavages. On the other hand the present picture does not indicate that the Peyotists who are active in politics play a role equal to that of the non-Peyotists. Although there are indications that prominent Peyotists have been active and vocal political leaders in the past this does not appear to be the case at the present. Whether the present picture is a significant one is too early to say.

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Of the four factions, two Kiowa and two Comanche, only one does not have a Peyotist in a leading position (opposition Kiowas). The Comanche separatists have a Peyote man but it is now almost an exaggeration to say that he is a leader although he has been in the past. Both the anti-separationists and the present Kiowa faction controlling the business council have one Peyotist each in a leadership position. In one case the Peyotist does not speak much, prefers not to take strong positions and lets his son, who has no clear religious affiliations, do most of the talking. The anti-separationist Peyotist is an elderly man who tries to play both sides. He is sympathetic to the separationists as well as to his own party and maintains that he is on the side he is on because of claims made by friendship ties. In any event the actions of the active as well as politically inactive (but prominent) Peyotists seems to be one of avoiding any political action which will place them irrevocably in a certain direction.

While there is no ready explanation for this, especially because we do not know whether Peyotists have always acted this way in politics, a look at one Peyote group and the affiliations of its members will serve to show why the individuals may be afraid of strong political commitments.

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The Peyotist attempts to be a peaceful man and if dissension occurs within his local group of co-religionists he is made quite uncomfortable. John Pahdoponi withdrew from political life because he did not want to struggle with the new group coming into power (the present business council). Because of his dislike of the present council he favors separation as a means of side stepping the issue. Some of his former close associates are also active separationists. On the other hand one of his "brothers" in the Peyote community is a leader in the anti-separationist group. To add to this quandry,

/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
572 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
602 may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
609 for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
779 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 178 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. C K [186] Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 195 178 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. C K 195 177 A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

/page 39 continued/

C K consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
795 The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
177 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
C K regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
[787] change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
787 and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
177 from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
[756] old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C K areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
823 the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
778 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
[787] raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C K and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
823 since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
778 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
177 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
[775] there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
C K fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
787 often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
276 its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
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778
[787]

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[789] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[787] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
197 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
791 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
777 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

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Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

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795 give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake
771 constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just
177 how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

/41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all
795 those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for
771 protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a
177 church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian
795 ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are
771 only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by
177 Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly
577 from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

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795 Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christian-
177 ity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of
[829] the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin.
795 That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder,
783 or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it
171 were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage.
772 The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

/page 41 continued/

The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every-
795 day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers
177 to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give
186 up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem
/42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress,
etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion
of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver
of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it
protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to
a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never
translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain
795 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization
177 present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to
the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members
of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal
footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken
more at face value. The statements of the representative of the
Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to
appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics.
The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent."
They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis,
etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote
religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more
than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an
acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard
to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant
would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individ-
ual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger
than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so
far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will
tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new
factors enter the scene.

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C K 795 177 At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C K 829 177 If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position. He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an C K 795 177 objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote play a similar role. And <u>if</u> the White-Indian tensions are central to the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

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C K 829 777 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, C K 795 there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K [829] 771 Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to C K 793 suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both 795 faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, C K [123] and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they C K 793 are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the en- 795 trance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The 539 whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi 829 from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

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C In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner
K in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am
795 able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pres-
791 sures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of
[177] an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-
[123] equipped to operate due to my own color.

C Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at
K the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in
121 providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result
C has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus tradition-
K alist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the
121 areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once
665 important it might be profitable to do some historical work concern-
177 ing the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty
years.

C /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determin-
K ing the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear
121 that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It
is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White
aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible.
But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem
from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign
to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view
which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures
but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture.
Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of
model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 44 continued/

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33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

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HANDBOOK

OF

AMERICAN INDIANS

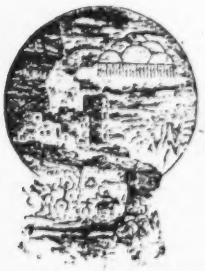
NORTH OF MEXICO

EDITED BY

FREDERICK WEBB HODGE

IN TWO PARTS

PART 1



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[title page]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains.
[174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication.
174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes
131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

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ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily
131 southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the s. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
175 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made
657 their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221
224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a reputation for dash and courage. They
(186) have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-
142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
(115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

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33: Mooney . E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

10) **Ká-mas'-tci.**—Dorsey, MS. Biloxi Dict., B. A. E., 1892 (Biloxi name). **Kaumaiash.**—Burton, City of Saints, 75, note, 1861. **Kalamoochas.**—Jefferys, Am. Atlas, map 5, 1776 (probably the same). **Komantsu.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 218, 1877. **Komáts.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 326, 1885 (Ute form). **Ká-man-i-a-kwe.**—Cushing, Inf'n, 1891 (Zuñi form). **La Padda.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 64, 1806 (French name; cf. *Le Pieges*, below). **La Plais.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823 (French traders' name, perhaps corrupted from Tête Pelée). **La Play.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 17, 1806. **La Playes.**—Lewis and Clark, Trav., 177, 1809. **La'ri'hta.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Pawnee name). **Le Playa.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 17, 1806. **Los Mecos.**—Bollaert in Jour. Ethnol. Soc. Lond., ii, 265, 1850 (Mexican name). **Mahán.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Isleta name). **Mahana.**—Ibid. (Taos name). **Memessen.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Na'lani.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Navaho name: 'many aliens,' or 'many enemies'; collective term for plains tribes). **Na'nita.**—Ibid. (Kichai name). **Nar-a-tah.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, ii, 126, 1852 (Waco name). **Na'tta'.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Wichita name: 'snakes,' i. e. 'enemies' or 'dandies'). **Naune.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, ii, iv, 1852. **Na-u-ni.**—Ibid., i, 518, 1851. **Nazanne.**—ten Kate, Reizen N. Am., 6, 1885 (Navaho name: 'tachones'). **Nemausin.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d ser., ii, 38, 1812 (see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Néme' né.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (own name). **Nemiseau.**—Brown, West. Gaz., 213, 1847. **Nemonsin.**—Am. State Papers, iv, 716, 1832. **Nemosen.**—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 23, 1806. **Ne'-mo-sin.**—Ibid., 39 (given as their own name; move with Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, and others at head of Platte and Cheyenne R.; apparently a misprint of Néme'ne or Niméníu, the Comanche name for themselves). **Nemousin.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 102, 1905. **Neum.**—Ind. Aff. Rep., 168, 1859 (own name). **Ne'-uma.**—Buschmann (1859) quoted by Gatschet, Katankawa Inds., 83, 1891. **Ne'-ume.**—Ibid. **Niméníu.**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 382, 1885 (own name: 'people of people'). **Ni-mi-ou-sin.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 102, 1905. **Ni'sam.**—Hoffman in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., xxiii, 500, 1886 (own name). **Niunas.**—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vi, 34, 1857. **Nóta-oah.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Wichita name: 'snakes,' 'enemies'). **No-taw.**—Marcy, Explor. Red R., 273, 1854 (Wichita name). **Numa.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (own name: 'people'). **Padacus.**—Lewis and Clark, Trav., 39, 1807 (misprint). **ᵹdaŋka.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1878 (Omaha and Ponka name). **Padaws.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy. La., 261, 1805. **Padduceas.**—Pike, Trav., 347, 1811. **Padokas.**—Fabry (1741) in Margry, Déc., vi, 475, 1886. **Padoncas.**—Brackenridge, Views of La., 80, 1815. **Padouceas.**—Morse, N. Am., map, 1776. **Padoo.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 108, 1905 (Catoudiau French "nickname"). **Paducaha.**—Hutchins (1764) quoted by Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, iii, 537, 1853. **Paducas.**—De l'Isle, map, 1712 (Siouan name; perhaps a contraction of Pentéka.—Mooney). **Paducese.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, iii, 82, 1854. **Paducies.**—Orig. Jour. Lewis and Clark, vi, 108, 1905. **Paduca.**—Clarke in Jour. Anthrop. Inst., iv, 152, 1875. **Paducahs.**—Kingsley, Stand. Nat. Hist., pt. 6, 186, 1883. **Paducas.**—Jefferys, Fr. Dom. Am., pt. i, map, 1761. **Paduka.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1882 (Kansa name). **Paduka.**—Hervas, Idea dell' Univ., xvii, 90, 1784. **Pah-to-caha.**—Butler in H. R. Ex. Doc. 76, 29th Cong., 2d sess., 6, 1847. **Panaloga.**—McKenney and Hall, Ind. Tribes, iii, 81, 1858. **Pandoga.**—Boudinot, Star in the West, 128, 1816. **Pandouca.**—Cass in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, iii, 598, 1853. **Panelogа.**—Douay (1687) in Shea, Miss. Valley, 222, 1852 (probably the same; there are many misprints and derivatives of this word, all probably being traceable to this source). **Panelogo.**—Hodgen Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 149, 1862. **Panelora.**—Ibid., 346 (from Douay, 1687; misprint). **Panetoca.**—Harris, Coll. Voy. and

[p. 328-B]

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101 Trav., I, map, 685, 1709. **Panetonka.**—La Hontan, New Voy., I, 130, 1703. **Panoucas.**—Perkins and Peck, Ann. of West, 669, 1850. **Paoducas.**—Alcedo, Dicc. Geog., II, 650, 1787. **Par-too-ku.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852. **Pa-tco'-xa.**—David St Cyr, inf'n (Winnebago name). **Pa-tco'-xá-já.**—Ibid. **Patonca.**—Barcia, Ensayo, 298, 1723. **Pa-tüh-kû.**—Grayson, MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1885 (Creek name). **Pa'-tu-kă.**—Dorsey, Kwapa MS. vocab., B. A. E., 1891 (Quapaw name). **Pazukâ.**—Dorsey, MS., B. A. E., 1883 (Osage name). **Pazuñke.**—Ibid., 1881 (Iowa, Oto, and Missouri name). **Peducas.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy., 225, 1805. **Pen loca.**—Shea, Peñalosa, 21, note, 1882. **Sanko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (obsolete Kiowa name). **Sau'hto.**—Ibid. (Caddo name). **Sau'-tux.**—ten Kate, Synonymie, 10, 1884 (Caddo name). **Selakampóm.**—Gatschet, Comecrudo MS., B. A. E. (Comecrudo name for all warlike tribes, especially the Comanche). **Shishiniwotsitan**—ten Kate, Reizen in N. Am., 361, 1885 (Cheyenne name: 'snake people'). **Shishino'wits-Itaniuw'.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Cheyenne name: 'snake people'). **Shi'shinówütz-hitá'neo.**—Mooney, inf'n, 1906 (correct Cheyenne name). **Snake Indians.**—Brackenridge, Views of La., 80, 1815 (see also under *Ietan*). **Sow-a-to.**—Neighbors in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 126, 1852 (Caddo name). **Tête Pelée.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (French traders' name. "The identification is doubtful, as the Comanche cut their hair only when mourning"). **Têtes pelées.**—Perrin du Lac, Voy., 265, 1805. **Yampah.**—Stuart, Montana, 25, 1865 (Shoshoni name). **Yá'mpaini.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Shoshoni name: 'yampa people', or 'yampa eaters'; *cf. Omaimaish*, above). **Yámpairi'kani.**—Ibid.

[P.329-A]

[P.329-B not processed]

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THE INDIANS OF TEXAS IN 1830

By Jean Louis Berlandier

Edited and Introduced by JOHN C. EWERS

Translated by Patricia Reading Leclercq

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION PRESS
City of Washington 1969

[title page]

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ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1] 113 114

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche. 114 101 114

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the 177 178

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

[p. 167]

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

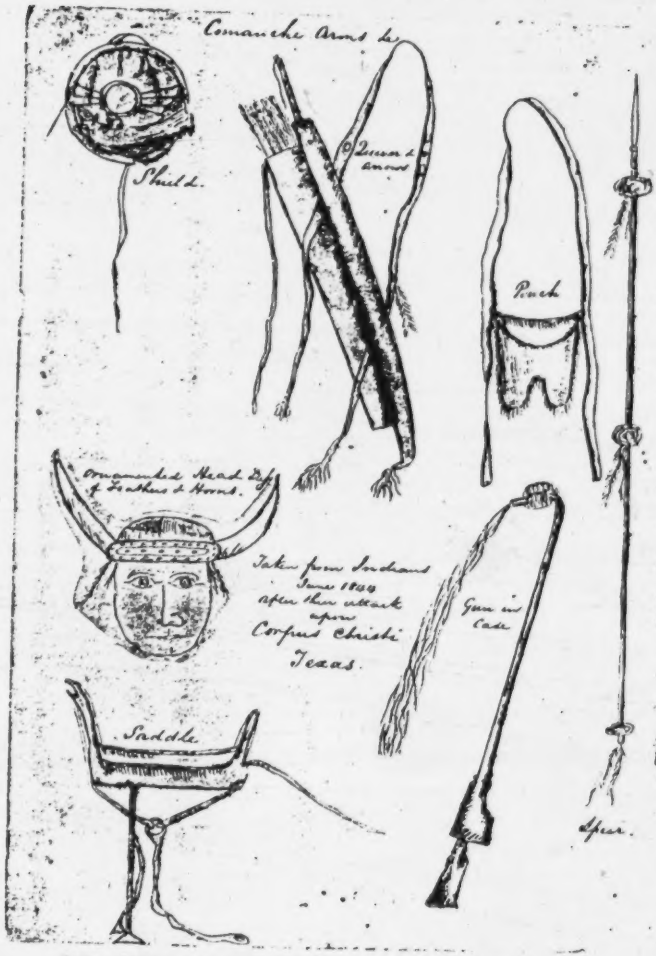

FIGURE 18. Weapons and equipment captured from a Comanche war party that raided Corpus Christi, Texas, in June 1844. Sketch by William Rollaert.

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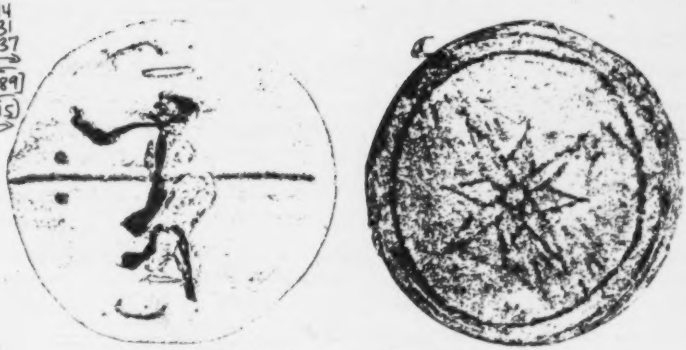

FIGURES 19–20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 4432.)

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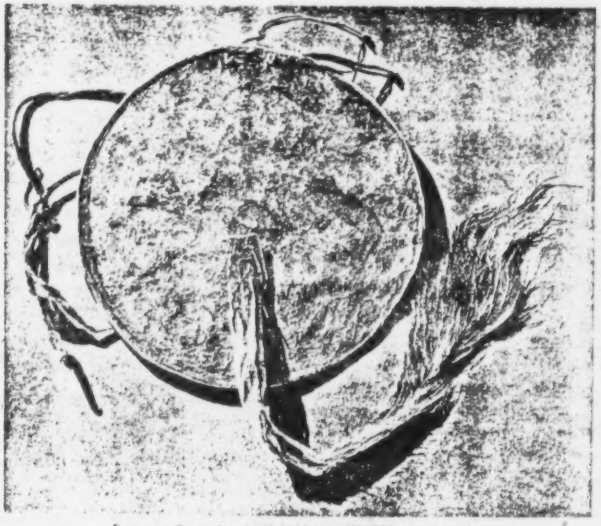

FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 62,579.)

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 17: 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A--Analyst.]

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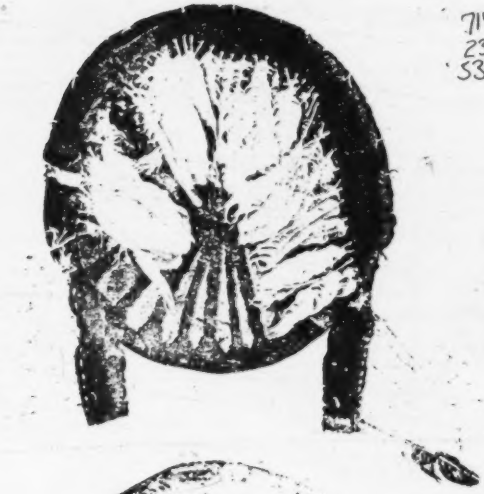

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FIGURES 22–23. Comanche decorated shield and painted cover. (USNM 4430.)

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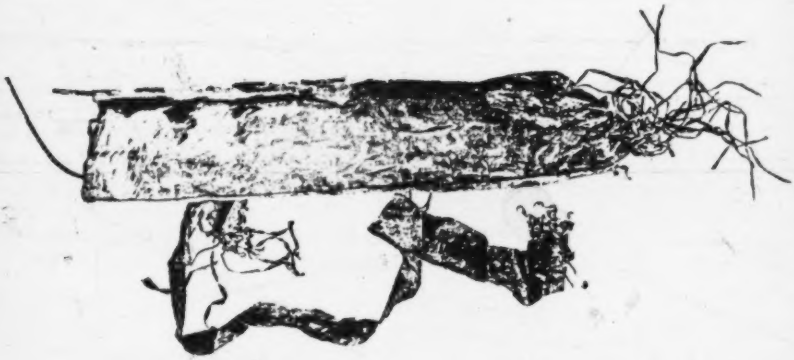

FIGURES 24–25. Comanche quivers. (USNM 1474 and 4433.)

[p. 173]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. 714 531
The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed 532 rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. 172 Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in 531 West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield 531 paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a 714 yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any 789 missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24-25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in 411 Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. [237] wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse [531] or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in [237] length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure [237] 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they [825] made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, 415 Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa In- 237 dians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in 415 diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated [531]

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 465. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII-CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). [714]

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1841, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1-6, 11, 14, and 15.

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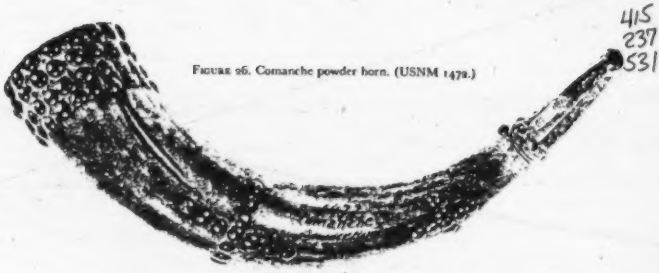

FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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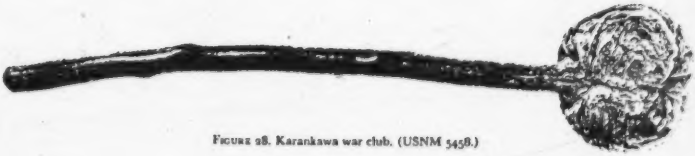

FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn. 415 531

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche. 534 202 714 237 283 171

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature. 000

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of 415 531 462 415 531 415 171 531

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A See p. 180-B—Analyst.

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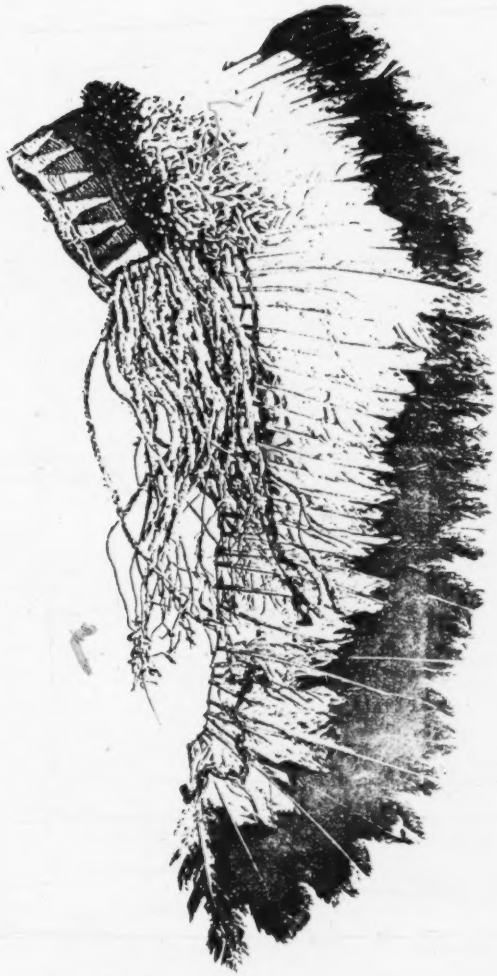

FIGURE 29. Comanche feathered bonnet. (USNM 1475.)

[p.177]

178 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13] 415 171 531

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "sead beads" in white and red. 415 415 531

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14] 531 439 431

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian. 292 171

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top 283 531

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. 113

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermillion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

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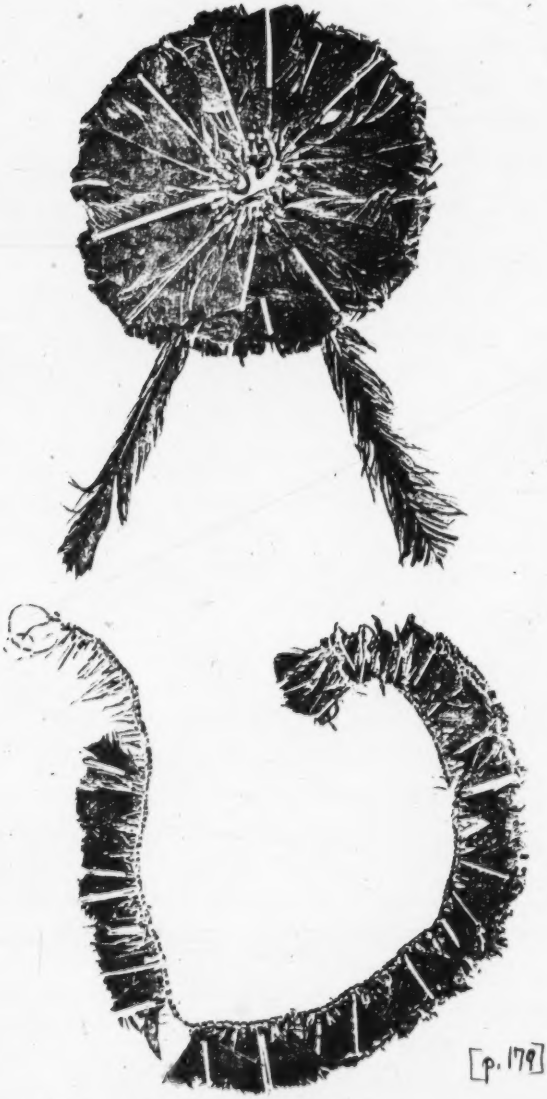

[p. 179]

FIGURES 30–31. Comanche feather ornaments. (USNM 1477 and 1478.)

 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. [284]

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 237 292 714 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 30-31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. [171]

A [See p. 169--Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 184]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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PLATE 17. Comanche painted shield. (USNM 4430.)

[p. 180-A]

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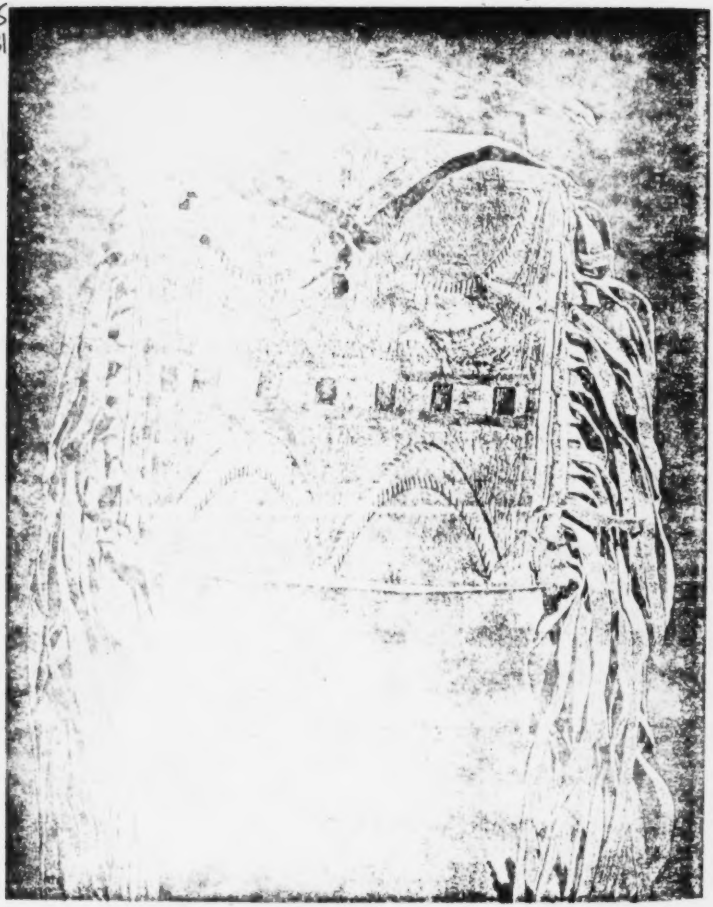

PLATE 18. Comanche painted rawhide case. (Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., E 3780.)

[p. 180-B]

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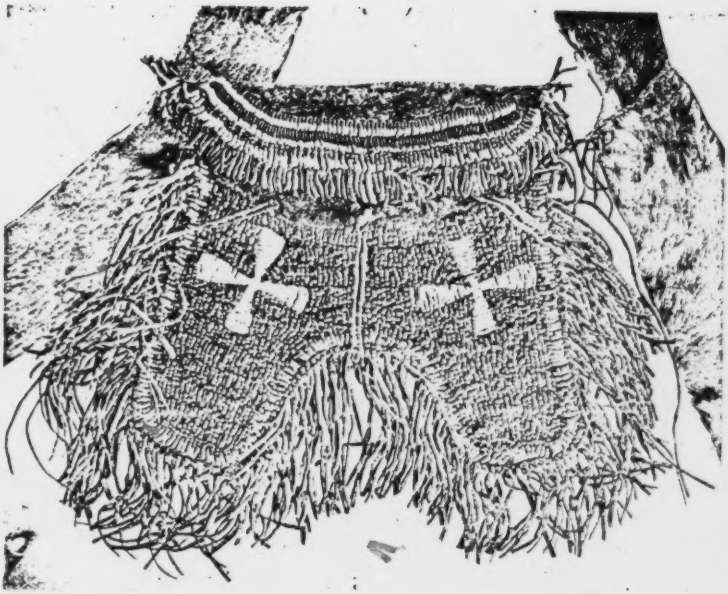

PLATE 19. Comanche beaded pouch. (USNM 1473.)

[p. 180-C]

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PLATE 20. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 1480.)

[p. 180-D]

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FIGURE 32. Pair of Comanche hard-soled moccasins. (USNM 1471.)

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FIGURE 33. Pair of soft-soled moccasins of Caddoan type. (USNM 1466.)

[p. 181]

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FIGURE 34. Comanche horsehide pouch. (USNM 1469.)

[p. 182]

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FIGURE 35. Comanche small beaded pouch. (USNM 1467.)

[p. 183]

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184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 301 [237]

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. [237]

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 291

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 171

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 415 [237]

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

415 [531] A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35) may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

415 531

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 [28] [23] A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 106 cm. long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

292 531 292 531 292

Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36-37.

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

[p. 185]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 188]

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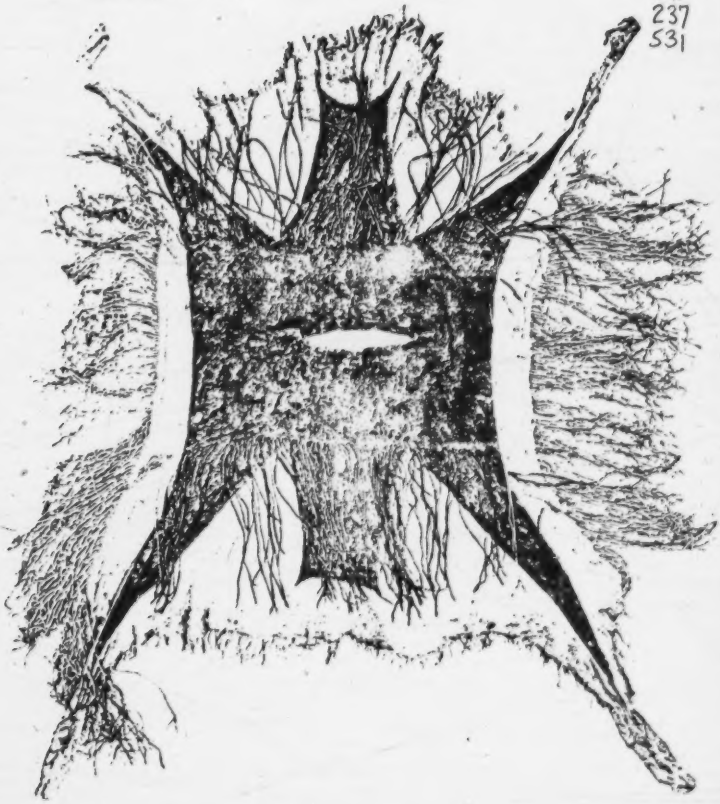

FIGURE 36. Comanche woman's upper garment, spread out, showing pattern of construction from a single deerskin. See also Plate 90 and Figure 37. (USNM 1480.)

[p.186]

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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 20 for front view.

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FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 1468.)

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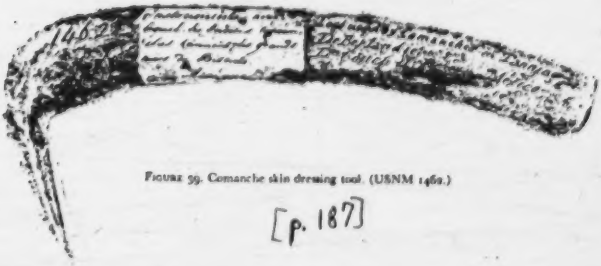

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 1469.)

[p. 187]

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 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of 171
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20] A

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in (237)
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 412
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in 284
place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1918, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced
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34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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412 it would shrink as it dried and bind the blade securely to the handle. In
284 using this tool to remove the hair or to chip the inner surface of a buffalo
412 hide to an even thickness, the woman stood on the hide, bent over, and, with
the sharp blade nearly perpendicular to the surface of the hide, performed
281 her painstaking task with vigorous strokes, holding the tool with both hands.
412 Elk horn-handled skin-scraping tools of this kind were widely used among
(171) the Plains Indians, as well as the Shoshoni and their neighbors west of the Rockies, in historic buffalo days.[24] This may be, however, the earliest well-documented example of this useful tool from the Comanche.

24. Wissler (1910, pp. 67–68) pictures four of these adze-like tools equipped with blades and gives the tribal distribution of this type of skin-dressing implement.

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NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Frederick B. Dent, Secretary

(Title Page)

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N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA 101
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal Trust Area 657
161
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

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N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

642
657

GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162	Population:	
	Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300
162 464	Labor Force:	
	Total:	551
	Unemployed:	125
	Unemployment rate:	23%
871	Education: (tribal estimates)	
	Average grade level achieved:	9th
	Number graduated from college in 1972:	11

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ETHNOGRAPHIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA

4th EDITION

Volume 5: Plains and Southwest

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PREFACE

THE study of comparative jurisprudence is a branch of American anthropology which holds great promise for future development. A field which, for a variety of reasons, has for long remained but slightly tilled, there still is much of significance to be extracted from its fertile soil. In this day, when questions as to the nature and function of governmental and legal institutions are of plaguing importance, anything that anthropology can offer in the way of factual enlightenment should be of value. This study of Comanche Law-ways is one offering to that end. 121

The investigation of the Comanches upon which this study rests had its inception in 1933 when the Ethnology Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, directed by Professor Ralph Linton, put in an intensive summer's work with the Comanches of Oklahoma. I am deeply grateful to the Laboratory, which made such an invaluable experience possible. The introduction to field work under Professor Linton's guidance opened the door to an understanding of the skill and art which successful field work requires. For that, above all, but also for permission to utilize all the materials of the group which are pertinent to this monograph, I am in debt to Professor Linton. Companions in the field whose contributions are in part incorporated in this memoir were Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett and Waldo R. Wedel. To them thanks not only for the anthropology which is theirs, but also for the good fellowship of that summer. F. Gore Hoebel participated in the field work and has been with this study from start to finish. I salute her! Karl N. Llewellyn, Betts Professor of Jurisprudence, Columbia Law School, has had an incalculable influence in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Three days before departure for the Comanche field I received a simple note. "I understand you are interested in American Indian Law," it read. "So am I. Could I talk to you?" Out of that has grown a stimulating association of the sort that is one of life's rare pleasures. 000 [114]

Dr. Jeannette Mirsky pursued an independent field study of the Comanche in the summer of 1935. She has graciously allowed me to draw from her notes. 114

The results of the Comanche study encouraged us to seek further information on the development of Comanche institutions among the related Shoshones. This was done with the aid of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. They financed a field investigation of the Ft. Hall Shoshones in Idaho during the following summer. This work was undertaken by F. Gore Hoebel and myself. The purpose was to investi-

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gate the general cultural background of the Shoshones and to determine, if possible, the basic legal patterns of the Shoshones for comparative reference to those revealed by the Comanches. The comparative results and inferences may be found in Appendix A of this memoir.

With the enlisted interest of the American Council of Learned Societies resulting from the findings in Comanche and Shoshone culture, the Committee on Law History set up a project on American Indian law. In 1935 and 1936 the Committee projected a study of Cheyenne political and legal institutions which was carried out by the present author in collaboration with Karl Llewellyn. Cheyenne institutions reveal much in common with those found in Comanche society, for the economic base of both cultures is similar. Cheyenne culture is more sophisticated than Comanche; less adolescent, one might say. Comparatively, Cheyenne behavior represents a higher level of institutionalization, thus providing to a degree an extension of Comanche trends. The Cheyenne materials are being prepared for separate publication.

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In studying Comanche legal institutions one must proceed by means of case histories. The Comanches underformalized their conception of their own behavior. To them legal action was merely an individual response to a threatening circumstance. It was not the playing of a role in a set legal institution. Thus the Comanches had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules. So, when the Comanche informant is asked such a question as this, "What was the rule when one man ran off with another's wife?", the answer comes in this form, "Well, I don't know about that. But I can tell you what happened when my uncle stole Horned Toad's wife." The Comanche and the case-trained American lawman proceed in like manner. What holds perforce for the Comanche should hold for the study of all primitive law. Legal behavior is *behavior* and should be treated as such. Malinowski has long since laid down the canon that behavior-in-fact is by no means in accord with the verbalized ideal to which a society may may give lip-service. The verbalized ideal is an important cultural fact when such ideal exists, but the actual conduct of a people is of more fundamental court. The verbalized ideal of the Comanche is the supremacy and free action of the individual. Case histories, when piled up, show that there were limiting legal mechanisms at work, however. The liberal use of case histories in the text is not for the purpose of providing interesting anecdote. The histories hold within themselves the juice of life-situations, revealing the sway and counter-play of emotion and motive, demonstrating the broad range of variability in conduct in given situations. Case histories give the native's coloring to the report, transmitting to the reader the impondrabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

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imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given. 000

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal. 114 121

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism. 124

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation. 114 124

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they 186 124

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

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Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]
>
> In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

114 121 701 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

114 701 Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yɛp Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

114 175 619 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

IS THERE LAW? AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

We are now ready to address that most vital problem related to social conduct: What are the techniques for adjudicating grievances and conflicts of interests? The practical absence of a recognized authority makes the machinery relied upon by the Comanches just that much more significant for the student of jurisprudence and social control. Here we are confronted with legal patterns which are more than mere custom, with norms as to which there is no binding force of hypertrophied reciprocal obligations as in Melanesia, norms which exist without the sustaining force of courts, or police, or other expression of state sovereignty. Since sibs were lacking and associations nearly so, there were no permanent organizations which functioned as equivalents of what we know as government.

No prevailing concept of the nature of law as given in current definitions will fit the facts as we find them in Comanche society. The ideology of orthodox political science and jurisprudence, expressed in terms of "commands of the sovereign," "rules of the state," "an obligation imposed by the law-maker" have no meaning here, nor in the data pertaining to most primitive societies. Not even so sociologically oriented a definition of the law as that advanced by the late Justice Cardozo serves to fit the needs of an anthropological approach to jurisprudence. For when he writes that a principle or rule of law is "a principle or rule of conduct so established as to justify a prediction with reasonable certainty that it will be enforced by the courts if its authority is challenged,"[1] we must conclude: "no courts; no laws."

Professor Malinowski's "anthropological definition of law," to wit, "civil law, the primitive law governing all the phases of tribal life, consists of a body of binding obligations, regarded as a right by one party and acknowledged as a duty by the other, and kept in force by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity inherent in the structure of their society," is really so meaningless from a legal point of view as to be useless in the development of a comparative jurisprudence.[2]

In Comanche society reciprocity is not developed to an exaggerated

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[1] Benjamin Cardozo, *The Growth of the Law* (New York, 1924), p. 52. Compare also MacIver's "Law is the body of rules which are recognized, interpreted and applied to particular situations by the courts of the state." R. I. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York, 1932), p. 272.

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), p. 58. For the debunking of Malinowski's *Crime and Custom* see William Seagle, *Primitive Law and Professor Malinowski* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 275–290.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

671 degree, so that Malinowski's approach is even less applicable here than it
121 might be elsewhere.

Without courts and without strongly developed obligations of reciprocity to serve as criteria of law, what then is there in Comanche practice that can be identified with what can reasonably be considered "law"? Professor Radcliffe-Brown and Professor Malinowski are at one in agreeing that rules of law are distinguishable from rules of custom as such. The point of distinction is their point of departure. The road taken by Radcliffe-Brown is the road which points us on the way to our working hypothesis. Brown's essential point is that customs (of various types) and laws are both social norms, distinguishable not on the basis of content, but in accordance with the type of sanction which is attached to the norm. However, the tripartate categories (with their subdivisions) of social sanctions developed by Radcliffe-Brown did not prove to be useful in this study.[3]

121 The identification of the legal sanction is the moot problem in the discovery of a working hypothesis for law in society. Interestingly enough, it is in a one-time conceptualization of law formulated by Professor Malinowski that the idea to be developed in this study was found. The hypothesis arrived at by the present author is a development and refinement of a principle since discarded (or forgotten?) by him. In Malinowski's first work he wrote, "A given social norm or rule is legal if it is enforced by a direct, organized, and definite social sanction."[4] This was in 1912. "Direct," "organized," and "definite" do not definitely clarify the nature of the sanctions Malinowski had in mind, but the attributes of the legal sanctions are indicated in these words.

Customs do have sanctions of different kind and degree, and since what we know as law consists in some perceptible external pressure restraining men or coercing them to conform to certain prescribed standards of conduct, then if such coercive sanctions exist in primitive societies, we are confronted

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[3] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Sanctions* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 13, 1935), pp. 531–534. Also *Primitive Law* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1935), pp. 202–206. The author is also directly indebted to Dr. Brown for stimulating his thinking on the role of sanctions with a lucid discussion of his (Radcliffe-Brown's) concepts in personal conversation in the summer of 1932.

The limitations of the categorical approach of Professor Radcliffe-Brown are clearly shown when it is applied to a specific problem as has been done by Dr. John H. Provinse in his study of *The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture* (*Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed., Fred Eggan, Chicago, 1937), pp. 341–374.

[4] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Family Life of the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1912), p. 115.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by legal phenomena. As MacIver writes on the use of force in the social situation, 121

> Wherever men act, or refrain from acting, in a manner different from that which they themselves have chosen or would choose in a given situation, because others deliberately limit the range of their choice either directly, through present control over it, or indirectly, through the threat of consequences, they may be said to be under coercion.[5]

Of the many forms of coercion possible, the exercise of physical force to control or prevent action is the absolute form of compulsion. As far as we have gone in examination of primitive and modern data, it would seem that the characteristic feature of law, as distinct from mere force, is the recognized privilege of a person or social group (either the society as a whole or any of the units which form its parts) to apply the absolute form of coercion to a transgressor when conduct deemed improper may occur. On this basis the following tentative definition of law has been formulated for use in comparative jurisprudence: *A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is met by the application, in threat or in fact, of the absolute coercive force by a social unit possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting.*

The term "social unit" means, of course, any individual, sub-group, or the society in its entirety. The sub-group may be a group of kinsmen, or friends, or any association within the society. "Socially recognized privilege" means that the action taken is generally looked upon as justifiable and acceptable by the majority of persons in the society concerned. Acceptance by the majority is by no means a clear cut picture in many situations. Law is a thing of growth and conflict. The substance of an old rule may be under challenge. The formulation of a new rule may be meeting with stiff resistance. A point of friction may have existed in a society for generations without an effective legal solution having been attained. Feud is a case in point. A murder done may be punished by death at the hands of the murdered man's kin in accordance with prevailing custom. But the privilege of a revenge killing is not recognized (again in accordance with custom) by the kin of the murderer. They strike back, and the siphoning of blood is on.

"In threat, or in fact"; this, because compensatory and restitutive damages, as well as punitive fines (confiscation of property) are ofttimes substituted for coercive force. But the defaulter in damages and fines finds that force has been merely veiled.

It may be observed that under this hypothesis, the action of a parent in "tanning" his child for misconduct, when not objected to by others in the

[5] R. I. MacIver, *Society*, p. 35.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

121 society, is a legal sanction. The same would apply to similar actions of any group within the society toward members of the group, even when the sanction is applied for the violation of rules which are peculiar to the particular class of persons belonging to the punishing group.

121 The Comanche materials which are to follow serve to demonstrate (as one example) that in primitive society the application of law is not limited 671 to the "political state," whatever that may be, nor even to government. When this fact is realized it will also be seen that "law" in our own society is somewhat more than has ordinarily been allowed. "Primitive law" is the henchman of Legal Realism.[6]

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[6] See, Roscoe Pound, *The Call for a Realistic Jurisprudence* (Harvard Law Review, vol. 44, 1930), pp. 697–711. And, K. N. Llewellyn, *A Realistic Jurisprudence—The Next Step* (Columbia Law Review, vol. 30, 1930), pp. 431–461.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CRIMINAL OFFENSES

EXCESSIVE SORCERY

Much confusion in the study of simpler societies results from our common habit of identifying criminal law with so-called penal law. Primitive law cannot be fruitfully considered according to the type of punishment. Criminal law is the law of crimes, i.e., *public* wrongs or delicts; civil law the law of "private" wrongs or delicts: torts and breaches of faith. 121

A crime may in this sense be distinguished from a wrong so far as the consensus in the society does or does not show a feeling that the act in question is a harm to society *per se* rather than merely to an individual or particular sub-group. Thus violation of a norm becomes a crime when the sanction of force attached to it is applied by society or its recognized agents, the primary motive behind the sanction springing from a positive sense of general social injury or affront. But the sanctions involved may be no different from those observed to operate in the case of private wrongs. The line between crime and wrong is not a sharp one; commonly, any offense is part one, part the other. When there is no statutory or other explicit means determining where the responsibility for action shall rest, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate crime from wrong in any way; indeed, there may be no differentiation.

Sorcery in Comanche society was primarily the concern of the family of the person affected. It was for them to treat with the sorcerer or to engage a medicine man to effect the cure. Sorcery as a wrong is dealt with below (see Ritual and Evidence). It is also clearly established that sorcery engendered social consequences causing the entire society to react. Because sorcerers were persons with whom social intercourse was dangerous, to be known as a sorcerer meant that normal social relations were to some degree withdrawn. To be known as a bad sorcerer meant that a person was usually shunned to the point of ostracism. The evidence indicates that this ostracism was positive enough to cause the evil medicine man to live apart from people, taking his position a little way off from the camp as a social pariah.[1] From this it is fairly clear that general social sanctions were asserted along with the particular magical and social sanctions which were first applied in a case of sorcery. Public opinion—that sustained public disapproval of any act or series of acts in which we find the germ of criminal law—was always hostile to the sorcerer. After a long-time accumulation of public 754 626

[1] That the sorcerer was specifically ostracized was affirmed in a generalized statement by That's It. The fact will be noted in application in the case given by Slope on page 79, and again in the quotation from Eagle Tail Feather contained on page 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

RITUAL AND EVIDENCE

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF SORCERY

The occurrence of supernatural sanctions may be legally irrelevant, for sin need not be illegal. But sometimes an act may be both sinful and illegal and the invocation of a supernatural sanction is one way of dealing with a grievance. When the sanction depends on invocation by the aggrieved or by an official, we have one form of resort to law—though it be also, or even exclusively, religious law. 121

There is a notion current among social scientists that religious tabu precedes legal strictures in the hypothetical time sequence of social development. Law emerges from religion, they say. This is one of those over-generalizations which trap seekers of sequences. Because in our own social history and that of Greece and Rome we can note an early precedence of religion as a source of some law, or because in some primitive societies tabu and supernatural injunction dominate human conduct, does not mean that such circumstances are characteristic of human society in general.[1]

Yet this erroneous notion is commonly accepted as self-evident fact. Harry Elmer Barnes' restatement of Franz Oppenheimer's thesis may be noted as an example. "Primitive punishment is inflicted either to remove the stain of impurity from society or to prevent a supernatural being from taking revenge on the tribe."[2] This is partly true of the punishment of murder among the Cheyennes. It would also be true for the punishment of incest among most natives of Australia. It holds only in very minor part for the Comanches. In none of the incest cases will the reader find a trace of fear of the supernatural expressed. Though religion penetrates the legal complex, law in this society does not reinforce religious beliefs. 121 688

Like all Indians, the Comanches were essentially religious. Their religion shows affiliations with characteristic forms of the Plains and in some respects with the Shoshonean peoples of the Great Basin. 771

It was an exceedingly simple, highly vital religion. The concept of the guardian spirit[3] was its heart and core. Success and excellence in any action

[1] Mr. A. S. Diamond (*Primitive Law*, London, 1936), has recently attempted to demonstrate the lack of validity of the "law from religion" doctrine by an historical examination of the development of the early legal codes of Asia Minor and Europe in particular. The codes, however, are the terminus, not the beginning of primitive law, a fact which makes his argument spurious as far as legal beginnings may be concerned.

[2] H. E. Barnes, *The Story of Punishment* (New York, 1924), p. 3.

[3] For the cultural significance and generalized nature of the complex see Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 29, 1924), p. 29.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Here, as in the Trobriands, we find suicide "a means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior."[2] 762

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 98.

Professor Malinowski emphasizes another aspect of the situation which Professor Karl Llewellyn feels is not justified by the Melanesian data thus far at hand. The whole of the quotation cited above reads, "Thus suicide, like sorcery, is a means of keeping the natives to a strict observance of the law, or means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior." Llewellyn observes that the Trobriand data show not that suicide is a method of enforcing the *law*, but more likely that it is a method of protest *against* a too strict insistence upon the letter of the law—even as in Comanche society. But Malinowski's point holds for many cultures. Compare "fasting on a man" in ancient Ireland, revived in the modern hunger-strike. Devotion-suicide (as of the widow in ancient India) may merge into one institution with shame-suicide (as in old Japan), and in both phases run free either of protest or of effort at enforcement of rights or vengeance for wrongs. In our own civilization threatened suicide is sometimes met as pressure in love-matters; but the claims sought to be enforced are rarely "legal," even in the sense of primitive law. On the contrary, the pressure may be in every sense an illegal aggression. The act itself is almost without cultural meaning; only its context gives it color. 121●

114 *Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

121 The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

114 Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of
[186] our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

THE CULTURE OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS

RUPERT RICHARDSON

●121 The purpose of this paper is to describe the manners, customs, social and political institutions, and the state of mental development of the Comanche Indians, together with some notice of their implements, weapons, camp sites, and means of subsistence. Because of the nature of the information available it has been necessary to place the emphasis on the more intangible matters rather than on artifacts and other concrete remains which might interest the members of this society more. Indeed, the writer fears that what he brings will be of little value to a society created primarily for the purpose of gathering, classifying and studying the bones, utensils, and implements of the aborigines of this section and less concerned with Indian relations and the thought, habits and customs of the races that preceded us.

131 The Comanches are not aborigines of this immediate section. In fact, they had for some time been in contact with the French on the east and southeast and the Spanish on the west and southwest before they began to frequent any part of Texas. However, for a century and a half they did claim as their home a great part of that region which we designate with the indefinite term West Texas; and the tribal name will forever be linked with the border tragedy, history and romance of this region.

Although the purpose of this paper is not to deal with Indian relations, some notice of the general Indian situation in West Texas during the Spanish period may well serve as an introduction to a more specific study of the Comanches. When Coronado came, in 1541, he probably found Apache bands in this region.[1] As he moved into Kansas he met with tribes of the great Caddoan family, and the people of Quivira, that city of gold that turned to clay and grass when he at last found it, are identifiable with the Wichitas who belonged to that family. Although the great "conqueror" did not visit eastern and central Texas, it is reasonably certain that many Caddoan bands lived there also. After Coronado, various

1. F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1907), 1-63.

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COMANCHE KIN BEHAVIOR[1]

By THOMAS GLADWIN

/2/ ANY system of kinship consists of a number of more or less rigid, culturally determined patterns of attitude and behavior toward certain categories of individuals in one's community or tribe; these patterns are symbolized on a verbal level. Each of these individuals is tagged with a term of relationship which determines, to some extent at least, how one should feel and act toward this person. These terms form but a part of the fairly large terminology of status with which a member of a group is equipped for his guidance in dealing with his fellows; but they fall into readily apprehended and well-integrated systems, found in various forms among all peoples, and have thus received what is perhaps an undue share of attention.

However, in spite of the fact that the relationships thus classified function primarily as symbols for patterns of behavior and attitude, the bulk of work with kinship has failed to consider the association between these symbols and their behavioral and affective concomitants. While comparative-historical reconstructions and the various sorts of analytical studies, all on a largely formal level, are unquestionably of value, it must be remembered that they present only a very partial picture; any assumptions concerning the association, except in the most general terms, of any behavior patterns with kinship terms are not justified until demonstrated.

Attempts to provide more complete studies of kinship systems have not been numerous in the North American field, though there is an increasing tendency in this direction. Some time ago, Radcliffe-Brown suggested an outline for a study of this sort:

> Kinship systems vary in different forms of social organization all over the world in respect of three characters; (1) the extent to which genealogical relationships are recognized for social purposes, (2) the way in which relatives are classified and grouped, (3) the particular customs by which the behavior of relatives, as so recognized, classified and grouped, is regulated in their dealings with each other.[2]

While one may not agree with Radcliffe-Brown in all his theoretical premises and goals,[3] this none the less provides an excellent basis for description, es-

[1] The material upon which this study is based was obtained during the field work of a group under the direction of Dr. George Herzog, sponsored by Columbia University, during the summer of 1940. The guidance and suggestions of Dr. Herzog both in the field and during the subsequent analysis of the data have been of very considerable assistance, and I take this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to him. I am also indebted to the other members of the group for access to the material they collected relevant to my problem; it is to be hoped that the picture will soon be rounded out by the publication of their portions of the study.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown (1930), p. 43.

[3] *See* Steward (1938 b). This approach was also the subject of considerable altercation between Kroeber (1934), Radcliffe-Brown (1935), and Opler (1937). This discussion was primarily con-

<pp 1-72 not processed>

121 pecially if one accepts the implication of the necessity for comparative background contained in the first part of the quotation. This scheme is basic to a number of North American studies contained in the *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, edited by Fred Eggan,[4] and will be followed here, though without strict adherence in detail to the method of the Eggan volume.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

601 The list of terms which identify relatives among the Comanche are given in a separate table, the first being descriptive, and those in parentheses the forms used in direct address. With them are included the English equivalents for the closer relationships; these will be used hereafter for the sake of clarity whenever possible.[5]

Comanche Kinship Terms and Their English Equivalents

có·ʔ (có·ʔ)	g.g.p.; g.g.cil.
kĭ' nuʔ (kĭ'nhʊ)	f.f., f.f.b., f.m.b., f.f.si.h., f.m.si.h.; *m.s.*: s.cil., b.s.cil., si.s.cil., w.b.s.cil., w.si.s.cil.
hu''ciʔ (hu'cɪ)	f.m., f.m.si., f.f.si., f.m.b.w., f.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: s.cil., si.s.cil., b.s.cil., h.si.s.cil., h.b.s.cil.
to'koʔ (to'ko)	m.f., m.f.b., m.m.b., m.m.si.h., m.f.si.h.; *m.s.*: d.cil., b.d.cil., si.d.cil., w.si.d.cil., w.b.d.cil.
ka'kuʔ (ka'kʊ)	m.m., m.m.si., m.f.si., m.m.b.w., m.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: d.cil., si.d.cil., b.d.cil., h.si.d.cil., h.b.d.cil.
ʔa''pĭʔ (ʔa''p(ĭ))	f., f.b., m.si.h., m.si.h.b.
pi'aʔ (pi'a)	m., m.si., f.b.w., f.b.w.si.
ʔa'raʔ (ʔa'rhA)	m.b., f.si.h.; *m.s.*: si.cil., w.b.cil.
pa'haʔ (páhA)	f.si., m.b.w.; *w.s.*: b.cil., h.si.cil.
pa'viʔ (pávɪ)	o.b., *if older than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
ta'miʔ (ta'mɪ)	y.b., *if younger than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
pa'ciʔ (pa'cɪ)	o.si., *if older than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.
na'miʔ (na'mɪ)	y.si. *if younger than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.

cerned with the historical and structural aspects of the problem, that is, whether similar kinship systems always implied similar social structure in comparable cultures and vice versa. As no one denies the association of *some* specific behavior with the use of kinship terms within any society, it does not appear necessary to take a position here relative to this question.

[4] Eggan (1937).

[5] Hoebel has already presented such a table. However, he does not distinguish between the descriptive and the address forms, nor does he include all the terms here listed. Therefore it seems advisable to present the complete system again. *See* Hoebel (1939), pp. 441–442.

Most abbreviations used should be obvious. A few may be amplified: cil (children), *m.s.* (man speaking), *w.s.* (woman speaking).

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 1. Language may be viewed both as a part of culture and as an index to culture. As a learned system of symbolic vocal skills language is a part of the social heritage comparable to the technique of making a parfleche, the Sun Dance, or joking with one's brother-in-law, and as such it is similarly affected by the psychological and sociological processes of culture dynamics. It follows, then, that linguistic change is an integral part of the total acculturation that occurs when cultures come into contact. These changes may range from slight to radical alterations in the form or content of a language, through the formation of various pidgin dialects or trade jargons, to the complete supersession of a language by a dominant tongue.

In its purely formal aspects, language may be considered apart from culture. It is in this sense, and because of the genetic relationship, that we say the Comanche and Shoshone speak the same language; or that the Zuni, Hopi and Keres, or the Kwakuitl, Haida and Tlingit have similar cultures yet speak different languages. But the bones of linguistic forms are covered with the flesh and blood of meaning. As a symbolic index to culture a language inevitably reflects the content of the culture it serves. Vocabulary changes go on *pari passu* with changes in the other spheres of culture: new objects and ideas, the products of acculturation, must be named if they are to be incorporated into a culture. From this point of view it seems fruitful to consider linguistic change

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[12] as part of a broader process of cultural change.[1]

The linguistic concomitants of acculturation have been treated by most linguists in their general texts and in articles under the rubrics of loanwords or borrowing.[2] For the most part their concern has been with the classical languages or those having a written tradition. Anthropological linguists have given the subject somewhat more attention in their general writings on ethnolinguistics,[3] have mentioned it in passing in specialized papers on linguistics,[4] and have contributed a number of articles on loanwords in various unwritten languages.[5] Studies of the wider aspects of linguistic acculturation have recently appeared,[6] and

[113] [1] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.237 (1948).

[113] [2] Leonard Bloomfield, Language (1933); William Graff, Language and Languages (1932); Edward Sapir, Language (1921), and Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); and E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917).

[113] [3] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24. (1948) and The Relation of Language to Culture. Anthropology Today (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554–73; Edward Sapir, Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); Ismael Silva-Fuenzalida, Ethnolinguistics and the Study of Culture, AA 51.446–56 (1949); C. F. Voegelin and Z. S. Harris, Linguistics in Ethnology, SJA 1 no. 4 (1945), and The Scope of Linguistics, AA 49.588–600 (1947). See also Joseph H. Greenberg, Linguistics and Ethnology, SJA 4.140–47 (1948); and A. L. Kroeber, Some Relations of Linguistics and Ethnology, Lg. 17.287–91 (1941).

[113] [4] For example, Leonard Bloomfield, p. 106; Trager, p. 217; Swadesh, p. 312ff; and Whorf, p. 292, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6 (New York, 1946).

[5] See references listed in the section on Loanwords.

[113] [6] Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–7 (1951); George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941); Jean B.

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121 Weinreich has published an excellent study of bilingualism in contact situations.[6a] However, cultural anthropologists interested in acculturation have evinced little concern with the topic. Linton makes no mention of the role of language in his writings on acculturation.[7] Herskovits' survey[8] treats the matter in a programmatic fashion and stresses the need for research on pidgin and creole dialects and other substandard forms of speech.[8a] Sapir's richly loded discussion of the significance of linguistic evidence for the student of culture history and culture contact[9] has to date been left unmined, even unassayed.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it will examine the effects of a long career of culture contact and change on the Comanche language. Second, it will attempt to show what light this linguistic evidence throws on the nature and history of that contact. As a study in ethnolinguistics it hopes to demonstrate the value of linguistic materials as an adjunct to other forms of investigation. It thus purports to be both

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[113] Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45.427-34 (1943); D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu.' Acculturation, AA 45. 435-40 (1943); Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3.130-46 (1947); Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA, 45.410-26 (1943); Zdeněk Salzmann, Contrastive Field Experiance with Language and Values of the Arapaho, IJAL 17.98-101 (1951); Paul L. Garvin, Kutenai Lexical Innovation, Word 4.120-26 (1948); and William Bright, Linguistic Innovations in Karok, IJAL 18.53-62 (1952).

[113] [6a] Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, (New York, 1953). The book contains an extensive bibliography.

[113] [7] Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (New York, 1940).

[113] [8] M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation, (Augustin, New York, 1938); p. 107 ff. and p. 128.

[113] [8a] Hall's work on Haitian creole has done much to remedy this deficiency. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, Memoirs AAA 74 (1953).

[113] [9] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada, 1916).

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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10] 178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year 175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year 177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION II*

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4. Acculturation vocabulary
4.1. Extension of old meanings
4.2. New coinages
4.3. New descriptive formatives
4.4. Circumlocutions
4.5. Loan words
4.6. Translation-borrowing

121 4. Linguistic change may occur in all the various aspects of language: phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and style. However, modifications in the highly systematic aspects, phonology and grammar, appear to progress at a slower rate, and while changes in these realms of language may be accelerated or even initiated by culture contact, they seem to result primarily from relatively autonomous linguistic drifts.[44] Stylistic changes, in so far as they are general within a speech community, may be likened to other changes in the domain of fashion. Semantic changes, on the other hand, are more directly attributable to changes in the other spheres of culture, whether due to internal or external stimuli. While cultural change is a continuing process, it is frequently accelerated by the contact of cultures through diffusion and acculturation, and the vocabulary is that aspect of language which most sensitively registers these changes. In this section we shall examine those new additions to the Comanche vocabulary stemming from culturally external sources.

Of the different forms of speech nominal forms are the most freely added, although where there has been long and intimate

* For Comanche Acculturation I see IJAL 20.140-51.

[44] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 157-182 (New York, 1921).

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[45] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[46] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 197 192 There are four principal means by which a language may enlarge its vocabulary to accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [45] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[46] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC
ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[49] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[50] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[49] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonization and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[50] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 206 ff. (New York, 1921).

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192 [197] form and have general currency in the language. Morphologically they are comparable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[80] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

?ekavItī/namarĬnipkahtu/tawīhtia?enA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

?ohapItī?a/taka/sīkīkamatĬ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesīcī·sīsa/pahiku/ta?apī?/tekwaphanávo·pĬ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

surīcahtīsoko·vi/pihaya?ikīna·/tenapīma?aiku·/wa?ihpī?a/tatáhtīki? [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pīkĬrahávi?ena/pi?wesuru·?i? [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sī?kī?iha/taka/pàhpa?akunácaweni?e·tī [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nīmīpīknáyīkwi?ena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakoewa?itī/pīmatatīrohtīma?enA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 192 121 The problem of accounting for the large proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed, in most American Indian languages,[81] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95% of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[80] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[81] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 words.[82] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the
[121] absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[83]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[84] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[85]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[86] and they

[82] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [83] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[84] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[85] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [86] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke a Southern American dialect. Thus, the r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekīʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
ḃ	o	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ḋ	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdez, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–44 (1937).

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197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ï, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, especially those of an earlier vintage and in
197 general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.[A] Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
192 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavirí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·sitïn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).
(113)

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-148, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-148, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]
[p.229-A]

197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nÏ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puercó); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *ʔahpī ʔ[119] *Father (God)*; *ta ʔahpī ʔ *Our Father;* ʔahóhtavehnItĬ *Thanksgiving Day;* ʔohahpitĭ·ʔ[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihi ʔ *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pĭhikavĭrĭ·ʔsári·ʔ *sheep dog;* ta ʔkivihu·ra ʔ *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot)*; tuhtaivo·atahtokó·ʔ *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavĭrĭ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvsikatĬ *smart, brainy* (kuhvsI *brains* + -katĬ *possessor*); kwásiraivo·arĭhkapĬ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kĭhta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·ʔ *cowboy (cow White man)*; napa ʔe·kO *tongue (shoe)* (*shoe tongue*); narĭmi ʔ *Master*[121] (*Jesus*); nĭmikuhcusónipĬ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings
192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awĭ pá, ʔohanarsopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sikwekatĬ *half got* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

[p. 231-A]

192 197 [601] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĪ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĪ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĪ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matīma? ·tīmī· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nīrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nīhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

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[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĪ, for *corn.*

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted*, for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·ĭ', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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121 done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ. Comanche, however, has borrowed only one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

197 192 [193]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

192

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog* (*green mule crier*); *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie* (*brown bread*); pehekatüpa·nĬ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĬ *possessor of* + pa·nĬ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers* (*white bread*); *ku-simu·ra? *donkey* (*grey mule*).

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad* (*fire wagon*); ci·sisa pía *Mary* (*Jesus' mother*); *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apú?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw hawv, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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000 hand, has taken some 25% words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·? *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[113] [114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 84–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 ?otīmu·ra? *oatmeal*. Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule*. The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapé?atĩhkapĬ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food*, tĩhkapĬ.

wa?o·rihkapĬ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorihkapĬ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodisg, lagéht', literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, privates or common people*, has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodisg, ?lhagéht', the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders*. Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which 191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English, 561 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few 191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives 563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is [191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela- [177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[138a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113]

[138a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185–202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
191 of acculturation. It may be noted that in
124 speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
[177] of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche-speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma'. J pronounced jello, jero', and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

(113) [140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
198 tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
the language is far and away the most vitally
177 functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[149] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[149] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives,
197 adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[153] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[154]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[155]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] [153] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153–64 (1926).

[154] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24:335–45 (1948).

[155] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

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121 language through linguistic borrowing or indirectly through modifications in the native language introduced by bilingual speakers; internally, due to extensions of meaning, additions to the vocabulary, or other linguistic adjustments which may in turn initiate a whole series of compensatory phonetic or grammatical shifts following new analogy patterns.[156]

8. Semantic changes are accomplished by extending or modifying meaning or by adding to the vocabulary.

9. Vocabulary is increased by: coining new words; incorporating loanwords; translation-borrowing.[157]

10. No knowledge of the language of an impinging culture is required for meaning extensions or new coinages and only native linguistic materials are used. This is designated PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. A minimum knowledge of a donor language is necessary for linguistic borrowing in the form of either loanwords or loan-translations. Such linguistic borrowing is termed SECONDARY ACCOMMODATION.

11. The extent to which any given language uses primary or secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language.

7.3. The twenty numbered propositions which comprise the final section of this paper should be viewed as essentially hypotheses rather than conclusions. While some have face validity and others are sup-

[113] [156] Ways in which linguistic changes may be effected are discussed by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles E. Osgood, and Sol Saporta in their section on Language Change in Psycholinguistics, Charles E. Osgood and Thomas E. Sebeok, Editors, Memoir 10 of IJAL (1954).

[113] [157] While these three devices appear to the writer to constitute the principal ways of adding to the vocabulary, they may of course be broken down into various sub-types. See, for example, Einar Haugen, The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing, Lg. 26.210-31 (1950).

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121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the
121 native culture. Thus, the extension of comO
192 which now refers to *modern beads of various*
197 *materials*, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

121 4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue
192 was to be found in the native culture. Thus,
197 the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU
121 *water board horse*, indicates the absence of watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

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121 192 197 of the old and the new, such extensions often afford clues not only as to how new traits are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] [192] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[148] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 192 197 10. The longer a loanword has been in a language the greater the tendency for it to acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 177 192 11. The linguistic source of a loanword will suggest the provenience of a new cultural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[148] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 177 192 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and vests by the Spanish; to money and administrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 192 197 16. When the analysis of what is apparently a descriptive word is obscure there is a strong likelihood that it is an older word: piesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 192 194 197 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*; in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 192 177 18. The elements used in new descriptive formations will often indicate the approximate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

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121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat, cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mĬ (nï·mĬ *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

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192 distaste for the food when first encountered. —or it may simply memorialise a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed [83] resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.[111] Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

[111] See also Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54–5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

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121 The caveat that meanings do
825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[153] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ʔevikuyú·siʔ *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·ʔ *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[153]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[153] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [153] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

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Introduction

121 The name "Comanche" is a romantic one in the history of the west and has a prominent place in the literature of adventure. The present volume gives us a different and more intimate view of this people. It presents a compilation by Elliott Canonge of native tales, given directly in the Indian language and in English translation.

Two generations ago anthropologists took it for granted that they had to make use of the Indian languages in order to study Indian cultures. Everyone recorded the native terminology of handicrafts, of tribal organization, of ceremonial concepts, as a helpful key to the better understanding of the Indian way of life. In those days, under the particular inspiration of Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology, great collections of native myths and narratives were collected directly in the native languages and published with word-by-word interlinear and running translations into English. These collections include myths and legends, accounts of personal experiences and explanations in the Indians' own words of work techniques, war and ceremonial practices, supernatural beliefs, conceptions of nature and every other phase of native life. These materials have proved again and again their value in revealing both objective and subjective facets of culture in detail and with the insight possible to people who have personally experienced those folkways.

As time went on, much of the old practice of using the native language in the study of culture was lost. Sometimes we old-timers attribute this to the linguistic obtuseness or the laziness of the younger generation, but it probably has other simpler explanations. One of the principal ones is the acculturation of the Indians. In Boas' younger days, interpreters who knew a little English in addition to their native tongue, were hard to find. Today almost every Indian group has its college graduates, with even a sprinkling of anthropologists. When the anthropologist goes to the field, he has no difficulty finding Indians who speak English with ease and understanding, and who either know some anthropology or very quickly pick up the anthropologist's jargon, perfectly capable therefore of discussing totem and taboo, shamans and ritual, inheritance and mythologic "themes". Then, too, the early painstaking effort of recording and translating native texts led to a general understanding of Indian folkways among the scholars, so that now they go to the field to fill in gaps of

knowledge instead of having to unravel basic concepts. All this means that the anthropologist can now manage without using the native language if he so wishes. 121

However, something else is happening nowadays, namely that science is advancing its standards of accuracy and penetration. And this must imply a return, sooner or later, to the use of native texts and linguistic techniques. Perhaps it will be another generation or two before the full realization of this need is felt, and by that time many of the languages will be gone beyond recall. Timely, therefore, is such a work as the present collection, recorded by Elliott Canonge from Mrs. Emily Riddles of Walters, Oklahoma. A warning that this type of text collection should be done without delay is born home by the fact that Mrs. Riddles, a very old woman born around 1885, suffered a stroke in 1955, before Canonge had finished his work with her, and she was unable to continue. 126 115

Canonge has worked in the best traditions of Boas' day by recording these texts in the native tongue at the direct dictation of a person wise in the ways of her people, but the tradition itself has developed and advanced. Canonge writes Comanche in a "phonemic" alphabet, both simpler and more accurate than the recordings of the same language made 50 years ago, basing himself on the advances in linguistic science produced in this period. A "phoneme" is a fundamental unit of speech-sound in the phonetic system of a given language; always it includes a play of variations occurring under scientifically definable conditions and within a determinable range. English has such variations, and so does Comanche. The reason that the old records of Comanche look so complicated is that the variations in their language and in English do not jibe; so, in the pre-phonemic days, many imaginary or exaggeratedly interpreted variations were recorded, even though they are hardly significant in the native language, and other phonetic differences, important in Comanche, were overlooked. Canonge's record, based on the the scientific insight derived from the earnest but necessarily stumbling efforts of our predecessors in Amerindian work, gives Comanche in a form that is as simple as it is possible to make it, and which at the same time is fully accurate. The reduction to this scientific shape was not achieved without effort, but required a long and careful study, involving listening hundreds of times to individual words and to pairs of words to determine what differences were automatic and which represented a fundamental contrast in the speech of the natives. 126

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight,* where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual
121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long,* paʻpaʔatə *long(redup.).* In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem taʻka-), takənəninəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem takə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely
197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of
197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[113] [4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106-109 (1949).

[p. 230-B]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

121 194 emphatic stress and attentative rhythm[3] (and by particles), but pitch contour is conditioned by other factors.

121 A minimum of intonational contrast has previously been reported for Oto,[4] another Indian language of Oklahoma, but languages with little or no contrastive pitch system have not generally been described. In Oto intonational contrast occurs only on exclamations. [194] Comanche however has not even that minimum of pitch contrast.

In discussing the nature of intonation, Bolinger has declared that it is 'both conventional and instinctive', that the physiological tension which is the basis of intonation can be 'trained out' (which, he feels, accounts for lexical pitch systems), and that English intonation is not an arbitrary structure because we do not 'occasionally deliberate about our choice of contours'.[5]

On the other hand, without denying the physiological basis of any part of speech or denying the close physiological association of GRADIENT differences of pitch, or of intensity of stress, this paper would lend weight to an understanding of the 'arbitrariness' of intonational SYSTEMS where they occur. 121 194 Languages range from the complicated and contrastive system structure of English intonation to the lack of any such contrastive structure in Comanche.

The data presented here will show that in Comanche length, stress, and rhythm are interconnected in their distribution and mutual conditioning, patterning together in the total phonological structure,[6] and that

[3] A distinctive rhythm pattern with meaning 'attention here' (see 2).

[113] [4] Kenneth L. Pike, The Intonation of American English, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 21.

[113] [5] Dwight E. Bolinger, Comments on Pike's American English Intonation, SIL 5.69–70 (1947).

[113] [6] For a tentative list of other Comanche Pho-

[p. 297-B]

194 an adequate description of the phonology
[121] must include phonemic rhythm. The prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by
[104] such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /$_{\text{i}}$/. $_{\text{i}}$ˈtenah$_{\text{i}}$pIʔ$_{\text{i}}$caʔ $_{\text{i}}$ˈpiʃia$_{\text{i}}$nakI$_{\text{i}}$katī $_{\text{i}}$ˈpuʔ-etu $_{\text{i}}$ˈmiʔaarī *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* $_{\text{i}}$ˈname$_{\text{i}}$wah$_{\text{i}}$sik^{w}I$_{\text{i}}$tūī $_{\text{i}}$ˈpiʃia$_{\text{i}}$kahni$_{\text{i}}$nūī *eight big houses.*

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[113] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley,
[104] Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /,/ anticipation pause, /./ non-anticipation pause, /^{H}/ emphatic stress, /$_{\text{i}}$/ rhythm marker, and /$_{\text{h}}$/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [Ī], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

[2] Language development poses several problems for the genetic psychologist and anthropologist as well as the linguist. Some baby words are to be found in all languages, written and unwritten,[3] though not commonly as formalized and in such abundance as in Comanche. In all these baby words two facts claim attention: the universality of reduplication, and the use of simple phonemes, especially the labials p, b, m, the stops t, d, k, g, and cardinal vowels. The use of simpler phonemes is probably explained in terms of the baby's limited ability to manipulate his speech organs, since learning to speak even one's native tongue involves the induction of an intricate set of motor habits and is a maturational process comparable to acquiring such other skills as walking or skipping. But the problem of reduplication is not so easy of solution. Jespersen has this to say, "It is simpler and more natural to refer these reduplications to the pleasure always felt in repeating the same muscular action until one is tired."[4] But this seems an oversimple explanation. A natural tendency to reduplicate may perhaps be granted and seems to be supported by the oft-made observation of the infant's babbling repetition of the same sound. This proclivity seems to have been tacitly recognized by adults and conventionalized by them in reduplicated baby words.[5]

[113] [3] The following references list baby words: Wayne Dennis, The Hopi Child, 1940, p. 35; also words from Shungopavi, Zuni, and Cochiti (personal correspondence); A. F. Chamberlain, Notes on Indian Child-Language, AA, o. s., 3.237–41 (1890), 6.321–2 (1893); Edward Sapir, Nootka Baby Words, IJAL 5.118–9; Leo J. Frachtenberg, Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute, IJAL, 1.295–9; A. L. Kroeber, op. cit.; Otto Jespersen, Language, Book II, The Child, pp. 103–88 (1923).

[4] Jespersen, op. cit., p. 109.

[113] [5] Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, p. 36 ff., discusses the child's speech education in Manus, and mentions the endless repetition back and forth between adult and baby of the same monosyllable. She says, "This random affection for repetitiousness makes an excellent atmosphere in which the child acquires facility in speech". p. 37.

[p. 13-B]

[2] As the growth of speech facility parallels to a marked degree the maturation of the child's intellectual capacities, one might ask how comparative speech phenomena reflect this. Does it take longer for a primitive child who has to learn a highly complex language, such as many North American Indian languages, to gain control of his language than, say, a Chinese or American child?[6] At what age is the primitive child capable of making the subtle analogical formations[7] that many primitive languages require?

Some knowledge of children's speech development and baby words seems essential for the anthropologist or psychologist interested in problems of personality development and character structure. From the vocabulary itself one can form some idea of the child's world in a given culture; what objects and affects impinge upon it. Discipline and attitudes are reflected, as in Comanche where

[863]

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, who has made extensive observations on Navaho children, feels that the Navaho child, as compared with the English-speaking child of the same age, is somewhat retarded in acquiring equal facility with his extremely difficult language.

[7] See Leonard Bloomfield, Language, pp. 275 ff. (1933), and Chapter X of Edgar H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (1947).

[113]

[p. 14-A]

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times [113] results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940).

[113] [9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction.

[p. 14-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 omanche N06
klahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128

ABSTRACT

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett, Director of Research at the Institute, provided all equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

122 114 114

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p. 316-A]

19; Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19
Ute NT19

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah. [101]

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

[p. 805]

[p. 806 is blank]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 C manche N06
T xas*

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone
have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and
126 other information necessary to that end, had my mind
been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 229.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche 306
Texas

[ca. 1818]

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them,

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but 657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains. 121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113] 1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 98.
Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

194
121

0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113] [1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114] My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[115] Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113] [2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

194 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It
121 is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[4]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'kuʔ-okʷekʷaiʔu ʔ *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔokʷEkʷaiʔu ʔ *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phono-
194 logical junctures are the same. The gram-
193 matical structure is also comparable: each begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d*
196 *per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku- *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -kʷa *movement away*, the morpheme -i *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔu ʔ *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔokʷe means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

[4] idem. 26.

[p. 63-B]

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukĪni *a stable*, 'naBUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /Ī/ of 'puhakĪni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The
194 mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may
195 vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.

194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her
Analysis B in which consonant clusters
114 resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant
are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to
121 eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hB and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

[p.67-A]

194 sonants for ?s, ?m, ?y, etc., which would
114 reduce the number of consonant clusters to
zero but would produce thirteen more new
121 phonemes. All possible combinations of ?
followed by a consonant occur except ??.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ?c and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ^{h}'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ^{h}'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p.67-B]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

128 121 121 128 121

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects. [122]

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931. [114] [113]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

SUMMARY

This series, comprising seventy-nine Comanche Indians, 142
presents the following noteworthy features in the palmar dermatoglyphics:

Line A is characterized by the abundance of very low terminations. Line C is frequently abortive or absent. Line D does not commonly extend far radialward. Hypothenar patterns are infrequent, while thenar/first interdigital patterns are abundant. Apical finger patterns present a high frequency of whorls.

Though the report is presented as a mere record of find- 144
ings, without comparison with other races, it may be noted 121
that there are suggestive likenesses to the Eskimos and to 142
the Indians of southern Mexico and Central America.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2,[A] is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

A [See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO9
Oklahoma
Kiowa NO13

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 121

C K [123] [124]

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 198

C K [182]

Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

C K 195 198 [178] C K 195 197

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa N015

/page 43 continued/

C K 795 771 [177] [123] In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K 121 Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result

C K 121 665 177 has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

C K 121 /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Foreword

About the Series

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These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

114

David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma. [101] [126]

Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society. 121

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

31: Jones E-5. (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 [128] Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 153 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

GEORGE *and* LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Introduction

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC IMMORTALITY of the Comanches rests almost exclusively 114
on the data obtained and published by the members of the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Labofatory of Anthropology. Several members of this group, notably Ralph Linton and E. Adamson Hoebel, have produced valuable contributions to the knowledge and understanding of Comanche culture. The institution of the Comanche traditional doctor, however, was only superficially recorded by the members of the Santa Fe group and even less satisfactorily recorded in earlier and less rigorous accounts of the Comanches. It is because of the paucity of material in this area and because of a unique set 121
of circumstances which enabled me to achieve an unusually close rapport with the only traditional Medicine woman now functioning in Comanche society that I attempted to fill some of the aforementioned void with an intensive study of this doctor.

This study will be an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche Medicine woman. The attempt will be made to describe every possible aspect and facet of her role as Medicine woman and to consider her social position and cultural meaning in the context of contemporary Comanche society. It is hoped that the method of presentation employed in this book will enable the reader not only to understand how a Comanche Medicine woman performs the prescribed behavior and ritual of her role, her attitudes toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society but also to gain insight into the personality and character of the woman who is the last surviving Comanche eagle doctor.

Supernaturalism is often an extremely difficult area of culture for the ethnographer to approach with any degree of depth or intimacy. This situation becomes exaggerated, as in the case of the Comanches, when certain supernaturalistic institutions are considered by the members of the culture as final bulwarks of traditional values, or last vestiges of a "golden era." When these institutions are of a kind to elicit negative responses from the dominant culture in a situation of

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

121 ongoing acculturation, or when they are in real or imagined conflict with similar institutions in the culture in dominance, they become even more elusive to the
123 ethnographer. For example, Sanapia's initial resistance to converse on the subject of native doctoring practices was based on her fear of ridicule and her belief that information which she gave this investigator could make her liable to arrest for practicing medicine without a license.

My first experience with other Comanche informants on the subject of Comanche native doctors was similar. Though many were fonts of knowledge on practically any subject touched upon in the preliminaries of an interview, my questions concerning even such an inoffensive subject as the existence of living native doctors were met with terse denials. It was only after establishing a socially visible rapport with Sanapia that I found the first resistance on this subject to subside. I was then able to obtain information from certain informants who had been Sanapia's patients or who at least had some comments to offer on the subject of Sanapia, native doctors, or supernaturalism in general.

755 The term "medicine," when used by Sanapia, refers specifically to material items which are a necessary part of her activities when she is involved in manipulating or directing her personal *puha*, or supernatural power. *Puha* is equivalent to the terms "Medicine" and "power." Sanapia uses the term "doctoring" to mean any kind of action by a *puhakut*, or one who possesses an extraordinary degree of supernatural power, which is concerned with the direction of Medicine at another for purposes of good or evil.

121 Because of the dearth of material on Comanche culture, I have but a minimal amount of very general information with which to compare the sometimes highly detailed data obtained from Sanapia on the intricacies of her profession. With comparative literary precedent lacking on this specific subject and in the absence of other doctors similar in kind to Sanapia, this study must be considered as a discussion of the "Medicine way" of *a* Comanche Medicine woman. Generalizations on certain Comanche supernaturalistic notions will be made only when a number of informants have been in acceptable accord. It should be noted that even if there existed a more complete literature on Comanche doctors, and if there existed at present Medicine women with which to compare Sanapia, generic statements on the subject would still be artificial and tenuous, given the great degree of latitude granted the individual doctor in the details of the performance of his role and the individualistic bent of Comanche personality in general (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:155; Kardiner 1945:81).

The bias of the ethnographer is always a crucial element in determining the outcome of his field research and the conclusions which he will draw from such experience. I refer to personal bias, partiality, inclination, or prejudice not specifically concerned with a field problem. Of course, it is ideally desirable that the field researcher have as little bias as possible, but he will necessarily possess a certain way of viewing given situations and individuals and, whether he desires to or not, he will judge them. Both for the ethnographer's sake and for the sake of his reader in evaluating his product, I feel that the researcher should attempt to make as explicit as possible the particular manner in which he viewed his subjects, any partiality he experienced, and the manner in which he feels he was accepted by his subjects. Especially with a book of this kind, this is

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her. 121

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuißitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia. 123

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia, [562] [114] [115] [142]

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush
174 and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in
166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's patients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information
114 with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography
121 is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is
756 that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there
124 is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce
[756] them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

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The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

[p. 352]
[pp 1-351 not processed]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

were generally willing to cooperate to the best of their knowledge. Again and again they expressed the wistful wish that the recordings taken by the Laboratory group may find their way into the hands of their children and grandchildren. "When we are gone, and there is no one to tell them, we want them to be able to read it in the book," they said. We, the investigators, were often subjected to impromptu quizzes by the informant when we came to the end of a particularly difficult problem, so that the Indian could satisfy himself that what had been written was written correctly. The Comanches revealed a genuine desire for completeness and accuracy in the production of their ethnology.

Finally, the reader must keep in mind that this memoir is not a complete Comanche ethnography. I have tried to keep the treatment of all phases of political and legal problems in their proper cultural context. Even so, it is possible that a magnified picture of Comanche law may result. The reader is warned to make his own corrections for distortion by doing his best to keep the broader cultural background of Comanche society constantly in mind.

The contribution of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology towards the publication of this memoir has been made possible by a grant extended by the Southwest Society. The author's sincerest appreciation is extended to these two organizations and to the American Anthropological Association for their generous interest and aid in making publication possible.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

College. Their aid has done much toward making this book more valuable and attractive.

[122] Without the direct aid in subvention of research by the Allocations Committee of Texas Technological College and the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology, it is unlikely that this book could ever have been written.

Like any married authors who are members of university faculties we have been sustained, aided, and abetted by our knowing and indispensable wives.

To all these—our sincere thanks!

ERNEST WALLACE
E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

May 15, 1952

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
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3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest [114] [122] instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape [124] recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, [126] Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help [128] of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, [113] and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowl-
124 edge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinʔ *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[122] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128

ABSTRACT

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett, Director of Research at the Institute, provided all equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

122 114 114

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p.316-A]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

128 121 128 121 121

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects. [122]

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931. [114] [113]

[p. 229]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[101] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,
[621]
[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.
[122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[113] [4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico
[113] (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392-420).

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa N015

/30/

KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT
FROM THE FIELD

Jerrold H. Levy*
University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 123 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (of the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and tough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain: most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit crowded in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true K 124 535 even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that

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*Mr. Levy has been a student at the University of Chicago for four years. He has an M.A. in Oriental Languages (Hebrew and Old C K 114 Testament) and an M.A. in Anthropology.

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 123

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

K 361 592

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Acknowledgments and Comments

Transcriptions of tape-recorded interviews in English enabled me to present extensive verbatim material from Sanapia and my other informants. In order to sustain the tone and manner of the original response, I attempted no editing of these passages. All quoted material, unless otherwise designated, is after Sanapia (pseudonym). Also, no attempt has been made to touch up the old photographs of Sanapia and her family. 126

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. William E. Bittle of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma for his valuable advice, criticism, and support during the development of this study; to Dr. Morris E. Opler of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma for his encouragement and aid toward the publication of this book; and to Dr. George J. Goodman of the Department of Botany of the University of Oklahoma for his enthusiastic assistance in the identification of the medicinal plants discussed in Chapter 3. My most profound respect and appreciation must go to Sanapia, who gave me her trust and active intelligent assistance throughout the period of my fieldwork among the Comanche people of southwestern Oklahoma. It is her wish that this be the book of her "medicine way," and I hope that I have succeeded. 122 115

DAVID E. JONES

Norman, Oklahoma

[p. xii is blank]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start. 443

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs. 122 124

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group. 432 [436] 432 595

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases. [855] [858]

32: Gilles .O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a.* Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sometimes Mo-cho-rook would butcher a steer and bring at least 432
part of it into town to sell. More properly, I should say to let people 231
buy it. The extreme selling effort he made was to pull the tarpaulin back so that you could see the meat if you walked up. He hauled the meat in the back end of a small hack, or spring wagon, and I assume he took home whatever he failed to sell and dried it.

When you showed him the cut you wanted, he waited until you showed him how much money you had; then he would cut your meat, with an apparently very sharp hunting knife that had about an eight-inch blade. He had no scale to weigh your meat, nor did he have anything to wrap it in. You carried your meat to your home in your hand, unless you had the foresight to bring something to wrap it in. He gave you good value for your money. I recall weighing his meat only once, [435]
and it ran about five cents a pound. This was about half what a white butcher would have charged you, had there been a white butcher around.

Fresh meat was hard to get. There was no ice for the first two or 000
three years, and a butcher didn't have much leeway in warm weather. Meat had to be sold the first day. We were entirely dependent on people who would bet that they could sell a beef out before it spoiled. Generally speaking, you only got to buy fresh meat on Saturdays, when there were the most people in town.

I was making every effort to gain a working knowledge of the 122
Comanche language, and whenever I had a friendly Indian in the store I would be writing down the names of things and acquiring useful phrases. Several months passed before I had learned enough so 124
that I could ask some of the old fellows about Mo-cho-rook. The young [122]
men didn't care to discuss him. It could have been that they felt he was Bad Medicine.

One day I braced an old chap who was in a talking humor. We were in a comfortable spot, and we worried the subject for a couple of hours. He knew about as much English as I knew Comanche. Obviously, much of the vocabulary that I had accumulated around the store was useless in this conversation. Later I was to talk to numerous others, and ultimately an old squaw man helped me to edit, or arrange it properly, in my mind.

I asked my friend, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook? He no Comanche." Oshey-him may be translated as "Who is?" "What is?" or "Where is?" according to the way it is used, circumstances, etc. I think the most

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19
Ute NT19

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah. C u w 121 C u w [101]

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants. C 123

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner. u 128

March, 1915.

[p. 805]

[p. 806 is blank]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1: 1 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eye-witnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/30/

KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT
FROM THE FIELD

Jerrold E. Levy*
University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 123 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true K 124 even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that 535

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K one informant told me that he had seen the ghost dance performed
124 several times by the Kiowas when he was about fifteen years old. As
535 he is only sixty-two or three now and the books say that the ghost dance stopped in 1891, I thought that this story was slightly exaggerated. I found an answer to it which also explained why the informants disclaimed any knowledge of cradle boards etc. pushing such things back into the old days. I felt that Devereaux's time warping was at work here. Well after checking a little I found that in spite of a government ban, the Kiowas danced the Ghost dance as a social dance
C at least up to the First World War. Moreover, in time, the informants
K did tell us more and more about the child rearing practices etc. that
123 they "did not remember." It took time, we found, because they were
124 reluctant to admit to whites that any so called "savage" practices
C had ever been known to them at all. Other stories which seemed equally
K fantastic have also turned out to be correct upon cross examination
124 and verification from outside sources.

C /31/With two families we have made most satisfactory and happy
K friendships. But close friendships have their drawbacks. There is
123 an ever increasing involvement in the domestic and political problems of the group and it is a most arduous task keeping oneself from entering into the tangle with gusto.

C The Kiowas seem to be far more amenable to acting as informants
K than do the Comanches. This is perhaps because the Comanches I know
123 have either served as informants before or have been close friends of
124 older men who have been informants in the past. The very man who has brought me into the group as his "friend" and has introduced me to peyote and with whom we have the closest of relationships is the most reluctant to become known as an informant and to work in a formal manner as such.

C My job as curator has become a double edged blade. As time
K has passed it turns out that the people in the historical society and
123 Lawton in general are disliked heartily. They are willing to help me

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C K 128 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 123

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 178 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 175 178 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 175 177 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

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C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, C K there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in 795 771 this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K [829] Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to C K suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both 799 795 faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, C K and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to men- [129] tion this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they C are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement K day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle 799 is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the en- 795 trance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The 533 whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi 829 from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

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C K In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner
795 in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am
711 able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pres-
[177] sures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of
[123] an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-
equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at
121 the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in
providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result
C K has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus tradition-
121 alist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the
665 areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once
177 important it might be profitable to do some historical work concern-
ing the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty
years.

C K /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determin-
121 ing the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear
that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It
is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White
aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible.
But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem
from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign
to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view
which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures
but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture.
Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of
model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 [128] Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 153 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

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Portola Valley, Calif.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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121 ongoing acculturation, or when they are in real or imagined conflict with similar institutions in the culture in dominance, they become even more elusive to the ethnographer. For example, Sanapia's initial resistance to converse on the subject 123 of native doctoring practices was based on her fear of ridicule and her belief that information which she gave this investigator could make her liable to arrest for practicing medicine without a license.

My first experience with other Comanche informants on the subject of Comanche native doctors was similar. Though many were fonts of knowledge on practically any subject touched upon in the preliminaries of an interview, my questions concerning even such an inoffensive subject as the existence of living native doctors were met with terse denials. It was only after establishing a socially visible rapport with Sanapia that I found the first resistance on this subject to subside. I was then able to obtain information from certain informants who had been Sanapia's patients or who at least had some comments to offer on the subject of Sanapia, native doctors, or supernaturalism in general.

755 The term "medicine," when used by Sanapia, refers specifically to material items which are a necessary part of her activities when she is involved in manipulating or directing her personal *puha*, or supernatural power. *Puha* is equivalent to the terms "Medicine" and "power." Sanapia uses the term "doctoring" to mean any kind of action by a *puhakut*, or one who possesses an extraordinary degree of supernatural power, which is concerned with the direction of Medicine at another for purposes of good or evil.

121 Because of the dearth of material on Comanche culture, I have but a minimal amount of very general information with which to compare the sometimes highly detailed data obtained from Sanapia on the intricacies of her profession. With comparative literary precedent lacking on this specific subject and in the absence of other doctors similar in kind to Sanapia, this study must be considered as a discussion of the "Medicine way" of *a* Comanche Medicine woman. Generalizations on certain Comanche supernaturalistic notions will be made only when a number of informants have been in acceptable accord. It should be noted that even if there existed a more complete literature on Comanche doctors, and if there existed at present Medicine women with which to compare Sanapia, generic statements on the subject would still be artificial and tenuous, given the great degree of latitude granted the individual doctor in the details of the performance of his role and the individualistic bent of Comanche personality in general (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:155; Kardiner 1945:81).

The bias of the ethnographer is always a crucial element in determining the outcome of his field research and the conclusions which he will draw from such experience. I refer to personal bias, partiality, inclination, or prejudice not specifically concerned with a field problem. Of course, it is ideally desirable that the field researcher have as little bias as possible, but he will necessarily possess a certain way of viewing given situations and individuals and, whether he desires to or not, he will judge them. Both for the ethnographer's sake and for the sake of his reader in evaluating his product, I feel that the researcher should attempt to make as explicit as possible the particular manner in which he viewed his subjects, any partiality he experienced, and the manner in which he feels he was accepted by his subjects. Especially with a book of this kind, this is

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her. 121

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia. 123

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia, [562] [114] [115] [142]

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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123 562 being a *puhakut*, considered herself equal to a male. However, I did notice that females who interviewed Sanapia were able to gather information of a much different nature than I was able to obtain. The differences were not crucial, but mainly differences of tone and level. Because of the social position in which she felt herself to be, she tended to "talk down" to females, while she would converse with me as a social equal.

123 The fact that I was so closely associated with Sanapia and her family also tended to affect my relationship with other Comanches. I was not reacted to as a harmless and innocuous outsider. I was Sanapia's "friend" or "son." Consequently, Sanapia's sympathizers would be overly gracious in discussions, while her enemies would be unduly harsh. It was often difficult to retain control in an interview. This entire situation was aggravated because Sanapia, perhaps because of her role as a *puhakut*, was more apt to draw an emotional rather than a rational reaction.

Naturally, because of my close association with the northern bands, I was found highly suspect by the southern Comanche bands. I must admit that I had less personal sympathy for the southern band members, possibly because of my initial enculturation by the northerners. This may have made me more susceptible to identify the cleavage in Comanche society between northern and southern "tribes." I attempted to guard my emotions in this area by establishing historical roots for the divisions in Comanche society and by offering rationalizations for my major use of northern informants. The bulk of my data comes from *Yapai* and *Kwahada* band members; for the most part, these are the Comanches of whom I speak.

Sanapia is approaching the last days of her career as doctor and is beginning to prepare for the training of her successor. She views this study as the book of her Medicine way and feels that if she should die before she is able to complete the training of her successor, this book will act to complete the training.

> I'm going to give him [Sanapia's grandson] all that. He might not keep it up, but he'll have those medicines to work with. I'm going to make him understand too. You [referring to the author] got to write down all those medicines what I tell you . . . write it on a book and keep it until he gets old enough. If I'm still living two or three years, well, if I pass away then you could just tell him that . . . just give him what you taking down.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[123] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certainly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre or $200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

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123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I 000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180 pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While we were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure 123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles [481] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility [273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor, [609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for [177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out [797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the [123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when his people needed him.

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One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [348]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 348
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

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out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a*. Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name 736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood [597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo, 726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing 648 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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to chickens for frying, and there were few chickens in the country. 136

Even the great multitude of new tasks was soul-inspiring. I went 000
ahead with the freight wagons to the little inland town later to be known as Faxon, near where the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma, is. There was the freighting of lumber for the trading store my father planned to establish, the erection of the store building, and the freighting of the merchandise. I was clerking in the store, seeing all the new faces, continually meeting new people, and learning new names.

But none of these wonders was equal to seeing, meeting, and know- 123
ing the Comanche Indians. This was especially true when I sensed that one group of the Indians was inclined to be especially friendly toward me, and they made me feel that I was, in effect, one of them. This group was made up of the older men—the warrior group. They ranged in age from the late forties upward. I remember that in my mind I classed most of them as being in their fifties. Men obviously sixty and over were very scarce.

Since apparently all primitive people are attracted by large men, it may well be that my size helped me with my Comanche friendships. In my fifteenth year I largely had my growth. I was bigger than most men, and my muscles were well developed. Within my skills, I could do a man's work, and did. I continued to grow some until I was sixteen and was actually taller than I am now. I knew only three old Comanches that were taller than I. Quanah Parker and Comanche Jack were two of them.

I was properly thrilled. Here was living history. Here were men that had ridden the war trails to the bitter end: Adobe Walls, Palo Duro Canyon, the retreat to the Big Springs Mountains, and then the surrender at Fort Sill in June, 1875.

I had nothing in common with the teenagers near my age. They didn't work, fish, or hunt, as I did. There was no common meeting ground. What I called the Carlisle group, the older young people who had been to the Pennsylvania school and were much better educated than I, by and large ignored me. I have thought since that perhaps they were a trifle jealous of the attention the old fellows gave me. There was a conscious emotional gap between these educated Indians and the old fellows.

Soon after I arrived, an old squaw man gave me some very valu- 123
able information and advice. It summed up about like this: "If a white 609
man wants to gain the friendship and respect of the Comanche, he 562

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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to them tobacco was a gift from the great spirit. What I had witnessed 276
could be considered in the nature of a prayer or communion—perhaps 782
you could apply the word *sacrament* to it.

I made a number of plans to observe these incidents more thorough- 123
ly, but none materialized. One was to count the number of puffs each took from the cigarette, and another was to find out who furnished Old Warrior his whiskey. The trouble was that I could only watch Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior between the chores which needed to be done around the store. Late customers had to be waited upon; the team of little Spanish driving mules had to be hitched up for our trip to the claim, when we could finally close the store; occasionally there were letters to be mailed, so they would be sure to leave on the early morning mail hack for Lawton. These necessary duties made my watching a hit-and-miss activity.

Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior's ritual extended to the drinking of 273
whiskey. The bottle was always kept out of sight. When Old Warrior had the bottle opened, Mrs. Warrior held up part of her blanket over one arm in front of her husband, hiding him while he had his drink. When it was Mrs. Warrior's turn, he held up his blanket to shield her.

After the bottle passed back and forth a few times, the old couple headed for home. But they never left the bottle, so I assumed they kept some for the road. Their departure would leave me with a number of things to wonder about.

I wondered if they would make it home safely, if the little mare was trained to wait in case they went to sleep and fell off. If the weather was inclement, I worried about the two elderly people catching cold. Also, I wondered what their three Carlisle-educated children, two sons and a daughter, thought of their parents' late hours.

The old people's confidence in the little chubby mare was not misplaced. They survived each trip. I imagine Old Warrior and his wife felt they had been very discreet while in town, and that none of the white people had the slightest idea they had purchased whiskey.

I once heard a story at a Comanche gathering that may explain the care Old Warrior and his wife exercised when on whiskey trips. An 273
old fellow told of having the record books of the old Deyo Mission. 797
They had been left with his father, Ho-var-ith-kh, for safekeeping.

After telling of the formation of the first congregation, he turned to me and said laughingly, "You knew Old Warrior? Well, once Old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

CA-VO-YO, GIVER OF NAMES

I NEVER KNEW but one of the old Comanches that carried the distinction of being a Name-Giver. He was Ca-vo-yo. When the Comanche roll was made out, soon after the surrender in 1876, he was given the birth year of 1840. That only meant the government clerk figured he looked to be thirty-six years old. I remember that when I finally sorted him out as an individual, I judged him to be about the age of my father, a Civil War veteran crowding seventy. 553 127 657

I must have seen Ca-vo-yo first in March, 1902, but then he was one of a large number of older Comanches, whom I termed, for my own convenience, the "old fellows." That meant to me that they were old enough to have been warriors who probably had fought at the battle of Adobe Walls and been present when the surrender took place at Fort Sill. 123

In due time most of the old fellows became individuals to me. I learned their names, where their camps were located, the number of wives each had, if any, and their dispositions toward the white man; and being a trader's son, I learned of their bill-paying reliability, in the event credit was extended to them between Grass Money payments. If a trader extended credit, he needed to know all the wives by name and keep a record of what each wife purchased, though he charged the total bill to the husband.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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423 657 principal agent was at Anadarko, but for a time sub-agents were maintained at both Fort Sill and Cache. One of Quanah Parker's daughters, Laura Neda, married A. C. Birdsong, an agent at Cache. The actual Comanche Reservation period ended in 1901, when the members of the tribe took individual allotments.

123 In 1907 I quit working at the store and went away to school. I visited my parents from time to time and often saw some of my Indian friends in town during these visits. But I never saw Wer-que-yah again until late in the fall of 1919. He farmed some of his Post Oak Creek bottomland and had grain for his beloved horses in the winter. The day I saw him, he was selling a wagonload of husked yellow corn. The Record Book shows that he died the following September. Peet-So survived him by twenty years.

123 609 Some years after his death, my mother told me of a visit he and Peet-So made to her and Dad's home. He had heard of my marriage and that we had a boy baby. He was able to make Mother understand that they wanted to see a picture of my baby.

Mother invited them in. Wer-que-yah and Peet-so sat together, and Mother said they oohed and ahed as though it had been a picture of one of their own grandsons whom they had never seen. It was shortly after the noon hour, and, learning that they hadn't eaten, Mother prepared them a meal. After they left, she was unable to find the photo. Apparently they considered it a gift. They may even have asked for it.

609 About ten years ago I was told yet another story. Glenn Hagar, a druggist at Chattanooga, was the teller of the tale. His father's farm was near the Wer-que-yah home. On days when they were not needed on the farm, he and his older brother often went to the Indian's home and played with his younger sons.

There were trees to climb, Post Oak Creek to wade and swim in, fish to be caught, and cool, clear spring water to drink. There were none of these things on their father's prairie farm.

Mr. Hagar's father's people lived just west of the present town of Faxon. His father's half-sister became seriously ill with typhoid fever. There were serious doubts as to whether she would recover. One morning, while the parents were waiting for the doctor to arrive, Wer-que-yah drove into their yard.

Tying his team, he came to the house and asked about the little

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given. 000

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal. 114 121

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism. 124

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation. 114 124

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they 186 124

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

186 were generally willing to cooperate to the best of their knowledge. Again
124 and again they expressed the wistful wish that the recordings taken by the Laboratory group may find their way into the hands of their children and grandchildren. "When we are gone, and there is no one to tell them, we want them to be able to read it in the book," they said. We, the investigators, were often subjected to impromptu quizzes by the informant when we came to the end of a particularly difficult problem, so that the Indian could satisfy himself that what had been written was written correctly. The Comanches revealed a genuine desire for completeness and accuracy in the production of their ethnology.

000 Finally, the reader must keep in mind that this memoir is not a complete Comanche ethnography. I have tried to keep the treatment of all phases of political and legal problems in their proper cultural context. Even so, it is possible that a magnified picture of Comanche law may result. The reader is warned to make his own corrections for distortion by doing his best to keep the broader cultural background of Comanche society constantly in mind.

122 The contribution of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology towards the publication of this memoir has been made possible by a grant extended by the Southwest Society. The author's sincerest appreciation is extended to these two organizations and to the American Anthropological Association for their generous interest and aid in making publication possible.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

speaks of the 'Comances' as "in stature rather low, and in /114 person often approaching to corpulency." Richardson (1829, p. 61) quotes Marcy's description of the Comanches in 1854 as men "about medium stature, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline nose, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard." Finally, Boas (1895) reports stature for seventy-four and cephalic index for twenty-nine Comanche males measured by his students at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. Except for additional casual statements about their appearance, nothing else on the physical status of the Comanches, to the writer's knowledge, has appeared in print.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study comprises thirty-five full- and probably /124 full-blood males, twenty-five full-blood females, and twenty-five mixed bloods. The numbers are regrettably small, but mixture of blood is so prevalent that little better was possible under the circumstances. Virtually every town and surrounding environs where Comanches lived—Lawton, Cache, Fletcher, Walters, Mt. Scott—was visited in the search for full-bloods. By full-blood the writer means a person with no other blood than that of his tribe as far back as he can remember, and as far as other, older, members of the tribe recall; this criterion must agree with the physical diagnosis based on character of hair, color of eyes and hair, Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, general appearance, etc. All reasonable precautions were taken in the present study to insure accuracy of judgment.

The number of virtually certain full-bloods, nineteen males /128 and twenty-five females, although small, is believed to be a /124 typical group. Data are therefore given in some detail, more so since the full-blood is rapidly becoming totally eliminated and other information is meager.

A number of the subjects examined appeared full-blood, yet for one reason or another, the diagnosis could not be as certain as desirable. These subjects were designated as 'prob-

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

able[7] full-bloods. They appear more divergent metrically than either full- or mixed-bloods, and are therefore treated separately.

The data for the mixed-bloods will not be given in detail, inasmuch as the group is made up about equally of Mexican, other Indian, and white admixture, no one sub-group being large enough to give a reliable sample. Mixed-bloods were measured incidentally, all time and effort being exerted in mustering full-bloods. It may be mentioned, however, that, in general, the mixed-bloods, especially the Mexican-Comanches, resembled the full-bloods to a remarkable degree, so much so that not infrequently it was quite difficult to distinguish one from the other. Exactly this same situation was commented upon long ago by Fitzpatrick, as quoted by Mooney.[6]

There have been suggestions, even positive assertions, that the Comanches were physically as well as linguistically related to the Shoshoni.[7] The Comanches have been compared, therefore, with the latter in as great detail as the available Shoshoni material allowed. The Apache (San Carlos), Dakota Sioux, Indians of the Southwest and Mexico, and Old U. S. Whites, have also been more or less utilized for comparative purposes because of similarity to, or to show in sharper relief, the Comanche characters.

Measurements were taken with tested, standard instruments, and the methods followed are those endorsed by the International Agreement.[8] The writer is deeply indebted to Drs. Aleš Hrdlička, of the U. S. National Museum, and Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for their instructions in method and invaluable advice throughout

[6] Loc. cit., p. 174.

[7] Physically, the Comanche retain something of the heavy featured face of the true Shoshone . . . ." (Farrand, '04, p. 144).

". . . . it is highly probable that if the fact could be ascertained, which I have no doubt a thorough research would establish, it would be shown that the Shoshoneans, Comanches, and Utes were formerly one and the same people—a conclusion based upon the similarity of their language—and physical characteristics." (Clark, 1885, p. 119.)

[8] Hrdlička (A.), Anthropometry. The Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1920.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

SOME NOTES ON USES OF PLANTS BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

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114 THE notes on which this paper is based were gathered chiefly by Mr. Carlson during the summer of 1933, while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and a member of a field group of that institution led by Dr. Ralph Linton. The research was made on the Comanche Indian Reservation near Indiahoma, Comanche County, Oklahoma, as a small part of a general ethnographic study of the Comanche. The briefness of the expedition and the broadness of the general investigation did not permit much time to be spent on ethnobotany. It is realized that this paper does not by any means exhaust the subject of Comanche plant uses, and it was hoped that further field work might be done. As this has not been possible and as the publication of the bulk of the report of the expedition may be delayed, it seems advisable to publish these notes at this time.[1]

[115] An educated Comanche informant-interpreter, Herman Asenap,
124 assisted materially in contacting the older non-English-speaking members of the tribe and was of invaluable aid in acquiring and interpreting information. Whenever possible a specimen of the plant to be identified was gathered in the presence of the informant, but when this was not practical as complete a description as possible was obtained. Suggestions concerning the identity of a number of these plants have been made with some assurance from descriptions,
000 common names, and manner of use. The specimens which were

[1] Thanks are here expressed to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, to Dr. Linton, and to members of the party for permission to publish these data.

[pp 1-516 not processed]

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms. 601 551 576 [794]

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain 593

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias. [124]

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 2500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martines, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

192 **away when first received as rations]; *wokobuheu? *parrot* (*pine bird*)** [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananīkitĬ *movies* (vibrate, flicker); yīcī?e·tĬ *airplane* (customarily flies); yīyītu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarīhkapĬ *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapĬ *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketĬ *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapĬ *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwI *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[n] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tīhkapĬ *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tīso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopĬ *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhuLscu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapĬ *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapĬ *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 4.4. In addition to the new descriptive
197 words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was
192 understood in context. If Comanche did
197 not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of
124 the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 Many of these periphrastic formations,
197 such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[n] kusitaivo·? *grey, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
191 of acculturation. It may be noted that in
124 speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
[177] of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma·. J pronounced jello, jero·, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

(113) [140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175–188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

[p. 241-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

191 794 191 [124]

English has had another rather different influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

[177] [195]

[p. 242-A]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

000 PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[114] [122] [124] [126] [128]

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

[113]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data
124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanǵ·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[122] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain ". . . articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased . . ." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed ". . . in caves or crevices in the rocks . . ." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2] 114

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] [101] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request [124] [126]

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169. [113]

3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 182-3. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone
126 have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 26, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 229.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 124 101

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

W 539 171

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

C 539 171

W 825

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

C W 539 171 113

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

29:' Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made. 624 671

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble." 691 578

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them. 684 [554]

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk. [837]

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery. [124]

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.A Theoretically in all instances, 837 584

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/30/

KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT FROM THE FIELD

Jerrold E. Levy*
University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 129 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that

K 124 535

C K 114 *Mr. Levy has been a student at the University of Chicago for four years. He has an M.A. in Oriental Languages (Hebrew and Old Testament) and an M.A. in Anthropology.

/page 30 continued/

K one informant told me that he had seen the ghost dance performed
124 several times by the Kiowas when he was about fifteen years old. As
535 he is only sixty-two or three now and the books say that the ghost dance stopped in 1891, I thought that this story was slightly exaggerated. I found an answer to it which also explained why the informants disclaimed any knowledge of cradle boards etc. pushing such things back into the old days. I felt that Devereaux's time warping was at work here. Well after checking a little I found that in spite of a government ban, the Kiowas danced the Ghost dance as a social dance
C at least up to the First World War. Moreover, in time, the informants
K did tell us more and more about the child rearing practices etc. that
123 they "did not remember." It took time, we found, because they were
124 reluctant to admit to whites that any so called "savage" practices
C had ever been known to them at all. Other stories which seemed equally
K fantastic have also turned out to be correct upon cross examination
124 and verification from outside sources.

C /31/With two families we have made most satisfactory and happy
K friendships. But close friendships have their drawbacks. There is
123 an ever increasing involvement in the domestic and political problems of the group and it is a most arduous task keeping oneself from entering into the tangle with gusto..

C The Kiowas seem to be far more amenable to acting as informants
K than do the Comanches. This is perhaps because the Comanches I know
123 have either served as informants before or have been close friends of
124 older men who have been informants in the past. The very man who has brought me into the group as his "friend" and has introduced me to peyote and with whom we have the closest of relationships is the most reluctant to become known as an informant and to work in a formal manner as such.

C My job as curator has become a double edged blade. As time
K has passed it turns out that the people in the historical society and
123 Lawton in general are disliked heartily. They are willing to help me

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 123

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 7AB In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. C K [186] Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 7A5 7A8 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. C K 7A5 177 A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 164 [755] The Comanches use "crooked mouth," "twisted face," and "twisted up" as synonyms for ghost sickness, and these terms are helpful in their descriptive capacity. It is also significant that Sanapia is almost always successful in curing this affliction in adults, though she is much less efficient in curing these same symptoms when they appear in infants and are considered the result of witchcraft.

A survey of the literature on hemiplegic disorders strongly suggests for consideration a vaguely understood variety of paralysis called Bell's palsy. Bell's palsy is due to the paralysis of the seventh cranial nerve and results in the paralysis of one-half the face. The condition is usually abrupt in onset, reaching its peak within a few hours. In the majority of cases the paralysis appears as an isolated finding without demonstrable cause. The eye on the affected side cannot be closed and its waters excessively. The lips are displaced toward the healthy side and the corner of the mouth sags. "No proof of bacterial or viral infection has yet been adduced, and the actual pathogenesis remains unknown" (Kunkle 1950:1493). Treatment usually consists of kneading and friction on the afflicted side (Goodall-Copestake 1926:225).

124 775 164 I prepared simplified descriptions of ordinary hemiplegia, multiple or disseminated sclerosis, shaking palsy or Parkinson's disease, and Bell's palsy, neuromuscular disorders which all share some symptoms in common, and read them to Sanapia for her reaction. She immediately chose the account of Bell's palsy as a description of ghost sickness, even suggesting that I had based the description on information with which she had supplied me.

775 164 The medical descriptions of Bell's palsy describe the facial paralysis present in ghost sickness; however, in these accounts no mention is made of a concomitantly occurring contraction, spasm, or paralysis of the hands and arms, a symptom which from Sanapia's accounts occurs in many cases of ghost sickness. The emotion of fear, a key theme in the accounts of actual ghost contagion, offers a clue to the etiology of the affliction of the hands and arms. Dr. Gail Neely (1968) offered the suggestion that fear or emotional shock is one of the major causes of hyperventilation, or highly irregular, abnormally rapid respiration. Schottstaedt (1960: 48–51) supports Neely's suggestion and adds:

> Hyperventilation deserves special emphasis because of its importance in giving rise to symptoms. . . . This process ultimately results in a state of respiratory alkalosis with effects throughout the body. Many sensations result from this chemical derangement. . . . If hyperventilation continues long enough, spasms of the hand and feet (tetany), a feeling of being paralyzed, and actual loss of consciousness may occur. . . . Any of these manifestations may arouse fear; the more dramatic ones ordinarily do.
>
> In addition, an anxious person often has irregular respiration, which may become sufficiently severe to produce all of the manifestations of hyperventilation. The overt behavior is usually avoidance, ranging from a readiness or desire for flight to actual running away.

Medical descriptions of tetany, which, as Schottstaedt mentioned, can be caused by hyperventilation, follow Sanapia's description of the hands in ghost sickness to the letter. Aub (1951:1275) writes:

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information
114 with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography
121 is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is
756 that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there
124 is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce
[756] them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of [563] school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was [296] about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bot- [124] tom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary. 521 (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with 562 604 any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversa- 124 tion and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the [198] women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw 516 their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their [352] camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn 443
about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start.

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait 122
on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words 124
had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs.

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. 432
When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches [436]
was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying 432
in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were 595
satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group.

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only [855]
variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made [858]
their own purchases.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, 609 and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping 432 in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, 609 each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article 432 595 as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother began having trouble.

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. [198] As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of [124] their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sometimes Mo-cho-rook would butcher a steer and bring at least 432
part of it into town to sell. More properly, I should say to let people 231
buy it. The extreme selling effort he made was to pull the tarpaulin back so that you could see the meat if you walked up. He hauled the meat in the back end of a small hack, or spring wagon, and I assume he took home whatever he failed to sell and dried it.

When you showed him the cut you wanted, he waited until you showed him how much money you had; then he would cut your meat, with an apparently very sharp hunting knife that had about an eight-inch blade. He had no scale to weigh your meat, nor did he have anything to wrap it in. You carried your meat to your home in your hand, unless you had the foresight to bring something to wrap it in. He gave you good value for your money. I recall weighing his meat only once, [435]
and it ran about five cents a pound. This was about half what a white butcher would have charged you, had there been a white butcher around.

Fresh meat was hard to get. There was no ice for the first two or 000
three years, and a butcher didn't have much leeway in warm weather. Meat had to be sold the first day. We were entirely dependent on people who would bet that they could sell a beef out before it spoiled. Generally speaking, you only got to buy fresh meat on Saturdays, when there were the most people in town.

I was making every effort to gain a working knowledge of the 122
Comanche language, and whenever I had a friendly Indian in the store I would be writing down the names of things and acquiring useful phrases. Several months passed before I had learned enough so 124
that I could ask some of the old fellows about Mo-cho-rook. The young [122]
men didn't care to discuss him. It could have been that they felt he was Bad Medicine.

One day I braced an old chap who was in a talking humor. We were in a comfortable spot, and we worried the subject for a couple of hours. He knew about as much English as I knew Comanche. Obviously, much of the vocabulary that I had accumulated around the store was useless in this conversation. Later I was to talk to numerous others, and ultimately an old squaw man helped me to edit, or arrange it properly, in my mind.

I asked my friend, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook? He no Comanche." Oshey-him may be translated as "Who is?" "What is?" or "Where is?" according to the way it is used, circumstances, etc. I think the most

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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124 agonizing time came after he had told me who Mo-cho-rook was, where he came from, and many of his peculiarities when I asked him, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook?" placing the emphasis on Mo-cho-rook. In other words, what does Mo-cho-rook mean? Without going through the painful steps we used to arrive at it, this was his explanation. "White man say, Comanche so cruel he makes white man's blood run [551] cold. Mo-cho-rook means, he is so cruel, he makes Comanche's blood run cold."

This, then is the story of Mo-cho-rook, after placing all the frag-
721 ments together, and with the editing of the squaw man. Sometime in the middle twenties of the last century, an unusually well-planned raid was made into Old Mexico. It was made by a leader of excellent re-
[702] pute. His raids had always been successful, and he always picked out a select group from the volunteers. This time he selected about a hundred young but proven warriors. Each was to provide himself with two good horses, one to have a pack saddle. The end of the raid was to be the capture of a town that had never been raided from north of the river.

It was well protected on north, east, and west by unhospitable land. It was fifty miles from the nearest water, on those three sides. This rather large ranch town sat near the head of a fertile, well-watered valley. It was twenty-odd miles to the next nearest town, with only ranches lying in between.

These people were very rich in good horses and cattle. Upward of a hundred or more families lived in the town. As the plans were laid out the Comanches would move in to well-concealed hideouts in the hills below the town. The town was too large to be taken by direct attack. At siesta time, part of the warriors would make an attack on the horse herders and stampede the horses to the west out onto the desert. After the pursuit was well away from town, the herd would be headed to the north.

As many of the pursuers as possible would be ambushed, as they would be presumably strung out. But the pursuit was not to be discouraged, and they were to be led as far away from town as possible.

Once the pursuit was well away from town, the rest of the warriors were to attack the town, where the only opposition was supposed to be the old men and the boys. The available horses would have been taken by the able-bodied men of the town for the pursuit. All the old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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his right arm around the horse's nose and his left arm over its head, 231
pulling the head down. All the time he was standing there hugging the horse's head, he was murmuring what sounded like Comanche baby talk.

After a little while, he took his right arm from around the horse's nose and broke out with a stream of excited talk. Mostly it was Comanche, but some was English when he had the words. Then he took his left arm down and added some sign language.

While this was going on, my horse stood quietly. From the moment the Indian first spoke to him, the horse had directed his attention to him, ignoring me completely. It has always been in my mind that the horse recognized the Indian about as quickly as the Indian recognized the horse.

I doubt if I understood more than 25 percent of what Wer-que- [124]
yah was telling me, and his son, Enoch, wasn't there to interpret. He hadn't seen the horse for five, maybe so six, years. I wondered if he hadn't owned an interest in the horse at one time, or perhaps owned an interest in the brand. The horse had been raced as a two- and three-year-old. Heap fast.

Then the horse ran into a wire fence. The Indian showed me a scar denoting a bad wire cut on the left shoulder, well down toward the leg. This was something else the winter coat had hidden completely, and I hadn't noticed it. Thinking the horse was ruined as a race horse, they had sold it.

The brother lived north of the Wichita Mountains—the sale had been made during reservations days, before the allotment and homesteading. Now here was the horse, well south of the mountains. I am sure my Indian friend thought it little short of a miracle.

I rode the horse to Wer-que-yah's home many times, and to his camp on the reservation when it was Grass Money time. There he would be camped with hundreds of other Indian families for the semi-annual payment. But I don't remember a time he missed petting the horse's head and giving it a bit of Comanche baby talk.

The older Comanches contended that they needed a brand on their 422
horses only as a safeguard from white horse thieves. They claimed to 231
know every horse they owned, whether one or a hundred, and were able to go into a herd and pick out their horses, regardless of how many there were in the herd.

Someway, somehow, this Indian knew a horse he hadn't seen 231

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

492 father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the
541 horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

492 Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and
177 Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.)
492 This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stal-
164 lion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

000 He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

763 When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

124 The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

000 With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [755] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned 000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd.

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California.

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire.

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

125 Of the 79 Comanches here reported 27 are males and 52
[144] are females. Thirty-four are full-blood or probably full-blood, 41 are mixed (especially with 'Mexican') or probably mixed, and 4 are questionable. The prints were obtained by Goldstein in the *course of other work on the* physical anthropology of the Comanches, and the foregoing statement of the racial composition of the sample is based upon individual diagnoses employing the usual criteria (Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, character of hair, eye color, facial features, inquiry respecting geneaology, etc.). While there was no specific investigation into possible family relationships among the individuals in the series, the circumstances of collection indicate that close relationships are negligible in number if present at all.

128 The prints, prepared by the common printers' ink method,
125 are generally of excellent technical quality, and in many cases there are duplicate impressions. In certain determinations the full series of seventy-nine subjects cannot be utilized. Two subjects are each represented by prints of but one hand, and occasionally a print may be incomplete or indecipherable
128 in a critical territory. Such instances are appropriately set aside in the calculations, and it is to be emphasized that all omissions of prints in the several calculations are due solely to this correction, every available observation having been included.

The methods of interpretation and formulation of the apical finger patterns follow Galton (1892); the palmar features are formulated after Cummins et al. ('29).

Palmar main lines

142 The terminations of palmar main lines are summarized in table 1. Line A shows a high frequency of terminations in the proximal palmar margin (positions 1 and 2) and in the more proximal portion of the ulnar margin (position 3). Line C presents an exceptional abundance of suppressed and abortive states (formulated X, x, and O in accordance with the specific character of the line), which occur in 25.5 per cent

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwfhtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

knowledge instead of having to unravel basic concepts. All 121
this means that the anthropologist can now manage without using the native language if he so wishes.

However, something else is happening nowadays, namely that science is advancing its standards of accuracy and penetration. And this must imply a return, sooner or later, to the use of native texts and linguistic techniques. Perhaps it will be another generation or two before the full realization of this need is felt, and by that time many of the languages will be gone beyond recall. Timely, therefore, is 126
such a work as the present collection, recorded by Elliott Canonge from Mrs. Emily Riddles of Walters, Oklahoma. A 115
warning that this type of text collection should be done without delay is born home by the fact that Mrs. Riddles, a very old woman born around 1885, suffered a stroke in 1955, before Canonge had finished his work with her, and she was unable to continue.

Canonge has worked in the best traditions of Boas' day 126
by recording these texts in the native tongue at the direct dictation of a person wise in the ways of her people, but the tradition itself has developed and advanced. Canonge writes Comanche in a "phonemic" alphabet, both simpler and more accurate than the recordings of the same language made 50 years ago, basing himself on the advances in linguistic science produced in this period. A "phoneme" is a fundamental unit of speech-sound in the phonetic system of a given language; always it includes a play of variations occurring under scientifically definable conditions and within a determinable range. English has such variations, and so does Comanche. The reason that the old records of Comanche look so complicated is that the variations in their language and in English do not jibe; so, in the pre-phonemic days, many imaginary or exaggeratedly interpreted variations were recorded, even though they are hardly significant in the native language, and other phonetic differences, important in Comanche, were overlooked. Canonge's record, based on the the scientific insight derived from the earnest but necessarily stumbling efforts of our predecessors in Amerindian work, gives Comanche in a form that is as simple as it is possible to make it, and which at the same time is fully accurate. The reduction to this scientific shape was not achieved without effort, but required a long and careful study, involving listening hundreds of times to individual words and to pairs of words to determine what differences were automatic and which represented a fundamental contrast in the speech of the natives.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Explanatory Note

126 These texts were transcribed over a period of years up
115 to 1955 and the whole corpus happens to have come from one informant, a Comanche, Mrs. Emily Riddles, age 75, of Walters, Oklahoma. Materials were carefully corrected by her. After she suffered a severe stroke, further checking was accomplished through Mr. Joe Harry and Mr. Gilbert Coonwoap of Walters and Lawton respectively.

104 Symbols:

p t k s m n w y h i e a u o are conventional.

^ is ɨ, back unrounded vowel.

kw and ts are single phonemes of two segments.

b is ß, voiced bilabial fricative.

r is ɾ, alveolar flap.

Long vowels are written as ii ee aa uu oo ɨɨ.

Underlining (_) indicates voiceless (whispered) vowels, e.g. i̲, e̲.

Stress (´) is written only when it does not occur on initial syllables.

Glottal (ʔ) is not written when it occurs prevocalic in initial syllables.

[p.xiv is blank]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA[1]

0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[114] [122] [1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape [124] recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, [126] Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help [128] of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, [113] and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

THE SITE

172 The Jared Site (34CM221) is located in the bottom of a deep ravine about one-half mile
131 west-northwest of the summit of Medicine Bluff Number Four at 98° 25′ 31″ west and 34° 41′
172 18″ north (Fig. 1). The ravine is a branch of a small unnamed intermittent stream that empties into Medicine Creek. Erosion has cut through clay soils into fine conglomerate bedrock, leaving many boulders and gravel in the bed and sides of the ravine. The area is a highly dissected upland now covered with oaks, cacti, and short grasses.

The grave was located in the bed of the ravine against the south bank in a triangular area framed by three large boulders. The body was covered with large flat stones, probably gathered from the immediate area. When we first saw the burial, soil that had long ago slumped from the bank was covering most of the stones. Immediately above the skeleton and among the stones was soil
[114] that had been deposited by the stream. Erosion had recently exposed a portion of the skull, leading to its discovery by an alert zoology student, Jon Nickles.

126 Before excavating, we set up a mapping
172 station and two datum points in an east-west line on the south bank. All finds were triangulated from these points. We then exposed and mapped the stones covering the grave (Fig. 2). The stones were removed, and the area was troweled and brushed. Everything was left *in situ* until the entire site was open to view (Fig. 3).

172 With the possible exception of the removal of large stones, there had been no preparation of the grave site. A black rubber-coated cloth, probably part of a poncho or light tarpaulin, had been spread out and the body laid upon it with the right side down, head to the west, facing south. The hands had been placed in front of the

[p. 316-B]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 195 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2] 114

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] [101] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request [124] [126]

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169. [113]

3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1851), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 132-3. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and
126 other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 28, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 229.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma.

Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society.

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Acknowledgments and Comments

Transcriptions of tape-recorded interviews in English enabled me to present extensive verbatim material from Sanapia and my other informants. In order to sustain the tone and manner of the original response, I attempted no editing of these passages. All quoted material, unless otherwise designated, is after Sanapia (pseudonym). Also, no attempt has been made to touch up the old photographs of Sanapia and her family. 126

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. William E. Bittle, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma for his valuable advice, criticism, and support during the development of this study; to Dr. Morris E. Opler of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Oklahoma for his encouragement and aid toward the publication of this book; and to Dr. George J. Goodman of the Department of Botany of the University of Oklahoma for his enthusiastic assistance in the identification of the medicinal plants discussed in Chapter 3. My most profound respect and appreciation must go to Sanapia, who gave me her trust and active intelligent assistance throughout the period of my fieldwork among the Comanche people of southwestern Oklahoma. It is her wish that this be the book of her "medicine way," and I hope that I have succeeded. 122 115

Norman, Oklahoma

DAVID E. JONES

[p. xii is blank]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd.

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California.

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire.

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 126 386

I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N C 517 822

The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N C 386 824

All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected: all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415

When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

172 face, the right hand palm up, fingers curled, the left hand palm down, fingers extended. The upper part of the legs had been brought up to approximately a right angle with the body, with the lower part of the legs tucked back toward the hips. Soil movements, the weight of overlying stones, and a tree root had caused considerable displacement of the bones. The left humerus was shattered just above the proximal end, having been pressed against a stone by a tree root. The left radius and ulna had been moved up vertically two to four centimeters by the same root. The left ribs had collapsed into the thoracic region; the vertebrae had separated in the lumbar and thoracic regions; and the right ribs had broken as the thorax and shoulder girdle collapsed. The left tibia was shattered near the distal end, and both legs had been raised vertically some 5 cm. by the tree root. A galvanized pail had been placed upright in front of the chest (Fig. 4). A saddle and a beaded bag containing 52 brass wire bracelets had been placed below (upstream from) and behind the feet. In front of the body near the base of the sternum was one brass wire bracelet, which may have been on the left arm above the elbow at the time of burial and may have become displaced by the action of the root that grew through the burial and crushed the humerus against an overlying stone. Two partial iron hoops or straps were found east of (upstream from) the saddle parts.

THE SKELETON

127 This section draws freely from and with grateful acknowledgment to the work of Dr. Clyde Snow.

144 Only one investigator has reported in detail on the anthropometry of the Southern Plains tribes: Goldstein worked with the Comanches in 1931 and concluded at the time of his research that only ten percent of the adults could be considered full-blood Comanches (Goldstein [172] 1934:290). The measurements and indices made by Dr. Snow closely agree with the data pre-
128 sented by Goldstein. In Table 1, Dr. Snow lists the skeletal measurements and descriptions. It should be noted that cranial capacity was derived using the Lee-Pearson formula (Lee and Pearson 1901). In addition to the measurements and indices obtained from the skeleton, Dr. Snow has prepared a table summarizing the data as traits indicative of sex, race, and cultural status. Table 2 thus shows at a glance some important characteristics of this skeleton.

[See p. 320-B—Analyst.]

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5*a*) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5*b*) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm. by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5*d*), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button face or rosette (Fig. 5*c*). Identical rivets were
172 found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig.
171 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered.

172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle.
[127] Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum
[439] (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different -- the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 [114] *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 764 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

> There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

> The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and
[127] House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2,[A] is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

A [See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[584] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One [283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

283 I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
[177] dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and predates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union. 701

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico. 701 648

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops. 439

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye to a River*, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster. 000

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him. 127 768

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

CA-VO-YO, GIVER OF NAMES

I NEVER KNEW but one of the old Comanches that carried the distinction of being a Name-Giver. He was Ca-vo-yo. When the Comanche roll was made out, soon after the surrender in 1876, he was given the birth year of 1840. That only meant the government clerk figured he looked to be thirty-six years old. I remember that when I finally sorted him out as an individual, I judged him to be about the age of my father, a Civil War veteran crowding seventy. 553 127 457

I must have seen Ca-vo-yo first in March, 1902, but then he was one of a large number of older Comanches, whom I termed, for my own convenience, the "old fellows." That meant to me that they were old enough to have been warriors who probably had fought at the battle of Adobe Walls and been present when the surrender took place at Fort Sill. 123

In due time most of the old fellows became individuals to me. I learned their names, where their camps were located, the number of wives each had, if any, and their dispositions toward the white man; and being a trader's son, I learned of their bill-paying reliability, in the event credit was extended to them between Grass Money payments. If a trader extended credit, he needed to know all the wives by name and keep a record of what each wife purchased, though he charged the total bill to the husband.

34: Ewers . E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19-23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134-36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275-76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804-October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

C
D
W
171
127
128
795

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.** The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
127
128
795

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
127
128
795

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
795

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

** Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

gate the general cultural background of the Shoshones and to determine, if possible, the basic legal patterns of the Shoshones for comparative reference to those revealed by the Comanches. The comparative results and inferences may be found in Appendix A of this memoir.

With the enlisted interest of the American Council of Learned Societies resulting from the findings in Comanche and Shoshone culture, the Committee on Law History set up a project on American Indian law. In 1935 and 1936 the Committee projected a study of Cheyenne political and legal institutions which was carried out by the present author in collaboration with Karl Llewellyn. Cheyenne institutions reveal much in common with those found in Comanche society, for the economic base of both cultures is similar. Cheyenne culture is more sophisticated than Comanche; less adolescent, one might say. Comparatively, Cheyenne behavior represents a higher level of institutionalization, thus providing to a degree an extension of Comanche trends. The Cheyenne materials are being prepared for separate publication.

121 671 153 ●128

In studying Comanche legal institutions one must proceed by means of case histories. The Comanches underformalized their conception of their own behavior. To them legal action was merely an individual response to a threatening circumstance. It was not the playing of a role in a set legal institution. Thus the Comanches had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules. So, when the Comanche informant is asked such a question as this, "What was the rule when one man ran off with another's wife?", the answer comes in this form, "Well, I don't know about that. But I can tell you what happened when my uncle stole Horned Toad's wife." The Comanche and the case-trained American lawman proceed in like manner. What holds perforce for the Comanche should hold for the study of all primitive law. Legal behavior is *behavior* and should be treated as such. Malinowski has long since laid down the canon that behavior-in-fact is by no means in accord with the verbalized ideal to which a society may may give lip-service. The verbalized ideal is an important cultural fact when such ideal exists, but the actual conduct of a people is of more fundamental court. The verbalized ideal of the Comanche is the supremacy and free action of the individual. Case histories, when piled up, show that there were limiting legal mechanisms at work, however. The liberal use of case histories in the text is not for the purpose of providing interesting anecdote. The histories hold within themselves the juice of life-situations, revealing the sway and counter-play of emotion and motive, demonstrating the broad range of variability in conduct in given situations. Case histories give the native's coloring to the report, transmitting to the reader the impenderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

128 727 555 primitive legal thinking, the fact and its legal recognition tend to fuse, and either is spoken of as the whole; the modern layman, e.g., still speaks of "my money in the bank" to describe what is neither his money, nor any money, nor in the bank, but a debt the bank owes him. So with this matter of the coup. The exploit is in strictness no coup, but the new material for 727 one. If unrecognized, the exploit becomes a matter of individual memory, 555 perhaps of individual grievance. *Only recognition in due "legal" form turns deed into coup.*[2] But as soon as recognized, the recognition aspect fades from thought, and the deed that was its reason and justification *seems* to stand alone. As in all cases where legal rights are accurately tailored to the facts, it is enough to deal with the facts. But that does not mean that the legal phases can be overlooked. The minute they are lacking, or are in dispute, they will become important, and may become crucial.[3] This is the case with an exploit accomplished, unwitnessed, and not believed, or of one claimed by each of two or several as his own.

The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not nearly so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines, or drawing blood from an enemy in hand to hand combat.

The Comanche honored two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. This arrangement was an efficient way of providing sufficient coups to meet the cultural demands of the society—an inflation of the currency of war prestige. The first man to reach the body of a fallen enemy struck it with his weapon and uttered the cry, "*ahé*" ("I claim it"), gaining thereby equal honor with the man who had done the killing. But if a bow or gun had been used to bring down the enemy, this second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.

182 The problem of adjustment of institution to social end is interesting. 727 Superficially, skill at long-distance killing would seem of more immediate 555 social value to a fighting people. But the stress on hand-to-hand valor or dangerously close approach to the enemy is more than shallow glorification of wolf over fox. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed. Grinnell, on the other hand, sees in it merely a cultural survival of the traditional days when the Cheyenne, for instance, fought perforce with sticks and stones because they had no bows or guns.[4]

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[2] Note the ritual formula for the transference of a recognized coup by its owner-performer when the coup is given to a friend as a gift. See p. 29.

[3] Cf. Ritual Evidence, pp. 103–106.

[4] George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1924), vol. 2, p. 36.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

speaks of the 'Comances' as "in stature rather low, and in 114
person often approaching to corpulency." Richardson (1829, p. 61) quotes Marcy's description of the Comanches in 1854 as men "about medium stature, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline nose, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard." Finally, Boas (1895) reports stature for seventy-four and cephalic index for twenty-nine Comanche males measured by his students at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. Except for additional casual statements about their appearance, nothing else on the physical status of the Comanches, to the writer's knowledge, has appeared in print.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study comprises thirty-five full- and probably 124
full-blood males, twenty-five full-blood females, and twenty-five mixed bloods. The numbers are regrettably small, but mixture of blood is so prevalent that little better was possible under the circumstances. Virtually every town and surrounding environs where Comanches lived—Lawton, Cache, Fletcher, Walters, Mt. Scott—was visited in the search for full-bloods. By full-blood the writer means a person with no other blood than that of his tribe as far back as he can remember, and as far as other, older, members of the tribe recall; this criterion must agree with the physical diagnosis based on character of hair, color of eyes and hair, Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, general appearance, etc. All reasonable precautions were taken in the present study to insure accuracy of judgment.

The number of virtually certain full-bloods, nineteen males 128
and twenty-five females, although small, is believed to be a 124
typical group. Data are therefore given in some detail, more so since the full-blood is rapidly becoming totally eliminated and other information is meager.

A number of the subjects examined appeared full-blood, yet for one reason or another, the diagnosis could not be as certain as desirable. These subjects were designated as 'prob-

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

123 able[1] full-bloods. They appear more divergent metrically
124 than either full- or mixed-bloods, and are therefore treated separately.

The data for the mixed-bloods will not be given in detail, inasmuch as the group is made up about equally of Mexican, other Indian, and white admixture, no one sub-group being large enough to give a reliable sample. Mixed-bloods were measured incidentally, all time and effort being exerted in mustering full-bloods. It may be mentioned, however, that, in general, the mixed-bloods, especially the Mexican-Comanches, resembled the full-bloods to a remarkable degree, so much so that not infrequently it was quite difficult to distinguish one from the other. Exactly this same situation was commented upon long ago by Fitzpatrick, as quoted by Mooney.[6]

There have been suggestions, even positive assertions, that the Comanches were physically as well as linguistically related to the Shoshoni.[7] The Comanches have been compared, therefore, with the latter in as great detail as the available Shoshoni material allowed. The Apache (San Carlos), Dakota Sioux, Indians of the Southwest and Mexico, and Old U. S. Whites, have also been more or less utilized for comparative purposes because of similarity to, or to show in sharper relief, the Comanche characters.

124 Measurements were taken with tested, standard instruments, and the methods followed are those endorsed by the
cor International Agreement.[8] The writer is deeply indebted to Drs. Aleš Hrdlička, of the U. S. National Museum, and Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for their instructions in method and invaluable advice throughout

[6] Loc. cit., p. 174.

[7] Physically, the Comanche retain something of the heavy featured face of the true Shoshone . . . ." (Farrand, '04, p. 144).

". . . . it is highly probable that if the fact could be ascertained, which I have no doubt a thorough research would establish, it would be shown that the Shoshoneans, Comanches, and Utes were formerly one and the same people—a conclusion based upon the similarity of their language—and physical characteristics." (Clark, 1885, p. 119.)

[8] Hrdlička (A.), Anthropometry. The Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1920.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of 114
larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material 128
in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by 824
scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche 104
plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical [114]
Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the 824
very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, 262
p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[m] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

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The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

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Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[m] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

128

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 3500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

[p. 140-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession
178 from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10]
175 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

[p. 142-A]

194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^{y} and g^{w} commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^{w} respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[17]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tīvo·pĬ *paper*—nīrīvo·pĬ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final Ĭ in such a word as tīhkapĬ *food*, is often heard as simple aspira-
[192] tion. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

(113) [17] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175–88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

[p. 146-B]

193 *here*; ?inakwī?u? *it is on this side* (?i- + nakwĪ *side, direction* + ?u?).
[196]

3.8. Compounding is a morphological process defined as the juxtaposition of roots and/or stems to form new stems. These new compound stems may be inflected or stand as free words. Compounds may be composed of from two to four roots: ?ekahpa· *soda water* (red plus water); tu·ku·nA *coal* (black plus fire); pawovivu·kU *boat* (water plus board plus horse); piarosawoviknI *big white wooden house*. Examples of compounds composed of root plus stem are: wanaciya·? *flag* (wana- *cloth* + ci- *with a stick*, an instrumental prefix + ya· *hold up* + -? *nominalizer*); pihna·nohkopĪ *cake, cookies* (pihna· *sweet* + nohko *bake* + -pĪ *nominalizer*).

193 196

Among the most productive of compounded acculturation terms are a series of qualitative roots or stems (see the discussion of stem types below). These invariably precede noun stems in a compound. They are grouped below according to their syntactic position relative to each other:

[128]

193–196

I

pia-	*big*
pīe-	*old, former*
tīe-	*little*
ke-	*negative*

II

?isa-	*false, deceitful*
hu·-	*wood*
ca·-	*good, fine*
so·-	*many*
yu·-	*common, ordinary*

III

?eka-	*red*
?evi-	*blue, green*
?esi-	*grey, dull*
?eso-	*light in color*
?oha-	*yellow*
?otī-	*brown*
tu-	*black*
tosa-	*white*

[p. 150-A]

197 may be utilized; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[55] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[56]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of function and symbolic meaning regardless
192 of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[57] *#pia?e·tĬ *gun* (*big bow*); *ta·vE *clock, time of day* (*sun* compare ta·venItĬ *day*); *#nava·kA *bullet, lead* (*its arrow*).

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĬ *4th of July* (*big puha day*); *puharaivo·? *doctor, minister, Christian* (*puha white man*); puharavenItĬ *Sunday* (*puha day*); puharekĬraivo·? *minister* (*puha talk white man*); puharivo·pĬ *Bible* (*puha book, writing*); *puhahuvia *hymn* (*puha song*); puhaknI[58]

[113] [55] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [56] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [57] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ?, a, e, i, I, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked # appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[58] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

[p. 219-A]

197 192 *church* (*puha house*); **suavevuharaivo·?** *Catholic* (*cross puha white man*); tamavuharaivo·? *dentist* (*tooth puha white man*).

In similar fashion ?aca?vI, *supernatural*; *guardian spirit*, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle.

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,[59] or at least a similar attitude towards both the religieux and the healer.

192 [128] [197] A representative list of words with extended meanings is given below.[60] The analogies are based chiefly on partial or more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E *electricity* (*lightning* [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? *butcher knife* (*sway-backed* [related to ?ehkwe?ne·tĬ *a swaybacked person*]); *?eksa·? *dye of any color, vermilion* (*red boiled*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*playing cards*) (*yellow carried on the head* [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisinĭ band.]); ?ona·vI *salt in any form* (*salt*); ?oyo?rĬ *belongings, goods, wealth* (*belongings*); *paraivo·? *boss, leader, head* (*so-called peace chief*);[61] paco?E *fresh beef* (*wet*); *pahmU *tobacco in any form* (*tobacco*)

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by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

[59] This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 281-287 (University of California, 1943).

[60] Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

[61] See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 54, pp. 18-20 (1940).

[p. 219-B]

192 sources of the latter type in English.[11]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?ī? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[12] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the forma-
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[13] pacahto?ī? *pump (raise water forcefully with the hands)* [pa-· *water* + cah- instrumental + to?ī *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn (turned inside out by heat)* [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle (make one's self go with the feet)* [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [11] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[12] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [13] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p. 222-A]

197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ï, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, especially those of an earlier vintage and in
197 general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1. Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[47] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[48] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[49] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche
192 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavirí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·sitïn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [47] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[48] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[49] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]

[p.229-A]

197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nI[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

[p. 229-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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197 rowing has gone on between Kiowa and Comanche. The examples of new Kiowa
[128] words which are given below are chosen for their similarity to Comanche acculturation terms.

Kiowa has extended old meanings to apply to such traits as pencil, glue, clock, house, chewing-gum and horse. It uses a modifier, meaning *real*, to distinguish between native and new traits just as Comanche uses *White man's* and *Indian's*. Thus, *real spoon* refers to one made of buffalo horn; a *real necklace* is one made of long bone beads; *buffalo* are *real cattle;* and *real sinew* means *sinew* rather than *thread*. Many new descriptive words such as those for *whiskey*, *doctor*, *Sunday*, *vinegar*, *telegraph*, *automobile*, *fishhook*, *peach*, *beer*, and *pump* are exactly equivalent to the Comanche words for these things. And Kiowa, as Comanche, has borrowed *agent*, *agency*, *commission*, *five cents* and *two bits* from English.

128 Several segments of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, namely words pertaining to religion, diseases, playing cards and time and measure, will be presented in the pages to follow. These are selected as both interesting parts of the vocabulary and as examples of the amount of new vocabulary that has been added in representative areas of culture affected by White influences. Other sub-vocabularies such as those for foods and implements would, of course, bulk larger in the total vocabulary. While new descriptive compounds predominate, a few meaning extensions and loan-translations are also listed. Aside from a few minor omissions and words entered elsewhere in this paper, the lists are in all

[124] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), notes a related word containing tu·kwasikatĪ *black, has a tail.*

[125] In this and other words in which taivo·? is used it is perhaps better translated as *man, other than Indian*. It invariably denotes belonging to an alien way of life.

[p. 235-A]

128 likelihood relatively complete and contain most of the words collected.

192 RELIGION: ʔáikurahánipĬ *sin* (*bad deed*); ʔá·hkatĬ kehínarokwehání·tĬ *devil* (*got horns, doesn't do anything right*); puhaniwĭnĭnA *religious camp meeting* (puha *supernatural power* + niwĭnĭ- *speak to a group* + -nA, verbal suffix); tá?ahpĭ?a tékwapha rúawe·tĬ *sermon* (*telling God's word*); tá?ahpĭwakatu kwíco?aipĬ *redeemed* (*saved by God*); tapí·hivin *communion* (*drinking blood*); tatohtíyarihkan *communion* (*eating bread*); tapó?sahanipĬ *sin* (our crazy deed); tasó·patko?ive? *The Flood* (*when many were drowned*); *tanávawihtia?e·nA *baptism* (*water poured on one*); tanárĭmi?ayĭcĭ? *resurrection* (*Our Master flew*); tanárĭmi?ma?ai yĭka?etĭ· *disciples* (*those who go with Our Master*); tĭnihnĬkepĬ *parable* (*illustrate by talking*); tomova?atĬ *Heaven* (*on top of the sky*); tu·kwasitaivo·?[124] *devil* (*black tailed White man*); *kasaraivo·?[125] *angel* (*winged White man*); ku?enavawihti?apĬ *Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations that sprinkle baptismal water on the head* (*water poured on top*); sokorohkatĬ pikhĭnawéhanA *Hell* (*under the earth, place of fire*); suavevuhavaraivo·? *Catholic priest* (*Catholic leader*) (4.1) suavema tanárĭmi?a tatáwĭna? *Crucifixion* (*on the cross Our Master nailed*); nahnsuthaipĬ *prayer* (*name bless*); *navawihtiapĬ *Christian* (*water poured on*); nahnsuwĭkai? nahapĬ *miracle* (*wonderful happening*); namaváku?nepĬ *Baptist* (*immersed in water*); nĭmisúthai *have mercy on us!* (*pity us!*).

DISEASES: ?amawihmina? *pneumonia* ([newer word, see below] *side sickness*); ?eviwihmina? *flu* (*green sickness*); ?ekarasi?A *measles* (*red spots*); ?ohahuhcĭni? *yellow fever, typhoid* (?oha- *yellow* + kuh- *by heat* + cĭni *soak through* + -?, nominalizer); ?o?ni? *tuberculosis, cough* (?), see ?o·?I *to vomit*); pahowihmina? *tuberculosis* (*fatigue sickness*); pihiwihmina? *heart disease* (*heart sickness*); pihná·wihmina? *diabetes* (*sugar sickness*); pĭsipĬ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, or any pus infection; rotten flesh*);

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
177 the language is far and away the most vitally
functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[148] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[148] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

[p. 243-A]

128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

553 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time.

551 Little distinction was made between male and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics.

[553] Women's names, however, tended to be more permanent.

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, pihia?, or *girl*, nai?A. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name.

553 However, a youngster would usually receive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old.

551 A child's parents in modest ceremony would customarily call in an

[553] elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

553 Nicknames derived from physical peculiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies

551 were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle from babyhood on.

[602] In line with the insti

[p. 243-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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551 was Tittarritsa Namiquasu from tütarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as [illegible] Permamsu from tu·wikâ·? *crow*, and pükmahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The [128] accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[147] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[113] [147] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

[p. 245-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurania Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local 551 178 Southern White naming patterns. There is little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the 551 177 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the 551 177 178 culture of the Whites. The older, relatively less acculturated Comanche still bear individual names, while the younger generations have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

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given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

[p. 251-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives,
197 adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

[p. 251-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[183] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[184]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[185]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] [183] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153–64 (1926).

[184] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335–45 (1948).

[185] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

[p. 253-A]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Editor's Note

128 Comanche Texts is designed to be useful to the widest possible audience. The English translation is keyed to the Comanche by means of subscript numbers so that the texts can be used by the linguist without more than occasional reference to the stem list in the appendix. Parentheses are used in the English translation where there is no direct Comanche equivalent for the word. Virgules indicate that the word occurs in Comanche but can be omitted in the translation for a smoother English reading. Square brackets occur around words which explain a preceding word or phrase.

The English translation is intended to be free enough to be read easily, but sufficiently awkward to give the reader something of a Comanche "flavor".

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

128 Canonge's translations, though simply presented, show the fruit of patient research into the manner of word formation, characterized in Comanche by a rich use of affixes and of stem composition, while still maintaining a fairly simple inflectional apparatus. Some of the facts were already worked out for Comanche and for closely related languages (e. g. Southern Paiute) before Canonge began his work, but he still had much to do to reach his present fine understanding of Comanche structure and the meaning of each element. He supplemented his general knowledge of the language by careful study of his texts, with the help of Mrs. Riddles and other natives.

The author is to be congratulated on his technique for showing the relation between the native text and the translations. He uses numbers for each word in the native text and marks with the same number the part of the translation corresponding to each native word. This gives a good correlation of the two texts without making the publication impossibly expensive, as is the use of interlinear translation. The linguistically skilled reader, by consulting some of the published work on the structure of Comanche or related tongues, will be able to analyze the material with relative ease; naturally the untrained reader will need more patience to follow the structure but not more than he would need with interlinear translation. A possible criticism is that the literary style of the translation is at times a bit clumsy for trying to parallel the native version strictly.

Canonge uses brief summaries rather than short-phrase titles to the texts.. This will be welcomed by the folklorist concerned with finding "folk-theme" parallels between Comanche and other mythologies, and by the general ethnographer looking for data on particular aspects of Comanche customs. The material is classified into parts, including: Coyote stories, Fairy tales and fables, Humor in ridicule, Manners and morals, Adventure, Obtaining and preparing food.

It is to be expected that the majority of readers will be interested in the content rather than in the specific linguistic form of these texts. They will be able to read right along, simply disregarding the little numbers used for showing the analysis. The latter will be important to the linguist and the student of native story-telling style.

492 175 In historic times, the Comanche distinguish themselves as one of the tribes which was quick to adopt the use of the horse, becoming accomplished riders, and using this rapid means of movement to hunt the buffalo and in exploits of war.

14: Riggs L-5 (1948) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

000 ALTERNATE PHONEMIC ANALYSES OF COMANCHE

VENDA RIGGS
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0. Introduction
1. Consonants: Analysis A
2. Consonants: Analysis B
3. Discussion
4. Vowels
5. Stress

128 0. This paper presents two alternate phonemic analyses of the consonants of Comanche, a Uto-Aztecan language.[1] The 128 question involved is whether the sequence h 194 plus consonant should be regarded as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme in 128 this language.[2] In section 3 the relative advantages and disadvantages of each solution will be discussed without any attempt to favor either analysis. The writer, however, prefers analysis B.

128 1. Consonants: Analysis A. In this analy- 194 sis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a consonant cluster.

194 1.1. Stops and spirants generally occur in unique allophones, namely voiceless; h is assimilated to preceding vowels and following nasals.

Stops: p, t, c (an affricate, patterning as stop), kʷ, k, ʔ. Examples: paa *water*, picipə *milk*, taaʔ *son*, peetə *daughter*, caatə *good*, paciʔ *little sister*, kʷeeniʔ *pointed hill*,

[101] [1] The data on which this paper is based was gathered during the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of [115] Oklahoma. Comanche informants were Molly Weryavah, Emily Riddles, and Mrs. Joe Harry. I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin for suggestions in the presentation of the material.

[2] A third possible analysis, that of interpreting preconsonantal h as a voiceless vowel has not been considered due to the fact that Comanche voiceless vowels are contrastive as to quality, while the phoneme h is not. See section 1.1., Spirants.

[p. 229-A]

194 [128] In this analysis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a unit phoneme, i.e. a preaspirated consonant.

2.1. Consonants which show an opposition of preaspirate versus simple are certain stops and continuants. The stops always appear voiceless; the preaspirate continuants are only slightly voiced, the simple continuants are voiceless before voiceless vowels, voiced elsewhere.

The stops are:

Preasp. 'p, 't, 'c, 'kʷ, 'k

Simple p, t, c, kʷ, k

Examples: ʔa'pəʔ *father*, ka'peʔ *bed*, ʔə'tui- *to give (sing.)*, mo'toʔA *pimple*, tune'ci- *to run*, pa'cikeetə *slick*, ya'kʷi- *to say*, tənəca-'kʷeyaʔi- *to skin*, tə'ka- *to eat*, na'kia *maybe*, pahaʔ *aunt*, tamiʔ *little brother*, caatə *good*, kʷiipə *smoke*, kakuʔ *grandmother*.

The continuants are:

Preasp. 'm, 'w, 'n, 'r

Simple m, w, n, r

Examples: na'meitə *table*, ka'nI *house*, ta'niʔikI- *to put (with plural object)*, woko'wiʔ *squirrel*, puhi'wI *money*, no'rənapI *bed*, ʔu'ri- *third person obj. dual*, marʔa'weʔ *greeting*, waʔooʔ *cat*, narama'ʔipA *story*, karərə *sitting*.

2.2. Remaining consonants are those consonants in analysis B which do not show opposition of presapirate versus simple. Their allophones are as described under analysis A.

Stop: ʔ. Examples: miʔarə *going*, ʔaraʔ *uncle*.

Continuants: ʀ, s, y, h. Examples: ʔonaʀiʔ *salt*, muʀipóroʔ *pig*, ʀariiʔ *dog*, ʀahopA *broth*, yə'kʷi- *to say*, təhəəyA *pony*, haicI *friend*, pahaʀitə *swimming*.

2.3. The distribution of consonants under analysis B is as follows:

All consonants occur in utterance medial.

All simple (i.e. non-preaspirate) consonants except ʀ and r (as explained in section 1.3.) occur in utterance initial.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final.

There are only three consonant clusters.

194 *red*, hayarokʷEtI *four (as used in counting)*, sahopA *broth*, ssəmanUrii *ten (used as object)*, moʔO *hand*, təkəɴənitə-nəʔ *I keep on eating*.

The distribution of the vowels is as follows:

All vowels occur in utterance medial.

Only voiceless vowels and vowel clusters occur in utterance final. When a morpheme with a final single voiced vowel occurs in utterance final position its final vowel is replaced by a voiceless vowel of corresponding quality.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. These are of two members, which may consist of identical or diverse vowels. All voiced vowels occur in identical clusters. Examples: tiipE *mouth*, kʷeeɴiʔ *pointed hill*, caatə *good*, kooɴeʔ *face*, huupI *tree*, pəərA *arm (wrist to elbow)*. The following clusters of diverse vowels have been observed: a, u, e, o followed by i. kasaráiɴoʔ *angel*, pui *eye*, naˈmeitə *table*, kookʷaʔənoi *egg*, i, ə, o followed by a. piapə *big*, təasə *again*, moakU *lots*. ə, a followed by e. nəetə *wind*, pae *water (obj.)*.

128 5. In the examples given above stress is unmarked when it falls on the first syllable of a word; in all other cases it is marked

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few more consonant clusters, but these are much less frequent in occurrence than the type h plus consonant, with which we are concerned.

[p.231-B]

15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

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0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

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128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, kʷ, ʔ; c; s, s, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɨ, Ɨ, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /'/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

[101] [115] [128] [194] [104]

[p.93-A]

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affixes in Comanche. Some classes of affixes are not exhaustive (e.g. derivational affixes, class 100, which includes many more morphemes), but the pertinent classes for stem and word formation are represented.

Classification of affixes by centuries is as follows: 100 derivational, 200 verbal inflectional, 300 nominal inflectional. Classification by decades is generally on the basis of relative order. However, morphemes 201, 253, 254, 323 have been classified otherwise for convenience of description since their relative order is not as pertinent as their identity with the group in which they are placed. Decimal numbers indicate mor-

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193
194
[104]
[128]

logical juncture where clitic stems are bound to other stems or words (see 3.1.3., 3.1.4., 3.3.).

The recurrent morphophonemic changes are as follows: (1) Single morpheme-final vowels generally become voiceless in utterance-final position. 'kahninII *houses* > 'kahnI *house*.

(2) In certain combinations morpheme-final vowels reduce to open transition of neutral vowel quality. In certain combinations morphemes reduce medially by the loss of one or more morae. Compare 'tĩhka *eat* in the following: 'tĩhkaru?i-nI? *I will eat*, 'tĩknĩnitu?i-nI? *I will always be eating* (['tĩkʰnĩnitu?i-nI?] in which [kʰ] is approximately [ki] but without vowel mora); 'puukU *horse* + 'kahnI *house* > 'pukuknI ['pukukʰNI] *barn*.

(3) t interchanges with r; and p interchanges with n, utterance medially at morpheme boundaries under conditions not always phonologically determined. 'pani? *older brother*, nI-'nani? *my older brother*; 'tĩnoorI-ma? *he is writing*, 'caa-nI? 'rĩnoorI *I write well*. After pause the p and t always occur: 'tenahpI?a 'rĩnikʷĩri-nI? 'nuni? *I see the man singing*, but 'tenahpI?a / 'tĩnikʷĩri-nI? / 'puni? (in which / indicates tentative pause). t (but not p) always occurs after i. '?itI *this one* < ?i 3rd person close + -tI nominalizer; '?orI *that one* < ?o 3rd person distant + -tI; 'pinĩapĩrII *large ones* < 'piapI *big*.

(4) ? + ? = ?. 'sarii? *dog* + -?a genitive > 'sarii?a *dog's*.

[p. 93-B]

193 pheme alternants. Distribution classes of
128 stems and affixes are defined below.

Reference to affix classes is made in even century and/or decade numbers (e.g. reference to tense is made by 260). Reference to specific morphemes is made by the list number (e.g. reference to -tuʔi future, is made by 261). The distribution of alternants in respect to each other is indicated in the list.

193 Class 100: 110, 120 1st and 2nd order derivational prefixes respectively; 130 derivational suffixes.

111. caʔ-[3]	*with an upward movement of the hand*
112. maʔ-	*pertaining to the hand*
113. roʔ-	*with a violent movement of the hand*
114. coʔ-	*with the head*
115. kiʔ-	*with the elbow*
116. huʔ-	*with the back*
117. taʔ-	*with the leg or foot*
118. kīʔ-	*with the mouth or scissors*
119. ciʔ-	*with something sharp*
121. na-	reflexive
131. -pĪ	nominalizer
132. -ʔ	nominalizer
133. -pI[4]	classificatory affix
134. -pIʔ	classificatory affix
135. -ʞI	classificatory affix
136. -ciʔ	classificatory affix

Class 200: 201 infix; 210–250 verbal suffixes in relative order by decades.

201. -*V*-[5]	imperative → (distribution restricted to an arbitrary class)

[3] Morphemic alternation of affixes in class 110 is not completely analyzed. Each affix in this class has an alternant with final h instead of final ʔ.

[4] Classificatory affixes here listed do not make any determinable difference to the root. That they are derivational affixes, however, is shown by the fact that they are generally lost from R in the formula R + S = S.

[104] [5] *V* is used here and in morpheme 321.1 as a morphophonemic symbol for a lengthening of a single vowel to two morae.

[p.94-A]

193 mum observed number of roots in any combination is four: 'piaroɜawoʁikni *big white house* < 'pia- *big* + 'tosa- *white* + 'woʁi *wooden* + 'kahni *house*). Examples: 'pukuknI *barn* < 'puuku *horse* + 'kahni *house*; '?eɜiwanah *gray blanket* < '?esi- *gray* + 'wanah *blanket*; 'tīkʷīkʷitu?i-?urīkʷĬ *they* (dual, distant) *will sit down to eat* < 'tīhka *eat* + -yīkʷi *sit down* (non-singular); 'tīrīehpī?rīī-ca? ma-'ʁiacahora?I *the children dug out a deep hole* (*with hand*) < 'pia- *big* + 111 + -hora *dig*; 'puica?nika? *eye glasses* < 'pui? *eye* + 111 + -nika? *push into*; 'koʁenaʁoopĬ *portrait* < 'kooʁE *face* + 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; nī-'ʁia?-ca? 'pianacahki?a?I *my mother scratched herself deeply* (*with something sharp*) < 'pia- *big* + 121 + 111 + -ki?a *scratch*; 'nīmīkʷa?ihpī? *Indian woman* < 'nīmī *Indian* + 'kʷa?ih- *woman* + 134; '?eso?ekaʁItĬ *pink* < '?eso *not quite ripe* + '?eka- *red* + 135.

193 3. Stem classes. The above stems are divided into distributional classes S^a, S^b,
128 on the basis of potential occurrence with alternants of 311. Stems as such are not equated with words.

193 3.1. S^a may take alternants 311.1 or 311.2, with the formal sub-classes S^q, S^r, S^s, S^{pr}:

3.1.1. S^q (qualitative stems) take 323. They are inflected for future according to the formula S^q + 241 + 251. '?eʁIʁI *blue* + 311.1 > '?eʁIʁItĬ *blue, blue one*; '?eʁIʁI *blue* + 241 + 251 > '?eʁIʁIyutu?i-marīī *they will be blue* (-marīī 3rd person plural close).

The initial syllable of stems beginning $C_1V_1C_T$- reduplicates with 323 in two patterns: $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_T$- and $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_T$-. 'huyunihtĬ *cylindrical* > 'huhuyunihtīkʷĬ *cylindrical ones* (dual); 'tītaatĬ *little one* > 'tīhtītaatīkʷĬ *little ones* (dual).

Some S^q show morphophonemic reduction when occurring with 323, with some initial $C_1V_1C_T$- becoming stem-initial -C_1C_T- when occurring with 323 (see fn. 2). 323 +

[p. 96A]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

194 such pairs as ˈʔurĩ *that one* vs. ˈʔurĩĩ *those*, ˈtĩhkati *the one eating* (obj.) vs. ˈtĩhkatii *the ones eating* (obj.), ˈsookonai *lots of water* (obj.) vs. ˈsokona *on the ground*, ˈmeeku *now* vs. ˈmekI *said*. These phonetically contrastive vowel lengths are interpreted phonemically as a sequence of two identical vowels by analogy to other VV sequences as ˈmIa *moon*, ˈpieckU *tomorrow*, ˈpiapĩ *big*, ˈʔihpii *sleep*, ˈtuaʔ *son*, ˈtuinihpĩʔ *boy*, and ˈtiricʔtii *children*.[10]

Single vowels or sequences of identical vowels maintain their relative contrast except under conditions of morphemic alternation but the relative amount of difference in length between the two is conditioned by rhythm and position in the utterance. Sequences of identical vowels before pause (either /./ or /,/, see 4) are generally extra long. Non-phonemic modification of length is conditioned by rhythm as follows. (1) Within the same rhythm group (but not before pause) a sequence of identical vowels is perceptibly longer than a single vowel, but not as long as if before pause. (2) A single vowel in a rhythm unit containing only one syllable with only one vowel will still contrast with a rhythm unit containing a sequence of vowels or two syllables, even when the timing is maintained as approximately the same, by a non-phonemic compensatory lengthening of a following consonant or by slight pause if the short syllable comes at a point of optional pause (see 1). (3) When two parts of the utterance occur with rhythm groups which contain varying numbers of rhythm units, the relative contrast between single vowels and sequences of identical vowels applies only within the rhythm group be-

[128] [10] We cannot here decide the question as to whether or not such sequences constitute two syllables or one. For purposes of description here they are assumed to be one. So far as prosodic evidence is concerned, the evidence of pitch level would lend weight to interpretation as single syllables, whereas rhythm stress may occasionally occur on the second member of such a cluster as in ˌˈtiriˌeʔˌtII [6.1 (1), (2)].

[p. 300-A]

194 to low) optionally on unstressed syllables containing a VV sequence before /./.
[104] ˈʔa[1]ˈnaa[1a]. (exclamation); ʔo[2a]ˈnoo[1a]. (exclamation); ˌˈʔī[1]ˌʂia[2]ro[2]ˌko[2]ʔI. (exclamation); ˌˈʔī[1a], ˌˈsī[1]ma[2]nu?[2], ˌˈwa[1]-na[2]ˌwi[2]ˌwih[2]ˌta?[2], ˌˈsī[1]ma[2]ˌnai[2]ˌku[2] ˈna[1]ˌʂo[2]ri[2] ˌˈʔu[1]ra[2]ʔI *Oh, I found a dollar bill!*; ˌˈʔu[2]sī[2a] ˌˈha[1]kaa[2]rī[2] *Who's that?*; nī[2a]ˌˈha[1]kai[2], ˌˈyī[1a]kʷI *What shall I say?*; ˌˈkee[1a] nī[2]ˌˈrī[1]ʂoo?[2]ˌma?[2] *No, that's my pencil!*

194 A check of texts, both narrative and
128 conversational, made on tape recording, and observation of Comanche speech in other situations than informant ones, revealed that this one pattern with its variants occurs on all utterances.

[104] The distinction made here between /,/ anticipatory pause, and /./ non-anticipatory pause, is as follows. Non-anticipatory pause is a pause preceded or followed by a modification of pitch or rhythm. It may be preceded by a drop of intonation to [3] or [2a]. It may be preceded by a dropping of the general height of voice through the utterance and followed by a sudden raising of voice height at the beginning of the next utterance. It may be followed by a quickened tempo of rhythm in the beginning of the next rhythm group. Anticipatory pause, on the other hand, is a pause without any modification of the pitch or rhythm of preceding or following utterances.

194 /./ may coincide with grammatical sentence units or may group several such grammatical units. In the text compare (1),
[104] (2), (3), etc., where the non-anticipatory pause coincides with grammatical units, and the latter parts of the text where fewer such pauses occur. /;/ anticipatory pause, may occur at any potential (symbolized here by space).

[p. 301-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalised vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to inform-
ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data
124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanǎ·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[101] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the
[122] Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6-Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128

ABSTRACT

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett, Director of Research at the Institute, provided all equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

122 114 114

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p. 316-A]

172 face, the right hand palm up, fingers curled, the left hand palm down, fingers extended. The upper part of the legs had been brought up to approximately a right angle with the body, with the lower part of the legs tucked back toward the hips. Soil movements, the weight of overlying stones, and a tree root had caused considerable displacement of the bones. The left humerus was shattered just above the proximal end, having been pressed against a stone by a tree root. The left radius and ulna had been moved up vertically two to four centimeters by the same root. The left ribs had collapsed into the thoracic region; the vertebrae had separated in the lumbar and thoracic regions; and the right ribs had broken as the thorax and shoulder girdle collapsed. The left tibia was shattered near the distal end, and both legs had been raised vertically some 5 cm. by the tree root. A galvanized pail had been placed upright in front of the chest (Fig. 4). A saddle and a beaded bag containing 52 brass wire bracelets had been placed below (upstream from) and behind the feet. In front of the body near the base of the sternum was one brass wire bracelet, which may have been on the left arm above the elbow at the time of burial and may have become displaced by the action of the root that grew through the burial and crushed the humerus against an overlying stone. Two partial iron hoops or straps were found east of (upstream from) the saddle parts.

THE SKELETON

127 This section draws freely from and with grateful acknowledgment to the work of Dr. Clyde Snow.

144 Only one investigator has reported in detail on the anthropometry of the Southern Plains tribes: Goldstein worked with the Comanches in 1931 and concluded at the time of his research that only ten percent of the adults could be considered full-blood Comanches (Goldstein [172] 1934:290). The measurements and indices made by Dr. Snow closely agree with the data presented by Goldstein. In Table 1, Dr. Snow lists 128 the skeletal measurements and descriptions. It should be noted that cranial capacity was derived using the Lee-Pearson formula (Lee and Pearson 1901). In addition to the measurements and indices obtained from the skeleton, Dr. Snow has prepared a table summarizing the data as traits indicative of sex, race, and cultural status. Table 2 thus shows at a glance some important characteristics of this skeleton.

A [See p. 320-B—A: lyst.]

[p. 318-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

172

Figure 4. Galvanized pail from 34CM221.

172 141 128 *Sex:* Table 2 shows the morphological and metric traits diagnostic of sex. Both the pelvis and the skull are typically female. A more objective assessment of sex is obtained with the discriminant function formula of Giles and Elliot (1963). The value derived from the formula, 899.02, lies on the "female" side of the sectioning point of 912.14 for American Indian crania.

172 144 [141] [128] *Race:* Table 2 indicates a predominately Mongoloid racial affinity. The Giles-Elliot discriminant analysis for race (1962) would classify the skull as "indeterminate" but with rather less likelihood of being white than Negro or American Indian. A possible explanation for the "indeterminate" status of the skull lies in the fact that Southern Plains tribes have long been active in assimilating non-Indian captives into their breeding populations.

172 141 128 *Age:* Since the symphyseal facets of the pubis were largely destroyed, cranial suture were relied on for age. The mean for 16-segment closure ratings is 1.09 (Nemerski, Harsanyi, and Ascadi: 1960:95), indicating an age of 25-35 years. This estimate is partly supported by the minimal osteo-arthritic lipping of the lumbar vertebrae,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320-A]

Table 1 (continued)

172 Transverse diameter	18	18
141 Anterior-posterior diameter	21	21
Femur		
Maximum length	415	---
Physiological length	409	---
Transverse diameter	26	---
AP diameter	27	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, AP	25	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, transverse	30	---
Head diameter, vertical	45	---
Head diameter, horizontal	46	---
Bicondylar diameter (estimate)	73	---
Collo-diaphyseal angle	137°	---
Tibia		
Maximum length	322	318
AP diameter (nutriant foramen)	32	30
Transverse diameter (nutrient foramen)	22	21
Bicondylar diameter	---	70
Fibula		
Maximum length	318	---

Long bone indices	Value	Class
Diaphyseal index, humerus	75.2	Platybrachic
Brachial index (humerus/radius)	72.4	Short
Platoleneal index, ulna	85.7	Uroleneal
Index of robustness, femur	13	Average
Pilasteric index, femur	103.8	Weak
Platymeric index, femur	83.3	Platymeric
Tibio-femoral index	78.7	---
Cnemial index	69.4	Mesocnemic
Humero-femoral index	73.3	---
Intermembral index	70	Average

172 the general texture of the bones, and the relatively unworn second and third molars.
141 *Stature:* Since there are no reliable estimates for determining female Mongoloid stature, the
128 Trotter-Gleser table (Trotter and Gleser 1952, Table 13) for white females was used. Thirteen
172 calculations were made; the results range from
141 152.78 cm. to 162.80 cm., averaging 157.31 cm.
144 Since Mongoloids have rather shorter legs relative to trunk height than do whites, this average may be an underestimate by two to five centimeters.
[128] Goldstein (1934:299) reported an average stature of 156.1 cm. for 25 full-blood Comanche females measured in 1931. Since Indians of mixed blood almost always exhibit maximum dimensions greater than full-bloods, the skeleton would fit into the range of variation expected for either the full-blood or the mixed blood population.
172 *Cultural status:* The heavy dental attrition indi-
141

[p. 320-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

TABLE 2
TRAITS INDICATIVE OF
SEX, RACE, AND CULTURE STATUS

172
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144

Trait	Sex		Culture		Race		
			Primitive	Modern	Negroid	Caucasoid	Mongoloid
Skull and Mandible							
Mesosteny		x				x	x
Low Skull			x				
Cranial Capacity		x					
Chiapin							x
Megasteny							x
Phenozygomy			x				x
Sphenomelyonia					x		x
Prognathismatic Index					x		x
Hypsistenoty		x					x
Megagnathia							x
Brachystenolinx							x
Brachystomy						x	x
Orthognathy (Upper Face)		x				x	x
Mesognathy (Alveolar)		x					x
Facial Flatness							x
Nuchal Crests		x					
Mastoid Processes		x					
Supra-orbital Ridges		x					
Arch Form						x	x
Molar Form							x
Prognathism							x
Dental Wear			x				
Shovel-shaped Incisors							x
Edge-to-Edge Bite			x				
Maxillofrontal Index					x	x	
Fronto-zygomic Index			x				
Gonio-Condylar Index						x	x
Ramus Index							x
Gonial Angle		x					x
Symphyseal Angle							x
Simple Sutures					x		x
Post-Cranial							
Humeral Head Diameter		x					
Platybrachia							x
Supracondylar Foramen Breadth		x					x
Brachial Index						x	
Stature		x					x
Iliac Breadth Index		x					
Sciatic Notch Angle		x					
Acetabular Index		x					
Pteromacular Sulcus		x					
Bicondylar Diameter Femur		x					
Index of Robustness							x
Platymeric Index		x				x	
Platymeria			x			x	
Megacnemia		x					x
Squatting Facets			x				

172
141

cates a coarse diet with much gritty contamination. This wear is relatively greater in the anterior dental arcade, indicating some use of the teeth in preparing hides, cordage, etc. At least one tibia shows the presence of squatters facet, and the femurs are platymeric. Both conditions are indicative of primitive living.

Conclusions: The osteological evidence thus indicates an adult female Plains Indian, 25-35 years old, who lived at a time before acculturative shifts in diet would reduce tooth wear. Although the observations fit the data given by Goldstein (1934), it is not possible to assign the skeleton definitely to the Comanche because of the limited sample on which the comparison was based.

172
141
128
144

[p. 320-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

ARTIFACTS

172 The upper case letter preceding each unit can be used to locate that unit in Figure 1.

[128] (A) The body had been placed on part of a black rubber-coated cloth tarpaulin or poncho, possibly of U.S. Army issue. Among the small pieces that remained of the poncho were five circular brass grommets with five-millimeter openings and several pieces of finished edge showing machine stitching.

(B) Of the fifty-three brass wire bracelets found, one was in front of the chest, and 52 were in the remnants of a beaded skin bag near the saddle parts at the foot of the grave. Viewed in cross section, two of the bracelets are round and 51 have flattened sides. The bracelets were made from lengths of brass wire, cut with a chisel, most of them with the ends smoothed by filing. Two of the parallel-sided bracelets are decorated with chisel cuts on their top surfaces (Fig. 5*f-g*). The bracelets range in diameter from 1.7 mm. to 2.8 mm., averaging 2.3 mm.

172 171 Bracelets similar in diameter and design were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:94-7 and Fig. 2), a mid-to late-19th century child's grave of assumed Comanche affiliation in Yoakum County, Texas. Similarly decorated brass wire bracelets of a larger diameter were found at the W. H. Watson site (Ray and Jelks 1964:135-7 and Fig. 5) in Fisher County, Texas. The authors reported a crevice burial of a woman in a standing position and interpreted the site as a Comanche grave dating before 1840.

172 (C) Two small fragments of skin from the bag were preserved under the bracelets. Also preserved were two small patches of the beaded design originally made up of at least 1,857 beads. All of the beads are of the simple cylindrical "seed bead" type. Colors present are opaque white, blue, and green; and translucent turquoise, light blue, dark blue, red, and amber. Lengths of the beads range from 1.5 mm. to 2.5 mm., diameters from 2.1 mm. to 3.1 mm. The amber beads are slightly smaller than the other beads, and the light and dark translucent blue beads have thinner walls than the other beads.

[171] A broken shell hair pipe bead, probably *Strombus gigas*, was among the bracelets. This bead, whose broken end had been smoothed, may have been threaded on a drawstring of the bag, as is the case with two hair pipe beads on a Kiowa bag illustrated by Ewers (1957, Plate 29).

(D) While none of the wooden frame or leather covering remained, the nature of the

A [See p. 317—Analyst.]

[p. 321-A]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe. 105 175 131 105 175

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least); 105

*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror er, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945. [113] [177] [128] [101]

[p. 3]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1962
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prova de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Come Gral de las Yntern le hase en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786; sobre varias circunstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). 113

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

194 wahcĪ *this is my rib* versus 'ʔica?nī'nakI *this is my ear.*

It may be noted here, furthermore, that there is frequently morpho-phonemic alternation between a pre-consonantal /h/ and a post-consonantal voiceless vowel preceding certain suffixes. Compare the stem alternants 'pohpi- and 'popI- before the suffix -tu?I *future tense* and -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* in the illustrations 'pohpitu?Inī? *I am going to jump* and 'popIcinī?'miaru?I *having jumped, I will go.*

The contrast /a/, /A/ is extremely rare due to the low frequency of occurrence of /A/ and its frequent morpho-phonemic alternation with /Ī/. Whereas the analogies 'pohpi-, 'popI-; 'co?me-, 'co?mE-; 'ʔuhtu-, 'ʔutU- preceding -ki, -kʷa and other morphemes are common, the analogy 'tihka-, *'tikA- would be erroneous. Rather, the second form would be 'tikĪ-. However, preceding -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* and ci, a syllable in the stem 'ni?aci- *to advise*, a valid contrast can be observed, e.g. 'mi?Acinī?'tihkaru?I *having gone, I will eat* versus ʔu'ni?aciki?u? *he came to advise him.*

128 The preceding illustrations have given crucial contrastive data for each of the six vowel pairs. The following miscellaneous sets of forms supplement those given above and the phonemicization postulated in reference to them.

194 In the first set of examples, the contrast between /i/, /I/ occurs following stops and preceding the identical morpheme -nīī *plural*, e.g. 'papinīī *heads*, 'nakInīī *ears*,
194 'tīsoowapInīī *teachers*, 'to?Inīī *pipes*. Note that it was a pair of this type which Jakob-
114 son used for his spectrographic analysis: 'tīri?aiwapInīī *hired hands* and 'tīpinīī
114 *stones*. At the time the tape was sent to him, the minimal pairs quoted above had not been discovered and none occur in the data of Riggs and Smalley. Nevertheless, the earlier data of contrast in analogous (non-conditioning) environment appeared to all

[p.65-A]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

128 121 121 128 121

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects. [122]

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931. [114] [113]

[p. 229]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

125 Of the 79 Comanches here reported 27 are males and 52
[144] are females. Thirty-four are full-blood or probably full-blood, 41 are mixed (especially with 'Mexican') or probably mixed, and 4 are questionable. The prints were obtained by Goldstein in the course of other work on the physical anthropology of the Comanches, and the foregoing statement of the racial composition of the sample is based upon individual diagnoses employing the usual criteria (Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, character of hair, eye color, facial features, inquiry respecting geneaology, etc.). While there was no specific investigation into possible family relationships among the individuals in the series, the circumstances of collection indicate that close relationships are negligible in number if present at all.

128 The prints, prepared by the common printers' ink method,
125 are generally of excellent technical quality, and in many cases there are duplicate impressions. In certain determinations the full series of seventy-nine subjects cannot be utilized. Two subjects are each represented by prints of but one hand, and occasionally a print may be incomplete or indecipherable
128 in a critical territory. Such instances are appropriately set aside in the calculations, and it is to be emphasized that all omissions of prints in the several calculations are due solely to this correction, every available observation having been included.

The methods of interpretation and formulation of the apical finger patterns follow Galton (1892); the palmar features are formulated after Cummins et al. ('29).

Palmar main lines

142 The terminations of palmar main lines are summarized in table 1. Line A shows a high frequency of terminations in the proximal palmar margin (positions 1 and 2) and in the more proximal portion of the ulnar margin (position 3). Line C presents an exceptional abundance of suppressed and abortive states (formulated X, x, and O in accordance with the specific character of the line), which occur in 25.5 per cent

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Palmar patterns

142 The occurrence of patterns in the five palmar areas are
128 listed in table 2. It will be understood that in each case the determination aims only to distinguish the occurrence of patterns and patternless configurations. Each figure in the table applies to the frequency of patterns, while the implied percentile remainder indicates the frequency of patternless configurations.

142 Especially outstanding, in the figures of table 2, are the low frequency of hypothenar patterns and the abundance of the thenar/first interdigital.

TABLE 2

Percentile occurrences of true patterns and pattern vestiges (not including 'multiplications') of the five palmar areas. Compiled from 77 right palms and 79 lefts

PATTERN	RIGHT, PER CENT	LEFT, PER CENT	AVERAGE, PER CENT
Hypothenar	15.6	19.0	17.3
Thenar/First interdigital	28.6	41.8	35.2
Second interdigital	2.6	2.5	2.5
Third interdigital	41.6	19.0	30.3
Fourth interdigital	54.5	73.4	63.9

Apical finger patterns

[128] Calculation of the total frequencies of the pattern types is based upon sixty-seven individuals, the remainder of the finger-print sets being incomplete and thus unsuited to the determination. In these 670 prints the distribution of pattern types is as follows: whorls, 43.3 per cent; radial loops, 1.9
142 per cent; ulnar loops, 48.5 per cent; arches, 6.3 per cent. The corresponding figures in Downey's series of fifty Arapahoes
144 (loc. cit.) are: whorls, 47.6 per cent; radial loops, 3.6 per cent; ulnar loops, 44.2 per cent; arches, 4.6 per cent. It would appear that the abundance of whorls is a substantial Indian trait.

128 In view of the high frequency of whorls, it may be of interest to state the composition of the material in terms of

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

a newly devised 'index of pattern intensity' (Cummins and M. Steggerda, unpublished manuscript). The index of pattern intensity is an expression which reduces the pattern composition of the individual finger-print set to an integral value. It is based on the assumption that arches, loops, and whorls represent successively increasing weights of pattern intensity. These configurations are assigned, respectively, the values of 0, 1, and 2. The index of pattern intensity of the individual is simply the sum of the ten digital values. The indices thus range from 0 to 20. 128

The mean index of pattern intensity in this Comanche series is 13.7 ± .31. While the available collections computed 142 000

TABLE 3

Percentile occurrences of pattern types for each digit. R, right; L, left 142

DIGITS	I		II		III		IV		V	
Hands	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L
Number of digits compiled	71	73	75	75	76	79	76	77	75	76
Arches	2.8	1.4	16.0	14.7	5.3	7.6	1.3	2.6	4.0	2.6
Radial loops	1.4	1.4	8.0	5.3				2.6		
Ulnar loops	33.8	37.0	36.0	36.0	68.4	63.3	26.3	29.9	80.0	80.3
Whorls	62.0	60.0	40.0	44.0	26.3	29.1	72.4	64.9	16.0	17.1

on this basis (Cummins and M. Steggerda, MS.) are likewise small and consequently associated with a large probable error, the following indices are noted for comparison: Eskimos, 14.25 ± .35; Jews, 13.84 ± .18; European-Americans, 12.70 ± .24; Dutch (a selected family series), 11.09 ± .23. 000

The distribution of the indices in the Comanche series may be compactly stated by dividing the 21 indices into 7 classes, identifying each class by its center as follows: 1, 0 per cent; 4, 1.5 per cent; 7, 9 per cent; 10, 15 per cent; 13, 31.3 per cent; 16, 22.4 per cent; 19, 20.9 per cent. 142 128

The distributions of pattern types, separately for each digit, are shown in table 3. While the series is too small to justify a positive conclusion, there is a suggestion of a 142

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

142 tendency toward suppression of the characteristic dextral superiority in the occurrence of whorls. In this connection it may be remarked that there is yet another indication of suppression of a characteristic bimanual difference, expressed [144] in the palmar hypothenar pattern. And it should not be forgotten that corresponding bimanual comparisons, involving both apical and hypothenar patterns have been previously reported in Indians of southern Mexico and Central America (Cummins, '30).

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE

128 Inasmuch as individual diagnoses of racial admixture are available, it is possible to isolate the series of full-bloods for separate analysis. This separation is suggested not only by the obvious desirability of treating a full-blood stock when it can be secured, but also by the known results of admixture in Jamaican black-white crosses (I. D. Steggerda). In the Jamaican crosses the "Brown individuals approximate the Blacks more nearly than they do the Whites" in dermato-
142 glyphic features. It is evident that traits of the Comanches
144 are not generally obscured by the inclusion in the sample of a large proportion of mixed stock, and it may be assumed
128 accordingly that either the sources of admixture are closely allied in their dermatoglyphics or that the Comanche traits dominate the admixture. The separate calculations of palmar main lines, palmar patterns, and apical finger patterns reveal but one item in which the incidences are significantly different in the selected full-bloods. This feature is the hypothenar pattern, which occurs in only 4 per cent of the full-blood hands. With this exception, therefore, it is evident that the inclusion of mixed-bloods has not vitiated the series as a sample of Comanche dermatoglyphics.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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THE JOURNAL OF

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference. C W 128 [124] [101]

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pö ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale. W 539 171 C 539 171 W 825

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive C W 539 171 [113]

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The 701 554 113

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. 128

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

175
551
701
621

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

175
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[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 [128] Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 153 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

GEORGE *and* LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278
824
[142]
291
[302]
[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278
824
137 "red berry cedar". *ekapokowa:pi* *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar, juniper)

31: Jones E-5 → (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of [128] witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated.

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared.

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children.

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information
114 with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography
121 is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is
756 that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there
124 is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce
[756] them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18. A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 179]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE BASIS OF COMANCHE SOCIETY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONTACTS

The Comanches in the nineteenth century roved the entire southern plains as hunters following the buffalo and as warriors whose raiding parties reached down through the pueblo country deep into Mexico. But the place the Comanche called his was the territory extending from the Wichita Mountains across the plains and streams to the Red River in Texas. There was no strictly defined tribal territory, however; some Comanche camps could be found scattered among the Kiowa villages on the north side of the Wichitas. 175 [131]

Previous centuries had seen the Comanche in a more northerly location. The earliest white travelers on the northern plains in the eighteenth century had found the Comanches in great numbers on the upper Platte River and its environs. Within three generations, they appear to have vanished from this country, for their whereabouts are reported as unknown to the Americans of the times.[1]

In the southwest during this same period the Comanches had been becoming increasingly frequent visitors to the Spanish territories. In company with the Utes they committed repeated depredations on the Spanish frontier, raiding and destroying Apache haciendas, slaying and capturing Apache men, women and children. Irritated Spaniards with Apache guides marched about the country in fruitless punitive expeditions against the raiders from the north and east. By 1786, however, the Comanches were familiar enough to the Spaniards to be enlisted by the latter as allies in a campaign against the then obstrepterous Apaches.[2]

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their extension southward. We read that,

Ruxton speaks of a tradition that the Comanche and Shoshoni separated on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo (Colorado) in the edge of the mountains. Pike, Lalande, Pursely, Chouteau and De Mun, James, and other early sources, all mention the Comanche and "Snakes" as using trails in the edge of the mountains or among the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Arkansas to the Platte. One of the very early mentions of the Comanches out in the plains is in Bandalier where it is

[1] Lewis and Clark, *A History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (Philadelphia, 1878), vol. I, pp. 36–37.

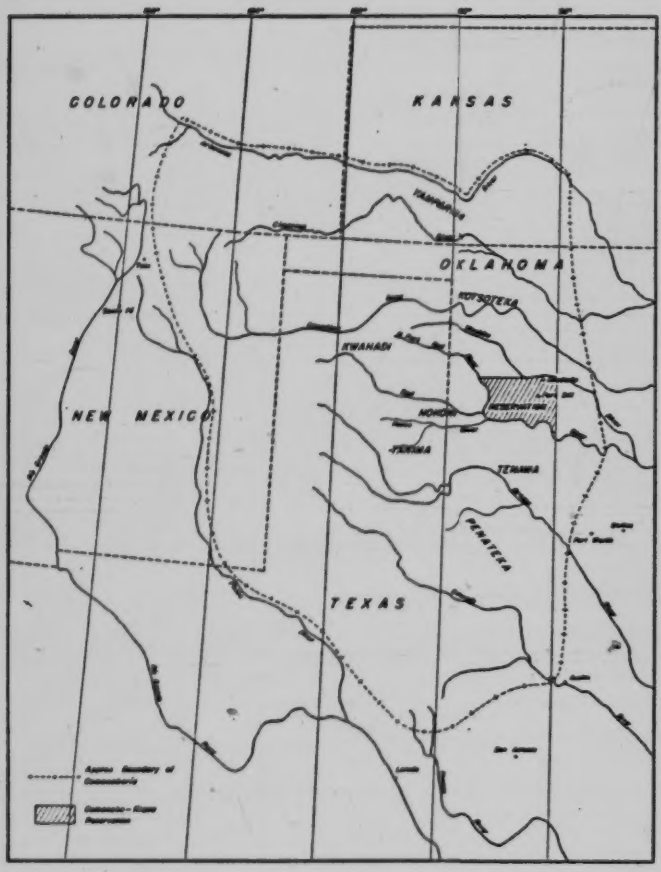
[2] A. B. Thomas, *After Coronado* (Norman, Okla., 1932), p. 67; A. Chaves, *The Defeat of the Comanche Indians in 1717* (Historical Society of New Mexico, No. 8, 1906).

A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, 1928), pp. 289–295.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanchería

131
174



The Comanche Country

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

THE CULTURE OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS

RUPERT RICHARDSON

121 The purpose of this paper is to describe the manners, customs, social and political institutions, and the state of mental development of the Comanche Indians, together with some notice of their implements, weapons, camp sites, and means of subsistence. Because of the nature of the information available it has been necessary to place the emphasis on the more intangible matters rather than on artifacts and other concrete remains which might interest the members of this society more. Indeed, the writer fears that what he brings will be of little value to a society created primarily for the purpose of gathering, classifying and studying the bones, utensils, and implements of the aborigines of this section and less concerned with Indian relations and the thought, habits and customs of the races that preceded us.

131 The Comanches are not aborigines of this immediate section. In fact, they had for some time been in contact with the French on the east and southeast and the Spanish on the west and southwest before they began to frequent any part of Texas. However, for a century and a half they did claim as their home a great part of that region which we designate with the indefinite term West Texas; and the tribal name will forever be linked with the border tragedy, history and romance of this region.

Although the purpose of this paper is not to deal with Indian relations, some notice of the general Indian situation in West Texas during the Spanish period may well serve as an introduction to a more specific study of the Comanches. When Coronado came, in 1541, he probably found Apache bands in this region.[1] As he moved into Kansas he met with tribes of the great Caddoan family, and the people of Quivira, that city of gold that turned to clay and grass when he at last found it, are identifiable with the Wichitas who belonged to that family. Although the great "conqueror" did not visit eastern and central Texas, it is reasonably certain that many Caddoan bands lived there also. After Coronado, various

1. F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1907), 1-63.

[pp. 1-57 not processed]

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

[P.188]

[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

|D| The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the extensive territory stretching from the northern [|3|] boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [-34] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and |3| fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

THE SITE

172 The Jared Site (34CM221) is located in the bottom of a deep ravine about one-half mile
131 west-northwest of the summit of Medicine Bluff Number Four at 98° 25' 31" west and 34° 41'
172 18" north (Fig. 1). The ravine is a branch of a small unnamed intermittent stream that empties into Medicine Creek. Erosion has cut through clay soils into fine conglomerate bedrock, leaving many boulders and gravel in the bed and sides of the ravine. The area is a highly dissected upland now covered with oaks, cacti, and short grasses.

The grave was located in the bed of the ravine against the south bank in a triangular area framed by three large boulders. The body was covered with large flat stones, probably gathered from the immediate area. When we first saw the burial, soil that had long ago slumped from the bank was covering most of the stones. Immediately above the skeleton and among the stones was soil
[114] that had been deposited by the stream. Erosion had recently exposed a portion of the skull, leading to its discovery by an alert zoology student, Jon Nickles.

126 Before excavating, we set up a mapping
172 station and two datum points in an east-west line on the south bank. All finds were triangulated from these points. We then exposed and mapped the stones covering the grave (Fig. 2). The stones were removed, and the area was troweled and brushed. Everything was left *in situ* until the entire site was open to view (Fig. 3).

172 With the possible exception of the removal of large stones, there had been no preparation of the grave site. A black rubber-coated cloth, probably part of a poncho or light tarpaulin, had been spread out and the body laid upon it with the right side down, head to the west, facing south. The hands had been placed in front of the

[p. 316-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

105 175 131 105 175

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

113 177 128 101

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

618 657 These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Oklahoma. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

[131]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you. 175 121

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them, 175 131 181 000 175 648 721 175 721

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, *1871-80. Condensed from an article in* Ware's Valley Monthly, *Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.*

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870).

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess themselves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita

[p. 333]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who, because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

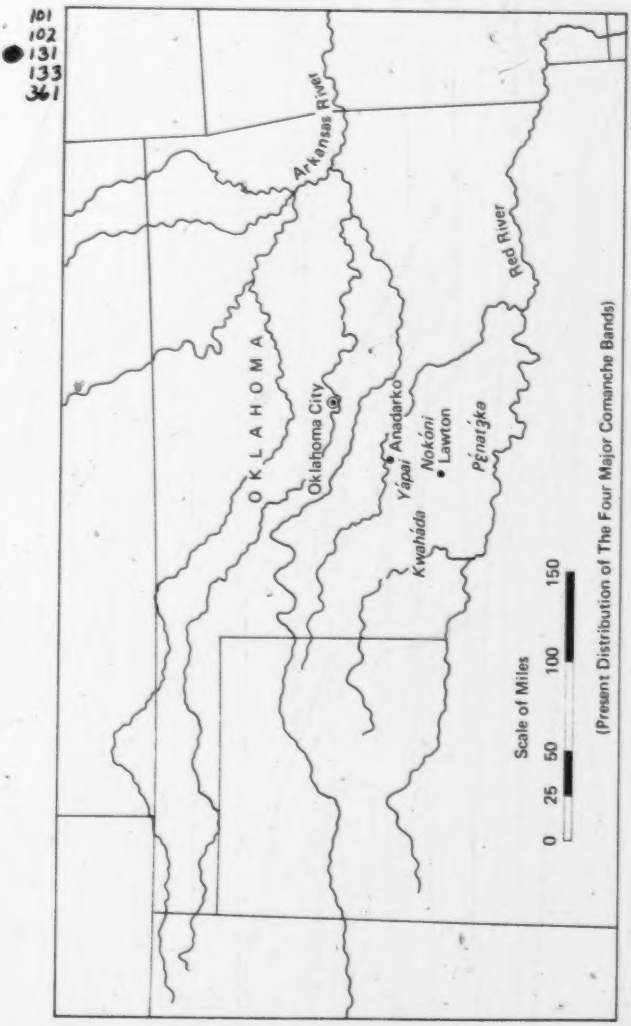
24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma



[p. iv]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name 736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood [597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo, 726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing 648 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. [174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. 174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, 131 since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

142 302 291

ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily 131 southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the N. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

142
302
291

COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Tex-
175 as. For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government,
657 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874-75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005 101

Federal
Trust Area 657
161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 199 195 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 195 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

FOUR QUANAH PARKER STORIES

Quanah Parker Wanted to Buy a Stove

132 THE UNSEASONABLE NORTHER caught us unawares. In the Southwest country you never realize it is the fall of the year. The hot days that are August trail on over into September, and then they gentle off into pleasantly warm ones. You realize that the long days have lent some time to the nights and made them just right for sleeping, but it is still "fishin' and swimmin'" weather to the hardier souls.

When we had gone to bed the night before, there had been no indications that morning would find this blast from the Arctic venting its spleen on our pleasant prairie countryside. As it slashed southward, one splattering shower chased another closely, but not closely enough to be a continuous rain. They were more like a whole series of furies out for a romp.

000 We had planned for winter enough to bring the heating stove from the claim and set it up in the store. By the time I got the mules in their shelter Dad had a good fire going, and Mother was fixing a warm breakfast on her little gasoline stove. Breakfast over, there was little else to do but enjoy the heat from the stove. Since we got to town we had not seen another soul hardy enough to be out of doors. Just as we had had no warning of the Arctic onslaught, even so we had no forewarning that this was to be the busiest day of the store's history.

XIII

The journey beyond the mountains—Capturing a bear—The night encampment—Entrance into the valley of Lescoha—The dashing escort—Camp of the Spotted Leopard—Another war dance—No change of programme—The bargain and sale—Renewal of the bloody covenant—Value of a captive—Arrival of Moko with the watch—Attempt to escape—Cutting the knee cord—Buffalo hunting—Battle with the Apaches—Meeting of Rolling Thunder and Spotted Leopard—Hanging by the heels—The arrival of the white women captives.

127 On this journey I was neither tied or blindfolded, but rode
[492] a bridled mule, while the warriors were mounted on their
487 best horses. They usually kept me in advance of them,
133 directing me when to turn to the right and left. We followed a well-beaten trail that led in a northwest direction. On reaching the head of the valley, we turned to the left, and began the ascent of a wide, low range of mountains, winding in and out of narrow passes and defiles, but still gradually ascending, traveling in this manner some twenty miles before reaching the summit. The descent on the opposite side was of equal extent.

133 The ravines were overgrown with dwarfish trees, and the
136 adjacent mountains in general were rocky, but occasionally between the ridges that rose in succession one above the other were small, level plats, covered with a heavy growth of grass, upon which buffalo, deer, and antelopes were feeding.

Visit to the Ruins

The battle lasted but a moment, the bright blades, in 578
the meantime, glittering and glimmering in the sun, and the contestants instantly presenting the appearance of men suddenly overtaken by a storm of blood. At length, a mortal thrust by one was followed by a fierce blow from the other, gashing through the side of the neck, from which the purple tide of life spouted up in a high wide arch, when both fell lifeless to the ground.

Had either survived the conflict, according to their code of honor, it would have been the duty of his brother to have put him immediately to death. Throughout the exciting scene not the slightest partiality was exhibited. The faintest shadow of emotion could not be detected upon the countenances of the savage stoics as they gazed upon it. They were stretched side by side on the spot where they had fallen—buried in the customary manner—and left to rest together in peace, at last.

The week succeeding this tragedy, a party of ten or 484
twelve, including the Rolling Thunder and myself, started 224
on a long journey, its object being to ascertain whether the buffalo droves had changed their feeding grounds, before the warriors set out on their annual hunt. In the course of this trip we crossed a valley, the singular appearance of which has very frequently since been the subject of study and reflection.

On the summit of many of the mountains we passed, 172
were broad, level tablelands, destitute of a solitary tree, and covered with rank grass. Upon every one of these elevated plains was to be seen a mound, in most instances in the form of a half-circle, resembling the overgrown ruins of an ancient fortress, and plainly the work of human hands.

Finally we descended into a ravine, walled on either 133 ●
side by rugged cliffs which led us a day's ride to the south-

133 west, when we emerged into a valley about four miles wide and thirty long. It was surrounded on all sides by very high mountains, exceedingly bleak and barren. There was not a tree, or bush, or even a blade of grass to be discovered over the entire surface of the valley. It was covered, to the average depth of fifteen feet, as near as I could judge, with broken pumice stone, a substance precisely similar to the lava of Vesuvius. That it was the result of volcanic eruptions there was no possible doubt, inasmuch as numerous tracts down which it had flowed from the mountain tops were distinctly visible.

172 The Rolling Thunder, in order to convince me of the correctness of a belief, universal throughout the Comanche nation, conducted me to the western side of this strange valley, where I saw, with infinite astonishment and surprise, the dilapidated ruins of a large town. In the midst of the falling walls of a great number of buildings, which, in some remote age, beyond doubt, had lined spacious streets, was what appeared to have been a church or cathedral. Its walls of cut stone, two feet thick, and in some places fifteen feet high, included a space measuring two hundred feet in length, and, perhaps, one hundred in width. The inner surface of the walls in many places was adorned with elaborate carved work, evidently the labor of a master hand, and at the eastern end was a massive stone platform which seemed to have been used as a stage or pulpit. In my surprise at beholding so unexpectedly these evidences of civilization in that wild region, I turned to the Rolling Thunder and asked if he could explain it.

173 This is the legend of the Comanches, as he related it: Innumerable moons ago, a race of white men, ten feet high, and far more rich and powerful than any white people now living, here inhabited a large range of country, extend-

The Comanches

174 By 1836 the Comanches claimed and occupied all the country from the Arkansas River on the north to the Mexican settlements on the south, and from the Grand Cordillera on the west to the Cross Timbers on the east, according to the report of the United States Indian agent for the Osages.[18] Actually, however, the territory occupied was hardly that extensive. Comanchería, the land of the Comanches, may reasonably be said to have been in the mid-nineteenth century the vast South Plains area bounded on the north by the Arkansas River, on the west by a line extending from the headwaters of the Arkansas River southward near the Mexican settlements of Taos and Santa Fé, on the southwest by the Pecos River, on the southeast by the white settlements in the vicinity of San Antonio, Fredericksburg, and Austin, and on the east by the Cross Timbers, or approximately along a line slightly west of the ninety-eighth meridian: an area more than six hundred miles from north to south and four hundred miles from east to west. Although they shared parts of this vast country with the Kiowas and the Wichitas, it was theirs to have and to hold. Outsiders, red or white, who entered it did so at their peril.

● 133 What was the country like? It is generally level. The eastern portion is slightly rolling with an occasional range of rugged hills. And in the east-central section the solid masses of the Wichita Mountains, geologically one of the oldest exposed land masses in the United States, rise sharply from the plains. The western part is the level tableland of the *Llano Estacado* or Staked Plains. A number of rivers cut southeastward across Comanchería, but even so the distances between them are relatively great. From north to south, the Arkansas, Cimarron, Canadian, Washita, Red, Pease, Brazos, Colorado, and Pecos constitute the major streams. They are low-banked, sand-filled, and sinuous; and because of the gypsum and other minerals contained in their waters, they are not satisfactory for drinking. In the areas contiguous to the headwaters of the streams are escarpments, arroyos, buttes, and canyons. These "breaks" are generally barren and desolate, but contain small running streams and springs that provide an occasional oasis with drinking water, grass, and cottonwood. They give

[18] P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages, to Governor M. Stokes and General M. Arbuckle, April 25, 1836 (MS copy in National Archives, Western Superintendency file, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

Comanchería

excellent protection from the winter blizzards that frequently sweep across the open plains, and horses could always forage on cottonwood bark. 133

Growing in the sandy soil along the larger streams were extensive thickets of plum bushes and grapevines; and in much of the eastern portion, pecans, walnuts, haws, and persimmons contributed to the food supply of the Comanches. The mesquite, the tree most commonly found, provided wood for fires and its beans were valuable food for both people and horses. The rocky hills and sides of canyons were covered with scrubby cedar. Other trees found here and there were the ash, elm, redbud, oak, willow, bois d'arc, hackberry, chinaberry, cottonwood, and chaparral. 137 [313]

During the hot, dry summers, the area appeared to be a desert, but shortly after a spring or summer rain, its wide expanse became a sea of nutritious grass. Its warm, salubrious climate, the abundance of edible plant products, and the millions of wild animals which provided food, clothing, and shelter made the area a paradise for nomads who lived by hunting. The Comanche was well off and rarely haunted by the spectre of starvation. 511

To the west were the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of New Mexico, within striking distance of a Comanche raiding party, or near enough for trade, but sufficiently removed to leave the raider safe from any punitive force that might attempt to pursue him through the adjacent mountainous terrain and across the wide, level expanse of the intervening *Llano Estacado*. The watering places and landmarks were so few as to make any expedition into the region extremely hazardous except for those thoroughly acquainted with the routes. 133

To the south lay a great expanse of wild waste in the Big Bend country; through this ran a network of Indian trails, by way of water holes, from the central homeland of the Comanches into northern Mexico. Beyond the Río Grande the settlements of northern Mexico were isolated and poorly defended. Striking across this wasteland, the Comanches raided settlements far south of the river, returning with many captives and thousands of horses. The great desert expanse prevented pursuit by forces sufficiently formidable either to punish the marauders or to recapture the plunder, and the Comanches prospered as plunderers.

The Comanches

● 133 The streams which led southeastward became highways for Comanche parties raiding the scattered and undefended Anglo-American settlements of Texas. The hills and breaks made it easy for them to strike and to escape with little danger of being apprehended from this quarter.

The Cross Timbers provided a sort of natural boundary on the east which the Comanches seldom passed. Along the margin, numerous weak, semi-sedentary groups of Indians for a time formed a barrier of sorts against white encroachment on the Comanche hunting grounds. From these tribes the Comanches obtained some vegetable products. North of the Red River the Five Civilized Tribes stood between the Comanches and the whites.

The Cheyennes and the Arapahos ranged the country north of the Arkansas River, making Comanchería fairly safe against white aggression from that direction. Moreover, white expansion was generally westward, not southward.

Such was Comanchería—a land ideally suited for a nomadic warrior people. And the Comanches were true warrior nomads. To them a sedentary existence was intolerable. Although a band normally confined its headquarters within a general area, within this area it was always on the move, and its principal encampment might be many miles from its location during the previous or the following year.

361 Before moving from one area to another, the camp or band headman (or war leader, if a raiding party) usually selected a familiar location which scouts had reported satisfactory. They understood how to select a site well-suited to their needs. The choice of a camp ground, even for a night, involved many factors. Primarily there were five considerations: food, shelter, safety, convenience, and forage for the horses. Colonel Richard I. Dodge relates that he once followed a Comanche raiding party for thirty days before he found a single camp site which he could have approached without discovery.[19]

361 171 Among the Plains Indians there is evidence of some tribal differences in preferences for camp sites. The Sioux, who had a mortal dread of ambuscade, preferred to camp near water but away from all timber; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, on the open prairie but near timber; the Osages, Omahas, and Shawnees, in a dense thicket. The

[19] Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 239.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(Ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are 175
located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are cer- 721
tainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted [181]
from their political importance, by their habitual indolence,
and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and
protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the pre- 175
sumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly 114
opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements,
they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has
obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The [101]
idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish [162]
from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary
prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations.
The following will be found as correct a statement of their 114
numbers and general character as a close observation dur- 128
ing a residence among them for several months, has en- 175
abled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is 101
divided into three great parties, each of which is distin- 175
guished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, 101
range through a section of country that is watered by the 133
Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits
both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence 175

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 101 133 648 721 175 175 721 701 162 175 101 133 175 101 184

[ca. 1818]

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818- 819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
133 from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
Taboayazes [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

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[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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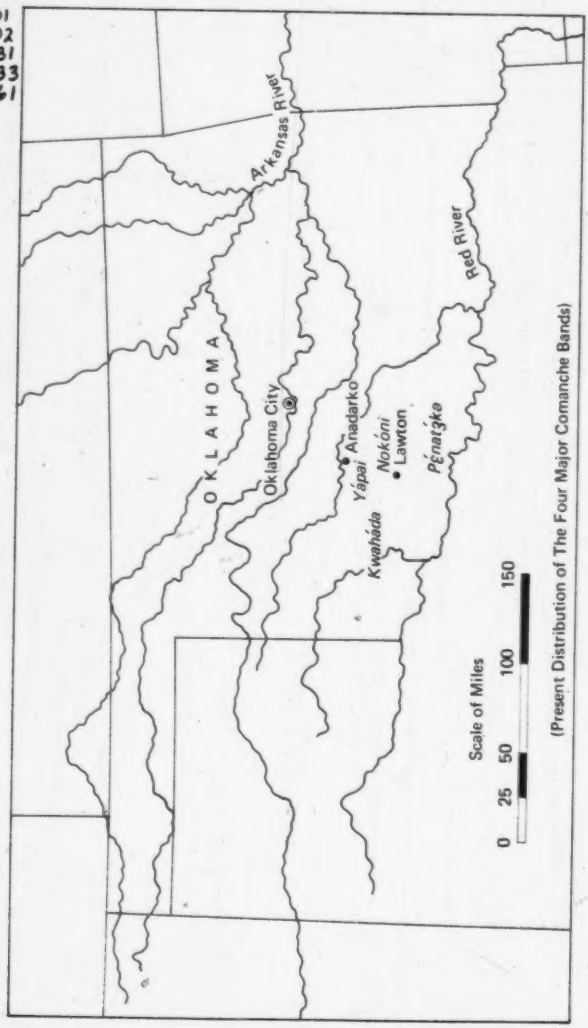

[p. iv]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value. 643 609 [342] [177] [427]

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles. 643 351

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded. 133 [137]

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache. 000

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert. [133]

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges. 133

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

133 there is little water. Where there is water, the sand becomes boggy.
133 The old-time cowboy expressed it this way: "It'll bog a saddle blan-
134 ket." There was possibly a half-mile of dry sand where wagons would sink halfway to the hubs. Red River sand is a round, or smooth, sand formed by the disintegration of soft sedimentary rock, and under pressure it gives way and slides. When walking in it, I have sunk up to my ankles. It is similar to walking in a bin of wheat.

In contrast, the streambed of the West Cache is made up of sharp granite sand washed down from the Wichitas. When you ford the stream, you scarcely sink at all in the wet sand, and in the dry sand you sink only an inch or two.

133 Crossing the Red River would have necessitated doubling up, hitching the oxen of two or three wagons onto one wagon. One time we bogged our lead wagon in a wide mudhole, and it required the combined horsepower of three wagons to get each one through. I saw this river crossing in 1906, and I imagine it had changed but little, except for being a half-mile wider. As the river's old gouge or ditch filled with sediment, the river had compensated by widening its bed.

The group of wagons carrying the lumber for Quanah's house must have spent close to a week making this river crossing. All the while they were dragging the loads of lumber through the sand, they were faced with the danger that an unexpected rise might come down the river. A rise of eighteen inches would have kept them busy saving the oxen and mules hitched to the wagon that was crossing; the loaded wagon would probably have sunk out of sight into the sand.

The next challenge was a creek, whose name I can neither remember nor find on any of my maps. It is a deep-banked stream but carries little water in the summertime. I helped survey this area of the Reserve before it was opened for homesteading in 1906. I have an unpleasant memory of a half-day's work we had with pick and shovel to get our supply wagon across. This crossing, which had then obviously been used for a long time, could well have been the old Fort Sill-Wichita Falls trail crossing, traveled in the eighties. The creek, as I remember it, is about five miles from the river crossing. I would guess that a full day was spent by the lumber haulers in fording this deep-banked stream.

Next the freighters would have encountered a bearcat with an ugly temper, Deep Red Run. This creek is a full-grown brother to the smaller one I have just described. Each has cut a miniature Grand

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Canyon into the red alluvial soil. In ages past, Deep Red carried 133
enormous amounts of water. Its head is about thirty miles to the northwest of the crossing probably used by the freighters, and before it reaches the crossing it is joined by two substantial tributaries, Jack Creek and Horse Creek. It represents a considerable watershed.

Where the old trail crossed, the ancient streambed is probably a mile wide. It is now considered bottomland. The stream, winding around this bottom through the years, left numerous oxbow lakes as it shortened itself by cutting new channels. These lakes furnished excellent fishing for the homesteaders, as well as duck shooting in the fall and spring.

A Comanche name-giver must have named this stream, for its bed was well below the surrounding bottom and its exposed banks and the water it carried were truly red. Prior to the homestead era there [137]
was a good deal of timber on both sides of the stream and around the oxbow lakes. Three terraces had been left as this miniature canyon had been cut down, and the upper terraces had sizable trees growing on them. As the amount of water the stream carried decreased, Deep Red Run continued to gouge its way down into the soil.

At its crossing, the freighters would have had to block their wagons down the steep south bank, drag the loads through the stiff red mud of the streambed, and then pull them up the high bank on the north side. This must have been a formidable task, but it would have been of shorter duration than the Red River nightmare.

Once across, the freighters would probably have left the Fort Sill 000
trail and headed north by slightly northwest toward their destination. The Fort Sill–Wichita Falls trail could not have been much of a roadway. It had been laid out in 1882, when the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad extended its tracks from Henrietta. The Fort Sill–Henrietta trail, previously used, lay to the east and followed the East Cache and Cache Creek almost due south to the river.

Blocking their loads down the steep south bank of Post Oak would have been but a minor matter to these now seasoned freighters. The 133
streambed was hard-packed sand, and the north bank was low. From [137]
there to their destination the only obstacle would have been scattered scrub oak that would have had to be cut away from time to time.

I know from experience that the freighting of this lumber bordered 000
on a feat worthy of Paul Bunyan and his blue ox Babe. I have made the following estimates on a minimum base: 15 heavy freight wagons,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment
[368] area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

361 There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in in-
413 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
[657] He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated
[452] on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

133 there is little water. Where there is water, the sand becomes boggy. 133 The old-time cowboy expressed it this way: "It'll bog a saddle blan- 134 ket." There was possibly a half-mile of dry sand where wagons would sink halfway to the hubs. Red River sand is a round, or smooth, sand formed by the disintegration of soft sedimentary rock, and under pressure it gives way and slides. When walking in it, I have sunk up to my ankles. It is similar to walking in a bin of wheat.

In contrast, the streambed of the West Cache is made up of sharp granite sand washed down from the Wichitas. When you ford the stream, you scarcely sink at all in the wet sand, and in the dry sand you sink only an inch or two.

133 Crossing the Red River would have necessitated doubling up, hitching the oxen of two or three wagons onto one wagon. One time we bogged our lead wagon in a wide mudhole, and it required the combined horsepower of three wagons to get each one through. I saw this river crossing in 1906, and I imagine it had changed but little, except for being a half-mile wider. As the river's old gouge or ditch filled with sediment, the river had compensated by widening its bed.

The group of wagons carrying the lumber for Quanah's house must have spent close to a week making this river crossing. All the while they were dragging the loads of lumber through the sand, they were faced with the danger that an unexpected rise might come down the river. A rise of eighteen inches would have kept them busy saving the oxen and mules hitched to the wagon that was crossing; the loaded wagon would probably have sunk out of sight into the sand.

The next challenge was a creek, whose name I can neither remember nor find on any of my maps. It is a deep-banked stream but carries little water in the summertime. I helped survey this area of the Reserve before it was opened for homesteading in 1906. I have an unpleasant memory of a half-day's work we had with pick and shovel to get our supply wagon across. This crossing, which had then obviously been used for a long time, could well have been the old Fort Sill-Wichita Falls trail crossing, traveled in the eighties. The creek, as I remember it, is about five miles from the river crossing. I would guess that a full day was spent by the lumber haulers in fording this deep-banked stream.

Next the freighters would have encountered a bearcat with an ugly temper, Deep Red Run. This creek is a full-grown brother to the smaller one I have just described. Each has cut a miniature Grand

XIII

The journey beyond the mountains—Capturing a bear—The night encampment—Entrance into the valley of Lescoha—The dashing escort—Camp of the Spotted Leopard—Another war dance—No change of programme—The bargain and sale—Renewal of the bloody covenant—Value of a captive—Arrival of Moko with the watch—Attempt to escape—Cutting the knee cord—Buffalo hunting—Battle with the Apaches—Meeting of Rolling Thunder and Spotted Leopard—Hanging by the heels—The arrival of the white women captives.

On this journey I was neither tied or blindfolded, but rode a bridled mule, while the warriors were mounted on their best horses. They usually kept me in advance of them, directing me when to turn to the right and left. We followed a well-beaten trail that led in a northwest direction. On reaching the head of the valley, we turned to the left, and began the ascent of a wide, low range of mountains, winding in and out of narrow passes and defiles, but still gradually ascending, traveling in this manner some twenty miles before reaching the summit. The descent on the opposite side was of equal extent.

The ravines were overgrown with dwarfish trees, and the adjacent mountains in general were rocky, but occasionally between the ridges that rose in succession one above the other were small, level plats, covered with a heavy growth of grass, upon which buffalo, deer, and antelopes were feeding.

186 that at some period, more or less remote, this valley had
773 been inhabited by a people skilled in architecture and evidently possessing, in a high degree, a knowledge of mechanism and the arts. Whether the Rolling Thunder's account of their destruction is correct, or his belief that their successors will eventually be disposed of in the same summary manner is orthodox, will admit of argument; nevertheless, there is no doubt that, in common with all the tribes of the Comanches, he entertains this belief, in genuine sincerity. It is this unwavering faith in the future ascendancy of the red man, and the final restoration to him of all the possessions he has lost, which prompts him to perpetual resistance, and which so often led the Rolling Thunder to exclaim, after I had described some marvelous invention—"Wonderful, wonderful are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all."

224 After leaving the volcanic valley and ascertaining the feeding grounds of the bison, we returned to the village, and soon again set forth on the yearly buffalo hunt. It is
[136] a singular fact that on these excursions the hunters are followed by droves of wolves. They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the business in which the party is about to engage. As soon as the skin is stripped from the
000 buffalo they surround the carcass and devour it. To wake in the dead of night, after dreaming, peradventure, of early home and friends, to find yourself under a rude tent, in those far distant wilds, surrounded by a savage tribe, produces sensations, lonely and desolate indeed—but terror mingles with the sense of desolation when, all around, the adjacent solitudes are vocal with the barking and snarling and howling of wolves, gorging themselves at their midnight feasts.

It was at such times as these my soul longed to reach once

over abrupt precipices, often suffering with hunger and parched with thirst. I doubt if civilized or savage man ever before or since made the passage of this sterile region. During the day I directed by course by the sun, always keeping in view, as far as practicable, in my zig-zag progress some prominent peak far in the distance. At night I was guided by the north star. However, there were many cloudy days and nights, during which I was unable to proceed with certainty, and consequently lost much time.

There were many difficulties, hardships, and dangers encountered on this lonesome journey, a correct description whereof it is impossible for me to draw, or the reader to conceive. For instance, I was frightfully annoyed by snakes. It has been seen on a former page that the sight of these reptiles always inspired me with emotions of dread and terror. There was a flat-headed adder I frequently discovered on wet ground and near streams and springs of water; rattlesnakes were everywhere; but there was another species, a kind I had never seen, and am ignorant of the name naturalists have applied to it. It was of a brown color, rather slim, and as often exceeding as falling short of nine feet in length. It inhabited the clefts of the rocks, and stretched itself out on the ledges in the sun. One of its peculiar characteristics was to blow, when disturbed, emitting a loud, disagreeable, unnatural noise, half hiss, half bellow. Frequently while laboring up the steep side of a mountain, drawing myself up a declivity by grasping slight rooted twigs that had sprung up in the cracks and crevices of the rocks, as my head emerged above the surface I was striving to attain, one of these monsters would raise itself to the height of three feet and blow directly in my face. It made my "locks," which, indeed, were "knotted and combined, to part, and each particular hair to stand on

Three Years Among the Comanches

● 136 end:" Bears were numerous, and occasionally a panther could be seen stealing noiselessly through the underwood, but these caused me very little, in fact, no apprehension whatever.

000 On the twentieth day Indians were again discovered. I had reached another valley early in the morning, and from a secure point was making observations, when I perceived them, to the number of a hundred horsemen, followed by a train of pack mules moving towards the west. There was no village to be seen, and I concluded, therefore, they were a party on a visit to some neighboring tribe, the buffalo-hunting season having passed. Watching them until the last one had disappeared and making myself certain others were not approaching, I hurried over the narrow valley at a rapid pace, and commenced another "crossing of the Alps."

By this time the horse had suffered so much from thirst and the want of forage that he had become emaciated in the extreme. His hoofs, likewise, were broken, and he was lame and spiritless. My moccasins, also, were worn out, my feet covered with bruises, and my whole body sore and stiff. In this condition we reached, one day, a singular spot, a deep basin among the hills, enclosing bottom land to the extent of ten or fifteen acres, covered alternately with patches of grass and thickets of brush and wholly shut in by lofty eminences. A spring, clear as crystal, gushed from the base of the mountain on one side, and a number of deer were feeding at different points. At this green spot in the desert I remained twelve days.

Though I had no mirror with me to make a particular examination, I expect my personal appearance was not especially attractive. Three years had elapsed since my beard or the hair of my head had defiled a comb, brush, or razor. My moccasins were dilapidated beyond redemption, my

The Comanches

773 That dog was still in there. The girl grabbed a club to brain
539 him, but he turned back to his human form. Hanging on to the side of a buffalo, he rode out without her getting him. He made straight for the hills, and there he saw that mess of buffaloes.

With that he went straight back to his people.

"How did you make out? What happened?" They wanted to know.

He told them, "Tomorrow at sunrise those buffaloes will be right at our door," he said.

After that they always had plenty of buffalo to eat. That is how they got them. » » »

136 The American bison, or "buffalo," as it is commonly called, is not really a buffalo at all. It is a gregarious bovine ruminant, one of the largest members of the family *Bovidae* that also includes cattle, sheep, goats, and antelope. It is a close relative of the bison of Europe, although quite different in appearance in many respects. It is of rather early origin. Recently discovered fossil remains are said by geologists to belong to the middle Pleistocene age, to be not less than four hundred thousand years old.

The first buffalo seen by Europeans was in 1521 by Cortez in the menagerie of Montezuma. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the first European to report seeing buffalo in Texas. Pedro de Castañeda, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, recorded that there were so many of them he did not know what to compare them to except the fish in the sea; they were so thick that many times his party was unable to go through them.

The buffalo were found on the whole of the Great Plains. The eastern limit of the buffalo land followed roughly from the north along the ninetieth meridian to the northeastern corner of Iowa. Then it bore slightly to the southwest, crossing the Red River about the ninety-eighth meridian, ran south in Texas to about the thirty-first degree of latitude, entered the southern part of New Mexico about the one hundredth and fourth meridian, and roughly followed the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the north. Thus the entire Comanchería fell well within the buffalo range.

Within this area the vast herds drifted back and forth in seasonal

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

migrations. In the fall they moved south from two hundred to four hundred miles to winter in a more favorable climate, drifting north again with the coming of spring. In spring and summer the herds shifted away from the mountains; in winter, toward them. 136

The number of buffalo on the plains before commercial slaughter began reached a figure that staggers the imagination. In Kansas alone, it has been estimated that the bones of thirty-one million head were gathered and sold for fertilizer between 1868 and 1881.[34] A vast herd comprising considerably more than four million animals was seen by competent witnesses in 1871 on the Arkansas River between Fort Zarah and Fort Larned. The main herd was fifty miles deep and twenty-five miles wide—and this was only one of the many herds in existence at the time. On one occasion when the Great Herd moved north, it extended more than one hundred miles in width and was of unknown length, and it was estimated conservatively that the herd contained over one hundred million head.[35] Small wonder that the Comanches forgot to a great extent the starvation fears that beset the poor Shoshones!

Buffalo hunting for the Comanche followed fairly closely a regular pattern. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a co-operative venture. The great communal hunts occurred during the summer months after the seasonal moulting was done and the hides were in their prime, and during November and December when the hides, covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of fur, were best for winter robes. Preparation for the great fall hunt began in October, and the time was determined in democratic assembly at which everyone was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders made the important decisions. 224

Having decided upon an approximate time and location for the hunt, the entire camp became alive with activity. Runners were sent to seek a location for the temporary hunting camp. It must be near water and timber. Scaffolds must be erected for drying the meat. When all was ready, the young and able-bodied men, women, and

[34] Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail*, 203.

[35] Martin S. Garretson, *The American Bison*, 44–64. The estimate was made by General Philip H. Sheridan, Major Henry Inman, and Robert M. Wright who lived for fifty years in the heart of the buffalo country.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

> 21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
657 as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

[p. 144-A]

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman.

[p. 144-B]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[Co.1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the
young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an
amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could
transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of
our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would
eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profes-
sion. The squaws from the infancy are too completely
servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse
as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that
controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance
and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the dep-
redations of their numerous biped enemies) to their north-
ern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In
the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision
of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be
compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alter-
natives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their
native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would
probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other
tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are
formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone,
having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which
purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- 657 er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 871 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 177 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 155 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

492 lose his balance, but the larger Indian boys, and some of the younger
571 Indian men, began to give him a bad time.

It was as though they had been waiting for him to make a mistake.
[888] They were telling him he was too old even to get on a horse, let alone ride one. Some of the remarks were much less polite and even ribald. The old Indian turned his angry gaze on them and spat out an invective that tended to silence them. What he said was not in my vocabulary, and I never learned what he called them.

492 Then he turned back to his horse, shortened up his hold on the reins, and vaulted completely over the stallion, landing lightly on his feet, and then vaulted onto the horse's back. Then he proceeded to the starting line and won himself a horse race.

I have stood near this horse's shoulders, and his withers were higher than my eyes—possibly as high as the top of my head, five feet ten and a half inches. In other words, this horse stood seventeen to eighteen hands high.

554 The old fellow was almost too fabulous to be believed in. As nearly as I was able to discern, he was already a Comanche legend, though he still lived. Mostly he was held in awe by the other Indians, especially by the younger ones. Maybe he was the bogeyman the elders threat-
571 ened the children with. This one time was the only time I ever saw anyone try to take liberties with him. I doubt that those young Indians would have done so then but for the presence of many white people, U.S. marshals, and Indian police.

000 Almost any version of the story of the one-eyed man at the three-ringed circus could have been applied to me when I hit the Comanche country in the early days of March, 1902. I had had my fourteenth birthday in January. Everything was new. Everything was wonderful. I would not have changed a single thing.

Since I am Scotch, the love of the land is as much a part of me as the color of my skin or my hair. I am not trying to sound poetic when I say that the sweep of the grass-covered Comanche prairies was soul-satisfying. West Cache Creek, then the most beautiful of prairie streams, furnished the finest fishing and swimming that I have ever enjoyed, anywhere, any time.

136 There were wild ducks most months of the year, snipe, kildee, plover, doves, curlew, and some bobwhite for my gun. The young of a small variety of cottontail rabbits that lived in the prairie dog towns and were called prairie dog rabbits fell to my rifle. They were superior

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

to chickens for frying, and there were few chickens in the country. 136

Even the great multitude of new tasks was soul-inspiring. I went 000
ahead with the freight wagons to the little inland town later to be known as Faxon, near where the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma, is. There was the freighting of lumber for the trading store my father planned to establish, the erection of the store building, and the freighting of the merchandise. I was clerking in the store, seeing all the new faces, continually meeting new people, and learning new names.

But none of these wonders was equal to seeing, meeting, and know- 123
ing the Comanche Indians. This was especially true when I sensed that one group of the Indians was inclined to be especially friendly toward me, and they made me feel that I was, in effect, one of them. This group was made up of the older men—the warrior group. They ranged in age from the late forties upward. I remember that in my mind I classed most of them as being in their fifties. Men obviously sixty and over were very scarce.

Since apparently all primitive people are attracted by large men, it may well be that my size helped me with my Comanche friendships. In my fifteenth year I largely had my growth. I was bigger than most men, and my muscles were well developed. Within my skills, I could do a man's work, and did. I continued to grow some until I was sixteen and was actually taller than I am now. I knew only three old Comanches that were taller than I. Quanah Parker and Comanche Jack were two of them.

I was properly thrilled. Here was living history. Here were men that had ridden the war trails to the bitter end: Adobe Walls, Palo Duro Canyon, the retreat to the Big Springs Mountains, and then the surrender at Fort Sill in June, 1875.

I had nothing in common with the teenagers near my age. They didn't work, fish, or hunt, as I did. There was no common meeting ground. What I called the Carlisle group, the older young people who had been to the Pennsylvania school and were much better educated than I, by and large ignored me. I have thought since that perhaps they were a trifle jealous of the attention the old fellows gave me. There was a conscious emotional gap between these educated Indians and the old fellows.

Soon after I arrived, an old squaw man gave me some very valu- 123
able information and advice. It summed up about like this: "If a white 609
man wants to gain the friendship and respect of the Comanche, he 562

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
[871] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
[701] battles.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ancestors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to congratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist. He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient. "Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanksgiving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the overcurious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
657 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
423 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead
177 of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

excellent protection from the winter blizzards that frequently sweep across the open plains, and horses could always forage on cottonwood bark. 133

Growing in the sandy soil along the larger streams were extensive thickets of plum bushes and grapevines; and in much of the eastern portion, pecans, walnuts, haws, and persimmons contributed to the food supply of the Comanches. The mesquite, the tree most commonly found, provided wood for fires and its beans were valuable food for both people and horses. The rocky hills and sides of canyons were covered with scrubby cedar. Other trees found here and there were the ash, elm, redbud, oak, willow, bois d'arc, hackberry, chinaberry, cottonwood, and chaparral. 137 [313]

During the hot, dry summers, the area appeared to be a desert, but shortly after a spring or summer rain, its wide expanse became a sea of nutritious grass. Its warm, salubrious climate, the abundance of edible plant products, and the millions of wild animals which provided food, clothing, and shelter made the area a paradise for nomads who lived by hunting. The Comanche was well off and rarely haunted by the spectre of starvation. 511

To the west were the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of New Mexico, within striking distance of a Comanche raiding party, or near enough for trade, but sufficiently removed to leave the raider safe from any punitive force that might attempt to pursue him through the adjacent mountainous terrain and across the wide, level expanse of the intervening *Llano Estacado*. The watering places and landmarks were so few as to make any expedition into the region extremely hazardous except for those thoroughly acquainted with the routes. 133

To the south lay a great expanse of wild waste in the Big Bend country; through this ran a network of Indian trails, by way of water holes, from the central homeland of the Comanches into northern Mexico. Beyond the Río Grande the settlements of northern Mexico were isolated and poorly defended. Striking across this wasteland, the Comanches raided settlements far south of the river, returning with many captives and thousands of horses. The great desert expanse prevented pursuit by forces sufficiently formidable either to punish the marauders or to recapture the plunder, and the Comanches prospered as plunderers.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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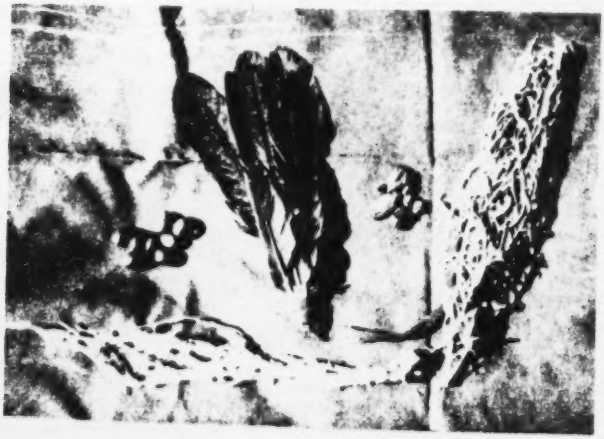
However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy," "sandy ground," or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824



[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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824
[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

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824

ekapokowa:pi

137 "red berry cedar" *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa^{n}ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
759
[77]

ekəpa

[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection
[783] against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunənatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakumaᵏ

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakumaᵏ is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of 278
this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, 755
significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches 757
and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could [177] have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment.

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and [752] spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling.

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which [778] she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treat-
824 ment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made
755 from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the
757 throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [782] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

sanawiba

[137] "yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" *Guitierrezia dracunculoides* (broomweed)

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes.

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kusiwɜna

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipɔhɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for [825] the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value. 643 609 [342] [177] [427]

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles. 643 351

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded. 133 [137]

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache. 000

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert. [133]

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges. 133

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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Canyon into the red alluvial soil. In ages past, Deep Red carried 133
enormous amounts of water. Its head is about thirty miles to the northwest of the crossing probably used by the freighters, and before it reaches the crossing it is joined by two substantial tributaries, Jack Creek and Horse Creek. It represents a considerable watershed.

Where the old trail crossed, the ancient streambed is probably a mile wide. It is now considered bottomland. The stream, winding around this bottom through the years, left numerous oxbow lakes as it shortened itself by cutting new channels. These lakes furnished excellent fishing for the homesteaders, as well as duck shooting in the fall and spring.

A Comanche name-giver must have named this stream, for its bed was well below the surrounding bottom and its exposed banks and the water it carried were truly red. Prior to the homestead era there [137]
was a good deal of timber on both sides of the stream and around the oxbow lakes. Three terraces had been left as this miniature canyon had been cut down, and the upper terraces had sizable trees growing on them. As the amount of water the stream carried decreased, Deep Red Run continued to gouge its way down into the soil.

At its crossing, the freighters would have had to block their wagons down the steep south bank, drag the loads through the stiff red mud of the streambed, and then pull them up the high bank on the north side. This must have been a formidable task, but it would have been of shorter duration than the Red River nightmare.

Once across, the freighters would probably have left the Fort Sill 000
trail and headed north by slightly northwest toward their destination. The Fort Sill–Wichita Falls trail could not have been much of a roadway. It had been laid out in 1882, when the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad extended its tracks from Henrietta. The Fort Sill–Henrietta trail, previously used, lay to the east and followed the East Cache and Cache Creek almost due south to the river.

Blocking their loads down the steep south bank of Post Oak would have been but a minor matter to these now seasoned freighters. The 133
streambed was hard-packed sand, and the north bank was low. From [137]
there to their destination the only obstacle would have been scattered scrub oak that would have had to be cut away from time to time.

I know from experience that the freighting of this lumber bordered 000
on a feat worthy of Paul Bunyan and his blue ox Babe. I have made the following estimates on a minimum base: 15 heavy freight wagons,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the pris- 726
oners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better 657
than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, 726
and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we 439
opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as 427
Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian [435]
Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal 137
grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass 657
and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was dis- 427
tributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them 434
that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they [435]
had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

The Comanches

142 are medium in stature. Goldstein reported an average height of five feet, six inches for Comanche men and five feet for women.[4] This [141] makes them slightly taller than their Ute and Shoshone relatives. The men are robust and well proportioned, but the idle and well-fed among them are inclined to be fat and paunchy. Their chests are wide and fairly deep, and they carry themselves erect and with unassuming [145] dignity. Possibly because of their hard life, the women age somewhat prematurely.

The skin color of the Comanche varies from light brown to a reddish brown or copper, depending to some degree on the amount of exposure to weather and sunlight. The females tend toward somewhat lighter pigmentation than do the males. Like that of any Indians, the hair of a Comanche is black and straight and medium in texture. Among the females there is a greater tendency toward coarse- [145] ness. It is a rare Comanche who has cause to worry over baldness or graying in old age. Such facial hair as a Comanche naturally grows is [302] sparse and light, but until recently even this feeble growth had little chance, for it was the style to pluck it out, roots and all—eyebrows included.

On their heavy bodies the average Comanches carry relatively [141] large, round heads with a cephalic index of eighty-three. This gives them a somewhat greater relative head breadth than neighboring Plains tribes and the Shoshones, too. The shift from the Shoshone norm may quite possibly be the result of extensive admixture with Mexican Indian captives. The forehead is broad, and the supraorbital ridges vary from slight among the females to moderate in the cases of males.

Eye color varies from medium brown to black like that of all Mongoloids. The eyes of the children are a much clearer, richer brown than those of adults. The sclera of adults is commonly bloodshot, and, contrary to popular notions about sharp-eyed Indians, the vision ap-

[4] Marcus S. Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XIX, (1934–35), 289–313. Goldstein's study is the best account of the physical appearance of the Comanches. It was made in 1931 and comprised thirty-five "unmixed" males, twenty-five "unmixed" females, and twenty-five hybrid individuals representing every surviving important band. The numerical figures and comparisons used in this description are taken from Goldstein's study. Otherwise, the description is based on field notes taken by Ernest Wallace in 1945.

pears to be weak. The eyes of about one-half of those studied by 142
Goldstein appear to be slanted slightly to moderately. In most cases the outer canthi are inclined upward, but a few were observed with a downward slant. The so-called Mongolian fold is common among children, but disappears in most cases by the time adulthood is reached.

The Comanche face is broad, even for an Indian people. Goldstein asserts that "In this respect the Comanches are probably exceeded by few or no other tribe." On this wide visage is a broad, high, [141]
and long nose with an index of 69.4 as compared to 67.5 for old American whites. In breadth it exceeds that of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest, but is practically the same as that of the Shoshones. The depression of the root of the nose is shallow to medium in depth, and the bridge is straight to moderate. The mouth is moderately wide, and the lips are thin. The lower jaw appears to be moderately developed; the chin firm and of medium prominence. All in all, the Comanche exhibits not a "finely sculptured" visage, but rather a heavy face with fairly massive features. In form as well as in personality he is a rugged individual.

Since their arrival in the South Plains, the Comanches have in- 144
corporated great numbers of Mexican captives into their tribe, and Mexican infiltration continues today at a rapid pace. Mixture with the Negro seems to have occurred with extreme rarity, if at all. Clark Wissler found that only 62.9 per cent of the Comanches were "fullblood" in 1910, as compared to 96.9 per cent of the Wichitas and 24.2 of the Iowas, the two tribes having respectively the greatest and least amount of alien admixture.[5] That this admixture has continued at an accelerated pace is shown by Marcus S. Goldstein, who believed in 1931 that not more than 10 per cent of the adults could, with any assurance, be considered fullblood.[6]

The Comanches are members of the Uto-Aztekan language family 197
in the sense that English-speaking peoples are Indo-European. The Uto-Aztekan family, which is one of the truly great linguistic stocks of ancient North America, has three major branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean peoples, whose home is centered in the Great Basin region of what is now western United

[5] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 148.
[6] Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *loc. cit.*, 290.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is in- 142
clined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164
Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157
Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522]
also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS*

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141
to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males		
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent	
Comanche			
Goldstein	29.4	23.5	171
Boas	24.4	27.1	141
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3	

* It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

141 171 Fairly close similarity of average statures is also noted between the Comanche, Shoshoni, and Apache.

Stature

GROUP	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number of subjects	Stature	Number of subjects	Stature
		cm.		cm.
Comanche (Goldstein)	(17)	168.3	(25)	156.1
Shoshoni (Boas, 1899)	(42)	166.5	(21)	152.8
Apache (Hrdlička, '09)	(212)	169.1	(70)	156.8

Arm-spread. The mean excess of arm-spread over stature is rather large in the males, 7.7 cm. and 6.9 cm. for full- and probable full-bloods, respectively. The arms of the females are relatively, as well as absolutely, shorter, showing an average stature-span index of 102.2 as compared with the male 104.5. The arm-span was slightly less than stature in only two instances among the males, but was not infrequently in the females.

The Shoshoni[14] (Boas, 1899) approach very closely the Comanche in relative length of arms, giving indices of 104.3 and 103.3 for males and females, respectively. The Apache, on the other hand, apparently differ materially in this respect from the Comanche, yielding indices of 100.6 for each sex.

Height sitting. The Comanche stem length (males, 88.25 cm.) appears intermediate between the Apache (90.3 cm.) and the Shoshone (86.7 cm.). Relative to total height, the averages of 52.3 per cent in the males and 52.8 per cent in the females, are very close to the Shoshoneans (52.2 per cent and 52.7 per cent, respectively). The Apache males have relatively somewhat longer upper bodies (53.2 per cent of stature), but the females (52.8 per cent) are in this feature identical with the Comanches.

[14] Some measurements on males are available for the Shoshoni proper; others, including all the female data herein used, are available only for a combined group of Shoshonean bands (Boas, 1899); in the following, 'Shoshone' will refer to the latter.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

The sitting height of the probable full-bloods averages 89.58 141 cm., and this is 52.89 per cent of total height; absolutely and 171 relatively, therefore, they have longer upper bodies than the full-bloods.

Head measurements. The head of the Comanche is free from artificial deformation. It is fairly long, but also quite broad. The vault, taken from the base of the biauricular line to bregma, is low, as low as that of the Apache. No data for this latter feature is available on the living Shoshone, although skull measurements indicate a low vault (Hrdlička, '27).[15]

Head dimensions

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	HEAD LENGTH	HEAD BREADTH	HEAD HEIGHTH
		Males		
		cm.	cm.	cm.
Comanche	(18)	19.17	16.03	13.47
Shoshoni	(43)	19.35	15.31	....
Apache	(146)	18.7	15.8	13.5
		Females		
Comanche	(25)	18.53	15.24	13.25
Shoshoni	(26)	18.43	14.62	....
Apache	(41)	17.5	15.5	13.0

Cephalic module. ($\frac{L. + B. + H.}{3}$) The cephalic module or mean diameter of the head, as seen below, shows the Comanche intermediate between the Apache and the Sioux. The female to male relationship in this feature is virtually alike in Comanche (96.0) and Sioux (96.7). The head of the Comanche is large; indeed, relative to stature, it is probably as large as that of any North American tribe.

[15] Dr. Truman Michelson's unpublished data on the Wind River Shoshoni confirm this.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Head module and stature

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Module		Module × 1000 / Stature		Module		Module × 1000 / Stature	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
		cm.				cm.		
Comanche	(18)	16.22	(17)	96.4	(25)	15.67	(25)	100.4
Sioux (Hrdlička, 31 a)	(72)	16.40	(72)	94.8	(36)	15.86	(36)	99.7
Apache	(174)	16.00	(167)	94.0	(41)	15.35	(41)	97.9

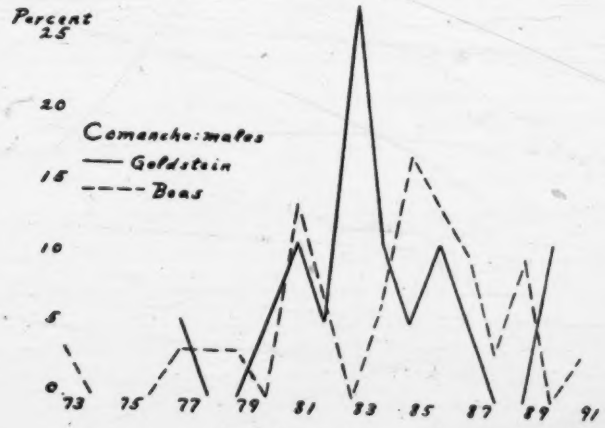

Fig. 1 Cephalic index.

Cephalic index. The form of the head of the full-blood Comanches ranges from meso- to strong brachycephaly, with an average index of 83.7 for males and 82.25 for females. The writer's average for the males is fairly close to that reported by Boas for the same sex (see below); no index for females was mentioned by the latter. More detailed comparison with Boas' data is presented graphically (fig. 1). In

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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general outline the two series appear very similar. The curve /4/ according to Boas' data, however, is flatter, suggesting greater /7/ variability. A difference also exists in the modal or most frequent index, occurring at 85 in the Boas curve, and at 83 in the writer's.

This tendency toward a greater proportion of decided brachycephaly in the Boas series is likewise illustrated by the distributions below.

Comanche males

	Number of subjects	*Average*	*Under 79* per cent	*Over 84* per cent
Goldstein	(18)	83.7	5.6	33.3
Boas	(29)	84.6	10.2	65.3

Both series are small and this inadequacy of numbers probably accounts in a large measure for the difference in the distributions, although cognizance must also be taken of the possibility of the presence of some mixed blood in the Boas series.

Boas further gives a cranial index of 80.0 for fifteen Kiowa and Comanche combined skulls.

The Comanches, according to both Boas and the writer, are definitely brachycephalic, and in this important respect are quite different from the equally definitely mesocephalic Shoshoni.[16] The Apache, Caddo, Kiowa, and Navaho appear related to the Comanche in head form.

Cephalic index, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	CEPHALIC INDEX
Apache (Hrdlička, '08)	(148)	84.9
Comanche (Boas, 1895 a)	(29)	84.6
Comanche (Goldstein)	(18)	83.7
Navaho (Hrdlička, '31 b)	(28)	83.7
Caddo (Boas, 1895 a)	(36)	83.5
Kiowa (Boas, 1895 a)	(40)	82.0
Shoshoni	(43)	79.1

[16] See also T. Michelson. Note on Shoshoni Anthropometry. Proc. 23rd Internat. Cong. Americanists, N. Y., 1928, p. 856.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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141 171 *Height indices.* The height of the vault relative to length and breadth of the head is seen to be rather low in the males, but fairly high in the females. Relative to the mean of length and breadth of head, probably a more clear-cut index, the height in the males averages lower than that of the Apache, and is as low as that of the Sioux; the females again, however, show good height.

Head height indices

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Height-length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index	Number of subjects	Height length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index
Old U. S. Whites[1]	?	70.0	89.5	79.2	?	71.0	89.5	79.7
Apache	(148)	72.1	84.9	78.3	(41)	74.6	84.1	78.8
Comanche	(18)	70.4	84.0	76.6	(25)	71.5	87.0	78.5
Sioux	(72)	68.1	86.3	76.1	(36)	68.6	84.7	75.8

[1] These and other figures following for the Old U. S. Whites are taken from Hrdlička's 'Old Americans' ('25) and from abstracts of the same data in his 'Anthropology of the Sioux' ('31).

[2] Height: length + breadth.

Dimensions of the face. The facial dimensions corroborate the impression of largeness obtained by inspection. The length below the forehead compares favorably with that of the Sioux, and exceeds this diameter in the Apache and Shoshoni; the total length is not so great, indicating a low forehead.

The breadth of the face is astonishingly large even for an Indian people; the Comanches in this respect are probably exceeded by few or no other tribes.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Dimensions of the face

GROUP		MALES			FEMALES		
		Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum	Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	12.84	19.42	15.1	11.97	18.07	14.6
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(19)	(25)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	12.67	18.71	15.44	11.98	17.76	14.68
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(43)	(21)	....	(26)
	Average (cm.)	11.88	....	14.82	10.85	....	13.69
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(174)	(51)	....	(51)
	Average (cm.)	11.8	....	14.9	10.8	....	14.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	....	?	....	....	?	....
	Average (cm.)	....	18.46	....	....	17.23	....

Facial indices. Although absolutely long, the face below the forehead is relatively to the breadth only moderate, the males in this respect approaching the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico; the females in this feature are closest to the Sioux.

The physiognomic index is noteworthy for indicating great relative broadness.

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Facial indices

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Morphologic index	Physiognomic index	Morphologic index	Physiognomic index
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	85.1	77.4	81.9	80.8
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	82.2	77.7	82.1	78.7
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(25)	(24)
	Average	82.1	82.1	81.6	82.6
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(21)	....
	Average	80.1	....	79.2	....
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(51)	....
	Average	78.8	....	76.4	....

Height and breadth of forehead. The average height of forehead among the Comanches is very low, especially that of the males. This metrical lowness is in contrast to the more medium height noted by inspection.

The average minimal frontal diameter of the forehead is seen in both sexes to be almost like that of the Sioux. A rather unusually low variability occurred in this character among the males.

Forehead

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter	Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.66	10.41	6.12	10.17
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.48	10.64	5.93	10.30
Comanche	Number of subjects	(14)	(19)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	6.05	10.69	5.71	10.29
Old U. S. Whites	Number of subjects	(148)	(247)	(207)	(210)
	Average (cm.)	6.58	10.59	6.45	10.12

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Breadth of lower jaw. The gonio-frontal index is used by /14/ Hrdlička to indicate relative breadth of the lower jaw. The /17/ Comanches have a moderately wide mandible, much less developed in width than the Sioux, but in the males almost identical with the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

GROUP	MALES			FEMALES		
	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]
		cm.			cm.	
Sioux	?	11.5	92.7	?	11.0	93.6
Comanches	(19)	11.08	96.48	(25)	10.66	96.51
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	10.79	96.5	?	10.15	100.2
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	10.63	99.1	(210)	9.84	103.0

[1] Minimum frontal diameter × 100: bigonal diameter.

The nose. The nose of the Comanche appears unusually long, showing a greater average length than any of the compared peoples.

In breadth, too, the nose is generous, perceptibly exceeding the averages of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico, but appearing practically like that of the Shoshoni.

Nose

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	cm.			cm.	cm.	
Shoshoni	(42)	5.27	4.30	81.6	(26)	4.95	4.01	85.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.18	4.15	80.4	?	4.8	3.78	78.6
Sioux	?	5.94	4.18	70.4	?	5.45	4.04	74.1
Comanche	(19)	6.28	4.36	69.4	(25)	5.75	3.98	69.17
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.35	3.61	67.5	(210)	4.94	3.25	65.98

The resulting nasal index is leptorrhinic, which in this instance does not so much signify narrowness as unusual height.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

141/11 The apparently unusual height of the nose, combined with the previously indicated long lower face (nasion to chin), and seeming unusually low forehead, may suggest that the nasion was judged higher than the actual. The precise determination of nasion is admittedly difficult, and the possibility of a small constant error must be recognized. It may be mentioned, however, that a large number of photographs of Comanches were carefully scrutinized, according to which, in general, the nose did appear quite long, tending to confirm the metric data.

The mouth. The Comanches possess a moderately wide mouth, though a large face. The comparative data are self-explanatory.

Breadth of mouth

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	MALES	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	FEMALES
		cm.		*cm.*
Sioux	?	6.30	?	6.16
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.85	?	5.49
Comanche	(19)	5.76	(25)	5.69
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.37	(210)	4.95

The ear. Upon inspection the ear of the Comanches appeared strikingly long and rather narrow. The metric data indicate that both dimensions, especially in the males, are large, being distinctly greater than those of the Sioux, Shoshone, or Old U. S. Whites. The low index shows plainly the great relative length of the ear and explains the impression of narrowness notwithstanding good width.

Ear

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	*cm.*			*cm.*	*cm.*	
Comanches	(19)	7.63	3.99	52.38	(25)	7.08	3.66	51.75
Sioux	?	7.33	3.93	53.6	?	7.05	3.76	53.3
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	6.69	3.79	56.7	(210)	6.10	3.47	56.9
Shoshone	(45	6.52	....	....	(11)	6.10	....	....

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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The chest. The Comanches, although a shorter people/41 than the Sioux, approach the latter in dimensions of the chest,/71 especially in breadth. The average index indicates a relatively deep chest, but does not quite reach the splendid depth of the Sioux; it shows to greater advantage however than those of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico or Old U. S. Whites.

Chest, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	BREADTH	DEPTH	INDEX
		cm.	*cm.*	
Sioux	?	31.92	26.0	81.4
Comanche	(16)	31.51	24.5	77.76
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	29.9	22.8	76.15
Old U. S. Whites	(246)	29.76	21.7	72.93

Left hand. The metric data corroborates a visual observation, namely, the remarkably small hand of the Comanche. It is, however, well proportioned, giving a length-breadth index very similar to that of the Sioux and the Old U. S. Whites.

Left hand, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	*cm.*	
Comanche	(17)	17.91	8.51	47.52
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	18.53	8.51	45.9
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	19.28	9.18	47.64
Sioux	?	19.83	9.43	47.6

The left foot. The foot of the males, according to the data below, shows nothing distinctive; in both dimensions and in the somewhat large relative breadth it resembles the foot of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

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Left foot, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	25.42	10.15	37.91
Comanches	(14)	25.99	10.05	38.68
Old U. S. Whites	(245)	26.12	9.45	36.33
Sioux	?	26.8	9.93	37.1

'PROBABLE' FULL-BLOODS

These individuals, it will be recalled, could not be as certainly diagnosed with respect to possible mixture as the full-bloods, and were therefore considered 'probably' full-blood.

The metric data clearly show tangible and fairly consistent differences between this group and the full-bloods, although the differences between the means of several important measurements and indices (stature, head height, cephalic index) were found to be statistically not significant;[17] the numbers concerned, however, are probably too small for statistical refinement. On the other hand, the writer could not conscientiously classify this group with the mixed-bloods, for, as seen below, they appear almost as divergent from the mixed- as from the full-bloods. If mixture of blood is present, it is probably not very recent, in so far as mixture in these individuals was apparently unknown to the members of the tribe and, according to their outward physical appearance, would seem to have been primarily with other Indian groups. Whether a larger series would materially affect the averages is, of course, problematical.

In short, the probable full-bloods appear to be an aberrant group, resembling in physiognomy and shape of head the Sioux, but in stature, and especially in high vault of head, approaching the Navaho.

[17] Difference between the means being less than four times $\sqrt{a^2 + b^2}$ where a and b equal the probable error of the first and second means, respectively.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934

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Comparison of full-, probable full- and mixed-blood males[1]

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MEASUREMENT	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD		MIXED-BLOOD	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
Stature	(17)	168.29	(15)	169.22	(23)	169.11
Sitting height index	(16)	52.3	(13)	52.89	(15)	52.17
Cephalic index	(18)	83.74	(16)	80.35	(23)	82.59
Head height	(18)	13.47	(16)	13.84	(24)	13.66
Head module	(18)	16.22	(16)	16.41	(24)	16.20
Mean height index	(18)	76.56	(16)	78.48	(23)	78.2
Face: Menton-nasion	(18)	12.67	(16)	12.46	(22)	12.59
Menton-crinion	(14)	18.71	(14)	18.74	(19)	18.42
Bizygomatic diameter	(19)	15.44	(16)	15.28	(22)	14.98
Index, morphologic	(18)	82.05	(16)	81.51	(22)	84.01
Index, physiognomic	(14)	82.05	(14)	81.97	(19)	81.14
Nose: Index	(19)	69.49	(16)	74.61	(22)	68.88

[1] All figures except indices are in centimeters.

DISCUSSION

The traditional close and friendly contact of the Comanche with the Shoshoni, each speaking the same language and apparently possessing no social barriers to free intermarriage, would seem to have made some miscegenation between the two peoples very likely. At the same time, however, any closer physical relationship than possible occasional intermarriage, seems doubtful, considering the fundamental difference of head form in the two groups—the Comanche definitely bracycephalic, the Shoshoni, and other Shoshonean tribes of the northern plateaux, definitely mesocephalic. The only Shoshonean groups similar to the Comanches in average stature and cephalic index are those of southern California (Boas, 1895 b). Even these, however, differ from the Comanches in the important character of shape and probably relatively greater breadth of the nose.[18]

The Comanches, in the light of their history, are undoubtedly a complex group physically; they are mixed to a greater or lesser extent probably with all the many and varied tribes

[18] "The nose is very often concave, rather short, but wide with thick alae." (Boas, 1895 b, p. 269.)

Summary of Comanche measurements[1]

	FULL-BLOOD						PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD		
	Male			Female			Males		
	Number of subjects	Average	Range	Number of subjects	Average	Range	Number of subjects	Average	Range
Stature (Goldstein)	17	168.29	158.0 –177.0	25	156.1	145.5 –165.0	15	169.22	158.5 –180.5
(Boas)	74	167.8			156.2				
Arm-span minus stature	13	+7.7	+16.0 – –2.0	21	+4.4	+17.0 – –9.5	14	6.9	16.0 – 0.5
Span-stature index	13	104.5		21	102.2		14	104.0	
Height sitting	16	88.25	83.5 – 93.5	23	82.6	77.5 – 91.0	13	89.58	82.0 – 98.0
Height-sitting index	16	52.3	50.3 – 54.5	23	52.8	49.7 – 56.9	13	52.89	51.1 – 54.3
Head: length	18	19.17	17.7 – 20.3	25	18.53	17.6 – 19.6	16	19.62	18.6 – 20.5
breadth	19	16.03	15.3 – 17.1	25	15.24	14.4 – 16.0	16	15.76	14.4 – 16.8
height	18	13.47	12.8 – 14.6	25	13.25	12.3 – 14.2	16	13.84	12.5 – 15.2
module	18	16.22	15.27– 17.03	25	15.67	14.97– 16.30	16	16.41	15.37– 16.97
Module vs. stature	17	96.4	91.2 –106.3	25	100.4	95.8 –106.5	15	96.9	91.6 –102.3
Cephalic index (Goldstein)	18	83.74	76.9 – 90.4	25	82.25	75.8 – 89.9	16	80.35	72.7 – 88.4
(Boas)	29	84.6							
Height-length index	18	70.38	65.5 – 77.7	25	71.52	65.3 – 78.9	16	70.56	64.0 – 78.7
Height-breadth index	18	83.99	78.7 – 90.3	25	86.96	80.6 – 93.3	16	87.83	79.2 – 97.4
Mean height index	18	76.56	71.5 – 83.5	25	78.48	72.6 – 84.5	16	78.25	71.9 – 86.4
Face: menton-nasion	18	12.67	11.4 – 13.8	25	11.98	10.4 – 13.3	16	12.46	10.8 – 13.4
menton-erinion	14	18.71	16.7 – 19.9	24	17.76	16.0 – 18.6	14	18.74	16.8 – 20.6
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	19	15.44	13.9 – 16.4	25	14.68	14.0 – 15.2	16	15.28	14.0 – 16.4
Facial indices: morphologic	18	82.05	73.1 – 87.7	25	81.58	69.3 – 89.3	16	81.51	73.0 – 91.4
physiognomic	14	82.05	77.4 – 87.2	24	82.61	75.3 – 92.1	14	81.97	74.5 – 88.1
Forehead, height	14	6.05	4.8 – 7.2	24	5.71	4.0 – 7.1	14	6.36	5.9 – 7.5
Minimum frontal diameter	19	10.69	10.2 – 11.2	25	10.29	9.4 – 11.1	16	10.56	10.0 – 12.1
Bigonial diameter	19	11.08	9.6 – 12.4	25	10.66	10.1 – 11.5	16	11.19	9.5 – 12.1
Gonio-frontal index	19	96.48	85.4 –108.3	25	96.51	84.2 –105.9	16	94.36	85.0 –107.4
Nose: length	19	6.28	5.6 – 7.0	25	5.75	5.1 – 6.5	16	6.0	5.3 – 7.3
breadth	19	4.36	3.6 – 5.1	25	3.98	3.5 – 4.7	16	4.48	3.8 – 5.4
index	19	69.49	56.1 – 87.9	25	69.17	59.3 – 88.7	16	74.61	63.1 – 87.1
Mouth breadth	19	5.76	4.6 – 6.6	25	5.69	5.0 – 6.7	16	5.87	5.0 – 6.6
Left ear: length	19	7.63	6.6 – 8.8	25	7.08	6.2 – 7.8	16	7.56	6.7 – 8.5
breadth	19	3.99	3.2 – 4.9	25	3.66	3.3 – 4.0	16	3.89	3.4 – 4.2
index	19	52.38	45.5 – 67.1	25	51.75	44.2 – 59.4	16	51.45	42.0 – 60.0
Chest: width	16	31.51	26.8 – 36.0	23	30.25	26.8 – 34.2	16	32.56	28.9 – 38.3
depth	16	24.50	17.3 – 29.2	23	24.19	20.6 – 29.2	16	25.55	21.2 – 29.7
index	16	77.76	64.6 – 89.0	23	79.95	72.8 – 97.7	16	78.45	67.7 – 93.7
Left hand: length	17	17.91	15.9 – 19.9	25	17.6	15.6 – 19.0	16	18.53	16.8 – 21.3
breadth	17	8.51	6.8 – 10.0	25	8.54	6.5 – 9.5	16	9.18	7.5 – 9.9
index	17	47.52	40.5 – 52.8	25	48.54	41.7 – 51.8	16	49.53	42.9 – 53.8
Left foot: length	14	25.99	23.2 – 27.8	24	24.07	22.5 – 25.9	14	26.23	25.0 – 28.5
breadth	14	10.05	8.7 – 12.3	24	9.34	8.2 – 11.0	14	9.89	8.7 – 10.6
index	14	38.68	34.7 – 45.7	24	38.8	35.1 – 45.1	14	37.72	33.7 – 42.0

[1] All figures except indices are in centimeters.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6
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4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

141 with which they came in contact in their vast nomadic range.
171 On the whole, excepting a suggestion of the Sioux in their physiognomy, and of the Shoshone in body proportions, the Comanches seem to the writer, in view of their medium to tall stature, clear brachycephaly, low vault of head, and large and heavy facial features, an essentially Apache-like people.

SUMMARY

The Comanches are of medium average stature, generally of robust physique, and possess relatively long arms.

Their head is absolutely and relatively to stature large; it is meso- to decidedly brachycephalic in shape, and very low in height.

The face is very broad and probably long below the forehead; the forehead seems very low in height, but is fairly broad in width. A broad but also long nose, moderately wide mouth, and moderately developed (in width) lower jaw, completes the physiognomy. The ears are large in both dimensions, also relatively long; the chest is wide and fairly deep; the hand usually small but well formed; the foot relatively somewhat broad.

In a number of the above features, particularly stature and shape and height of head, the Comanche appear essentially related to the Apache; their decided brachycephalic would seem to preclude close physical affinity with the linguistically related mesocephalic Shoshoni.

A group of so-called probable full-bloods appears as an aberrant type, chiefly in much lower brachycephaly and high vault of head. In taller stature and high vault of head they resemble the Navaho; in their other characters they tend to approach the Sioux.

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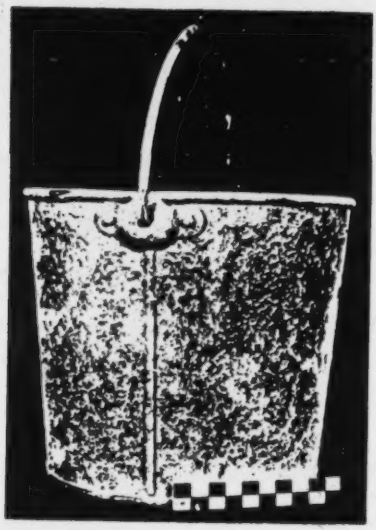

Figure 4. Galvanized pail from 34CM221.

172 141 128 *Sex:* Table 2 shows the morphological and metric traits diagnostic of sex. Both the pelvis and the skull are typically female. A more objective assessment of sex is obtained with the discriminant function formula of Giles and Elliot (1963). The value derived from the formula, 899.02, lies on the "female" side of the sectioning point of 912.14 for American Indian crania.

172 144 [141] [128] *Race:* Table 2 indicates a predominately Mongoloid racial affinity. The Giles-Elliot discriminant analysis for race (1962) would classify the skull as "indeterminate" but with rather less likelihood of being white than Negro or American Indian. A possible explanation for the "indeterminate" status of the skull lies in the fact that Southern Plains tribes have long been active in assimilating non-Indian captives into their breeding populations.

172 141 128 *Age:* Since the symphyseal facets of the pubis were largely destroyed, cranial suture were relied on for age. The mean for 16-segment closure ratings is 1.09 (Nemerski, Harsanyi, and Ascadi: 1960:95), indicating an age of 25-35 years. This estimate is partly supported by the minimal osteo-arthritic lipping of the lumbar vertebrae,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320-A]
[p 318-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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TABLE 1
SKELETAL MEASUREMENTS AND DESCRIPTION

SKULL

	Millimeters or degrees
Cranium	
Maximum length	179
Maximum breadth	140
Basion-bregmatic height	124
Minimum frontal diameter	89
Bizygomatic breadth (estimate)	131
Prosthion-nasion length	66
Nasal height	51
Nasal breadth	26
Orbital height	36
Orbital breadth	39
Basion-nasion length	96
Basion-prosthion length	91
Foramen magnum length	36
Bimaxillary breadth (M2)	63
Cranial thickness (parietal)	5
Palate length	38
Palate breadth	41
Arch length	48
Facial angle	85°
Subnasal angle	75°
Biorbital breadth	98
Nasion protrusion	14
Bizygomaxillary breadth	97
Auricular head height	104
Mandible	
Total length	109
Bicondylar breadth	123
Bigonial breadth	94
Mandibular angle	119°
Ramus height	59
Ramus breadth	32
Symphyseal angle	70°
Body height	
M2	27
PM 1-2	29
Symphyseal	28
Body thickness	
M2	13
PM 1-2	11
Symphyseal	12

Cranial and Mandibular Indices and Derived Measurements

Index or Measurement	Value	Classification
Cranial index	78.2	Mesocranial
Mean height index	77.8	Low skull
Upper facial index	51.1	Mesene
Transverse facial index	93.5	Phenozygene
Transverse frontal index	80.1	Divergent
Fronto-parietal index	63.5	Sthenometopic
Fronto-zygomatic index	67.9	---
Orbital index	92.3	Hypsicouch
Nasal index	50.9	Mesorrhine
Palatal index	107.8	Brachystaphyline
Alveolar arch index	131.2	Brachyuranic

[p. 319-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Flower's index	94.7	Orthognathic
Facial flattening	14.4	Flat
Upper facial angle	75°	Orthognathic
Subnasal angle	75°	Mesognathic
Index of robustness (PM1-2)	37.9	—
Cranial capacity	1297 cc.	—
Mandibular index	88.6	Mesognathic
Fronto-gonic index	105.6	—
Gonio-condylar index	76.4	—
Ramus index	54.2	—

Descriptive Characters

Vault (vertical)	Ovoid
Inion	0
Nuchal lines	Slight
Dental arch	Parabolic
Palatine torus	Absent
Metopic suture	Closed
Mandibular torus	Absent
Nasal margin	Fossicula
Vault contour (sagittal)	Platycranic
Mastoid process	Small
Pterion	"H" type
Supraorbital ridges	Slight
Vault sutures	Simple
Suture closure (mean of 16 segment closure ratings)	1.09
Chignon	Moderate

POST-CRANIAL SKELETON

Clavicle - not measured
Scapula - not measured
Vertebrae and sacrum - not measured

Innominates		
Coxal height	—	196
Iliac breadth	147	146
Iliac height (cotyloid)	—	122
Ischial length	—	87
Pubic length	—	—
Sciatic notch angle	76°	77°
Sciatic notch width	—	48
Sciatic notch depth	—	27
Cotylo-sciatic breadth	32	32
Cotylo-sciatic index	—	—
Coxal breadth index	—	119.7
Iliac breadth index	—	74.5
Ischio-pubic index	—	—
Apertural index	—	56.2
Humerus		
Maximum length	300	302
Maximum diameter	19.6	20.4
Minimum diameter	15	15.1
Head diameter, vertical	43	42
Head diameter, horizontal	40	40
Bicondylar diameter	—	—
Supracondylar foramen breadth	10	—
Radius		
Maximum length	216	220
Ulna		
Maximum length	246	239

[p. 319-B]

Table 1 (continued)

172 Transverse diameter	18	18
141 Anterior-posterior diameter	21	21
Femur		
Maximum length	415	---
Physiological length	409	---
Transverse diameter	26	---
AP diameter	27	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, AP	25	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, transverse	30	---
Head diameter, vertical	45	---
Head diameter, horizontal	46	---
Bicondylar diameter (estimate)	73	---
Collo-diaphyseal angle	137°	---
Tibia		
Maximum length	322	318
AP diameter (nutrient foramen)	32	30
Transverse diameter (nutrient foramen)	22	21
Bicondylar diameter	---	70
Fibula		
Maximum length	318	---

Long bone indices	Value	Class
Diaphyseal index, humerus	75.2	Platybrachic
Brachial index (humerus/radius)	72.4	Short
Platoleneal index, ulna	85.7	Uroleneal
Index of robustness, femur	13	Average
Pilasteric index, femur	103.8	Weak
Platymeric index, femur	83.3	Platymeric
Tibio-femoral index	78.7	---
Cnemial index	69.4	Mesocnemic
Humero-femoral index	73.3	---
Intermembral index	70	Average

172 the general texture of the bones, and the
141 relatively unworn second and third molars.
Stature: Since there are no reliable estimates for
128 determining female Mongoloid stature, the
Trotter-Gleser table (Trotter and Gleser 1952,
Table 13) for white females was used. Thirteen
172 calculations were made; the results range from
141 152.78 cm. to 162.80 cm., averaging 157.31 cm.
Since Mongoloids have rather shorter legs relative
144 to trunk height than do whites, this average may
be an underestimate by two to five centimeters.
[128] Goldstein (1934:299) reported an average stature
of 156.1 cm. for 25 full-blood Comanche females
measured in 1931. Since Indians of mixed blood
almost always exhibit maximum dimensions
greater than full-bloods, the skeleton would fit
into the range of variation expected for either
the full-blood or the mixed blood population.
172 *Cultural status:* The heavy dental attrition indi-
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18: Jackson . A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

TABLE 2
TRAITS INDICATIVE OF
SEX, RACE, AND CULTURE STATUS

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Trait	Sex		Culture		Race		
			Primitive	Modern	Negroid	Caucasoid	Mongoloid
Skull and Mandible							
Mesostomy		x				x	x
Low Vault			x				
Cranial Capacity		x					
Chignon							x
Mesoprosopy							x
Phenozygomy			x				x
Sthenomesoprosopy					x		x
Frontozygomatic Index					x		x
Hypsicephaly		x					x
Mesosphenic							x
Brachystaphylinny							x
Brachycranny						x	x
Orthognathy (Upper Face)		x				x	x
Mesognathy (Alveolar)		x					x
Facial Flatness							x
Nuchal Crests		x					
Mastoid Processes		x					
Supraorbital Ridges		x					
Arch Form		x				x	x
Molar Form							x
Prognathic Index							x
Dental Wear			x				
Shovel-shaped Incisors							x
Edge-to-Edge Bite			x				
Mandibular Index					x	x	
Frontoalveolar Index			x				
Gonio-Condylar Index						x	x
Ramus Index							x
Gonial Angle		x					x
Symphyseal Angle							x
Sinuous Sutures					x		x
Post-Cranial							
Humeral Head Diameter		x					
Platybrachia							x
Supracondylar Foramen Breadth		x					x
Brachial Index						x	
Urginy		x					
Iliac Breadth Index		x					x
Sciatic Notch Angle		x					
Acetabular Index		x					
Preauricular Sulcus		x					
Bicondylar Diameter Femur		x					
Index of Robustness							x
Pilasteric Index		x				x	
Platymeria			x			x	
Mesopodemia		x					x
Squatting Facets			x				

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cates a coarse diet with much gritty contamination. This wear is relatively greater in the anterior dental arcade, indicating some use of the teeth in preparing hides, cordage, etc. At least one tibia shows the presence of squatters facet, and the femurs are platymeric. Both conditions are indicative of primitive living.

Conclusions: The osteological evidence thus indicates an adult female Plains Indian, 25-35 years old, who lived at a time before acculturative shifts in diet would reduce tooth wear. Although the observations fit the data given by Goldstein (1934), it is not possible to assign the skeleton definitely to the Comanche because of the limited sample on which the comparison was based.

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[p. 320-B]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

II

The People

THE artist George Catlin wrote of the Comanches, "In their movements they are heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one of the most unattractive and slovenly-looking races of Indians I have ever seen; but the moment they mount their horses, they seem at once metamorphosed, and surprise the spectator with the ease and grace of their movements."[1]

Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, who spent many years with the United States Army on the plains, also thought them a poor thing on the ground but something special on a horse. "In stature," he wrote, "they are rather low, and in person often approach corpulency. . . . The men are short and stout, with bright copper faces and long hair which they ornament with glass beads and silver gewgaws. On foot they are slow and awkward, but on horseback graceful."[2] Captain Marcy saw more of detail and paints a richer picture. "The men are about medium stature, with bright, copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline noses, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard. They never cut the hair, but wear it of very great length, and ornament it upon state occasions with silver and beads."[3] Compared to the usual run of Plains Indians (Cheyenne, Crow, Blackfoot, and Kiowa, for example) the Comanche *is* short, squat, and heavy. Actually, the Comanches

[1] Catlin, *op. cit.*, II, 74–75.

[2] Richard I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, p. *xxv*.

[3] R. B. Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 161.

The Comanches

142 are medium in stature. Goldstein reported an average height of five
[141] feet, six inches for Comanche men and five feet for women.[4] This makes them slightly taller than their Ute and Shoshone relatives. The men are robust and well proportioned, but the idle and well-fed among them are inclined to be fat and paunchy. Their chests are wide and fairly deep, and they carry themselves erect and with unassuming
[145] dignity. Possibly because of their hard life, the women age somewhat prematurely.

The skin color of the Comanche varies from light brown to a reddish brown or copper, depending to some degree on the amount of exposure to weather and sunlight. The females tend toward somewhat lighter pigmentation than do the males. Like that of any Indians, the hair of a Comanche is black and straight and medium in texture. Among the females there is a greater tendency toward coarse-
[145] ness. It is a rare Comanche who has cause to worry over baldness or graying in old age. Such facial hair as a Comanche naturally grows is
[302] sparse and light, but until recently even this feeble growth had little chance, for it was the style to pluck it out, roots and all—eyebrows included.

On their heavy bodies the average Comanches carry relatively
[141] large, round heads with a cephalic index of eighty-three. This gives them a somewhat greater relative head breadth than neighboring Plains tribes and the Shoshones, too. The shift from the Shoshone norm may quite possibly be the result of extensive admixture with Mexican Indian captives. The forehead is broad, and the supraorbital ridges vary from slight among the females to moderate in the cases of males.

Eye color varies from medium brown to black like that of all Mongoloids. The eyes of the children are a much clearer, richer brown than those of adults. The sclera of adults is commonly bloodshot, and, contrary to popular notions about sharp-eyed Indians, the vision ap-

[4] Marcus S. Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XIX, (1934–35), 289–313. Goldstein's study is the best account of the physical appearance of the Comanches. It was made in 1931 and comprised thirty-five "unmixed" males, twenty-five "unmixed" females, and twenty-five hybrid individuals representing every surviving important band. The numerical figures and comparisons used in this description are taken from Goldstein's study. Otherwise, the description is based on field notes taken by Ernest Wallace in 1945.

pears to be weak. The eyes of about one-half of those studied by Goldstein appear to be slanted slightly to moderately. In most cases the outer canthi are inclined upward, but a few were observed with a downward slant. The so-called Mongolian fold is common among children, but disappears in most cases by the time adulthood is reached. 142

The Comanche face is broad, even for an Indian people. Goldstein asserts that "In this respect the Comanches are probably exceeded by few or no other tribe." On this wide visage is a broad, high, and long nose with an index of 69.4 as compared to 67.5 for old American whites. In breadth it exceeds that of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest, but is practically the same as that of the Shoshones. The depression of the root of the nose is shallow to medium in depth, and the bridge is straight to moderate. The mouth is moderately wide, and the lips are thin. The lower jaw appears to be moderately developed; the chin firm and of medium prominence. All in all, the Comanche exhibits not a "finely sculptured" visage, but rather a heavy face with fairly massive features. In form as well as in personality he is a rugged individual. [141]

Since their arrival in the South Plains, the Comanches have incorporated great numbers of Mexican captives into their tribe, and Mexican infiltration continues today at a rapid pace. Mixture with the Negro seems to have occurred with extreme rarity, if at all. Clark Wissler found that only 62.9 per cent of the Comanches were "fullblood" in 1910, as compared to 96.9 per cent of the Wichitas and 24.2 of the Iowas, the two tribes having respectively the greatest and least amount of alien admixture.[5] That this admixture has continued at an accelerated pace is shown by Marcus S. Goldstein, who believed in 1931 that not more than 10 per cent of the adults could, with any assurance, be considered fullblood.[6] 144

The Comanches are members of the Uto-Aztekan language family in the sense that English-speaking peoples are Indo-European. The Uto-Aztekan family, which is one of the truly great linguistic stocks of ancient North America, has three major branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean peoples, whose home is centered in the Great Basin region of what is now western United 197

[5] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 148.
[6] Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *loc. cit.*, 290.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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A Comanche woman, the wife of Milky Way, in 1872

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 110]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Big Looking Glass (Pianaronit), in 1894
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 111]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Buffalo Hump
Courtesy National Archives

[facing p. 174]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Horse Back (Kiyou)

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[Facing p. 175]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 238]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker's children, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 239]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Ten Bears, in 1872
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 270]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Mumshukawa

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[facing p. 271]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man (Tenewerka), in 1933, one of the Comanches who stole the horses from the stone corral at Fort Sill in 1878

Photograph by E. A. Hoebel

[Facing p. 334]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Voice of the Sunrise (Tabananika), chief of the Yamparika

[Facing p. 335]

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Albert Atocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 350]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Hair Hanging Down, in 1930
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 351]

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

this study. To Dr. Franz Boas the writer is grateful and wishes to express his thanks here for the opportunity of examining old Comanche data.

AGE

The age distribution of the subjects examined is given below. A disproportionate number of the male full-bloods are in the higher age brackets due to the almost hopeless task of distinguishing full-bloods among the young. As a rule, however, the old men were remarkably well preserved; wherever there was a chance of a physical ailment or decrepitude influencing a measurement or observation, a notation to that effect was made or the item was altogether omitted.

Age distribution

YEARS	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD
	Male	Female	Male
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
21 to 30	5.3	4.–	12.5
31 to 40	5.3	16.–	12.5
41 to 50	31.6	24.–	18.8
51 to 60	15.8	36.–	50.–
61 to 70	26.3	20.–	6.2
71 to 80	15.8		
Average	56.8y.	52.–y.	48.4y.
Minimum	26	28	25
Maximum	80[1]	70	61

[1] One man, head measurements only.

DESCRIPTIVE OBSERVATIONS[2]

Color of skin. The most common color of the skin in both sexes was medium- to reddish-brown on the face, and light-brown on the unexposed medial surface of the upper arm. The skin of the females, in general, appeared somewhat lighter in both regions. There was practically no difference between the full- and probable full-bloods.

[2] In the following, the term Comanche and all observations and measurements will refer to the full-bloods only, unless otherwise stated.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

147 *Skin-reaction.* The "reaction of the skin on the chest to the irritation caused by drawing over it a finger-nail with force"[10] was used as an adjunct in distinguishing full- from mixed-bloods. In healthy full-bloods the hyperaemia which constitutes the reaction was often slight, never over medium. At times the hyperaemia did not appear for about a minute after the initial irritation.

142 *Color of eyes.* The predominating eye color in both sexes was a medium brown. Doctor Hrdlička mentions a "moderate [145] dilution or loss of color with age" among the Sioux;[11] this occurs in the Comanche as well. The eyes of the children were generally a richer, deeper brown.

The color of the sclera in the adults was most frequently a dull- or yellowish-white, usually more or less bloodshot. The pigmentation may have been affected by the widespread trachoma.

Eye slant. In one-third of the males and nearly one-half of the females, the eyeslits were practically horizontal. Most of the remaining subjects had their outer canthi inclined upward (slightly to moderately), a few cases only occurring with a downward, slight to moderate, slant. The slant often appeared accentuated by a fairly frequent occurrence of narrow palpebral openings, or, among many with a moderate opening, by a habit of keeping the eyelids half shut. A wide palpebral opening was uncommon.

The mongolian fold was not noted in the adults; it was common in the younger children.

Color of hair. The hair of all full- and probable full-bloods, with one exception, was completely straight. One female's hair was somewhat wavy at the ends, although straight on top of the head. Felt by the fingers, the hair seemed usually of medium texture; a greater tendency toward coarseness occurred in the females than in the males.

[10] Hrdlička, A. Anthropology of the Sioux. Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XVI, 130, 1931.

[11] Loc. cit., 130.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Grayness. No gray hair was noted in any full- or probable full-blood below 40 years of age. Among the males, the youngest full-blood showing some gray hairs was 45, probable full-blood, 40; females, full-blood, 40, probable full-blood, 50. Almost 57 per cent of the individuals between 40 and 55, inclusive, had no gray hair at all; this condition is close to the 50 per cent among the Sioux.[12] Many subjects above 55, even at the ages of 70 and 80, showed but few gray hairs, although several cases did occur of approximately two-thirds of the hair gray, as well as one instance of a blind man with practically an entire head of yellowish-gray hair. /142 /145

The pattern of graying among the Indians, to the writer's knowledge, has not been commented upon. Among whites, even negroes, as recently pointed out by Boas and N. Michelson ('32, p. 215), graying of the hair commonly begins and is most extensive at the temporal regions and around the lower occiput. The writer was struck by the rarity of this gray-hair pattern in the full- and probable full-blood Comanches. Almost invariably the graying in the latter was 'general,' i.e., a condition where more or less widely separated strands of hair, apparently originating around the forehead, had become iron- or yellowish-gray. On the other hand, several instances of compact, temporal graying were noted among the mixed bloods. The 'general' type of graying seemed a distinctly full-blood Indian characteristic.

Loss of hair. No full-blood under 60, and none under 50 among the probable full-bloods, had any loss of hair whatever. Several of the older men had slight to moderate loss over the forehead; three old women likewise showed a slight loss over the forehead.

Moustache and beard. No moustache or beard whatever was noted in either full- or probable full-blood. /142

Eyebrows. The men often plucked out their eyebrows. Where present, in male or female, the amount of hair in the brow was usually thin, never over medium. A trace of concurrency occurred in 39 per cent of individuals with eyebrows not plucked. [302]

[12] Hrdlička, A. Loc. cit., 132.

142 *Forehead.* The forehead was usually of medium height by inspection; it was high in approximately 20 per cent of the males and 17 per cent of the females, and low, sometimes very low, in 13 per cent of the former, and 28 per cent of the latter. No (or a slight) slope backward of the forehead occurred in 42 per cent of males, 76 per cent of females; a moderate slope backward, 47 per cent males, 24 per cent females; and a marked slope was noted in approximately 11 per cent of the males.

Supraorbital ridges. The data on the supraorbital ridges of the full-bloods, given below, are self-explanatory. A somewhat greater percentage of marked ridges obtained in the probable full-bloods.

Supraorbital ridges: full-bloods

	Males Per cent	*Females* Per cent
None to slight	5.3	56.–
Moderate	57.9	28.–
Marked	36.8	16.–

An approach to concurrency of the ridges occurred in two males and six females. The ridges of the females, more frequently slight or moderate as they are, would be more likely to coalesce with the usual female slight to moderate glabella. Indeed, approximately three-quarters of the females had no (or a slight) glabella prominence, the remainder, with one exception of a marked bulge, showed moderate prominence. Approximately 14 per cent each of slight and marked glabella prominences occurred in the males.

The glabella appeared more frequently pronounced among the probable full-bloods.

The malars. Prominence of the malars in the males was: submedium 5.3 per cent, medium 36.8 per cent, prominent 57.9 per cent; among the females: 60 per cent medium, 40 per cent prominent. The malars were usually of good size, i.e., well filled out. This visual observation of a preponderance of prominent and heavy malars is attested to by the great average widths of the bizygomatic diameter.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Nose. The depression of the root in the full-blood males was/42 'high' or practically not at all depressed in 31.6 per cent, shallow in 10.5 per cent, and medium in 57.9 per cent; the females showed a 'high' root in 4 per cent, a shallow depression in 40 per cent, and a medium depression in 56 per cent. No case of deeply depressed root was recorded.

Correspondingly, the width of the root was medium to wide in approximately one-fourth of the males and one-half of the females. The males therefore show a fairly narrow root of generally medium depth; the females, a somewhat wider root, of medium or shallow depth.

The root in the probable full-blood males was almost always of medium depth and from medium to narrow width.

Nasal profile. The details on the nasal profile are given below. A straight or slightly to moderately convex bridge appears to be the most common. The descriptive term 'wavy' indicates a greater or less prominence in the middle of the bridge, being straight above and below. Convexity was somewhat more common among the probable full-bloods.

Bridge of nose: full-bloods

	Males Per cent	Females Per cent
Straight (or nearly so)	52.6	68.–
Convex (slight to moderate)	36.8	20.–
'Wavy'	5.3	12.–
Concave (slightly)	5.3	....

Nasal septum. The septum was straight in 36.8 per cent of males, 44 per cent of females; it was inclined, slightly to moderately, downward from the face in 57.9 per cent of males, 32 per cent of females; a slight upward inclination occurred in 5.3 per cent of males, 24 per cent of females. The somewhat large percentage of upward inclination of the septum noted in the females does not signify a tilted nose, but merely a slight though perceptible slope of the septum proper.

Lips. Thick lips (as would be so considered in whites) occurred in 4 per cent of the females only; thin lips were noted in 15.8 per cent of males and 32 per cent of females; the lips

142 of the remaining subjects were of medium thickness. The factor of age has probably influenced the distribution. Approximately four-fifths of each sex had no (or merely a trace of a) lip seam; the other fifth, excepting one female with a marked seam, showed a fairly perceptible seam. The male probable full-bloods showed a somewhat greater absence of the seam.

Teeth. Clearly discernible shovel-shaped upper incisors occurred in every full- and probable full-blood examined. Not infrequently, too, well-marked shovel-shaped incisors were found in mixed-bloods. Numerous cases of caries were noted, [164] although the impression remained that it is probably not as extensive, especially among the older people, as in whites or negroes.

Alveolar prognathism. Taking a perpendicular maxilla region as a standard, 57.9 per cent of males and 68 per cent of females had practically no alveolar prognathism; 36.8 per cent of the former and 28 per cent of the latter showed slight protrusion; and in 5.3 per cent of males and 4 per cent of females occurred medium prognathism. The 'no' and 'slight' categories would probably approximate the average in the whites.

Chin. The chin nearly always appeared firm or strong, generally round and of medium prominence. The gonial angles were often jutting.

The ear. The ear appeared large and well formed. The lobe was absent in 8 per cent of the subjects. Where present it was entirely attached to the face in 30 per cent, and separated from or pendant, in 62 per cent of the individuals. Large, medium, and small sized lobes were present in about equal frequency among the males, a somewhat larger proportions of small lobes in the females.

The helix showed a one-third roll in 62 and 76 per cent of the males and females, respectively; a two-thirds roll, 23 and 20 per cent, respectively; a complete roll 15 and 4 per cent. A trace of the Darwin's tubercle occurred in 18.2 per cent of both sexes.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is in- 142
clined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164
Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157
Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522]
also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS [a]

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141
to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males	
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent
Comanche		
Goldstein	29.4	23.5
Boas	24.4	27.1
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3

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[a] It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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PLATE 1

Left—Toyo, 62 years old.

Right—Chief Millet, Kwahadi Band, 69 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Wilbur Pewo, 42 years old.

Right—Knox Tokawann, 48 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Mrs. Peecher, Kotsoteka Band, 55 years old.

Right—Petarsy, 49 years old.

[pp 320-end not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wichita NO10

looking somewhat like a giant bee hive of the old fashion. They raised crops of corn, pumpkins and possibly tobacco. On the other hand the Apaches practiced agriculture only to a limited extent and commonly lived in crude brush lodges. Although they had but few arts their women were skilled basket makers.[6] In contradistinction to these other tribes, the Comanches, like their allies the Kiowas, never planted seed of any kind. Thus the Caddoan, Shoshonean, and Athapascan families have all been represented in the Abilene country at one time or another. It seems that the Wichitas and Apaches were here from time immemorial, but the Comanches were late comers. The stone artifacts we find in this country may have belonged to the Wichitas or Lipans; but it is not likely that any stone implement found here, excepting perhaps stone hammers and clubs, were ever used by the Comanches. Long before the latter tribe had reached this country, iron, steel, tin and copper had pretty well supplanted the stone and bone implements used by their forbears. Naturally this improvement in implements, together with the introduction of the horse worked some transformation among them; but we cannot follow this out because we know practically nothing of their culture before they came in touch with a higher civilization.

In physical appearance there was little to distinguish the Comanche from his fellow plains savages of other tribes. The artist Catlin described the race as "in statue rather low, and in person, often approaching to corpulency"; and stated that they were not as large and handsome as the Kiowas. He added that, "In their movements they were heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one of the most unattractive and slovenly-looking races of Indians that I have ever seen." But the mounted Comanche presented an entirely different appearance. Once on his horse, he continued, "He gracefully flies away like a different being."[7] Some twenty years later, about 1854, Captain R. B. Marcy, of the United States Army, described the men as of "About the medium statue, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline noses, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but

6. For the picture of a Wichita village see George Catlin, North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839 (Edinburg, 1926), II, plate 173. On the Apaches see Hodge, Handbook, I, 65-66.

7. North American Indians, II, 74 and 84.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes 177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. **Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana**, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

9. Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

10. **North American Indians**, II, plates 168-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[Ca. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental nothingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

125 Of the 79 Comanches here reported 27 are males and 52
[144] are females. Thirty-four are full-blood or probably full-blood, 41 are mixed (especially with 'Mexican') or probably mixed, and 4 are questionable. The prints were obtained by Goldstein in the course of other work on the physical anthropology of the Comanches, and the foregoing statement of the racial composition of the sample is based upon individual diagnoses employing the usual criteria (Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, character of hair, eye color, facial features, inquiry respecting geneaology, etc.). While there was no specific investigation into possible family relationships among the individuals in the series, the circumstances of collection indicate that close relationships are negligible in number if present at all.

128 The prints, prepared by the common printers' ink method,
125 are generally of excellent technical quality, and in many cases there are duplicate impressions. In certain determinations the full series of seventy-nine subjects cannot be utilized. Two subjects are each represented by prints of but one hand, and occasionally a print may be incomplete or indecipherable
128 in a critical territory. Such instances are appropriately set aside in the calculations, and it is to be emphasized that all omissions of prints in the several calculations are due solely to this correction, every available observation having been included.

The methods of interpretation and formulation of the apical finger patterns follow Galton (1892); the palmar features are formulated after Cummins et al. ('29).

Palmar main lines

142 The terminations of palmar main lines are summarized in table 1. Line A shows a high frequency of terminations in the proximal palmar margin (positions 1 and 2) and in the more proximal portion of the ulnar margin (position 3). Line C presents an exceptional abundance of suppressed and abortive states (formulated X, x, and O in accordance with the specific character of the line), which occur in 25.5 per cent

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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of the hands. Line D is very rarely subject to such suppression or reduction, but in this series there are two hands so distinguished. The terminations of line D, grouped in the modal types of Cummins and Midlo ('26), are as follows: type 7, 28.1 per cent; type 9, 48.7 per cent; type 11, 23.2 per cent. The main-line formulae may be grouped in accordance with the suggestion of Wilder ('22), who points out that in any racial collection the majority of the formulae (omitting

TABLE 1

Terminations of the palmar main lines, stated in terms of the percentile occurrence of each position. Compiled from 77 right palms and 79 lefts. R, right; L, left

POSITION	LINE A			LINE B			LINE C			LINE D		
	R	L	Average	R	L	Average	R	L	Average	R	L	Average
1	1.3	30.4	15.8									
2	1.3	8.9	5.1									
3	42.9	38.0	40.4		2.5	1.2						
4	16.9	10.1	13.5		1.3	0.6						
5′	37.7	12.7	25.2	3.9	19.0	11.4						
5″				58.4	59.5	58.9	10.4	29.1	19.7			
6				6.5	2.5	4.5	10.4	3.8	7.1			
7				29.9	15.2	22.5	26.0	22.8	24.4	11.7	27.8	19.7
8				1.3		0.6				10.4	3.8	7.1
9							35.1	10.1	22.6	40.3	48.1	44.2
10							1.3		0.6	6.5	2.5	4.5
11										31.2	15.2	23.2
X							2.6	11.4	7.0		1.3	0.6
x							2.6	5.1	3.8			
O							11.7	17.7	14.7		1.3	0.6

line A) are of three characteristic forms. In this series the frequencies are: 7.5.5.–, 17.2 per cent; 9.7.5.–, 37.7 per cent; 11.9.7.–, 21.9 per cent; all others, 23.1 per cent.

Axial triradii

All the prints in the collection, namely, 77 right palms and 79 lefts, admit positive determinations of axial triradii. The occurrences are: 0, 1.3 per cent; t, 65.4 per cent; t′, 29.5 per cent; t″, 1.3 per cent; tt′, 1.9 per cent; tt″, 0.6 per cent. There is no significant bimanual distinction in the frequencies of the several types.

26: Cummins & Goldstein D25 (no date) 1932 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Palmar patterns

142 The occurrence of patterns in the five palmar areas are
128 listed in table 2. It will be understood that in each case the determination aims only to distinguish the occurrence of patterns and patternless configurations. Each figure in the table applies to the frequency of patterns, while the implied percentile remainder indicates the frequency of patternless configurations.

142 Especially outstanding, in the figures of table 2, are the low frequency of hypothenar patterns and the abundance of the thenar/first interdigital.

TABLE 2

Percentile occurrences of true patterns and pattern vestiges (not including 'multiplications') of the five palmar areas. Compiled from 77 right palms and 79 lefts

PATTERN	RIGHT, PER CENT	LEFT, PER CENT	AVERAGE, PER CENT
Hypothenar	15.6	19.0	17.3
Thenar/First interdigital	28.6	41.8	35.2
Second interdigital	2.6	2.5	2.5
Third interdigital	41.6	19.0	30.3
Fourth interdigital	54.5	73.4	63.9

Apical finger patterns

[128] Calculation of the total frequencies of the pattern types is based upon sixty-seven individuals, the remainder of the finger-print sets being incomplete and thus unsuited to the determination. In these 670 prints the distribution of pattern types is as follows: whorls, 43.3 per cent; radial loops, 1.9
142 per cent; ulnar loops, 48.5 per cent; arches, 6.3 per cent. The corresponding figures in Downey's series of fifty Arapahoes
144 (loc. cit.) are: whorls, 47.6 per cent; radial loops, 3.6 per cent; ulnar loops, 44.2 per cent; arches, 4.6 per cent. It would appear that the abundance of whorls is a substantial Indian trait.

128 In view of the high frequency of whorls, it may be of interest to state the composition of the material in terms of

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
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a newly devised 'index of pattern intensity' (Cummins and M. Steggerda, unpublished manuscript). The index of pattern intensity is an expression which reduces the pattern composition of the individual finger-print set to an integral value. It is based on the assumption that arches, loops, and whorls represent successively increasing weights of pattern intensity. These configurations are assigned, respectively, the values of 0, 1, and 2. The index of pattern intensity of the individual is simply the sum of the ten digital values. The indices thus range from 0 to 20. 128

The mean index of pattern intensity in this Comanche series is 13.7 ± .31. While the available collections computed 142 000

TABLE 3

Percentile occurrences of pattern types for each digit. R, right; L, left 142

DIGITS	I		II		III		IV		V	
Hands	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L	R	L
Number of digits compiled	71	73	75	75	76	79	76	77	75	76
Arches	2.8	1.4	16.0	14.7	5.3	7.6	1.3	2.6	4.0	2.6
Radial loops	1.4	1.4	8.0	5.3				2.6		
Ulnar loops	33.8	37.0	36.0	36.0	68.4	63.3	26.3	29.9	80.0	80.3
Whorls	62.0	60.0	40.0	44.0	26.3	29.1	72.4	64.9	16.0	17.1

on this basis (Cummins and M. Steggerda, MS.) are likewise small and consequently associated with a large probable error, the following indices are noted for comparison: Eskimos, 14.25 ± .35; Jews, 13.84 ± .18; European-Americans, 12.70 ± .24; Dutch (a selected family series), 11.09 ± .23. 000

The distribution of the indices in the Comanche series may be compactly stated by dividing the 21 indices into 7 classes, identifying each class by its center as follows: 1, 0 per cent; 4, 1.5 per cent; 7, 9 per cent; 10, 15 per cent; 13, 31.3 per cent; 16, 22.4 per cent; 19, 20.9 per cent. 142 128

The distributions of pattern types, separately for each digit, are shown in table 3. While the series is too small to justify a positive conclusion, there is a suggestion of a 142

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
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142 tendency toward suppression of the characteristic dextral superiority in the occurrence of whorls. In this connection it may be remarked that there is yet another indication of suppression of a characteristic bimanual difference, expressed [144] in the palmar hypothenar pattern. And it should not be forgotten that corresponding bimanual comparisons, involving both apical and hypothenar patterns have been previously reported in Indians of southern Mexico and Central America (Cummins, '30).

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE

128 Inasmuch as individual diagnoses of racial admixture are available, it is possible to isolate the series of full-bloods for separate analysis. This separation is suggested not only by the obvious desirability of treating a full-blood stock when it can be secured, but also by the known results of admixture in Jamaican black-white crosses (I. D. Steggerda). In the Jamaican crosses the "Brown individuals approximate the Blacks more nearly than they do the Whites" in dermato-
142 glyphic features. It is evident that traits of the Comanches
144 are not generally obscured by the inclusion in the sample of a large proportion of mixed stock, and it may be assumed
128 accordingly that either the sources of admixture are closely allied in their dermatoglyphics or that the Comanche traits dominate the admixture. The separate calculations of palmar main lines, palmar patterns, and apical finger patterns reveal but one item in which the incidences are significantly different in the selected full-bloods. This feature is the hypothenar pattern, which occurs in only 4 per cent of the full-blood hands. With this exception, therefore, it is evident that the inclusion of mixed-bloods has not vitiated the series as a sample of Comanche dermatoglyphics.

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

SUMMARY

This series, comprising seventy-nine Comanche Indians, 142
presents the following noteworthy features in the palmar dermatoglyphics:

Line A is characterized by the abundance of very low terminations. Line C is frequently abortive or absent. Line D does not commonly extend far radialward. Hypothenar patterns are infrequent, while thenar/first interdigital patterns are abundant. Apical finger patterns present a high frequency of whorls.

Though the report is presented as a mere record of find- 144
ings, without comparison with other races, it may be noted 121
that there are suggestive likenesses to the Eskimos and to 142
the Indians of southern Mexico and Central America.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her. 121

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia. 123

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia, [562] [114] [115] [142]

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) ~1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 159 797 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth, and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches, 115 159 797 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society. Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her 177 593 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian-modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

[illegible] 18]

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapia's maternal grandfather.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that
159 been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When
797 he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he
177 said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just
593 laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday morn-
ings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo-
159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Sanapid's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

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137 "red berry cedar" *ekapokowa:pi* *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, 177
however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and
the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected 756
by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her 159
role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner 177
in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to 554
react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [492]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) . 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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439 bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle 643 of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian 439 crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than [145] anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching [291] six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

643 His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either [142] side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only [302] an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

643 This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect 439 English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. [174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. 174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes 131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

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ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while 131 the Comanche have been driven steadily southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the s. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
175 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa since about 1795. In 1835 they made
648 their first treaty with the Government,
657 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874-75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221 224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the 181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a [186] reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per- 142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan- 197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes. [194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling r. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still 101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands 621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most [115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih. 101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Bo'dälk'ïnago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camaraches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 328, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., vi, 289, 1886. **Causouche.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-mainsh.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comancheas.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanches.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 34, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Camanche.**—Doc. of 1739 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-a°.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p. 328-A]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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PLATE 20. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 148a.)

[p. 180-D]

pears to be weak. The eyes of about one-half of those studied by Goldstein appear to be slanted slightly to moderately. In most cases the outer canthi are inclined upward, but a few were observed with a downward slant. The so-called Mongolian fold is common among children, but disappears in most cases by the time adulthood is reached. 142

The Comanche face is broad, even for an Indian people. Goldstein asserts that "In this respect the Comanches are probably exceeded by few or no other tribe." On this wide visage is a broad, high, and long nose with an index of 69.4 as compared to 67.5 for old American whites. In breadth it exceeds that of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest, but is practically the same as that of the Shoshones. The depression of the root of the nose is shallow to medium in depth, and the bridge is straight to moderate. The mouth is moderately wide, and the lips are thin. The lower jaw appears to be moderately developed; the chin firm and of medium prominence. All in all, the Comanche exhibits not a "finely sculptured" visage, but rather a heavy face with fairly massive features. In form as well as in personality he is a rugged individual. [141]

Since their arrival in the South Plains, the Comanches have incorporated great numbers of Mexican captives into their tribe, and Mexican infiltration continues today at a rapid pace. Mixture with the Negro seems to have occurred with extreme rarity, if at all. Clark Wissler found that only 62.9 per cent of the Comanches were "fullblood" in 1910, as compared to 96.9 per cent of the Wichitas and 24.2 of the Iowas, the two tribes having respectively the greatest and least amount of alien admixture.[5] That this admixture has continued at an accelerated pace is shown by Marcus S. Goldstein, who believed in 1931 that not more than 10 per cent of the adults could, with any assurance, be considered fullblood.[6] 144

The Comanches are members of the Uto-Aztekan language family in the sense that English-speaking peoples are Indo-European. The Uto-Aztekan family, which is one of the truly great linguistic stocks of ancient North America, has three major branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean peoples, whose home is centered in the Great Basin region of what is now western United 197

[5] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 148.
[6] Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *loc. cit.*, 290.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE COMANCHES [1]

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ONE TEXT FIGURE AND THREE PLATES

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[161] The Comanches, numbering some 1956 individuals,[2] at present reside on and near a government reservation in south-central Oklahoma, for the most part leading a sedentary, half-hearted agricultural existence. They were in immediate pre-reservation times a true and the southermost plains tribe,[3] noted as daring and ruthless raiders, who followed and lived largely on the buffalo, their nomadic and depredatory range extending from the Platte River in Wyoming and Nebraska to Durango in central Mexico. As early as 1717 and probably earlier, Comanche encampments were to be found in New Mexico and western Texas (Chaves, '06). Mooney (1898), however, considered them on the bases of language and traditions a "comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming" (p. 161).

144 Admixture of blood, especially with Mexicans, as well as with Indians of other tribes and some whites has taken place certainly since early historical times, and continues to the present day. Mixture with the negro seems to have been very rare throughout their history; in the present population only one Comanche with even suspected negro blood was noted. Mooney, as early as 1896, was impressed by the extent of blood mixture among the Comanches, feeling that "at least

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made possible the securing of the data here reported.

[2] Rept. Comm. Indian Affairs, Washington, 1932, p. 45.

[3] Wissler, C., N. A. Indians of the Plains. N. Y., 1927, p. 13.

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[pp. 1–288 not processed]

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144 one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

619 The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more im-
631 portant being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

114 Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes
177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

9. Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

10. North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

172 face, the right hand palm up, fingers curled, the left hand palm down, fingers extended. The upper part of the legs had been brought up to approximately a right angle with the body, with the lower part of the legs tucked back toward the hips. Soil movements, the weight of overlying stones, and a tree root had caused considerable displacement of the bones. The left humerus was shattered just above the proximal end, having been pressed against a stone by a tree root. The left radius and ulna had been moved up vertically two to four centimeters by the same root. The left ribs had collapsed into the thoracic region; the vertebrae had separated in the lumbar and thoracic regions; and the right ribs had broken as the thorax and shoulder girdle collapsed. The left tibia was shattered near the distal end, and both legs had been raised vertically some 5 cm. by the tree root. A galvanized pail had been placed upright in front of the chest (Fig. 4). A saddle and a beaded bag containing 52 brass wire bracelets had been placed below (upstream from) and behind the feet. In front of the body near the base of the sternum was one brass wire bracelet, which may have been on the left arm above the elbow at the time of burial and may have become displaced by the action of the root that grew through the burial and crushed the humerus against an overlying stone. Two partial iron hoops or straps were found east of (upstream from) the saddle parts.

THE SKELETON

127 This section draws freely from and with grateful acknowledgment to the work of Dr. Clyde Snow.

144 Only one investigator has reported in detail on the anthropometry of the Southern Plains tribes: Goldstein worked with the Comanches in 1931 and concluded at the time of his research that only ten percent of the adults could be considered full-blood Comanches (Goldstein [172] 1934:290). The measurements and indices made by Dr. Snow closely agree with the data presented by Goldstein. In Table 1, Dr. Snow lists 128 the skeletal measurements and descriptions. It should be noted that cranial capacity was derived using the Lee-Pearson formula (Lee and Pearson 1901). In addition to the measurements and indices obtained from the skeleton, Dr. Snow has prepared a table summarizing the data as traits indicative of sex, race, and cultural status. Table 2 thus shows at a glance some important characteristics of this skeleton.

A [See p. 320-B--Analyst.]

[p.318-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Figure 4. Galvanized pail from 34CM221.

172 141 128 *Sex:* Table 2 shows the morphological and metric traits diagnostic of sex. Both the pelvis and the skull are typically female. A more objective assessment of sex is obtained with the discriminant function formula of Giles and Elliot (1963). The value derived from the formula, 899.02, lies on the "female" side of the sectioning point of 912.14 for American Indian crania.

172 144 [141] [128] *Race:* Table 2 indicates a predominately Mongoloid racial affinity. The Giles-Elliot discriminant analysis for race (1962) would classify the skull as "indeterminate" but with rather less likelihood of being white than Negro or American Indian. A possible explanation for the "indeterminate" status of the skull lies in the fact that Southern Plains tribes have long been active in assimilating non-Indian captives into their breeding populations.

172 141 128 *Age:* Since the symphyseal facets of the pubis were largely destroyed, cranial suture were relied on for age. The mean for 16-segment closure ratings is 1.09 (Nemerski, Harsanyi, and Ascadi: 1960:95), indicating an age of 25-35 years. This estimate is partly supported by the minimal osteo-arthritic lipping of the lumbar vertebrae,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320-A]
[A 318-B]

Table 1 (continued)

172 141 Transverse diameter	18	18
Anterior-posterior diameter	21	21
Femur		
Maximum length	415	---
Physiological length	409	---
Transverse diameter	26	---
AP diameter	27	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, AP	25	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, transverse	30	---
Head diameter, vertical	45	---
Head diameter, horizontal	46	---
Bicondylar diameter (estimate)	73	---
Collo-diaphyseal angle	137°	---
Tibia		
Maximum length	322	318
AP diameter (nutrient foramen)	32	30
Transverse diameter (nutrient foramen)	22	21
Bicondylar diameter	---	70
Fibula		
Maximum length	318	---

Long bone indices	Value	Class
Diaphyseal index, humerus	75.2	Platybrachic
Brachial index (humerus/radius)	72.4	Short
Platoleneal index, ulna	85.7	Uroleneal
Index of robustness, femur	13	Average
Pilasteric index, femur	103.8	Weak
Platymeric index, femur	83.3	Platymeric
Tibio-femoral index	78.7	---
Cnemial index	69.4	Mesocnemic
Humero-femoral index	73.3	---
Intermembral index	70	Average

172 the general texture of the bones, and the relatively unworn second and third molars.

141 *Stature:* Since there are no reliable estimates for determining female Mongoloid stature, the

128 Trotter-Gleser table (Trotter and Gleser 1952, Table 13) for white females was used. Thirteen

172 calculations were made; the results range from

141 152.78 cm. to 162.80 cm., averaging 157.31 cm. Since Mongoloids have rather shorter legs relative

144 to trunk height than do whites, this average may be an underestimate by two to five centimeters.

[128] Goldstein (1934:299) reported an average stature of 156.1 cm. for 25 full-blood Comanche females measured in 1931. Since Indians of mixed blood almost always exhibit maximum dimensions greater than full-bloods, the skeleton would fit into the range of variation expected for either the full-blood or the mixed-blood population.

172 141 *Cultural status:* The heavy dental attrition indi-

[p. 320-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

TABLE 2
TRAITS INDICATIVE OF
SEX, RACE, AND CULTURE STATUS

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Trait	Sex		Culture		Race		
			Primitive	Modern	Negroid	Caucasoid	Mongoloid
Skull and Mandible							
Mastoidity		x				x	x
Low Skull			x				
Cranial Capacity		x					
Chignon							x
Malony							x
Phenylketonuria			x				x
Achondroplasia							x
Prognathismatic Index					x		x
Hypsiconchy		x			x		x
Mesoconchy							x
Brachystaphyline							x
Brachyuranic						x	x
Orthognathy (Upper Face)		x				x	x
Mesognathy (Alveolar)		x					x
Facial Flatness							x
Nuchal Crest		x					
Mastoid Processes		x					
Supra-orbital Ridges		x					
Arch Form						x	x
Molar Form							x
Premaxillary Suture							x
Dental Wear			x				
Shovel-shaped Incisors							x
Edge-to-Edge Bite			x				
Mandibular Index					x	x	
Fronto-gonic Index			x				
Gonio-condylar Index						x	x
Ramus Index							x
Gonial Angle		x					x
Symphyseal Angle							x
Simple Sutures					x		x
Post-Cranial							
Humeral Head Diameter		x					
Platybrachia							x
Supracondylar Foramen Breadth		x					x
Brachial Index			x			x	
Ulnarny		x					x
Hip Breadth Index		x					
Sciatic Notch Angle		x					
Acetabular Index		x					
Preauricular Sulcus		x					
Bicondylar Diameter Femur		x					
Index of Platymeria							x
Fossa Index		x				x	
Platymeria			x			x	
Megaloscelia		x					x
Squatting Facets			x				

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cates a coarse diet with much gritty contamination. This wear is relatively greater in the anterior dental arcade, indicating some use of the teeth in preparing hides, cordage, etc. At least one tibia shows the presence of squatters facet, and the femurs are platymeric. Both conditions are indicative of primitive living.

Conclusions: The osteological evidence thus indicates an adult female Plains Indian, 25-35 years old, who lived at a time before acculturative shifts in diet would reduce tooth wear. Although the observations fit the data given by Goldstein (1934), it is not possible to assign the skeleton definitely to the Comanche because of the limited sample on which the comparison was based.

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[p. 320-B]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

125 Of the 79 Comanches here reported 27 are males and 52 [144] are females. Thirty-four are full-blood or probably full-blood, 41 are mixed (especially with 'Mexican') or probably mixed, and 4 are questionable. The prints were obtained by Goldstein in the course of other work on the physical anthropology of the Comanches, and the foregoing statement of the racial composition of the sample is based upon individual diagnoses employing the usual criteria (Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, character of hair, eye color, facial features, inquiry respecting geneaology, etc.). While there was no specific investigation into possible family relationships among the individuals in the series, the circumstances of collection indicate that close relationships are negligible in number if present at all.

128 The prints, prepared by the common printers' ink method,
125 are generally of excellent technical quality, and in many cases there are duplicate impressions. In certain determinations the full series of seventy-nine subjects cannot be utilized. Two subjects are each represented by prints of but one hand, and occasionally a print may be incomplete or indecipherable
128 in a critical territory. Such instances are appropriately set aside in the calculations, and it is to be emphasized that all omissions of prints in the several calculations are due solely to this correction, every available observation having been included.

The methods of interpretation and formulation of the apical finger patterns follow Galton (1892); the palmar features are formulated after Cummins et al. ('29).

Palmar main lines

142 The terminations of palmar main lines are summarized in table 1. Line A shows a high frequency of terminations in the proximal palmar margin (positions 1 and 2) and in the more proximal portion of the ulnar margin (position 3). Line C presents an exceptional abundance of suppressed and abortive states (formulated X, x, and O in accordance with the specific character of the line), which occur in 25.5 per cent

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Palmar patterns

142 The occurrence of patterns in the five palmar areas are
128 listed in table 2. It will be understood that in each case the determination aims only to distinguish the occurrence of patterns and patternless configurations. Each figure in the table applies to the frequency of patterns, while the implied percentile remainder indicates the frequency of patternless configurations.

142 Especially outstanding, in the figures of table 2, are the low frequency of hypothenar patterns and the abundance of the thenar/first interdigital.

TABLE 2

Percentile occurrences of true patterns and pattern vestiges (not including 'multiplications') of the five palmar areas. Compiled from 77 right palms and 79 lefts

PATTERN	RIGHT, PER CENT	LEFT, PER CENT	AVERAGE, PER CENT
Hypothenar	15.6	19.0	17.3
Thenar/First interdigital	28.6	41.8	35.2
Second interdigital	2.6	2.5	2.5
Third interdigital	41.6	19.0	30.3
Fourth interdigital	54.5	73.4	63.9

Apical finger patterns

[128] Calculation of the total frequencies of the pattern types is based upon sixty-seven individuals, the remainder of the finger-print sets being incomplete and thus unsuited to the determination. In these 670 prints the distribution of pattern types is as follows: whorls, 43.3 per cent; radial loops, 1.9 per cent; ulnar loops, 48.5 per cent; arches, 6.3 per cent. The
142 corresponding figures in Downey's series of fifty Arapahoes
144 (loc. cit.) are: whorls, 47.6 per cent; radial loops, 3.6 per cent; ulnar loops, 44.2 per cent; arches, 4.6 per cent. It would appear that the abundance of whorls is a substantial Indian trait.

128 In view of the high frequency of whorls, it may be of interest to state the composition of the material in terms of

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

142 tendency toward suppression of the characteristic dextral superiority in the occurrence of whorls. In this connection it may be remarked that there is yet another indication of suppression of a characteristic bimanual difference, expressed in the palmar hypothenar pattern. And it should not be forgotten that corresponding bimanual comparisons, involving both apical and hypothenar patterns have been previously reported in Indians of southern Mexico and Central America (Cummins, '30).

[144]

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE

128 Inasmuch as individual diagnoses of racial admixture are available, it is possible to isolate the series of full-bloods for separate analysis. This separation is suggested not only by the obvious desirability of treating a full-blood stock when it can be secured, but also by the known results of admixture in Jamaican black-white crosses (I. D. Steggerda). In the Jamaican crosses the "Brown individuals approximate the Blacks more nearly than they do the Whites" in dermatoglyphic features. It is evident that traits of the Comanches are not generally obscured by the inclusion in the sample of a large proportion of mixed stock, and it may be assumed accordingly that either the sources of admixture are closely allied in their dermatoglyphics or that the Comanche traits dominate the admixture. The separate calculations of palmar main lines, palmar patterns, and apical finger patterns reveal but one item in which the incidences are significantly different in the selected full-bloods. This feature is the hypothenar pattern, which occurs in only 4 per cent of the full-blood hands. With this exception, therefore, it is evident that the inclusion of mixed-bloods has not vitiated the series as a sample of Comanche dermatoglyphics.

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26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
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SUMMARY

This series, comprising seventy-nine Comanche Indians, 142
presents the following noteworthy features in the palmar dermatoglyphics:

Line A is characterized by the abundance of very low terminations. Line C is frequently abortive or absent. Line D does not commonly extend far radialward. Hypothenar patterns are infrequent, while thenar/first interdigital patterns are abundant. Apical finger patterns present a high frequency of whorls.

Though the report is presented as a mere record of find- 144
ings, without comparison with other races, it may be noted 121
that there are suggestive likenesses to the Eskimos and to 142
the Indians of southern Mexico and Central America.

The Comanches

142 are medium in stature. Goldstein reported an average height of five
[141] feet, six inches for Comanche men and five feet for women.[4] This makes them slightly taller than their Ute and Shoshone relatives. The men are robust and well proportioned, but the idle and well-fed among them are inclined to be fat and paunchy. Their chests are wide and fairly deep, and they carry themselves erect and with unassuming
[145] dignity. Possibly because of their hard life, the women age somewhat prematurely.

The skin color of the Comanche varies from light brown to a reddish brown or copper, depending to some degree on the amount of exposure to weather and sunlight. The females tend toward somewhat lighter pigmentation than do the males. Like that of any Indians, the hair of a Comanche is black and straight and medium in texture. Among the females there is a greater tendency toward coarse-
[145] ness. It is a rare Comanche who has cause to worry over baldness or graying in old age. Such facial hair as a Comanche naturally grows is
[302] sparse and light, but until recently even this feeble growth had little chance, for it was the style to pluck it out, roots and all—eyebrows included.

On their heavy bodies the average Comanches carry relatively
[141] large, round heads with a cephalic index of eighty-three. This gives them a somewhat greater relative head breadth than neighboring Plains tribes and the Shoshones, too. The shift from the Shoshone norm may quite possibly be the result of extensive admixture with Mexican Indian captives. The forehead is broad, and the supraorbital ridges vary from slight among the females to moderate in the cases of males.

Eye color varies from medium brown to black like that of all Mongoloids. The eyes of the children are a much clearer, richer brown than those of adults. The sclera of adults is commonly bloodshot, and, contrary to popular notions about sharp-eyed Indians, the vision ap-

[4] Marcus S. Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XIX, (1934–35), 289–313. Goldstein's study is the best account of the physical appearance of the Comanches. It was made in 1931 and comprised thirty-five "unmixed" males, twenty-five "unmixed" females, and twenty-five hybrid individuals representing every surviving important band. The numerical figures and comparisons used in this description are taken from Goldstein's study. Otherwise, the description is based on field notes taken by Ernest Wallace in 1945.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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this study. To Dr. Franz Boas the writer is grateful and wishes to express his thanks here for the opportunity of examining old Comanche data.

AGE

The age distribution of the subjects examined is given below. A disproportionate number of the male full-bloods are in the higher age brackets due to the almost hopeless task of distinguishing full-bloods among the young. As a rule, however, the old men were remarkably well preserved; wherever there was a chance of a physical ailment or decrepitude influencing a measurement or observation, a notation to that effect was made or the item was altogether omitted.

Age distribution

YEARS	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD
	Male	Female	Male
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
21 to 30	5.3	4.–	12.5
31 to 40	5.3	16.–	12.5
41 to 50	31.6	24.–	18.8
51 to 60	15.8	36.–	50.–
61 to 70	26.3	20.–	6.2
71 to 80	15.8		
Average	56.8y.	52.–y.	48.4y.
Minimum	26	28	25
Maximum	80[1]	70	61

[1] One man, head measurements only.

DESCRIPTIVE OBSERVATIONS[2]

Color of skin. The most common color of the skin in both sexes was medium- to reddish-brown on the face, and light-brown on the unexposed medial surface of the upper arm. The skin of the females, in general, appeared somewhat lighter in both regions. There was practically no difference between the full- and probable full-bloods.

[2] In the following, the term Comanche and all observations and measurements will refer to the full-bloods only, unless otherwise stated.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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147 *Skin-reaction.* The "reaction of the skin on the chest to the irritation caused by drawing over it a finger-nail with force"[10] was used as an adjunct in distinguishing full- from mixed-bloods. In healthy full-bloods the hyperaemia which constitutes the reaction was often slight, never over medium. At times the hyperaemia did not appear for about a minute after the initial irritation.

142 *Color of eyes.* The predominating eye color in both sexes was a medium brown. Doctor Hrdlička mentions a "moderate [145] dilution or loss of color with age" among the Sioux;[11] this occurs in the Comanche as well. The eyes of the children were generally a richer, deeper brown.

The color of the sclera in the adults was most frequently a dull- or yellowish-white, usually more or less bloodshot. The pigmentation may have been affected by the widespread trachoma.

Eye slant. In one-third of the males and nearly one-half of the females, the eyeslits were practically horizontal. Most of the remaining subjects had their outer canthi inclined upward (slightly to moderately), a few cases only occurring with a downward, slight to moderate, slant. The slant often appeared accentuated by a fairly frequent occurrence of narrow palpebral openings, or, among many with a moderate opening, by a habit of keeping the eyelids half shut. A wide palpebral opening was uncommon.

The mongolian fold was not noted in the adults; it was common in the younger children.

Color of hair. The hair of all full- and probable full-bloods, with one exception, was completely straight. One female's hair was somewhat wavy at the ends, although straight on top of the head. Felt by the fingers, the hair seemed usually of medium texture; a greater tendency toward coarseness occurred in the females than in the males.

[10] Hrdlička, A. Anthropology of the Sioux. Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XVI, 130, 1931.

[11] Loc. cit., 130.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Grayness. No gray hair was noted in any full- or probable/42 full-blood below 40 years of age. Among the males, the/145 youngest full-blood showing some gray hairs was 45, probable full-blood, 40; females, full-blood, 40, probable full-blood, 50. Almost 57 per cent of the individuals between 40 and 55, inclusive, had no gray hair at all; this condition is close to the 50 per cent among the Sioux.[12] Many subjects above 55, even at the ages of 70 and 80, showed but few gray hairs, although several cases did occur of approximately two-thirds of the hair gray, as well as one instance of a blind man with practically an entire head of yellowish-gray hair.

The pattern of graying among the Indians, to the writer's knowledge, has not been commented upon. Among whites, even negroes, as recently pointed out by Boas and N. Michelson ('32, p. 215), graying of the hair commonly begins and is most extensive at the temporal regions and around the lower occiput. The writer was struck by the rarity of this gray-hair pattern in the full- and probable full-blood Comanches. Almost invariably the graying in the latter was 'general,' i.e., a condition where more or less widely separated strands of hair, apparently originating around the forehead, had become iron- or yellowish-gray. On the other hand, several instances of compact, temporal graying were noted among the mixed bloods. The 'general' type of graying seemed a distinctly full-blood Indian characteristic.

Loss of hair. No full-blood under 60, and none under 50 among the probable full-bloods, had any loss of hair whatever. Several of the older men had slight to moderate loss over the forehead; three old women likewise showed a slight loss over the forehead.

Moustache and beard. No moustache or beard whatever/42 was noted in either full- or probable full-blood.

Eyebrows. The men often plucked out their eyebrows.[302] Where present, in male or female, the amount of hair in the brow was usually thin, never over medium. A trace of concurrency occurred in 39 per cent of individuals with eyebrows not plucked.

[12] Hrdlička, A. Loc. cit., 132.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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Comanche and were either eaten fresh or dried in the sun and stored. 824 The dried fruits were dampened, worked into cakes, and baked, 262 fat sometimes being added in the process. Wild currants (*Ribes* 251 *odoratum*) were eaten fresh, but were not preserved, as they were among many tribes. Another fruit (Comanche: *kusi:poko*) was not seen, but was described as being black, and round, like a grape, and was said to be eaten fresh. Children were reported to be very fond of the sour acid fruits of the sumac (*Rhus glabra*), and various species were eaten by Indians wherever sumac was available.

The berries of the juniper or red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) also served as food on occasion, the practice of eating juniper berries of various species being common among the Indians of the Southwest and elsewhere. The Comanche name for the red cedar was given as *ekawa:p*^{v}, and it was explained that *eka* is the term for "red." No etymology of *wa:p* was obtained. To judge from Chamberlain's discussion (6, pp. 63–64), *wap* seems to be a root word for "cedar" in the Shoshonean languages. If this is the case, then the Comanche term *ekawa:p*^{v} is an exact equivalent of the colloquial English term "red cedar" for the same plant.

The succulent fruits of prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia sp.*) were eaten fresh and were also dried for winter use. No specimens were collected, but the descriptions by informants leave no doubt as to the identity of the plants. The spines were rubbed from the fruits designed for storage, the seeds removed, and the pears dried in the sun. Another cactus, also, was edible, but an informant stated that before eating its fruit one should take the red juice and paint a cross on his forehead to prevent consequent diarrhea. A third cactus (Comanche: *eka mitsa:*) was said to be obtained in Texas, but the notes do not mention whether or not it was a food plant.

The fruits of the southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) were beaten, pits and all, into a pulp and mixed with fat. This mixture was rolled into balls, which were placed on the ends of sticks and roasted over a fire. The Pawnee had a similar method of preparing hackberries, but added parched corn as well as fat (7, p. 76). Hack- 824 berries were commonly eaten by Indians of the Southeast, the Plains, 262 and the Southwest, the usual practice being to consume pit and all. 251 In this connection it is interesting to note that in chemical analyses 145 of hackberries prepared in the Indian manner Yanovsky *et alii* (29) found not only considerable amounts of carbohydrates and protein

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 but also a high mineral content. The chief mineral constituent was
262 calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the
251 dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromis-
145 ing-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoff-*
262 *manseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuña*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-
[252] flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *tʔdiekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulb?), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

Men, whose furrowed [ca.1818] cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

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[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824]

192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

147 *Skin-reaction.* The "reaction of the skin on the chest to the irritation caused by drawing over it a finger-nail with force"[10] was used as an adjunct in distinguishing full- from mixed-bloods. In healthy full-bloods the hyperaemia which constitutes the reaction was often slight, never over medium. At times the hyperaemia did not appear for about a minute after the initial irritation.

142 *Color of eyes.* The predominating eye color in both sexes was a medium brown. Doctor Hrdlička mentions a "moderate [145] dilution or loss of color with age" among the Sioux;[11] this occurs in the Comanche as well. The eyes of the children were generally a richer, deeper brown.

The color of the sclera in the adults was most frequently a dull- or yellowish-white, usually more or less bloodshot. The pigmentation may have been affected by the widespread trachoma.

Eye slant. In one-third of the males and nearly one-half of the females, the eyeslits were practically horizontal. Most of the remaining subjects had their outer canthi inclined upward (slightly to moderately), a few cases only occurring with a downward, slight to moderate, slant. The slant often appeared accentuated by a fairly frequent occurrence of narrow palpebral openings, or, among many with a moderate opening, by a habit of keeping the eyelids half shut. A wide palpebral opening was uncommon.

The mongolian fold was not noted in the adults; it was common in the younger children.

Color of hair. The hair of all full- and probable full-bloods, with one exception, was completely straight. One female's hair was somewhat wavy at the ends, although straight on top of the head. Felt by the fingers, the hair seemed usually of medium texture; a greater tendency toward coarseness occurred in the females than in the males.

[10] Hrdlička, A. Anthropology of the Sioux. Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XVI, 130, 1931.

[11] Loc. cit., 130.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291

"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147 ●
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than [757]
the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archivo General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 811, 177.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory content in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One night his mother came back to the band. She went right into her son's tipi and shook his arm. She told him to get up and get some bison before they moved camp, because the people were going to a place where buffalo were scarce. 689 762

"The young man woke up and looked at her. He said, 'Did you call me "son"?' 'No,' he replied to her avowal, 'I have no mother. You tell me you're my mother. You don't know what you are talking about. Go away!'

"His mother uttered a groan and went back to her own tipi. Then she went out. She went down by the creek to a tree and threw a raw-hide rope over a branch. She stood on a log and put the rope about her neck. After that she kicked the log out into the stream and hung herself.

"The body was discovered by some hunters. All the people ran down there to cut her down and they buried her not far from the creek. The brother of the dead woman was angry. He said he would kill his nephew's wife. He said she must have had something to do with it; otherwise it would not have happened. But the young man and his wife ran away. They stayed with some other people until the trouble was forgotten."

Here again the son was legally right, for his mother had given up proper claim to him. For that in itself the son was not blamed. And yet to cause her such anguish that she committed suicide was going too far. In the uncle's thinking the son would not have done that of his own volition; his hussy of [157] a wife must have urged him to it! The forgetting of the trouble, by lapse of [152] time, shows the role of momentary passion, such as grief, or outraged dignity, in a hot-tempered people.

Nor should we fail to include the seeking of death in flaming glory on the battlefield, sought with reckless abandon by men whose honor was stained or whose failing constitutions held out the prospect of death on the sick-bed. These, too, were suicide: but suicide turned to public benefit.

Case 39. Suicide
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Among the Yep-Eaters were two brothers: they were Thunder and Rocky Creek. They grew up together and never quarrelled. When they were yet young men their last remaining relatives died, leaving them alone. They were single men.

"Then came the time when Rocky Creek eloped with Eat Something; he took her on the war-path, for she was married to an old man. His brother was with him in this venture. But then they returned, Rocky Creek let her go; because she was a mean woman he did not want her.

"These brothers had a sister, Breaks Wind While Sitting, who was married. When they returned from the war-path they went to visit her.[1] Their brother-in-law,

[1] The rules of avoidance lapse when brother and sister have been married.

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude. She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sorrowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrapping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation, they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village, continually thinking of escape. This subject was never out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun, I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be sup- posed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do 764 not administer any kind of medicine. When a man is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail- 152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

in safety; that there is no cause for crying, and exhorts them to refrain; when, by mutual consent, they cease crying as easily as they commenced it, and go about their business. But if any of their friends have died in the fight, or otherwise, their grief appears deep and lasting. In this case, they immediately commence cutting and disfiguring themselves in a shocking manner, and with varied and unseemly gestures, accompanied with loud and tremendous yells, they seem to try to excel each other. They will ascend the loftiest peaks of the tallest mountains they can reach, and through the whole of the gloomiest night, send abroad through the surrounding forest their dismal wailings, in howls of horrid [59] accent. Nor are their signs of grief much less pungent when they lose their friends at home; but they hold all others enemies, and treat them accordingly, dead or alive. The reader has seen plenty of this in the preceding narrative; but I will here add, they fastened the scalps of our murdered friends to the bridles of their mules, so as to suspend them under the chin of the animals, and this was their constant practice while I was with them. When they encamped, they would fix them upon the top of long poles, and set them up by their tents, as I have seen flags upon garrisons, and elsewhere.

When a woman was to be confined, they removed the grass and everything else from the surface of the ground, and in a convenient place in the tent

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 (ca. 1818)
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] Although habitually savage and estranged from the
[181] humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and
721 lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175
152 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche .06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eye-witnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists alto-
gether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are ex-
ceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construc- [415]
tion, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 152
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic sys-
tem with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies
of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and
gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any
subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then en-
dure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively
trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is ca-
pable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting
the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sanapia. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

> You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 164

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

> We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

> You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of [128] witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated.

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared.

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children.

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Kee-ichi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 177
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Finally, apparently losing her temper, the one-eyed squaw started 609
mouthing, ran to the south end of the counter, rounded the end, and 432
started back north toward where Mother was standing. Mother, realizing the squaw's intentions, began mimicking her mouthings, picked up her skirts slightly with either hand, as I had seen her do a thousand times when shooing chickens or helping with the livestock around the farm, charged directly toward the little Indian woman.

Mother's mouthing was just as loud and just as unintelligible as was the squaw's, and for an instant it looked as though the irrisistible force was about to collide with the immovable object. Then suddenly Number Three braked to a stop and began running backward. Mother gave her no time to turn around.

Abruptly, the trail ended for the back-peddling intruder—she reached the little window deck where Mother's flowers sat. It was as I have said, knee-high, and the cactus sat on the squaw's side. There was nothing left for the frightened Indian woman to do but sit down, and she sat with all her accumulated momentum directly upon Mother's cactus.

I never decided which arose first, the homely little squaw or her shrieks of pain. At the first shriek, the other wives ran to her rescue. A counter-top showcase hid Mother and the shrieking Indian woman. For all they knew, Mother might be murdering their companion.

When the other wives saw what had happened, they began 609
screaming also, but theirs were screams of laughter. Close behind 432
the wives came the other Comanche women who were sitting around 522
the stove, and their peals of laughter added to the bedlam. 152

From time to time I have read stories having to do with the stoicism 152
of the American Indians and their ability to repress emotions—remaining indifferent to either pleasure or pain. But I assure you, this repression doesn't include an already excited squaw, clad in a calico *pit-sa-quina*, who unexpectedly sits on a cactus. Neither did it extend to the several Comanche women present in the store when she had her mishap. The little one-eyed Indian woman's shrieks of anguish were what you would expect to hear, even from a sedate white woman, under similar circumstances. And the gales of merriment loosed by the other Comanche women present equaled what you would expect from a group of white women laughing at a companion involved in a like predicament. 522

Certainly, the victim's face registered a mixture of fear and pain 152

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

152 when she regained her feet. Then there was anger, as she looked from one of her convulsed companions to another. Finally, she managed a faint grin. This ended their shopping for the day, of course, and the group gathered back by the stove and the chairs. But until their going-home time came, little spasms of giggling and bursts of subdued merriment broke out among them from time to time.

I can't for the life of me recall whether the tiny, one-eyed Number Three sat or stood the rest of the afternoon.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

gate the general cultural background of the Shoshones and to determine, if possible, the basic legal patterns of the Shoshones for comparative reference to those revealed by the Comanches. The comparative results and inferences may be found in Appendix A of this memoir.

With the enlisted interest of the American Council of Learned Societies resulting from the findings in Comanche and Shoshone culture, the Committee on Law History set up a project on American Indian law. In 1935 and 1936 the Committee projected a study of Cheyenne political and legal institutions which was carried out by the present author in collaboration with Karl Llewellyn. Cheyenne institutions reveal much in common with those found in Comanche society, for the economic base of both cultures is similar. Cheyenne culture is more sophisticated than Comanche; less adolescent, one might say. Comparatively, Cheyenne behavior represents a higher level of institutionalization, thus providing to a degree an extension of Comanche trends. The Cheyenne materials are being prepared for separate publication.

121 671 ●153 128 In studying Comanche legal institutions one must proceed by means of case histories. The Comanches underformalized their conception of their own behavior. To them legal action was merely an individual response to a threatening circumstance. It was not the playing of a role in a set legal institution. Thus the Comanches had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules. So, when the Comanche informant is asked such a question as this, "What was the rule when one man ran off with another's wife?", the answer comes in this form, "Well, I don't know about that. But I can tell you what happened when my uncle stole Horned Toad's wife." The Comanche and the case-trained American lawman proceed in like manner. What holds perforce for the Comanche should hold for the study of all primitive law. Legal behavior is *behavior* and should be treated as such. Malinowski has long since laid down the canon that behavior-in-fact is by no means in accord with the verbalized ideal to which a society may may give lip-service. The verbalized ideal is an important cultural fact when such ideal exists, but the actual conduct of a people is of more fundamental count. The verbalized ideal of the Comanche is the supremacy and free action of the individual. Case histories, when piled up, show that there were limiting legal mechanisms at work, however. The liberal use of case histories in the text is not for the purpose of providing interesting anecdote. The histories hold within themselves the juice of life-situations, revealing the sway and counter-play of emotion and motive, demonstrating the broad range of variability in conduct in given situations. Case histories give the native's coloring to the report, transmitting to the reader the impondrabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

20: Wallace H4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Buntin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.
47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1948.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia.
123 As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the
[128] author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that
153 she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

GEORGE *and* LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, 115 159 Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 154 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 543 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
571 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group.

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The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they

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157 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially
177 dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.
178 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary
775 Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most
177 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa
178 Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work,
775 the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This
571 feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces
[186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive
154 intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of
571 directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *puhakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 391 376 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 756 376 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers, [145] [546]

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775 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than
164 an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a
775 definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unen-
177 durable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense
154 desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three
156 most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

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does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative 186
treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. 775
Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of 177
the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the 154
white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation 156
must act.

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequiv- 186
ocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means 775
nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the 154
Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives 156
into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

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Precipitating Factors

186 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally
775 dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors
154 dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved.
156 The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means
775 by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses
154 which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation.
156 It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a
184 Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to
177 the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women
775 could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of inde-
154 pendence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence
156 of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively con-
184 trolled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men"
177 in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize
562 them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to
775 the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with
154 one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—
156 total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-
184 oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner
177 considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

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754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
775 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
164 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
755 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
775 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
154 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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Comanche NO6
Hopi NT9
Navaho NT13
Kwoma OJ13
Alor OF5
Wogeo OJ27
Woleai OR21
Aymara SF5

[For comparative information on the relationship between toilet training and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 422.]

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Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certainly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [156] [434] living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427] brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434] the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134] also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134] bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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195 115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
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The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

756 Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
775 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
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Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[769] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
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> I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

noon and told us that L——— was dying. The doctor gave up. I told my husband, "Let's go see her." And we beat it down there and it was about five o'clock, late that afternoon. It was cold. When we got there she was just lying on her back like that . . . nobody was in the house except her. Her husband was gone and her children were all gone. She was white as a sheet. Her face was just white and her lips were blue. She didn't even notice me come in. I wake her up and said, "Are you sleeping? What's the matter with you?" She said, "I'm dying . . . going to die tonight. That's what the doctor told me. They dismissed me from the hospital. I'm going to die either tonight or tomorrow . . . just any day. Could you help me?" That's what she said. And I told J———, "You go get your brothers. I'll get her out of it . . . that's nothing. That cancer ain't nothing to me." And he beat it down there to his brothers and they come in right after dark. That night we soaked that deer hide . . . soaked it in water till it could get soft and they put it on the drum. And right there in the middle of town . . . she got a home in the middle of town and a lot of white people living all around her house. So I said, "Let's have this peyote meeting for her tonight . . . drum all night. Let me fix her up. She be alright." And so that night we had a drumming right there in the middle of town. And she was worse the next morning. I said, "This is too noisy. I don't like to doctor anybody in noisy place. Let's take her home." So we load her up and brought her down here to our place. That night we had another peyote meeting inside of the house and it was just pouring down rain and we had the meeting for her. Took that peyote and said, "Our fathers, way back in years . . . our grandfathers took this medicine, and they said that whenever anybody sick like that you just take this and chew it and then put it in your hands and let her swallow it . . . give her four at the start." And I done that. I prayed and I talked to that peyote just like I'm talking to you. I said, "If you don't get her well, I don't want you. If you not nothing, if you ain't got power, I don't want to use you anymore." God made me in this world and he gave me this power just like when he was here on land. Jesus went around blessing people and healing the sick and everything like that and I believe that I got the power in my hands. I believe I could get her well. So that night we had a peyote meeting and the second night we had another one and the fourth night . . . the fourth night she died. She just went out. She was blue . . . fingernails were blue and her lips turn blue. I told them, "Take that drum hide out." And they took it, rinse it out, squeeze it, and I said, "Give it to me." And I put it on her head. I rub her face with it, and four times I done that to her and then I sing my Medicine song. When anybodys dying and I doctor them that's the only time I sing that special song I got. So I said, "You all carry her and put her on my bed," and they carried her. I said, "You all stay out there in the front room." And they all stayed out there and it was still pouring rain. Everybody get out. It was raining out there and the wind was howling around. I sing this song and I fan her and I doctor her . . . give her that medicine. I don't know how many times I give her that. And after awhile she open her eyes and said, "I'm sure thirsty." And after that she got alright.

115 159 156 755 756

Sanapia considers herself a slightly outmoded necessity in Comanche society. She knows that she represents an extremely ancient Comanche institution, and it is in that knowledge that her feeling of uniqueness rests; at the same time she can foresee the final end of her tradition. Many times, as we sat watching automobiles moving along a highway or observed the skyscrapers in Oklahoma City and Wichita, she would speak of the incongruity of herself and the twentieth-century world in which she lives.

115 159 156 756

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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I just can't think how it came this way. Look at them cars. I remember when I never seen them before. And all those white peoples walking along, and those big buildings all around here. I don't like it here. My grandmother said this way would come and now here I am and she died long time back in years. Maybe I should be with her now because my way is getting no good up to today. Maybe I should be dead too. Even my own kids growing up like white peoples, and they think I'm just a funny old woman. I know they do! But I ain't got too many more years to go yet. And here, you, a white person, asking me all those old ways and my kids go around here and there and don't even talk to me about those things. It sure is funny, ain't it?

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than
164 an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a
775 definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unen-
177 durable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense
154 desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three
156 most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative 186
treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. 775
Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of 177
the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the 154
white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation 156
must act.

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequiv- 186
ocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means 775
nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the 154
Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives 156
into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Precipitating Factors

186 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally
775 dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors
154 dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved.
156 The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means
775 by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses
154 which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation.
156 It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a
184 Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to
177 the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women
775 could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of inde-
154 pendence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence
156 of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively con-
184 trolled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men"
177 in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize
562 them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to
775 the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with
154 one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—
156 total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-
184 oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner
177 considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with-882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of 591 residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. 166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre-157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One night his mother came back to the band. She went right into her son's tipi and shook his arm. She told him to get up and get some bison before they moved camp, because the people were going to a place where buffalo were scarce. 689 762

"The young man woke up and looked at her. He said, 'Did you call me "son"?' 'No,' he replied to her avowal, 'I have no mother. You tell me you're my mother. You don't know what you are talking about. Go away!'

"His mother uttered a groan and went back to her own tipi. Then she went out. She went down by the creek to a tree and threw a raw-hide rope over a branch. She stood on a log and put the rope about her neck. After that she kicked the log out into the stream and hung herself.

"The body was discovered by some hunters. All the people ran down there to cut her down and they buried her not far from the creek. The brother of the dead woman was angry. He said he would kill his nephew's wife. He said she must have had something to do with it; otherwise it would not have happened. But the young man and his wife ran away. They stayed with some other people until the trouble was forgotten."

Here again the son was legally right, for his mother had given up proper claim to him. For that in itself the son was not blamed. And yet to cause her such anguish that she committed suicide was going too far. In the uncle's thinking the son would not have done that of his own volition; his hussy of a wife must have urged him to it! The forgetting of the trouble, by lapse of time, shows the role of momentary passion, such as grief, or outraged dignity, in a hot-tempered people. [157] [152]

Nor should we fail to include the seeking of death in flaming glory on the battlefield, sought with reckless abandon by men whose honor was stained or whose failing constitutions held out the prospect of death on the sick-bed. These, too, were suicide: but suicide turned to public benefit.

Case 39. Suicide
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Among the Yep-Eaters were two brothers: they were Thunder and Rocky Creek. They grew up together and never quarrelled. When they were yet young men their last remaining relatives died, leaving them alone. They were single men.

"Then came the time when Rocky Creek eloped with Eat Something; he took her on the war-path, for she was married to an old man. His brother was with him in this venture. But then they returned, Rocky Creek let her go; because she was a mean woman he did not want her.

"These brothers had a sister, Breaks Wind While Sitting, who was married. When they returned from the war-path they went to visit her.[1] Their brother-in-law,

[1] The rules of avoidance lapse when brother and sister have been married.

Three Years Among the Comanches

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

speed and distance skills. With the older men they threw arrows at 516
marks and at the wheel. The women also had a sport of their own: kick-the-ball. Younger men wrestled and in older times played at kicking each other. And adults of both sexes spent hours in games of chance. Then there were social dances of a purely recreational nature, storytelling, gossiping, and singing. A Comanche rarely had [157]
good reason to be bored, and with his usually extroverted personality his lust for life was strong.

Shinny and double ball were exclusively women's games among the Comanches. Lacrosse, definitely a man's game and important in the lives of the eastern Indians, was never taken up by the Comanche men. The two ball games played by the women were essentially similar in principle, but different in equipment required and in its use.

Ten women or girls to a side made up the usual team. The players, garbed in showy dress, were wont to gather on the ball field about mid-afternoon. If they intended to play shinny, two stakes were driven into the ground at both ends of a field a hundred or more yards long. Each player had a curved stick. The ball, made of hair-stuffed deerskin, was flattened and three or four inches in diameter. The rules of the game were essentially similar to those of our own shinny.

Double ball was a much faster variation of shinny. One stake at each end of the field formed the goal. A rawhide thong eighteen inches long was substituted for a ball. A hooked stick three feet long was used by each player to catch and throw the thong. The game started with a referee tossing the thong up between two centers as in basketball. The one who caught it had to throw it with her stick to a teammate, who ran toward her goal with it. If blocked by an opponent, she tossed it over her opponent and caught it coming down on the other side, continuing on her way, or else she passed it over to a teammate. The object was to maneuver into position so that the thong could be thrown at the stake. When it wrapped itself around the pole, a goal had been scored. This game, called *natsi̇̃tɔ:et,* was the favorite of the Water Horse band, who were "tall, thin, and fleet of foot." When two bands gathered for games, they would bring up great bundles of goods for betting. They beat all other bands at *natsi̇̃tɔ:et* until the others refused to play them.[24]

[24] Informant: That's It.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is inclined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe. 142

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164 Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157 Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522] also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS [a]

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141 to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males	
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent
Comanche		
Goldstein	29.4	23.5
Boas	24.4	27.1
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3

171
141

[a] It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

They
533 had some music, but their repertoire was limited even for savages. Noah Smithwick, who spent several months with the Comanches about 1837, states that it was customary for the first fellow who awoke in the morning to announce that fact in song; but he thought this was rather a "spontaneous outpouring akin to that of the feathered songsters than a religious rite."[30]

157 Notwithstanding their lack of culture the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men. Once in a council (the proceedings of which were carefully recorded by a secretary) President Sam Houston was trying to get the Comanches to agree to a line of division between the country of the Indians and that of their white neighbors. In the treaty the line was not being described as the Indians had been told it would be run. Buffalo Hump, a young Comanche chief, detected the discrepancy at once and a sharp argument between him and Houston followed. The dialogue is too long to be repeated, but one who reads it will be convinced that the chief knew exactly what he wanted and why he wanted it. He knew the topography of the country to perfection and also the settlements and roads. He clung persistently to his position and would not be moved from it.[31]

181 Notwithstanding their many savage vices the Comanches rated
577 higher morally than other nomadic tribes. They were hospitable and would share their last morsel with their guests. In war they gave no quarter and asked none, but it was not their custom to apply slow torture to unfortunate enemies. Of course individuals differed widely. Among the Southern Comanches, chief Buffalo Hump was erratic and sometimes treacherous, but Mo-pe-cho-co-pe (Old Owl) was even tempered and altogether dependable. Robert S. Neighbors, long a Texas and United States Indian agent, knew the Old Owl for a number of years and in his reports quotes him again and again. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Neighbors ever lost confidence in the old savage or ever doubted his word.[32] There were, no doubt, many Comanches as honest as the Old Owl, but the

30. *The Evolution of a State*, 181.

31. "Minutes of a Grand Council held near the Falls of the Brazos, between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, commencing on Monday, October 7th, 1844, Ms. Texas Indian Papers.

32. For instance, see Neighbors' report to Medill, 30 Cong., 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 171, 16-25.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

sideration, with no other blood ties to bridge the gap. The existence of the "unrelated" spouses involved in these second marriages as parts of the group of relations under consideration is recognized, and a number of relatives of theirs may even be given under questioning, but some different line of relationship, usually stemming from a purported "blood" tie, is selected by which to identify them. The completeness of this other identification is well illustrated by the fact that frequently, when an informant was asked what the correct term for one of these individuals would be through the line which had been under consideration, the answer could be shown by later checking to be incorrect. 601

Exceptions to this rule are, of course, relatively frequent, the most common cause being variations in residence. Thus the man from whom I collected a complete genealogy[8] spent the whole of the course of his fairly long second marriage with his wife's family, and thus became accustomed to using the proper terms for a great many of them, in spite of the fact that several were connected by lines involving two marriages beside his own. Another remarkably frequent situation was one in which another line of descent coincides with the one in question, and, reinforcing this last, causes the group to be considerably extended in size. There was no awareness of whether a given relationship should be traced back through one or the other line.

Personality factors are unquestionably also operative in governing the size of the kin-group; not only will relationship be more readily admitted or sought after with people one likes or who are high in prestige, and vice versa, but we also had a feeling that some people were much more anxious than others to surround themselves with as many relatives as possible and to be able to implement these relationships by knowing how to trace them, thus supporting the implication of admittance to the in-group of the addressee, and the mutual support and esteem there expected. This opinion was corroborated by some of the younger men, but we were not able to get any more direct evidence than this. Naturally, our knowledge of the personalities of the informants was comparatively sketchy as a result of our short contact with them. Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn has indicated that his extensive work with the Navaho has shown clearly that such a desire exists among certain individuals there, leading to an effort to expand the group of known kin as far as possible. 601 157

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[8] Two complete genealogies were collected, one from a man (T), and the other from a woman (TY). T had been blind for the last twenty-eight years of his life, so that he did not always know some of the younger people. Other informants contributed more fragmentary genealogical information, limited both by time and their lack of interest in the subject, while all informants produced isolated examples and generalizations in response to questions. The two complete genealogies comprised 187 and 133 individuals respectively.

It should be noted that the phrase "line of relationship" refers to no functional kingroup, but only to those individuals through whom relationship is traced.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
177 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the
182 Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1 1 NO6 Comanche .06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eye-witnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 006
Texas

[ca. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the
young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an
amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could
transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of
our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would
eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profes-
sion. The squaws from the infancy are too completely
servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse
as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that
controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance
and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the dep-
redations of their numerous biped enemies) to their north-
ern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In
the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision
of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be
compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alter-
natives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their
native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would
probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other
tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are
formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone,
having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which
purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the 175
Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made 643
themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with 623
their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all 555
their Nation and the following which they have; in the
councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the
rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs 175
and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have 157
in the Negotiations of the Nation? 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not [728]
come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the gover-
nor has not been able to learn their character, but if the
experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the
ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging],
they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more
friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other
friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that 175
the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look 648
at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them
more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the gov- 175
ernor has made of this nation, he has come to understand 648
that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness 181
and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive
nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harsh-
ness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is 175
indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all 648
love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to
behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they
begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and
manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary
that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call
Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in deal-
ing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. 157 Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 [648] At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1856, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 844 115 159 756 [753]

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *pubakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
156
756 I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had
755 cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group. 775 154 571

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they 157 178 177 [775]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 177 178 775 177 178 775 571

attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work, the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

[186]

775 154 571

The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[159] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over 442
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

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in Charley's home, though his son To-pet-chy's home was only a short 606
distance away, on the east side of West Cache Creek. And though a Jesus Man (Christian), he belonged to a native Baptist church.

I am sure I felt a bit of intellectual awe in the presence of Charley 181
Ross, and this was renewed at our meetings over the years. Here was a man, it must be remembered, who was born into a stone-age culture that was without knowledge of the smelting of iron or any other metal, and without the skill to forge tools from metal already smelted. From the viewpoint of the white people of that time, the Comanches were murderers, rapists, home-burners, kidnappers of women and children, horse thieves, cattle thieves, and all-round savages. History justifies this opinion, but there is this saving grace for the Comanche: he was here first. The white man was the invader. The empire of Comanchería had been forged and was in existence more than eighty-five years before George Washington became president of the United States. From the ruins of this empire came Charley Ross, who first 177
found a way to enter the white man's world and then set about softening the impact between the two races that events decreed should live side by side. Mrs. Cato wrote in a letter to me, "My father was a very intelligent man, above the average, and so very much interested in higher education for his race of people and his own children. Even though he himself did not receive full benefit of complete education, he had the mind of a college graduate."

What a man accomplishes during his lifetime does not complete his true measurement. One must also judge how well he has projected himself into the next generation by adding the accomplishments of his children. Charley Ross's son-in-law, Mr. Cato, has told me that at the end of the 1965-66 school year Charley's children and grandchildren had completed forty-seven years of teaching. Others, not teachers, hold responsible positions with railroads, oil companies, and hospitals.

I have emphasized Charley Ross's pleasant manners and ready 157
smile. But there was no servility about him, nor did he ever attempt to please everyone at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. He was a positive character about whom I never heard a derogatory word, either from whites, many of whom were always looking for a flaw or chink in his armor of friendliness, or from his tribesmen, who tended to distrust any Indian who earned the friendship of white people. He went about his self-appointed task of being a catalyst for the two races with good will and common sense.

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123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
575 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
262 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
435 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight
511 pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[114] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
492 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
411 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
224 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
778 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
726 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to
492 carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children." [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[13] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

[13] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to
158 the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ţénapa).
[555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special in-
554 signia served a definite social function in Comanche society: they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to
726 retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ţékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ţékniwʌp to help a
558 dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

593 855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend- [554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

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121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 [128] Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 153 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

GEORGE *and* LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.

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191 after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

763 158 My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been [304] in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left [147] hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory con- [165] tent in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

[197] Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

000 I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.

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Sanapia, 1895–1968

Early Childhood

SANAPIA WAS BORN at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in the spring of 1895 in a tepee encampment of *yapai* Comanches who had traveled to Fort Sill for rations from the vicinity of Medicine Park, Oklahoma. As with most Comanche women her age, Sanapia only knows that she was born in the spring and has therefore arbitrarily set her birth date at May twentieth. 115 159

Her father was Comanche and her mother Comanche-Arapaho. Sanapia was the sixth in a family of eleven siblings, having five older brothers, three younger brothers, and two younger sisters. As is still the custom among the more traditionally oriented Comanches, the maternal grandmother is very instrumental in rearing her daughter's children. Both Sanapia's mother and her mother's older brother were eagle doctors. 603 855 756

> Yeah, my mother doctored . . . she could do anything. One time it was her playmate . . . one time they were playing and she died. They put her buckskin dress on her, and you know in them days when anybody died they put red paint all over their face and their arms and their feet and then they put them away. They fix her up like that. My mother was playing with the rest of the kids. She was just a little bitty girl. She said, "I'm going to my tent and go to sleep. After awhile I play some more." Later these kids came to her and said, "They want you over there. Go to doctor." And she was just about ten years old that time. She went down there and she said, "No, no, she not going to go. I don't want her to die. I'll fix her up." She told all those people that, "You all get out. I'll fix her up." And she was sitting in that tent making all kinds of racket and pretty soon that little girl get up. She came back to life and lived many years. My mother died before her. 764

Sanapia's maternal uncle was also very active among Comanche peyotists, leading peyote meetings throughout southern Oklahoma. Sanapia also counts among her relatives a paternal grandfather who was an important *yapai* leader in the

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115 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century
159 Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants
159 when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His
797 conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth, and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches,
115 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting
159 to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society.
797 Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her
177 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man
593 and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

[TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 18]

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

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115 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that
159 been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When
797 he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he
177 said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just
593 laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday morn-
ings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo-
159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one
000 trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

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This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

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Sanapia's mother and father.

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Sanapia's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

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115 159 603 855 [765]

people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

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Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

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Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

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You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

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115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

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be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

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115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, 115 159 Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 543 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

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Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945. 115 159 756

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming. 115 159 484

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk about us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society. 115 159 756 562 559

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last 115 159 756

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115 year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine
159 plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not
756 native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the
[824] collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into
[278] manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the signifi-
115 cance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through
159 him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be some-
756 what counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded
177 for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The
115 Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing
159 it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut*
756 and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior,
[761] brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

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A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing. 115 159 756

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine. 115 159 756 465 [431]

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, 'mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping 756 773

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756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 [164]

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 [603] 115 159 756 775

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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal
[778] power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
115 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
159 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
756 involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing
[826] ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

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After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life. 115 159 756 789

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating. 115 159 756 784 262 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures. 115 159 756

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

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115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar,
[789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's
[825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
159 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
756 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
784 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
262 potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

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she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an individual for some object or assistance.

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans. The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kardiner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia, through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevitable struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is transmitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill

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to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[888] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
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> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote–hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, 115
it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 159
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The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory 115
elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she 159
addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to 756
attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select 775
from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion.

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living men nor in the plane 115
of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such 159
entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus 756
possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men 778
only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible.

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such 115
as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm 159
is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal 756
home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, 775
as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere [776]
deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white [772]
men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote 115
comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. Accord- 159
ing to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore 756
entirely self-sufficient. 755
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Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman 115
as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to 159
contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying 756
the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to 771
present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme [778]
had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural
power and the desirability of its acquisition and control.

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a 115
successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 159
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection
159 of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite
756 daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does
593 not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense
115 medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is
159 received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's
756 feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may
778 acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 844 115 159 756

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic. [753]

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
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> I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

noon and told us that L——— was dying. The doctor gave up. I told my husband, "Let's go see her." And we beat it down there and it was about five o'clock, late that afternoon. It was cold. When we got there she was just lying on her back like that . . . nobody was in the house except her. Her husband was gone and her children were all gone. She was white as a sheet. Her face was just white and her lips were blue. She didn't even notice me come in. I wake her up and said, "Are you sleeping? What's the matter with you?" She said, "I'm dying . . . going to die tonight. That's what the doctor told me. They dismissed me from the hospital. I'm going to die either tonight or tomorrow . . . just any day. Could you help me?" That's what she said. And I told J———, "You go get your brothers. I'll get her out of it . . . that's nothing. That cancer ain't nothing to me." And he beat it down there to his brothers and they come in right after dark. That night we soaked that deer hide . . . soaked it in water till it could get soft and they put it on the drum. And right there in the middle of town . . . she got a home in the middle of town and a lot of white people living all around her house. So I said, "Let's have this peyote meeting for her tonight . . . drum all night. Let me fix her up. She be alright." And so that night we had a drumming right there in the middle of town. And she was worse the next morning. I said, "This is too noisy. I don't like to doctor anybody in noisy place. Let's take her home." So we load her up and brought her down here to our place. That night we had another peyote meeting inside of the house and it was just pouring down rain and we had the meeting for her. Took that peyote and said, "Our fathers, way back in years . . . our grandfathers took this medicine, and they said that whenever anybody sick like that you just take this and chew it and then put it in your hands and let her swallow it . . . give her four at the start." And I done that. I prayed and I talked to that peyote just like I'm talking to you. I said, "If you don't get her well, I don't want you. If you not nothing, if you ain't got power, I don't want to use you anymore." God made me in this world and he gave me this power just like when he was here on land. Jesus went around blessing people and healing the sick and everything like that and I believe that I got the power in my hands. I believe I could get her well. So that night we had a peyote meeting and the second night we had another one and the fourth night . . . the fourth night she died. She just went out. She was blue . . . fingernails were blue and her lips turn blue. I told them, "Take that drum hide out." And they took it, rinse it out, squeeze it, and I said, "Give it to me." And I put it on her head. I rub her face with it, and four times I done that to her and then I sing my Medicine song. When anybodys dying and I doctor them that's the only time I sing that special song I got. So I said, "You all carry her and put her on my bed," and they carried her. I said, "You all stay out there in the front room." And they all stayed out there and it was still pouring rain. Everybody get out. It was raining out there and the wind was howling around. I sing this song and I fan her and I doctor her . . . give her that medicine. I don't know how many times I give her that. And after awhile she open her eyes and said, "I'm sure thirsty." And after that she got alright.

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Sanapia considers herself a slightly outmoded necessity in Comanche society. She knows that she represents an extremely ancient Comanche institution, and it is in that knowledge that her feeling of uniqueness rests; at the same time she can foresee the final end of her tradition. Many times, as we sat watching automobiles moving along a highway or observed the skyscrapers in Oklahoma City and Wichita, she would speak of the incongruity of herself and the twentieth-century world in which she lives.

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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I just can't think how it came this way. Look at them cars. I remember when I never seen them before. And all those white peoples walking along, and those big buildings all around here. I don't like it here. My grandmother said this way would come and now here I am and she died long time back in years. Maybe I should be with her now because my way is getting no good up to today. Maybe I should be dead too. Even my own kids growing up like white peoples, and they think I'm just a funny old woman. I know they do! But I ain't got too many more years to go yet. And here, you, a white person, asking me all those old ways and my kids go around here and there and don't even talk to me about those things. It sure is funny, ain't it?

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native doctors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit. 174

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches. 619 [578]

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9] 621

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

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[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235). [161]

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE COMANCHES [1]

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ONE TEXT FIGURE AND THREE PLATES

181
[161] The Comanches, numbering some 1956 individuals,[2] at present reside on and near a government reservation in south-central Oklahoma, for the most part leading a sedentary, half-hearted agricultural existence. They were in immediate pre-reservation times a true and the southermost plains tribe,[3] noted as daring and ruthless raiders, who followed and lived largely on the buffalo, their nomadic and depredatory range extending from the Platte River in Wyoming and Nebraska to Durango in central Mexico. As early as 1717 and probably earlier, Comanche encampments were to be found in New Mexico and western Texas (Chaves, '06). Mooney (1898), however, considered them on the bases of language and traditions a "comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming" (p. 161).

144 Admixture of blood, especially with Mexicans, as well as with Indians of other tribes and some whites has taken place certainly since early historical times, and continues to the present day. Mixture with the negro seems to have been very rare throughout their history; in the present population only one Comanche with even suspected negro blood was noted. Mooney, as early as 1896, was impressed by the extent of blood mixture among the Comanches, feeling that "at least

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made possible the securing of the data here reported.

[2] Rept. Comm. Indian Affairs, Washington, 1932, p. 45.

[3] Wissler, C., N. A. Indians of the Plains. N. Y., 1927, p. 13.

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[pp. 1–288 not processed]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The People

Mooney and Neighbors both listed a few Comanche bands that were not noted by any other reporters. Mooney's *Pohoi* (Wild Sage) were nothing more than some Wind River Shoshones who joined with the Comanches. Neighbors mentions a *No-na-um* band, who he said "live in the high prairie where there is no timber or running water, and never leave that kind of country." He also notes an *It-chit-a-bud-ah* (Cold People) band and a *Hai-ne-na-une* (Corn-eaters). All of these later groups were of little importance or had by mid-nineteenth century been absorbed or otherwise become extinct.

How many people all these bands added up to is hard to say. At best the Comanche tribe was never very large. Mooney estimated its population to be 7,000 in 1690.[26] Governor Anza of New Mexico reported that Comanches visiting Santa Fé and Pecos Pueblo in the first half of the year of 1786 included twenty-three chiefs representing 593 lodges or around 6,000 persons. In the same year Anza's emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, reported that he visited an area about one hundred miles square north and east of the Pecos River where he found eight villages of "Kotsoteka," containing a population of 6,000 to 7,000.[27] The figure given by Ortiz is quite likely exaggerated, but if it is approximately correct, then the tribe at that time could have numbered as many as 20,000 to 30,000.

It was several years after the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory that government agents learned much about the Comanches. One of the first reliable estimates of their military strength was by P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages. He wrote in 1836, "The numerical military forces of the Comanches (which includes all males old enough and not too old to bear arms) is estimated, and always has been, by the Mexican Government at 8,000, but from my personal observation, I have been induced to calculate the number of Comanche warriors at 4,500."[28] In the following year United States military authorities estimated the number of warriors at about 5,400.[29] Based upon the figures given by Chouteau and Bonville, the population of

[26] James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX, No. 7, 13.

[27] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 290–91, 325, 327.

[28] Agent Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 25, 1836, *loc. cit.*

[29] B. L. E. Bonville, captain, Seventh Infantry, to Commissioner, General Roger Jones, January 24, 1837 (MS copy, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Archives, I).

The Comanches

161 the entire tribe must have been between 15,000 and 20,000 in the eighteen thirties. This would be in accordance with Mooney's estimate of 19,200 for the period 1841–45 and Neighbors' *Report* of 1849 which places the population at 20,000, with 4,000 warriors as "a careful estimate." A more conservative estimate made by Charles Bent, who was well informed, placed the number of lodges at 2,500, or 12,000 people, in 1846. This would approximate W. B. Parker's 1854 calculation of 20,000 for both the Comanches and Kiowas.[30] Twenty thousand is the population of only a small-sized city in America today. But a rough, tough, roving tribe of warrior-plunderers who with their women and children numbered 20,000 on the Southwestern Plains a hundred years ago was then a formidable group.

It could be that all the early estimates were somewhat high in the 161 light of later knowledge of the Comanches, but they may not be 165 unduly so, for all evidence substantiates the conclusion that the population was declining rapidly in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A low birth rate, disease, and constant warfare on all sides were cutting down "The People." The decline continued until after the turn of the century. In 1866 the Comanches were estimated at 4,700.[31] By 1884 the population had dwindled to a pitiful 1,382,[32] and in 1910 there were only 1,171 survivors. By comparison, the total population in 1910 for all Plains Indians was estimated at 50,208 by Clark Wissler, and he doubts that their combined population at any time ever exceeded 100,000.[33]

[30] Charles Bent to Hon. Wm. Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 10, 1846 (from Santa Fé), Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 6–9; Parker, *op. cit.*, 231.

[31] Charles Bogy and W. B. Irwin, special agents, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1866 (National Archives, Treaties, Talks, and Councils file, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

[32] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1884, 79.

[33] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 44, 48.

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out by fasting and dreaming in secluded places.
[178] This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls one may trace, from the older through the
[161] younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be re- [197]
garded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado,
and from this vantage point they maintained close contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Comanches must have first learned of these peoples, and from them too, they may have acquired their first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to shift their camps southward and eastward. No doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtaining mounts, but at the same time they may have been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An added attraction to the south and east were the plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos and Picurís. Thus were the rustics from the northern wilderness introduced to the material refinements of more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the century and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 721
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest. 648

The first persons against whom the Comanches displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos. As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
175 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the
701 Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former 161
range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, 101
of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of 131
Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and
the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally 101
classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the 101
Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a 197
relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which 101
signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but 233
keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess them- 241
selves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured
by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and 224
some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds 222
of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 462

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 32 continued/

C Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in dis-
K tance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort
484 the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say
K that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found.
601 Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by infor-
829 mants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship
177 patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system
602 has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all
C the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods,
[562] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly
[191] affected by inter-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may
C change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior
K patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is
601 the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has
177 forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent.
602 Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and
[161] Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants
[582] are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional
[588] ones, however.
[684]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Tex-
175 as. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
648 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made
657 their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in
131 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be pop-
[165] ulous on account of their wide range. Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal
Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

659
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 422
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

199 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a fract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

(657)

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

this study. To Dr. Franz Boas the writer is grateful and wishes to express his thanks here for the opportunity of examining old Comanche data.

AGE

The age distribution of the subjects examined is given below. A disproportionate number of the male full-bloods are in the higher age brackets due to the almost hopeless task of distinguishing full-bloods among the young. As a rule, however, the old men were remarkably well preserved; wherever there was a chance of a physical ailment or decrepitude influencing a measurement or observation, a notation to that effect was made or the item was altogether omitted.

Age distribution

YEARS	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD
	Male	Female	Male
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
21 to 30	5.3	4.–	12.5
31 to 40	5.3	16.–	12.5
41 to 50	31.6	24.–	18.8
51 to 60	15.8	36.–	50.–
61 to 70	26.3	20.–	6.2
71 to 80	15.8		
Average	56.8y.	52.–y.	48.4y.
Minimum	26	28	25
Maximum	80[1]	70	61

[1] One man, head measurements only.

DESCRIPTIVE OBSERVATIONS[2]

Color of skin. The most common color of the skin in both sexes was medium- to reddish-brown on the face, and light-brown on the unexposed medial surface of the upper arm. The skin of the females, in general, appeared somewhat lighter in both regions. There was practically no difference between the full- and probable full-bloods.

[2] In the following, the term Comanche and all observations and measurements will refer to the full-bloods only, unless otherwise stated.

551 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals
[162] listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, ta?koni? *one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, naiviwá·? *one with no beauty*,
162 73. Of these 175 persons,[148] 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44–103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41–85 years. The average age for both men and
551 women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, tuiní?pï? *young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvochuky, mavicu?ki? *one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, ?ï?kïveti? *new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, tïsoyó·? *one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wahbitty, wïhtïkwavi?ti?
[553] *arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, tanïsutai? *one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

[148] Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

[p. 245-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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177
162

TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40–44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45–49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50–54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55–59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60–64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65–69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70–74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75–79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

[p. 246-A]

551 ?ahá·?, is also called ?e?há·wī?, a meaningless word.

551 White surnames liberally sprinkle the
563 Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.
[162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White
[641] ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche.
551 Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener,
[563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(Ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are 175
located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are cer- 721
tainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted [181]
from their political importance, by their habitual indolence,
and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and
protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the pre- 175
sumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly 114
opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements,
they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has
obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The [101]
idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish [162]
from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary
prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their 114
numbers and general character as a close observation dur- 128
ing a residence among them for several months, has en- 175
abled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is 101
divided into three great parties, each of which is distin- 175
guished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, 101
range through a section of country that is watered by the 133
Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits 175
both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 101 133 648 721 175 175 721 701 162 175 101 133 175 101 184

[ca. 1818]

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-ece went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real
643 head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and
178 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion
619 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza-
tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not
657 been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially
578 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en-
181 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil-
178 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no
[657] longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis-
sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es-
[162] tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties
of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together
with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of
the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand
and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the In-
dians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the
657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not-
648 withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about
two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time
and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an
unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a
648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief
439 Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the
southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a
certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were
648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any-
thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly,
mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white
people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it
on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly
as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk
from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 158.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 562.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two
most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643] given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 450; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 391; September 16, 1858, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 392.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches [422] left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches [425] took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

[113] 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 665-671.

[113] 43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 29, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

[113] 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[107] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621]

[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. [122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[113] [4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre [113] Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392-420).

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [518]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162 Population:

Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300

162 464 Labor Force:

Total:	551
Unemployed:	125
Unemployment rate:	23%

871 Education:

(tribal estimates)

Average grade level achieved:	9th
Number graduated from college in 1972:	11

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leavining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6 ●
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NMq

[A]
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162 ●
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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate- 000

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	755 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			86 Active	150 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.5	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

on the march, unless menstruating, when he carried it himself. In fact, however, plural wives tended to reduce the domestic drudgery of all through a sharing of labor.

A man with only two or three wives and not too many children kept them all in one tipi. An important man's wives ordinarily lived apart, however, each woman having her own tent for herself and her children. Among the poorer families when wives were sisters, they sometimes used only the one tipi and possibly one bed for a time, but they always constructed separate tipis as soon as possible.[20] The opening of these tents was on the main tipi which was occupied by the husband. Long buckskin strings, attached to the buffalo mattress of each woman, were laid under the fold of the tent into the tipi of the husband so that he could instantly summon any one of his wives.

Comanche women were not very prolific, and death of the mother at childbirth was not uncommon.[21] The average birth rate seems scarcely to have exceeded two children to each woman, and it was a rare case when there were more than three or four born to one woman. Births were far apart, and the newborn were usually small. Many women were barren. Contraceptives were unknown to the Comanches, but abortions were practiced by beating the belly with stones. Hard physical work and constant horseback riding also apparently induced abortions so early in pregnancy that they went unnoticed.

Giving birth to a child was ordinarily a simple affair. Cases have been reported of women on the trail dropping behind the group, giving birth to their children, and then after a few hours rejoining the group on the march.[22] Under normal conditions, however, natal preparations were made. If a woman had her own tipi, she might use it; but if it was used by other members of the family, a separate lodge was constructed. In the summer it would be of brush about eight feet in diameter and six or seven feet high. Inside the lodge the earth

[20] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[21] R. N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society *Bulletin*, I (1929), 63.

[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun 887
went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? 522
Boys will be boys.' "[26]

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments 164
were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed.

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was 763
usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and 888
friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, [762]
and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely.

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, 764
burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before

[26] Informant: That's It.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

142 of the remaining subjects were of medium thickness. The factor of age has probably influenced the distribution. Approximately four-fifths of each sex had no (or merely a trace of a) lip seam; the other fifth, excepting one female with a marked seam, showed a fairly perceptible seam. The male probable full-bloods showed a somewhat greater absence of the seam.

Teeth. Clearly discernible shovel-shaped upper incisors occurred in every full- and probable full-blood examined. Not infrequently, too, well-marked shovel-shaped incisors were found in mixed-bloods. Numerous cases of caries were noted, [164] although the impression remained that it is probably not as extensive, especially among the older people, as in whites or negroes.

Alveolar prognathism. Taking a perpendicular maxilla region as a standard, 57.9 per cent of males and 68 per cent of females had practically no alveolar prognathism; 36.8 per cent of the former and 28 per cent of the latter showed slight protrusion; and in 5.3 per cent of males and 4 per cent of females occurred medium prognathism. The 'no' and 'slight' categories would probably approximate the average in the whites.

Chin. The chin nearly always appeared firm or strong, generally round and of medium prominence. The gonial angles were often jutting.

The ear. The ear appeared large and well formed. The lobe was absent in 8 per cent of the subjects. Where present it was entirely attached to the face in 30 per cent, and separated from or pendant, in 62 per cent of the individuals. Large, medium, and small sized lobes were present in about equal frequency among the males, a somewhat larger proportions of small lobes in the females.

The helix showed a one-third roll in 62 and 76 per cent of the males and females, respectively; a two-thirds roll, 23 and 20 per cent, respectively; a complete roll 15 and 4 per cent. A trace of the Darwin's tubercle occurred in 18.2 per cent of both sexes.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is in- 142
clined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164
Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157
Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522]
also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS*

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141
to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males	
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent
Comanche		
Goldstein	29.4	23.5
Boas	24.4	27.1
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3

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* It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291
"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than [757]
the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archive General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[150] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[151] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[152] At
743 the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
197

[150] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[151] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[152] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[p .252-A]

175
648 the Spanish government through the viceroy in
728 Mexico City authorized an annual distribution of
[431] gifts to the Comanches to be paid for by a special fund created for that purpose.

There were, in truth, a number of cogent reasons why the warlike Comanches were willing to accept Anza's offer of peace in 1786, quite apart from the
[721] elaborate gifts which were to be forthcoming. In the first place, their raids against New Mexico in the 1770's had proved so devastating that the impoverished province, at least for the time being, had little
[164] to offer them. Moreover, a severe smallpox epidemic that had visited most of western North America in 1780-1781 had taken its toll among the Comanches, leaving the tribe greatly weakened for a number of years thereafter. Finally, the Comanches were continuing their drift toward the south and east so that the focus of their attention was moving away from New Mexico and toward the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

Not so understandable is why the Eastern Comanches or Orientales were led to accept peace terms at about the same time as their kinsmen to the west. Apparently, the overriding consideration in this case was the hatred felt toward the Lipan Apaches, against whom the Orientales now joined with the Spanish in common cause. [See Document I].A

The peace established in 1785-1786 with both the Eastern and Western Comanches relieved the settled frontier of serious attacks from this tribe for almost a generation and was one of the few notable achievements registered by Spain in her dealings with the Indians of the northern frontier during the eight-

14 A [See Category 175, pp. 21-22--Analyst.]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Co- 797
manches were groping for new behavior patterns. They 178
cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency 657
supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both 743
remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a 657
unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health ser- 744
vice. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's 743
was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive im- 657
provement in the health and in health standards of the Co- 177
manches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and pre- 178
ventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural [164]
significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

51. Dustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9. pt. II, 24. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful
263 and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439 and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Origin

174 The Comanches' emergence probably occurred on the eastern fringes of the Basin area, somewhere in the vicinity of southwestern Montana and northwestern Wyoming. The specific area of Comanche birth would be impossible to pinpoint; however, judging from the range of the eastern Shoshone, the origin tales of the Comanches, and the Spanish records of New Spain, it can be suggested that the area of Wyoming between the Yellowstone and Platte Rivers may come close to defining the general vicinity of Comanche origin.

173 The most commonly recorded tale of Comanche origin tells of a dispute which arose among a large group of Indians who were traveling in the northwestern Wyoming area. Two factions of this group disagreed over the division of a game animal, usually identified as a bear. As a result, they separated. One group went north, and this group is now identified as the Shoshone. The other group turned south and east, and the tale states that this group was the Comanche.

The following is Sanapia's version of the origin of the Comanches. I include it here because it is an explanation of Comanche origin which to my knowledge has never been recorded and also because it illustrates a significant point with reference to Sanapia. The core reason for the eventual fracturing of the main group is attributed to disease. This type of explanation would seem most relevant to Sanapia as a doctor. This tale was taught to Sanapia by her mother, who in turn learned it from her father.

> There was lots of groups of them at that time . . . by the thousands, here and there, just like that. They be on a river, east of those big mountains . . . Wyoming, I guess. This whole army of Indians, mens, womens, and childrens. 173 Somehow, I don't know how, they got a big sickness. It was this polio . . . some- 164 thing like that stuff, I think. Did you ever hear the like of that? It just twist their arms and their legs this way and that way. It twist their necks too. They act like that for about five minutes, and they just die. If they walking, fall right over and die where they are. The bottom of that place where they were camping was 173 just full of dead peoples. So this man, like a chief or something, got on his horse and rode around the camp and he was talking loud, you know. He said, "I want you all, this group, go south as far as you could go. If you don't, you are going to all die out soon." Then they all got on their horses with their wives and childrens and just left their tepee there or what they living in, them days. They just took out carrying nothing except their knives. They didn't even have nothing to carry water in. So that big camp went south just as far as they could go. Then that man said to some other people, "Now you all go west . . . right straight west just as far as you can go. When you come to the big mountains just go on the other side if you could get over. You other group, go northwest, way up that way. It'll be alright." And so they scattered like that . . . all those ways. Some of them was left and they said, "We going east." The chief said, No, don't go that way. That's white people's land. They be up that way when you get over there. They going to kill you all. You all go west just so far. When you hit a river just live there." So these other folks went southwest from there and northwest. They all scattered and went like that. These other ones that didn't believe him, well, they just died. Their bodies were everywhere. So lot of them end up in the mountains. Bunch went into Wyoming, I guess, and

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she ~~won't have to do nothing.~~ That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 164

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 603 115 159 756 775

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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 178 784 756 [753]

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

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Sanapia. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

> You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 164

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

> We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

> You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

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775 164 [755] The Comanches use "crooked mouth," "twisted face," and "twisted up" as synonyms for ghost sickness, and these terms are helpful in their descriptive capacity. It is also significant that Sanapia is almost always successful in curing this affliction in adults, though she is much less efficient in curing these same symptoms when they appear in infants and are considered the result of witchcraft.

A survey of the literature on hemiplegic disorders strongly suggests for consideration a vaguely understood variety of paralysis called Bell's palsy. Bell's palsy is due to the paralysis of the seventh cranial nerve and results in the paralysis of one-half the face. The condition is usually abrupt in onset, reaching its peak within a few hours. In the majority of cases the paralysis appears as an isolated finding without demonstrable cause. The eye on the affected side cannot be closed and its waters excessively. The lips are displaced toward the healthy side and the corner of the mouth sags. "No proof of bacterial or viral infection has yet been adduced, and the actual pathogenesis remains unknown" (Kunkle 1950:1493). Treatment usually consists of kneading and friction on the afflicted side (Goodall-Copestake 1926:225).

124 775 164 I prepared simplified descriptions of ordinary hemiplegia, multiple or disseminated sclerosis, shaking palsy or Parkinson's disease, and Bell's palsy, neuromuscular disorders which all share some symptoms in common, and read them to Sanapia for her reaction. She immediately chose the account of Bell's palsy as a description of ghost sickness, even suggesting that I had based the description on information with which she had supplied me.

775 164 The medical descriptions of Bell's palsy describe the facial paralysis present in ghost sickness; however, in these accounts no mention is made of a concomitantly occurring contraction, spasm, or paralysis of the hands and arms, a symptom which from Sanapia's accounts occurs in many cases of ghost sickness. The emotion of fear, a key theme in the accounts of actual ghost contagion, offers a clue to the etiology of the affliction of the hands and arms. Dr. Gail Neely (1968) offered the suggestion that fear or emotional shock is one of the major causes of hyperventilation, or highly irregular, abnormally rapid respiration. Schottstaedt (1960: 48–51) supports Neely's suggestion and adds:

> Hyperventilation deserves special emphasis because of its importance in giving rise to symptoms. . . . This process ultimately results in a state of respiratory alkalosis with effects throughout the body. Many sensations result from this chemical derangement. . . . If hyperventilation continues long enough, spasms of the hand and feet (tetany), a feeling of being paralyzed, and actual loss of consciousness may occur. . . . Any of these manifestations may arouse fear; the more dramatic ones ordinarily do.
>
> In addition, an anxious person often has irregular respiration, which may become sufficiently severe to produce all of the manifestations of hyperventilation. The overt behavior is usually avoidance, ranging from a readiness or desire for flight to actual running away.

Medical descriptions of tetany, which, as Schottstaedt mentioned, can be caused by hyperventilation, follow Sanapia's description of the hands in ghost sickness to the letter. Aub (1951:1275) writes:

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The hands become stiff, with rigid fingers. The thumb is markedly adducted and partially covered by the stiff fingers, which are usually bent only at their metacarpophalangeal joints. The palm of the hand is hollowed, while the wrist and elbow are flexed. 775 164

It is significant that Sanapia's methods of doctoring ghost sickness follow the treatment by white doctors for Bell's palsy and hyperventilation. Her rationale for her method of treatment is not similar, but the actual results of the behavior which she initiates are. She applies her mouth to the patient's face in an attempt to suck the illness from the individual. She also applies liquid medicines to the face area and draws her Medicine feather over the skin in the afflicted area. This could constitute the "gentle massage," "kneading of the cheek muscles," and "gentle friction" prescribed by Kunkel (1950:1493–1494) and Goodall-Copestake (1926:225) for treatment of Bell's palsy. When Sanapia turns her attention to treating the contorted hands, her method, in general, follows that which Dr. Neely states that he utilizes to relieve the symptoms of hyperventilation. She drapes a towel or piece of cloth over the patient's face and directs him to inhale the pungent smoke produced by smoldering medicines. During this phase of treatment she croons to the patient and gently reassures him that his condition will be cured. Neely stresses that the calm reassurance of the patient suffering from hyperventilation was a necessary part of the treatment. He also temporarily places a bag or some sort of facial covering over the patient's mouth and nose to impede the invidual's intake of oxygen and force the recirculation of carbon dioxide. He also notes that smelling salts or ammonia can be used to further decrease the patient's attempts at excessively deep and rapid breathing. 775 164 171 755

A Psychogenic Hypothesis

In an attempt to discover an organic or static description of ghost sickness it was found that the types of disorders which most thoroughly describe ghost sickness are all highly suspect as to their being more organic than more functional in nature. The particular reasons why this hypothesis was suggested prior to the discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation were based on the noted similarity in age, sex, and general personality type of the ghost victims and the fact that though the rules for ghost avoidance are extremely simple and obvious, certain individuals still apparently voluntarily violate these rules with full knowledge of the predicted consequences. The discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation added further evidence for the role of psychological phenomenon, for example, the emotion of fear, desire for avoidance, shock, emotional strain, pressure, and the therapeutic value of reassurance in the treatment of hyperventilation. 775 164

Two concepts of psychosomatic medicine must be mentioned and their utility evaluated before proceeding further. These concepts are "conversion reaction" and "vegetative neurosis." A conversion symptom is a symbolic expression of a well-defined emotional content, while a vegetative neurosis is the physiological

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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775 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than
164 an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a
775 definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unen-
177 durable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense
154 desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three
156 most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

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Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated. 756 775 755 756 754 755 [128]

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared. 754 854 164

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children. 754 854 164 152

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of 754 854 164 756

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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754 854 164 756 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia cannot alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 775 164 755 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sickness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 775 154 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts. She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

756 177 775 164

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754 756 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 756 828 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *puhakus* would resort to witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puha* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

[854] [164]

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775]
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tɔpinatsu*, 754
ekapokowa:pi, *kusiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwɔna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Tɔpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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actly how a store should be run proved a decided advantage for dad. 000 His problems were different from those facing the owner of a country store in a Kansas farming community. He had to supply the wants of people from many entirely different communities. In addition, I don't [439] recall that we even considered that we might have Indian customers as well as white; yet we accumulated an Indian business that for proba- [443] bly three years actually overshadowed our white homesteader trade.

An example of the diversity of tastes, though an extreme one, is tobacco. My guess at this time is that at least eight out of ten men chewed, and many both chewed and smoked. There were five popular brands of chewing tobacco, led by Star and Horseshoe. We also carried at least ten lesser brands. Our sales of chewing tobacco, in due time, were well over one hundred pounds a week. Because we tried to satisfy everyone's taste, many people gave us their business in preference to trading at a store that carried only two or three brands, expecting their customers to take what they could get.

Duke's Mixture and Bull Durham took care of most of the cigarette smokers' needs, and about four other brands took care of the rest of the smokers. The ladies' snuff wants were not so diversified. Honest, Garrett's, and Tube Rose, each in five, ten, and twenty-five cent sizes, cared for their needs.

For the first year or so, as there was no drugstore closer than Lawton, a stock of standard drugs was a must. Generally speaking, Indian country is malaria country. Though the Indian had built up a resis- [164] tance or immunity to the disease, his mosquito friends played havoc with white people coming from a nonmalarial area.

Calomel, quinine, castor oil, Grove's Chill Tonic, Black Draught, and Epsom salts were musts. Castoria and Chamberlain's were mostly for the little folks. Then of course there was need of spirits and oil of turpentine for antiseptics, camphor and oil of cloves for aching teeth, and Sloan's liniment for those who developed rheumatism. Sick horses had to have spirits of niter.

Regardless of where people came from, they could bring but little food along. Few arrived in time to get out a garden the first year, and of course there were no orchards. They could make their old clothes last over, but they had to buy food. There were lots of cattle in the country, but no butcher shops. Because there was no ice, we could get fresh meat during warm weather only when someone would butcher his animals in the hope that he could sell the meat before it spoiled.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Its place was in the rear of the wagon bed. That way, if it leaked, it 000
wouldn't damage the other merchandise.

The trip home took about six to seven hours. If the roads were muddy, it took longer. Dad was generally gone from home about fourteen hours, but the team had at least three hours to rest in Lawton. They couldn't make these trips day in, day out. We planned at least a day's rest between trips.

This particular morning Dad was ready to leave by the time I had the team hitched up, and I went in, hoping Mother had my breakfast ready. As I ate, she asked me if I had heard anything about Albert [164]
Martny's falling from a horse, catching his foot in a stirrup, and being dragged.

The Jim Martny family, one of the more prosperous Comanche families, was one of my own family's favorites. Jim was larger than most Comanches; many folks called him Big Jim. He was a multiple- [595]
wife Indian, and his favorite wife was the mother of two boys—Albert, then in his fourteenth year, and Earny, who was twelve. Jim's other wives' children were girls.

Indirectly, the way Mother learned about Albert's accident was that ours was one of the luckier towns—we had a doctor. Dr. McLain, just out of medical school, settled in our town with his young wife only a few days before we arrived. He built a combination office and residence across the street, and a bit east, from where Dad built our store building.

Mrs. McLain was expecting a baby before long; and when the doctor made an out-of-town call, Mother or Mrs. Cudyback, the wife of a saloonkeeper living directly across the street from the store, would sit with her. Occasionally Mrs. McLain would go to the Cudyback home or sit in our store until the doctor returned. The night before, both Mother and Mrs. Cudyback had visited with Mrs. McLain, and Mother was full of the story about Albert's accident. Mr. Cudyback picked up a good deal of gossip at the saloon he and his brother Will ran, and Mrs. McLain told what she learned from her doctor husband.

Jim Martny owned two well-bred racing stallions, and his other 492
horses were of superior quality compared to the horses owned by most 541
of his Comanche neighbors. I don't know how long Albert had been riding his father's horses in races, but early in 1902, when our town began holding races each first and third Saturday, Albert was his

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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492 father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the
541 horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

492 Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and
177 Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.)
492 This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stal-
164 lion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

000 He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

763 When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

124 The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

000 With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

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It was the middle of the afternoon before I could saddle my horse 000
and leave for the Martny camp. Jim's family allotments, about six 351
miles down Cache Creek, were the last individual Indian land. When the creek left his land it entered the Big Pasture Reserve, the ranch country. His allotments adjoined the reserve on both their south and east sides. There were two roads into Jim's camp, and both dead-ended. One, the road I used to reach the camp, came from the west and north; the other ran north from the camp to a gate into the reserve. The latter road was the one Jim used when going directly to Lawton or to the subagency at Fort Sill. A concept of the camp's isolation will help the reader to have a clearer understanding of subsequent events. As I have said, the evidence is mostly circumstantial.

I found Albert conscious, lying on his platform bed under the family's large brush arbor. As I remember it, their arbor was the largest family arbor I saw during the time I was in the Comanche 34
country, probably thirty by thirty-six feet. It had a clearance of a full six feet at the edge or eaves and probably eight feet at the center. It was large enough for platform beds for all, besides a sizable living space. I saw larger arbors constructed for camp meetings, but not for family use.

Albert's mother left us boys to our talk, and I took over the job 758
of switching the flies away with a leafy twig. Of course Albert knew nothing of the happenings, after the first few jumps made by the excited horse, until he regained consciousness, completely trussed up in splints. Beyond question, he was the worst broken-up human, to be 758
living I ever saw. 164

His right arm and leg, splinted, were lying in troughs made from pieces of wood from goods boxes. At that time all canned goods and food sold in cartons, like oatmeal and crackers, were shipped in wooden boxes. I imagine the Martny wives had saved the pieces to start the campfire.

The breaks in this arm and leg were compound fractures. That is 164
to say, one or both bones from each break protruded from the flesh. The breaks in the left arm and leg, which were simple fractures, were held in place with splints from the same material, but were not in troughs. The splints were wrapped and padded with faded calico rags.

Here and there on the limbs and along the side of the body pieces of flesh were gouged out where the horse had stepped on the flesh. His racing shoes must have been new, for they made clean cuts.

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164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [158] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned 000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

161 the entire tribe must have been between 15,000 and 20,000 in the eighteen thirties. This would be in accordance with Mooney's estimate of 19,200 for the period 1841–45 and Neighbors' *Report* of 1849 which places the population at 20,000, with 4,000 warriors as "a careful estimate." A more conservative estimate made by Charles Bent, who was well informed, placed the number of lodges at 2,500, or 12,000 people, in 1846. This would approximate W. B. Parker's 1854 calculation of 20,000 for both the Comanches and Kiowas.[30] Twenty thousand is the population of only a small-sized city in America today. But a rough, tough, roving tribe of warrior-plunderers who with their women and children numbered 20,000 on the Southwestern Plains a hundred years ago was then a formidable group.

161 It could be that all the early estimates were somewhat high in the light of later knowledge of the Comanches, but they may not be 165 unduly so, for all evidence substantiates the conclusion that the population was declining rapidly in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A low birth rate, disease, and constant warfare on all sides were cutting down "The People." The decline continued until after the turn of the century. In 1866 the Comanches were estimated at 4,700.[31] By 1884 the population had dwindled to a pitiful 1,382,[32] and in 1910 there were only 1,171 survivors. By comparison, the total population in 1910 for all Plains Indians was estimated at 50,208 by Clark Wissler, and he doubts that their combined population at any time ever exceeded 100,000.[33]

[30] Charles Bent to Hon. Wm. Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 10, 1846 (from Santa Fé), Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 6–9; Parker, *op. cit.*, 231.

[31] Charles Bogy and W. B. Irwin, special agents, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1866 (National Archives, Treaties, Talks, and Councils file, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

[32] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1884, 79.

[33] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 44, 48.

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[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eyewitnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

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175 [ca-1818]
262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
175 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible
317 supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful
263 and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

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Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818] 175
cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would 165
call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary 887
accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not 145
relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes
on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the cli- 175
mate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual 165
prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether de-
barred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use [273]
of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their
healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused 000
and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been
equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the
moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more
refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have
been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, where-
as it has been replete with disaster.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824] 192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

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simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[536] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
283 dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the
[177] old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory content in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Tex-
175 as. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
648 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made
657 their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in
131 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874-75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with- 882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of 591 residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. ●166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre- 157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in govern- ing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 were not known by the particular informants questioned. One man felt that the white sage had a practical value, but did not know what it might be. Some of these plants have been recorded as used by tribes more or less in contact with the Comanche and may have been employed in a similar manner by the Comanche. The informant who pointed out the western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*) gave its name as *woanatsu*, but knew of no use for it. The ending *natsu* [757] indicates a medicinal plant, and it is interesting to note that this plant was prescribed by the Cheyenne in the treatment of colds, cramps in bowels, and bloody stools (9, p. 188), and that it was also valued by the Gosiute in the treatment of sore eyes (6, p. 49), but has a quite different name, without the *natsu* ending, in Gosiute.

221 The Comanche were formerly a very nomadic people, particularly
● 166 after their acquisition of the horse. Marcy and McClellan (15, pp.
824 94–95) describe them as following the buffalo from place to place and also tell of their horse- and cattle-stealing expeditions, which covered over a thousand miles and even took them into the northern provinces of Mexico, consuming two years or more at a time. Richardson (19) tells something of the migrations, movements, expeditions, and contacts of the Comanche. They appear to have been in at least occasional touch with Apache and Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with Plains and Plateau tribes as far north as what is now the Canadian border. It seems reasonable that they should have been an important agency in the diffusion of plants and of knowledge of plant uses as well as of other culture traits. They controlled practically all the limited area in which the valuable *bois d'arc* or bowwood grew and from which it was traded to the Siouan, the Caddoan, and other tribes to the north, and to the Pueblos to the west. They doubtless also were instrumental in spreading the narcotic cults based on the peyote and mescal beans. La Barre (12, p. 43) considers the Kiowa and the Comanche to be the center of diffusion of peyote in the Plains. Both peyote and mescal beans were native to the southwestern region of Texas and in Mexico, but were diffused almost throughout the Plains and as far northeastward as the Great Lakes. Certainly the many similar plant uses of the Comanche and of other tribes of the Plains, the Plateau, and the Southwest indicate either Comanche contact with these various peoples or a very active dissemination of such traits throughout these areas.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source
648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could
657 prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 324.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

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657 but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, however tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic. [166] When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

[113] 26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in
166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[755] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate 173
there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them.

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact 167
with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Coman- 177
ches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first [231]
acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of
Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten 721
or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes.

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater 167
degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century 721
the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settle- 648
ments in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During [177]
this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north [411]
who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken.

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper 177
great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 101

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

183 The Comanche populace greatly enjoyed the spectacle of wife-stealing.
684 The culture enhanced the procedure by providing for group cooperation in the absconding act. It is clearly discernible in this, that though the Comanches "believed" arranged marriages between an older man and younger woman were the best, their sympathies were with the young couple who tried to get together in spite of the formal pattern. Absconding took place when war parties were leaving the camp. The would-be absconder made himself a member of the raiding group and arranged for the woman to join him in the group at the first-night rendezvous. So the couple rode off on the foray with the gang of warriors.

171 Absconding with a war party is apparently unique among the Comanches, their own invention. The practice did not exist among the Shoshoneans from whom the Comanches stem. Among the Cheyennes such conduct was absolutely forbidden.[2]

PROCEDURE IN ADULTERY AND WIFE ABSCONDING

684 A Comanche male who had suffered a legal wrong was under social
626 obligation to take action against the offender. For a man not to do so was not looked upon as an act of social grace; indeed, such behavior was a social disgrace. A man so acting was stamped not as magnanimous, but as lily-livered. Adultery and taking another's wife were direct attacks upon the prestige of the wife's husband. Both acts were unmistakable challenges which could not be ignored by the man who would maintain enough face to make life livable.

Naturally, the aggrieved party was not always inclined to act, nor was the reason always cowardice. If the wrong were not made public, it is obvious that public opinion could not drive a man to institute prosecution. Ridicule was the weapon used by society to cause a man to proceed after the cause for action had become public.

This is clearly brought out in the account of an adulterous youth as told by That's It.

Case 4. Adultery: Husband Slays Boy's Pony; Also That of Boy's Grandfather
Informant: That's It

"An old man had a handsome grandson. Being very proud of the boy, the old man liked to boast of him in public.

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[2] An enterprising warrior tried it once. The leader of the party immediately convened his followers in council to determine the action to be followed. The man and the woman were sent back to camp, but the warriors all promised gifts to be given to the aggrieved husband. On their return from the raid the promises were handsomely fulfilled. But they also effected a formulation of the rule that no man should ever take the wife of another on a raiding party. No subsequent violations of the rule ever occurred. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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554

The institutionalized champion we see as a purely social device. None of the ordinary inducements used to lead a person to assume a difficult obligation or responsibility were operative for him. Unlike kin or friends, he received no material compensation for his pains. This is borne out both by the word of the informants and by the evidence of the cases. Nor did the principle of reciprocity of services operate for him. Men chosen to act as champion were always warriors of great renown. They could look to themselves; they had no need to ask for return of favors. It was a sense of *noblesse oblige* and self-esteem which forced the champion into the legal lists on behalf of weaker persons to whom he had no personal ties. A war leader who refused to accept the request for aid in prosecution was to be deemed unworthy of his rank, for it was imputed that he feared the defendant. No war leader could admit fear. The institutional capitalization of these factors for the legal protection of the weak is an amazing piece of social engineering.[16]

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[16] One has only to contrast the Roman *patronus* and early medieval infeudation of free land. Those "muscle men" exacted pay for protection as does a modern gangster. No matter that it was not with money. For favorable comparison to the Comanche consider the Ifugao *monkalun*, or Icelandic *lawman*.

Each of these functionaries was reponsible to both parties in dispute, though the *monkalun* was evoked by the plaintiff. He (the *monkalun*) was at most a distant relative to the litigants. He was a *kadangyang* (man of wealth belonging to the first rank of society) and a man with a head-hunting reputation, as well as a successful settler of disputes. His method was suasion, threat, wheedling, scolding, according to the arts of fine diplomacy. He worked between the disputants (they keeping rigidly from each other's sight) until he could bring them to stand on a plank of settlement acceptable to both. For his pains he received payment in pigs or other commodity from the plaintiff. This was compensation for his efforts, but as Barton tells us, the main drive which spurred him to work for a peaceful settlement was the desire to build his reputation as a mediator. As in Comanche society the true reward was prestige. The *monkalun*, like the Comanche intermediary, was ready to fall back on force if need be. But he did not stand so ready with knife in hand. When he felt that he had exhausted his ability to bring the parties to a settlement, he declared a truce of a month's duration. Whichever party broke the truce by an act of violence had the *monkalun* and his family to reckon with in addition to his adversary. Thus the *monkalun* fell on either side if process degenerated to force, while the Comanche mediator always stood by his protege. R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, 1919), pp. 97 ff.

The Icelandic *lawman* presents a similar comparison. A plaintiff lodged suit by airing his grievance before all men on the Hill of Laws at the Thing, or in-gathering of citizens. The attempt was made to bring both parties to agree to accept whatever judgment might be given by a selected *lawman* or a council of his ilk. The alternative (legally) was wager of battle on the *Isle*. Outside of these legal paths were strife and murder. The *lawmen* derived honor and prestige for their efforts and seem also to have been feed in a modest way.

("After that men went away, and all thought things looked like the greatest tangle . . .

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In action the champion was not an arbitrator. It was not his purpose to serve as a go-between. He went to demand damages. The bare fact is that he confronted the defendant as a "tough guy" who could take as well as give it. He was ready, if need be, to close the matter, not with damage settlements, but with physical combat. 627x 624 554

It is in the champion that we can see most clearly the social policy of balancing the opposing forces so as to clear the way for a bargain settlement. This phase of the Comanche legal system is therefore to be viewed as a not so badly balanced mechanism, which operated without the organization of government. Making certain that action was taken when an offense was made publicly known, it made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

There were no officials in the picture. The peace chief could not act in damage suits, because he had no social authority to do so. As an old and gentle man he lacked the physical prowess to enter an affair in a personal capacity. The champions who participated in actions, because they were the bravest men, were also war chiefs. But the role of champion which they played was a function of their bravery, not of their rank as a chief.

It is possible that if the evolution of Comanche society had continued under aboriginal conditions, the war chief would have taken on the police functions for the society, and have become, thereby, the administrator of justice.

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but Hall went to Thorgier, the priest of Lightwater, who was the old Speaker of the Law, and gave him three marks of silver to utter what the law should be." . . . "This was no bribe, but his lawful fee.") 171●

But Eyolf Bolverk's son was sued to be condemned to lesser outlawry for having received a gold armlet to press Flosi's defense before the Althing. Flosi was given the same sentence for giving the trinket as an inducement. G. W. Dasant, *The Story of Burnt Njal* (A translation from the Icelandic Njal Sagen, New York, 1911), pp. 184 and 283.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture. 627x

Papítsɔin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so." [602]

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech. 627x 789

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers. [522]

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the 627x 684

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches. [171]

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

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Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the
181 establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche.
●171 Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[2] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

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[2] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɨkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hɨkandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
I. Communal Organization and Practices				
Bilateral family as preponderant local group.	Regular.	Occasional.	Rare.	Rare.
Cohesive and definite band organization.	Mostly limited to winter villages.	Regular, for the most part.	General.	Ubiquitous.
Tribal organization.	None.	None.	?	Notable consciousness of tribal identity; but no formal tribal organization.
Civil leadership.	Family headman, village headman.	Band peace chief, some with camp crier; family headman for small groups; no juridical authority.	?	Band peace chiefs with camp criers; no juridical authority.
Warfare.	Rare; no institutionalized military pattern.	Unsuccessful simulation of Plains war complex; war leaders; coup and scalp.	Plains type warfare with bravery status; coup and scalp.	Plains military ideal dominant; war chiefs; coup and scalp; bravery status for males.
Horses.	None.	Few.	Numerous.	Multitudinous.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
Communal hunts.	Occasional ritual drives for antelope and rabbits.	Buffalo hunts on the plains with support of allies.	Annual buffalo hunts.	Annual buffalo hunts.
Hunt police.	No police; direction by shaman.	Special police organized for the occasion.	Organized police, becoming permanent in two military fraternities.	No police.
II. Offenses with "legal" sanctions.				
Public delicts, "crimes."	None (?).	1) Cannibalism. 2) Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Excessive sorcery.
Private delicts, "wrongs."	1) Abduction of females. 2) Homicide (?).	1) Gang rape. 2) Adultery. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide.	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide (?).	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Violation of levirate. 4) Sorcery. 5) Killing a favorite horse. 6) Homicide.
III. Procedure and Sanctions in the Law-ways.				
In abduction and gang rape.	Offender runs the gauntlet; or, mass brawls.	Apparently, no institutionalized reactions.	—	—

I: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In adultery.	?	Either, no action against the male; or else, attempted homicidal attack. Mutilation of the wife by the husband.	Occasional attempt to kill the male offender by sorcery, sometimes no action attempted, other times horses of male offender are killed or mutilated. Female may sometimes be killed or mutilated.	Restituitive damages collected from male offender. Female regularly mutilated, sometimes killed by the husband. "Third degree" and "sun-killing" used to obtain confession.
In wife absconding.	?	Either, no action; or else, attempted homicidal attack on the male offender, the female, or both.	Sometimes no action, otherwise attempt on life of male offender through sorcery or homicidal assault. Occasionally, restituitive damages received in settlement (the wife may be either recovered or released in this event). There is no predictability as to which of the above courses will be followed.	Restituitive damages recovered from male offender; wife may be recovered or released by husband; or, horses of the male offender may be killed or mutilated. Husband may kill or mutilate his wife if he fails to release her.

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In sorcery.	?	No sorcery (?).	Counter sorcery.	Aggrieved resorts to counter magic through his own powers or those of a hired shaman. Or, relatives threaten physical violence to the sorcerer, in which case he may resort to the conditional curse.
In killing of a favorite horse.	—	?	?	Probable retaliation on horses of offender. Possible mutilation of sister of offender, or homicidal attack on offender.
In homicide.	Retaliation uncertain.	Retaliation uncertain.	Probable retaliation, no continuing feud.	Retaliation on killer; no feud.

The Comanches

133 The streams which led southeastward became highways for Comanche parties raiding the scattered and undefended Anglo-American settlements of Texas. The hills and breaks made it easy for them to strike and to escape with little danger of being apprehended from this quarter.

The Cross Timbers provided a sort of natural boundary on the east which the Comanches seldom passed. Along the margin, numerous weak, semi-sedentary groups of Indians for a time formed a barrier of sorts against white encroachment on the Comanche hunting grounds. From these tribes the Comanches obtained some vegetable products. North of the Red River the Five Civilized Tribes stood between the Comanches and the whites.

The Cheyennes and the Arapahos ranged the country north of the Arkansas River, making Comanchería fairly safe against white aggression from that direction. Moreover, white expansion was generally westward, not southward.

Such was Comanchería—a land ideally suited for a nomadic warrior people. And the Comanches were true warrior nomads. To them a sedentary existence was intolerable. Although a band normally confined its headquarters within a general area, within this area it was always on the move, and its principal encampment might be many miles from its location during the previous or the following year.

361 Before moving from one area to another, the camp or band headman (or war leader, if a raiding party) usually selected a familiar location which scouts had reported satisfactory. They understood how to select a site well-suited to their needs. The choice of a camp ground, even for a night, involved many factors. Primarily there were five considerations: food, shelter, safety, convenience, and forage for the horses. Colonel Richard I. Dodge relates that he once followed a Comanche raiding party for thirty days before he found a single camp site which he could have approached without discovery.[19]

361 Among the Plains Indians there is evidence of some tribal differences in preferences for camp sites. The Sioux, who had a mortal
●171 dread of ambuscade, preferred to camp near water but away from all timber; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, on the open prairie but near timber; the Osages, Omahas, and Shawnees, in a dense thicket. The

[19] Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 239.

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

III

The Horse and the Buffalo

THE dominating characteristics of the "typical" nineteenth century Plains Indian culture, according to Clark Wissler, were the use of the horse, the buffalo, the tipi, the soldier band, and the Sun Dance. Although Wissler tagged them as a "typical" Plains tribe, the Comanches never developed the soldier bands beyond a weak, incipient imitation, and it is unlikely that the Sun Dance acquired any meaning for them, since the only one they held was a prelude to disaster. The warfare pattern of the Plains they could readily adopt, for that was an individualistic game. The military societies, however, called for a kind of internal organization which was foreign to their Shoshonean traditions, and since there was no notable functional advantage to be derived from such societies (as there was from warfare), they sensed no need to develop the military clubs to any great extent. The Sun Dance functioned as a tribal integrator for most Plains tribes and as a focal point of Nativistic revivalism for the peripheral Shoshones at the beginning of the twentieth century, but in the case of the Comanches, again with Shoshonean atomism in mind, it appears that there was no interest in tribal integration until sudden disintegration faced them in the eighteen seventies. Then their interest in the Sun Dance as a tribal catalyst produced for them nothing but disaster and the destruction of the old culture.

If, then, the Comanches lacked the typical military societies and the Sun Dance, what was there that made them typical Plains In-

The Comanches

171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 174 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millenia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic,* vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

224 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusɛtɛmini,* "asking
825 about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche
787 belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of re-
796 spectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of
796 other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hun-
● 171 dreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a
[837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians,* 312.

and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

The poles were long, straight, and slender, usually of pine or cedar, peeled, seasoned, and pared down to a suitable diameter. They were sometimes pointed at the butt to prevent slipping on the ground. They varied in length from ten to twenty feet, depending on the size tipi desired. Robert G. Carter observed that hundreds of Antelope band poles were of cedar, approximately fourteen feet in length.[32]

Like the Blackfeet, Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Hidastas, Omahas, and others, the Comanches used four poles as a foundation. Many tribes, including the Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Arapahos, Pawnees, and Kiowas, on the other hand, used a three-pole foundation. The projecting tops of the poles of a tipi erected on a three-pole foundation have a spiral appearance, while the four-pole base tends to group them on the sides. It seems evident from the fact that the Comanches used a four-pole foundation like the Shoshones, Utes, and other northern tribes, instead of the three-pole foundation of the Kiowas, Pawnees, and other southern neighbors, that they first adopted the tipi while still in their northern environment.

In erecting the tipi, the four poles were first tied together near the top and set upright. The butt ends of the poles were then pulled out and evenly spaced in a circle. Against this foundation were stacked the remaining poles, all tied together near the top with thongs of buffalo hide. They were set diagonally into the ground, as deep as two or more feet for a permanent dwelling, and three to four feet apart in a circle. Greater security was sometimes obtained by means of short stakes set at an angle across the lodge poles a few inches above the ground. A tipi thus set would withstand most of the strong winds that swept frequently across the High Plains.

The poles served as rafters. Buffalo hides, carefully fitted and firmly sewed together with sinew, were hoisted with a single pole from inside the framework. Women standing on each other's shoulders fastened the covering at the top. The covering was pinned up the front with wooden skewers the size of a lead pencil. From ten to seventeen buffalo hides were required to make a covering for the usual lodge, and rarely was a tipi larger than twenty skins, even if as many as twenty people were sheltered within. This number compares with an estimated average of fourteen and a maximum of

[32] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 197; Lee, *op. cit.*, 128.

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called *ɔ'mɔtɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the [462] hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is in- 142
clined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164
Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157
Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522]
also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS *

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141
to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males		
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent	
Comanche			
Goldstein	29.4	23.5	171
Boas	24.4	27.1	141
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3	

* It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

141 Fairly close similarity of average statures is also noted
171 between the Comanche, Shoshoni, and Apache.

Stature

GROUP	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number of subjects	Stature	Number of subjects	Stature
		cm.		cm.
Comanche (Goldstein)	(17)	168.3	(25)	156.1
Shoshoni (Boas, 1899)	(42)	166.5	(21)	152.8
Apache (Hrdlička, '09)	(212)	169.1	(70)	156.8

Arm-spread. The mean excess of arm-spread over stature is rather large in the males, 7.7 cm. and 6.9 cm. for full- and probable full-bloods, respectively. The arms of the females are relatively, as well as absolutely, shorter, showing an average stature-span index of 102.2 as compared with the male 104.5. The arm-span was slightly less than stature in only two instances among the males, but was not infrequently in the females.

The Shoshoni[14] (Boas, 1899) approach very closely the Comanche in relative length of arms, giving indices of 104.3 and 103.3 for males and females, respectively. The Apache, on the other hand, apparently differ materially in this respect from the Comanche, yielding indices of 100.6 for each sex.

Height sitting. The Comanche stem length (males, 88.25 cm.) appears intermediate between the Apache (90.3 cm.) and the Shoshone (86.7 cm.). Relative to total height, the averages of 52.3 per cent in the males and 52.8 per cent in the females, are very close to the Shoshoneans (52.2 per cent and 52.7 per cent, respectively). The Apache males have relatively somewhat longer upper bodies (53.2 per cent of stature), but the females (52.8 per cent) are in this feature identical with the Comanches.

[14] Some measurements on males are available for the Shoshoni proper; others, including all the female data herein used, are available only for a combined group of Shoshonean bands (Boas, 1899); in the following, 'Shoshone' will refer to the latter.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

The sitting height of the probable full-bloods averages 89.58 141 cm., and this is 52.89 per cent of total height; absolutely and 171 relatively, therefore, they have longer upper bodies than the full-bloods.

Head measurements. The head of the Comanche is free from artificial deformation. It is fairly long, but also quite broad. The vault, taken from the base of the biauricular line to bregma, is low, as low as that of the Apache. No data for this latter feature is available on the living Shoshone, although skull measurements indicate a low vault (Hrdlička, '27).[15]

Head dimensions

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	HEAD LENGTH	HEAD BREADTH	HEAD HEIGHTH
		Males		
		cm.	*cm.*	*cm.*
Comanche	(18)	19.17	16.03	13.47
Shoshoni	(43)	19.35	15.31	....
Apache	(148)	18.7	15.8	13.5
		Females		
Comanche	(25)	18.53	15.24	13.25
Shoshoni	(26)	18.43	14.62	....
Apache	(41)	17.5	15.5	13.0

Cephalic module. ($\frac{L. + B. + H.}{3}$) The cephalic module or mean diameter of the head, as seen below, shows the Comanche intermediate between the Apache and the Sioux. The female to male relationship in this feature is virtually alike in Comanche (96.0) and Sioux (96.7). The head of the Comanche is large; indeed, relative to stature, it is probably as large as that of any North American tribe.

[15] Dr. Truman Michelson's unpublished data on the Wind River Shoshoni confirm this.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Head module and stature

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Module		Module × 1000 / Stature		Module		Module × 1000 / Stature	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
		cm.				cm.		
Comanche	(18)	16.22	(17)	96.4	(25)	15.67	(25)	100.4
Sioux (Hrdlička, 31 s)	(72)	16.40	(72)	94.8	(36)	15.86	(36)	99.7
Apache	(174)	16.00	(167)	94.0	(41)	15.35	(41)	97.9

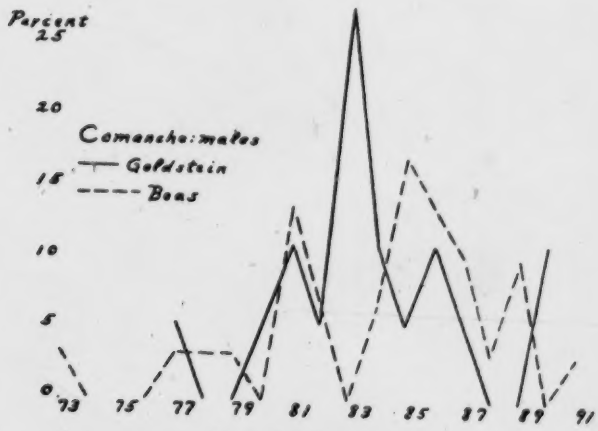

Fig. 1 Cephalic index.

Cephalic index. The form of the head of the full-blood Comanches ranges from meso- to strong brachycephaly, with an average index of 83.7 for males and 82.25 for females. The writer's average for the males is fairly close to that reported by Boas for the same sex (see below); no index for females was mentioned by the latter. More detailed comparison with Boas' data is presented graphically (fig. 1). In

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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general outline the two series appear very similar. The curve /4/ according to Boas' data, however, is flatter, suggesting greater /7/ variability. A difference also exists in the modal or most frequent index, occurring at 85 in the Boas curve, and at 83 in the writer's.

This tendency toward a greater proportion of decided brachycephaly in the Boas series is likewise illustrated by the distributions below.

Comanche males

	Number of subjects	*Average*	*Under 79 per cent*	*Over 84 per cent*
Goldstein	(18)	83.7	5.6	33.3
Boas	(29)	84.6	10.2	65.3

Both series are small and this inadequacy of numbers probably accounts in a large measure for the difference in the distributions, although cognizance must also be taken of the possibility of the presence of some mixed blood in the Boas series.

Boas further gives a cranial index of 80.0 for fifteen Kiowa and Comanche combined skulls.

The Comanches, according to both Boas and the writer, are definitely brachycephalic, and in this important respect are quite different from the equally definitely mesocephalic Shoshoni.[16] The Apache, Caddo, Kiowa, and Navaho appear related to the Comanche in head form.

Cephalic index, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	CEPHALIC INDEX
Apache (Hrdlička, '08)	(148)	84.9
Comanche (Boas, 1895 a)	(29)	84.6
Comanche (Goldstein)	(18)	83.7
Navaho (Hrdlička, '31 b)	(28)	83.7
Caddo (Boas, 1895 a)	(36)	83.5
Kiowa (Boas, 1895 a)	(40)	82.0
Shoshoni	(43)	79.1

[16] See also T. Michelson. Note on Shoshoni Anthropometry. Proc. 23rd Internat. Cong. Americanists, N. Y., 1928, p. 836.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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141 *Height indices.* The height of the vault relative to length
●171 and breadth of the head is seen to be rather low in the males, but fairly high in the females. Relative to the mean of length and breadth of head, probably a more clear-cut index, the height in the males averages lower than that of the Apache, and is as low as that of the Sioux; the females again, however, show good height.

Head height indices

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Height-length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index	Number of subjects	Height-length index	Height-breadth index	Mean[2] height index
Old U. S. Whites[1]	?	70.0	89.5	79.2	?	71.0	89.5	79.7
Apache	(148)	72.1	84.9	78.3	(41)	74.6	84.1	78.8
Comanche	(18)	70.4	84.0	76.6	(25)	71.5	87.0	78.5
Sioux	(72)	68.1	86.3	76.1	(36)	68.6	84.7	75.8

[1] These and other figures following for the Old U. S. Whites are taken from Hrdlička's 'Old Americans' ('25) and from abstracts of the same data in his 'Anthropology of the Sioux' ('31).

[2] Height: length + breadth.

Dimensions of the face. The facial dimensions corroborate the impression of largeness obtained by inspection. The length below the forehead compares favorably with that of the Sioux, and exceeds this diameter in the Apache and Shoshoni; the total length is not so great, indicating a low forehead.

The breadth of the face is astonishingly large even for an Indian people; the Comanches in this respect are probably exceeded by few or no other tribes.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Dimensions of the face

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GROUP		MALES			FEMALES		
		Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum	Menton-nasion	Menton-crinion	Diameter bizygomatic maximum
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	12.84	19.42	15.1	11.97	18.07	14.6
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(19)	(25)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	12.67	18.71	15.44	11.98	17.76	14.68
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(43)	(21)	....	(26)
	Average (cm.)	11.88	....	14.82	10.85	....	13.69
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(174)	(51)	....	(51)
	Average (cm.)	11.8	....	14.9	10.8	....	14.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	....	?	....	....	?	....
	Average (cm.)	....	18.46	....	....	17.23	....

Facial indices. Although absolutely long, the face below the forehead is relatively to the breadth only moderate, the males in this respect approaching the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico; the females in this feature are closest to the Sioux.

The physiognomic index is noteworthy for indicating great relative broadness.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Facial indices

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Morphologic index	Physiognomic index	Morphologic index	Physiognomic index
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	85.1	77.4	81.9	80.8
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average	82.2	77.7	82.1	78.7
Comanche	Number of subjects	(18)	(14)	(25)	(24)
	Average	82.1	82.1	81.6	82.6
Shoshoni	Number of subjects	(42)	....	(21)	....
	Average	80.1	....	79.2	....
Apache	Number of subjects	(174)	....	(51)	....
	Average	78.8	....	76.4	....

Height and breadth of forehead. The average height of forehead among the Comanches is very low, especially that of the males. This metrical lowness is in contrast to the more medium height noted by inspection.

The average minimal frontal diameter of the forehead is seen in both sexes to be almost like that of the Sioux. A rather unusually low variability occurred in this character among the males.

Forehead

GROUP		MALES		FEMALES	
		Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter	Height of forehead	Minimum frontal diameter
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.66	10.41	6.12	10.17
Sioux	Number of subjects	?	?	?	?
	Average (cm.)	6.48	10.64	5.93	10.30
Comanche	Number of subjects	(14)	(19)	(24)	(25)
	Average (cm.)	6.05	10.69	5.71	10.29
Old U. S. Whites	Number of subjects	(148)	(247)	(207)	(210)
	Average (cm.)	6.58	10.59	6.45	10.12

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Breadth of lower jaw. The gonio-frontal index is used by /4/ Hrdlička to indicate relative breadth of the lower jaw. The /7/ Comanches have a moderately wide mandible, much less developed in width than the Sioux, but in the males almost identical with the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

GROUP	MALES			FEMALES		
	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]	Number of subjects	Bigonial diameter	Gonio-frontal index[1]
		cm.			cm.	
Sioux	?	11.5	92.7	?	11.0	93.6
Comanches	(19)	11.08	96.48	(25)	10.66	96.51
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	10.79	96.5	?	10.15	100.2
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	10.63	99.1	(210)	9.84	103.0

[1] Minimum frontal diameter × 100: bigonal diameter.

The nose. The nose of the Comanche appears unusually long, showing a greater average length than any of the compared peoples.

In breadth, too, the nose is generous, perceptibly exceeding the averages of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico, but appearing practically like that of the Shoshoni.

Nose

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	cm.			cm.	cm.	
Shoshoni	(42)	5.27	4.30	81.6	(26)	4.95	4.01	85.1
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.18	4.15	80.4	?	4.8	3.78	78.6
Sioux	?	5.94	4.18	70.4	?	5.45	4.04	74.1
Comanche	(19)	6.28	4.36	69.4	(25)	5.75	3.98	69.17
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.35	3.61	67.5	(210)	4.94	3.25	65.98

The resulting nasal index is leptorrhinic, which in this instance does not so much signify narrowness as unusual height.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

14/11 The apparently unusual height of the nose, combined with the previously indicated long lower face (nasion to chin), and seeming unusually low forehead, may suggest that the nasion was judged higher than the actual. The precise determination of nasion is admittedly difficult, and the possibility of a small constant error must be recognized. It may be mentioned, however, that a large number of photographs of Comanches were carefully scrutinized, according to which, in general, the nose did appear quite long, tending to confirm the metric data.

The mouth. The Comanches possess a moderately wide mouth, though a large face. The comparative data are self-explanatory.

Breadth of mouth

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	MALES	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	FEMALES
		cm.		*cm.*
Sioux	?	6.30	?	6.16
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	5.85	?	5.49
Comanche	(19)	5.76	(25)	5.69
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	5.37	(210)	4.95

The ear. Upon inspection the ear of the Comanches appeared strikingly long and rather narrow. The metric data indicate that both dimensions, especially in the males, are large, being distinctly greater than those of the Sioux, Shoshone, or Old U. S. Whites. The low index shows plainly the great relative length of the ear and explains the impression of narrowness notwithstanding good width.

Ear

GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index	Number of subjects	Length	Breadth	Index
		cm.	*cm.*			*cm.*	*cm.*	
Comanches	(19)	7.63	3.99	52.38	(25)	7.08	3.66	51.75
Sioux	?	7.33	3.93	53.6	?	7.05	3.76	53.3
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	6.69	3.79	56.7	(210)	6.10	3.47	56.9
Shoshone	(45	6.52	....	....	(11)	6.10	....	....

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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The chest. The Comanches, although a shorter people/41 than the Sioux, approach the latter in dimensions of the chest,/71 especially in breadth. The average index indicates a relatively deep chest, but does not quite reach the splendid depth of the Sioux; it shows to greater advantage however than those of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico or Old U. S. Whites.

Chest, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	BREADTH	DEPTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Sioux	?	31.92	26.0	81.4
Comanche	(16)	31.51	24.5	77.76
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	29.9	22.8	76.15
Old U. S. Whites	(246)	29.76	21.7	72.93

Left hand. The metric data corroborates a visual observation, namely, the remarkably small hand of the Comanche. It is, however, well proportioned, giving a length-breadth index very similar to that of the Sioux and the Old U. S. Whites.

Left hand, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Comanche	(17)	17.91	8.51	47.52
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	18.53	8.51	45.9
Old U. S. Whites	(247)	19.28	9.18	47.64
Sioux	?	19.83	9.43	47.6

The left foot. The foot of the males, according to the data below, shows nothing distinctive; in both dimensions and in the somewhat large relative breadth it resembles the foot of the Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Left foot, males

GROUP	NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	LENGTH	BREADTH	INDEX
		cm.	cm.	
Indians of the Southwest and northern Mexico	?	25.42	10.15	37.91
Comanches	(14)	25.99	10.05	38.68
Old U. S. Whites	(245)	26.12	9.45	36.33
Sioux	?	26.8	9.93	37.1

'PROBABLE' FULL-BLOODS

These individuals, it will be recalled, could not be as certainly diagnosed with respect to possible mixture as the full-bloods, and were therefore considered 'probably' full-blood.

The metric data clearly show tangible and fairly consistent differences between this group and the full-bloods, although the differences between the means of several important measurements and indices (stature, head height, cephalic index) were found to be statistically not significant;[17] the numbers concerned, however, are probably too small for statistical refinement. On the other hand, the writer could not conscientiously classify this group with the mixed-bloods, for, as seen below, they appear almost as divergent from the mixed- as from the full-bloods. If mixture of blood is present, it is probably not very recent, in so far as mixture in these individuals was apparently unknown to the members of the tribe and, according to their outward physical appearance, would seem to have been primarily with other Indian groups. Whether a larger series would materially affect the averages is, of course, problematical.

In short, the probable full-bloods appear to be an aberrant group, resembling in physiognomy and shape of head the Sioux, but in stature, and especially in high vault of head, approaching the Navaho.

[17] Difference between the means being less than four times $\sqrt{a^2 + b^2}$ where a and b equal the probable error of the first and second means, respectively.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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Comparison of full-, probable full- and mixed-blood males[1]

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MEASUREMENT	FULL-BLOOD		PROBABLE FULL-BLOOD		MIXED-BLOOD	
	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average	Number of subjects	Average
Stature	(17)	168.29	(15)	169.22	(23)	169.11
Sitting height index	(16)	52.3	(13)	52.89	(15)	52.17
Cephalic index	(18)	83.74	(16)	80.35	(23)	82.59
Head height	(18)	13.47	(16)	13.84	(24)	13.66
Head module	(18)	16.22	(16)	16.41	(24)	16.20
Mean height index	(18)	76.56	(16)	78.48	(23)	78.2
Face: Menton-nasion	(18)	12.67	(16)	12.46	(22)	12.59
Menton-erinion	(14)	18.71	(14)	18.74	(19)	18.42
Bizygomatic diameter	(19)	15.44	(16)	15.28	(22)	14.98
Index, morphologic	(18)	82.05	(16)	81.51	(22)	84.01
Index, physiognomic	(14)	82.05	(14)	81.97	(19)	81.14
Nose: Index	(19)	69.49	(16)	74.61	(22)	68.88

[1] All figures except indices are in centimeters.

DISCUSSION

The traditional close and friendly contact of the Comanche with the Shoshoni, each speaking the same language and apparently possessing no social barriers to free intermarriage, would seem to have made some miscegenation between the two peoples very likely. At the same time, however, any closer physical relationship than possible occasional intermarriage, seems doubtful, considering the fundamental difference of head form in the two groups—the Comanche definitely bracycephalic, the Shoshoni, and other Shoshonean tribes of the northern plateaux, definitely mesocephalic. The only Shoshonean groups similar to the Comanches in average stature and cephalic index are those of southern California (Boas, 1895 b). Even these, however, differ from the Comanches in the important character of shape and probably relatively greater breadth of the nose.[18]

The Comanches, in the light of their history, are undoubtedly a complex group physically; they are mixed to a greater or lesser extent probably with all the many and varied tribes

[18] "The nose is very often concave, rather short, but wide with thick alae." (Boas, 1895 b, p. 269.)

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
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141 with which they came in contact in their vast nomadic range.
171 On the whole, excepting a suggestion of the Sioux in their physiognomy, and of the Shoshone in body proportions, the Comanches seem to the writer, in view of their medium to tall stature, clear brachycephaly, low vault of head, and large and heavy facial features, an essentially Apache-like people.

SUMMARY

The Comanches are of medium average stature, generally of robust physique, and possess relatively long arms.

Their head is absolutely and relatively to stature large; it is meso- to decidedly brachycephalic in shape, and very low in height.

The face is very broad and probably long below the forehead; the forehead seems very low in height, but is fairly broad in width. A broad but also long nose, moderately wide mouth, and moderately developed (in width) lower jaw, completes the physiognomy. The ears are large in both dimensions, also relatively long; the chest is wide and fairly deep; the hand usually small but well formed; the foot relatively somewhat broad.

In a number of the above features, particularly stature and shape and height of head, the Comanche appear essentially related to the Apache; their decided brachycephalic would seem to preclude close physical affinity with the linguistically related mesocephalic Shoshoni.

A group of so-called probable full-bloods appears as an aberrant type, chiefly in much lower brachycephaly and high vault of head. In taller stature and high vault of head they resemble the Navaho; in their other characters they tend to approach the Sioux.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɜn*, 824 were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and 261 others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), 171 who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɜ'ntnɔ* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɜ'ngabɔk*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were 824 stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black 262 walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or 824 greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various bever- 262 ages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a 272 single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
● 171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto*.

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

[pp 304-end, not processed]

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

sa'mu'pĩ? (sa'mup)	*m.s.:* si.; *w.s.:* b.; also cousins of opp. sex.
ta'ka? (no address form)	b., si.: also cousins.
tu'a? (tua')	s.; *m.s.:* b.s., w.si.s.; *w.s.:* si.s., h.b.s.
pe'tĩ? (pe't(ĩ))	d.; *m.s.:* b.d., w.si.d.; *w.s.:* si.d., h.b.d.
mo'na'pĩ? (mo'napĩ)	d.h., si.d.h., b.d.h.
hu''cipia'pĩ? (hu''cipia')	s.w., b.s.w., si.s.w.
cò·?a?a''pĩ? (cò·?a?a'p(ĩ))	g.d.h.
cò·?api'a? (cò·?api'a')	g.s.w.
nĩmĩco'·? (nĩmĩco'·?)	*m.s.:* w.g.p.; *w.s.:* h.g.p.
nĩmĩto'ko? (nĩmĩto'ko)	*m.s.:* w.f., w.f.b., w.f.si.h., w.m.b., w.m.si.h.
nĩmĩka'ku? (nĩmĩka'kʊ)	*m.s.:* w.m., w.m.si., w.f.si., w.m.b.w., w.f.b.w.
ya'hi'pĩ? (ya'hip)	*w.s.:* h.f., h.f.b., h.m.b., h.f.si.h., h.m.si.h.; h.m., h.m.si., h.f.si., h.m.b.w., h.f.b.w.
ku·'ma'pĩ? (kú'map(ĩ))	*w.s.:* h., h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
kwĩ''p (kwĩ'h(ĩ))	*m.s.:* w., w.si., b.w., b.w.si.
te'?cɪ (te'?cɪ)	*m.s.:* w.b., si.h.
pa'hapia'pĩ? (pa'hapia'pĩ?)	*w.s.:* h.si., b.w.
ha'ipia (ha'ipia)	*m.s.:* w.si., b.w., b.w.si.; *w.s.:* h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
ha'ic (ha'ic)	*m.s.:* male friend; w.si.h.(?); f.b.s., f.si.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.
tĩ'·i? (tĩ'·i)	*w.s.:* female friend; h.b.w.(?); f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.

It is important to recognize that, with one somewhat confused exception (háic), these relationship terms each apply to a group of individuals of indefinite number, limited only by the fact that they normally belong only to one generation (of relationship, not age), and of course that they all stand in a certain relation to the speaker. While this group may have no functional significance as such, and certainly its limits are very poorly defined in any given case, this is the manner in which the kinship system operates at the verbal level. Behaviorally, there is no doubt that a certain focal individual (or individuals) is clearly recognized, and the rest of the group is more or less characterized, at least potentially, by this focal relationship; but to describe these groups exclusively in terms of such a person or persons is to give an erroneous picture of the actual structure of the system.

COMPARATIVE

In seeking for comparisons with Comanche kinship customs, one finds that these corroborate the already known origin of the Comanche as an offshoot of the Wyoming Shoshoni. Comparing them with the nearby Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni relationship terminologies as given by Steward[8] one finds such extreme similarity, both phonetically and conceptually, that a very close historical connection between the two is indisputable. The only real difference is a negative one: the Comanche have no terms for a child's spouse's parents, and thus

[8] Steward (1938 a), pp. 297–306.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 do not consider them relatives. The other difference of any importance is the
●171 substitution of a single unanalyzable term for the husband's parents noted above; the Lemhi Shoshoni have all four of the "our (children's) grandparent" terms possible, and the Fort Hall Shoshani three, according to Steward.

From this general Fort Hall area in southeastern Idaho, among the various Basin groups, similarities with the Comanche relationship terminology gradually decrease to the south and southwest, as might be expected.

Wider comparisons with Uto-Aztecan and other kinship systems may be found in a recent article of Shimkin's,[7] for such close similarities with the Basin groups permit his conclusions concerning the Shoshoni to be applied to the Comanche without modification.

APPLICATION OF THE TERMINOLOGY

601 While the structure of the Comanche kinship terminology is such that the number of people covered by it is theoretically infinite, it is obvious that there must be some limit to the size of the groups involved.

In the ascending generations, a limit is set by the terms at the third. Actually, the possibility that anyone old enough to use these words would have a great-grandparent living was fairly small, specially in the pre-settlement days. Furthermore, the Comanche had a tabu on mentioning the name of any relative or close friend who was dead, so that discussion of the family tree was never a pastime, and, in most cases, little children never knew or soon forgot who their great-grandparents were.

Beyond the third descending generation, one "runs out of relatives" also, and may select any terms one wishes to describe great-great-grandchildren and others of this generation. There is thus considerable variation to be found in these distant relationships. One informant started over with younger sibling terms, while another just repeated the designation of "great-grandchild." Naturally, these relationships are only a little more common than those with great-grandparents; they nearly always involve very old people and little children, and are usually not in a direct line of descent, permitting some discrepancy between age and generation.

Thus while there are occasional exceptions, the kinship terminology normally operates over a span of six generations, two above and three below that of the speaker.

Horizontally, however, there is no such limitation either of terminology or, directly at least, of mortality. No other mechanism is consciously recognized, nor is any apparent in a systematic examination of genealogical material. However, as a rough rule of thumb, it may be said that, with surprisingly few exceptions, the line of kinship ceases to be traced when it has passed through two marriage relationships between the speaker and the person under con-

[7] Shimkin (1941).

192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nīhW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nī· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĬ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasīmīhtĬ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sīmīhtĬ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usíkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tīmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sīmīrímanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sīmīyú·tīmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetīmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sīmīnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sīmī- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokoricī·pĬ *mile* (*one land count*); sīhī?·awotīhpetĬ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kī? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kī, causative + -?); sīmīnáraya·kī? *pound* (*one scaled*); sīmīrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pīpekuma?īrī?i·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mīarīvo·pĬ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sīmīvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĬ[131] *Sunday* (see 4.1); tapúharai/hapíeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sihī?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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[171]
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[p. 236-B]

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔitanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahmsuapĬ *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nïmïkuhcU]; taté?cI[135] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pïbïre?cI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tïvahpI *pinon nuts*; tikehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover* (*back medicine*); kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavïhka?I *to be menstruating* (*to become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yĬ *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[136] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mï *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite* (*to*

[171] [183] [841] [262]

[135] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[136] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

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55 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[148]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItĬ *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

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[148] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 15% of the total, including double names 23%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

[p. 249-A]

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[858] [171]

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunis Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940).

[113]

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilisation, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction.

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[p. 14-B]

ARTIFACTS

172 The upper case letter preceding each unit can
[128] be used to locate that unit in Figure 1.

(A) The body had been placed on part of a black rubber-coated cloth tarpaulin or poncho, possibly of U.S. Army issue. Among the small pieces that remained of the poncho were five circular brass grommets with five-millimeter openings and several pieces of finished edge showing machine stitching.

(B) Of the fifty-three brass wire bracelets found, one was in front of the chest, and 52 were in the remnants of a beaded skin bag near the saddle parts at the foot of the grave. Viewed in cross section, two of the bracelets are round and 51 have flattened sides. The bracelets were made from lengths of brass wire, cut with a chisel, most of them with the ends smoothed by filing. Two of the parallel-sided bracelets are decorated with chisel cuts on their top surfaces (Fig. 5*f-g*). The bracelets range in diameter from 1.7 mm. to 2.8 mm., averaging 2.3 mm.

172 Bracelets similar in diameter and design were
171 found at the White site (Suhm 1962:94-7 and Fig. 2), a mid-to late-19th century child's grave of assumed Comanche affiliation in Yoakum County, Texas. Similarly decorated brass wire bracelets of a larger diameter were found at the W. H. Watson site (Ray and Jelks 1964:135-7 and Fig. 5) in Fisher County, Texas. The authors reported a crevice burial of a woman in a standing position and interpreted the site as a Comanche grave dating before 1840.

172 (C) Two small fragments of skin from the bag were preserved under the bracelets. Also preserved were two small patches of the beaded design originally made up of at least 1,857 beads. All of the beads are of the simple cylindrical "seed bead" type. Colors present are opaque white, blue, and green; and translucent turquoise, light blue, dark blue, red, and amber. Lengths of the beads range from 1.5 mm. to 2.5 mm., diameters from 2.1 mm. to 3.1 mm. The amber beads are slightly smaller than the other beads, and the light and dark translucent blue beads have thinner walls than the other beads.

A broken shell hair pipe bead, probably
[171] *Strombus gigas*, was among the bracelets. This bead, whose broken end had been smoothed, may have been threaded on a drawstring of the bag, as is the case with two hair pipe beads on a Kiowa bag illustrated by Ewers (1957, Plate 29).

(D) While none of the wooden frame or leather covering remained, the nature of the

A [See p. 3 7—Analyst.]

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5*a*) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5*b*) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm. by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5*d*), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button face or rosette (Fig. 5*c*). Identical rivets were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig. 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered

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172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle. Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

[127]

[439]

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

172 long were lying parallel to one another 60 centimeters east of (upstream from) the skeleton's feet. These straps are badly corroded, and the ends are irregular -- hence their original length is unknown. They are slightly curved in cross section from end to end, are 20 mm. wide, and appear to have been about 1.5 mm. thick. Although their purpose is unknown, they were possibly hoops on a barrel or other circular wooden container; they may have been used in making ornaments. At Fielder Canyon Cave, Kirkland found several fragments of flat hoop iron of approximately the same width as the straps from the Jared site, along with some iron tinklers and trapazoidal ornaments cut from the iron straps (Kirkland 1942:62 and Plate 15). These trapazoidal pieces may be unfinished tinklers.

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[p. 322-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different -- the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is [114] rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although 764 171 a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine 114 (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substan-
764 tiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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[p.324 B]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 595 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nǐotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [297] 727 [297]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 392. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their
721 *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their
101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time imme-
171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and
721 lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in
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22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back 586
his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be 642
set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occa- 624
sions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only counte- [701]
nanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, [554]
their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The 622
Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is 555
generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Be- 619
sides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven
is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects 619
the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North Amer- 171
ican Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the
same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expe- 726
dition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war- 701
paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be 726
a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular 701
expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead 624
them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no 622
chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 624
554

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him
657 before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning
000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made successful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and
657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The ex-
171 perience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 118.

[113] 46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 701. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 171 the savages were loathe to accept the monotonous life of farming on the reservation. The old and decrepit might gladly stay but the spirited young warriors would hie away taking with them when they could their families and friends. But the record made by these reservation Comanches proved that the nomadic tribes were amenable to progress and the equals intellectually of their more sedate kinsmen of the progressive agricultural tribes.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 [124] [101]

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

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The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

C [539] [171]

W [825]

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

C W 539 171 [113]

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
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Wind River NQ19

C W 539 171 occurs in the same combination as in the Wind River version; the union of these two elements seems to be peculiar to these Shoshonean groups. In one myth, the widely diffused story of the hoodwinked dancers precedes Coyote's defeat in a handicap race as told at Lemhi. "The Deserted Children" joins a familiar Prairie tale with an ogre story. C 539 171 Coyote's humiliation of a white fellow-trickster is exactly paralleled in Lemhi mythology. The account of the liberation of hoarded buffalo for the benefit of mankind has rather close homologues among the Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre. In an interesting composite myth, both the regulation of the seasons and the origin of death are accounted for. W [539] [171] The first part is a somewhat more elaborate parallel of published Lemhi and Wind River narratives. As in Blackfoot mythology, the mortality of man is determined by the sinking of a rock.

1. THE BUNGLING HOST[1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

W 539 [171] (The animals visited are Beaver, Owl, and Elk. The only noteworthy peculiarity of this version, as compared with that from Lemhi, is the resuscitation of Beaver's children when their bones are thrown into the water.)

2. PORCUPINE AND COYOTE[2]

(*Shoshone Story*)

(One of Coyote's children takes the place of Coyote's excrement as his guardian.)

3. COYOTE'S FLIGHT

(*Shoshone Story*)

Coyote was walking along. He saw a bear digging. Coyote looked at him through the grass. "You bob-tailed bear!" he cried. The bear charged on him, but Coyote ran off. Then he cried, "You crop-eared bear!" The bear ran towards him. Coyote said, "You are a bear, you cannot catch me." The bear pursued him. When he was close to him, Coyote cried, "You cannot run through the brush," and took to the brush; but the bear followed him through the brush. When he was close to the fugitive, Coyote cried, "You are a bear, you cannot swim." He jumped into the water. The bear followed in; Coyote got to the other side, and ran on. "You are a bear, you cannot run on the prairie." But again the bear was gaining on him. Coyote got to a buffalo. "O brother-in-law! the bear is after me." — "Well, stand behind me!" The bear caught up to them. The buffalo advanced, hooked and killed him. Thus he saved Coyote.

Coyote walked on. He met a stranger. The man told him, "Over there on that hill there is a bad rock. If any one takes any of the pile of beads

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 265. [2] *Ibid.* p. 267.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6

18. THE SEVEN STARS[1]

(Comanche Story)

539 A very long time ago there lived a family of seven. The parents got angry at their children, four of whom were boys, and the youngest a girl. The father declared to them, "We are going to call a council of all the people. You cannot stay here. We are going to have a council to decide what all of you are to become. I am angry at you. All of you will go far off. Make up your minds as to what you wish to become." Then the oldest brother asked the other children to give their advice as to what they were to become. One of them said, "Our father is angry at us. Let us all become stars. Would that all of us might become stars! Whatever we choose, that we shall turn into. Let us wait for our father, and tell him as soon as he returns." When their father returned, he consented to let them become stars. Then they left. That is how they became stars. That is why there are seven stars looking down upon us from above. The one in the rear is the youngest child, while the young men are in front.

[171] [1] In a more elaborate Assiniboine tale, a group of brothers debate what they are to turn into, and ultimately become stars.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
554 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
701 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

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> According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15]

171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character.

175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The

[701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph.

[128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
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175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21] *

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tàrja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamagues, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

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[113] [21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men 175
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand 212
E two wounds which he received 701
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children. 175 592 728

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

/page 41 continued/

Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christianity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

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175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[776] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[579] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[22] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of
[778] her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
115 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
159 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
756 involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing
[826] ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
115 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
159
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
789 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[888] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
755
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

756 Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
755 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 775 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood, or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278
824
[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278
824
137 "red berry cedar" *ekapokowa:pi* *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 a person . . . see how it is for it to scare me, but I didn't feel nothing. Nothing didn't scare me at all.

Sanapia feels that ghosts are probably the spirits of deceased persons who led evil lives and who are therefore doomed to wander the earth forever. Good people, according to Sanapia, probably go to the Christian heaven. She is not quite sure. Ghosts tend to remain near people and things which were familiar to them when they were alive. However, no particular correspondence between ghosts and certain deceased relatives exists. Ghosts are generally described as being "jealous hearted." They are jealous of the living.

Sometimes you be sleeping. They comes around and they just put something . . . dirt on your face. Or the whirlwind, they say that it is a ghost. It goes around and . . . supposing you be out there by yourself and here comes a whirlwind and just pass you like that. It don't often do that to anybody . . . just once in awhile it do that to somebody, and it twist their face. When I see them whirlwinds coming to me I say, "You go that way. Leave me alone," and it does it because I got that power. Or else sometimes people get scared when they laying in bed at night and one of those people of the family dies and the Indians say they get jealous of the one that are living in that house . . . either their sister or their son or their aunt or anything like that. They get jealous because they living and he died. And they the ones that come bother you like that. Sometimes they come in and you hear them just walking. They open the door and come in and come to your bed and they jerk your covers off or either just pull your hair like that or hold your hand. That's when they do that to you . . . twist your face.

[753] [753]

Sanapia is not consistent in her statements concerning belief in the existence of ghosts. She feels certain of the existence of some kind of malevolent spirit which causes ill effects to those human to which it appears, but she is not sure that these ghosts are actually the spirits of men who were once alive. The Cheyenne, for example, felt that ghosts were derived from the dead but that they were not related to a specific dead individual (Hoebel 1960:86). Perhaps Sanapia's relations in Cheyenne-Arapaho culture have caused her to be ambivalent on point. At one time she will state that ghosts are the spirits of the deceased who while alive led evil lives, and at other times she will make statements such as the following:

[171]

Some of them would hear noises in the dark and think they see things . . . ghosts. That's what they think. I just think its their imagination . . . that's what. Because when anybody dead, they're gone. They ain't going to come back. How can they?

Ghost Sickness

775 The particular horror of the ghost is his ability to deform his victims, usually by causing contortions of the facial muscles and in some instances paralysis
753 of hands and arms. This condition is called "ghost sickness," or "twisted face," by

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sanapía. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

> You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 169

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

> We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

> You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

The hands become stiff, with rigid fingers. The thumb is markedly adducted and partially covered by the stiff fingers, which are usually bent only at their metacarpophalangeal joints. The palm of the hand is hollowed, while the wrist and elbow are flexed. 775 164

It is significant that Sanapia's methods of doctoring ghost sickness follow the treatment by white doctors for Bell's palsy and hyperventilation. Her rationale for her method of treatment is not similar, but the actual results of the behavior which she initiates are. She applies her mouth to the patient's face in an attempt to suck the illness from the individual. She also applies liquid medicines to the face area and draws her Medicine feather over the skin in the afflicted area. This could constitute the "gentle massage," "kneading of the cheek muscles," and "gentle friction" prescribed by Kunkel (1950:1493–1494) and Goodall-Copestake (1926:225) for treatment of Bell's palsy. When Sanapia turns her attention to treating the contorted hands, her method, in general, follows that which Dr. Neely states that he utilizes to relieve the symptoms of hyperventilation. She drapes a towel or piece of cloth over the patient's face and directs him to inhale the pungent smoke produced by smoldering medicines. During this phase of treatment she croons to the patient and gently reassures him that his condition will be cured. Neely stresses that the calm reassurance of the patient suffering from hyperventilation was a necessary part of the treatment. He also temporarily places a bag or some sort of facial covering over the patient's mouth and nose to impede the invidiual's intake of oxygen and force the recirculation of carbon dioxide. He also notes that smelling salts or ammonia can be used to further decrease the patient's attempts at excessively deep and rapid breathing. 775 164 171 755

A Psychogenic Hypothesis

In an attempt to discover an organic or static description of ghost sickness it was found that the types of disorders which most thoroughly describe ghost sickness are all highly suspect as to their being more organic than more functional in nature. The particular reasons why this hypothesis was suggested prior to the discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation were based on the noted similarity in age, sex, and general personality type of the ghost victims and the fact that though the rules for ghost avoidance are extremely simple and obvious, certain individuals still apparently voluntarily violate these rules with full knowledge of the predicted consequences. The discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation added further evidence for the role of psychological phenomenon, for example, the emotion of fear, desire for avoidance, shock, emotional strain, pressure, and the therapeutic value of reassurance in the treatment of hyperventilation. 775 164

Two concepts of psychosomatic medicine must be mentioned and their utility evaluated before proceeding further. These concepts are "conversion reaction" and "vegetative neurosis." A conversion symptom is a symbolic expression of a well-defined emotional content, while a vegetative neurosis is the physiological

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a 191
single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for "*to-o-pac.*" (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been "*pina*" for "sugar four bits," "*hocoon*" for "matches five cents," "*mo-be-po-dra*" for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, "*Heepet?*" or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw.

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any 657
of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away 871
to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject. 657

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop 871
in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might 171
have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?"

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old —a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong —neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

657 871 171 men but had never spoken to one. I had a great fear of them. They kept us in a circle, with our parents on the outside, and we couldn't run to them for comfort. As I sobbed and cried, I became aware that someone was talking to me—calling me by name—talking loud in our tongue.

"I began looking around, and it was my grandfather. He was a very old man, and he stood back away from the circle of white men and didn't look toward us children. He didn't want the white men to know he was talking to one of us, and neither our white guards nor the Indian ones knew our tribal language.

"He talked loud, so I would hear him above the screaming and crying of the other children. 'Daughter, the white man is all-powerfull' he shouted. 'There is nothing we can do to help you. They are going to take you away and put you in school. They won't really harm you. They want to teach you the white man's way. Should you run away, they will catch you, bring you back, and punish you.

" 'There is a way you can defeat the white man. Learn everything well he tries to teach you. Learn everything about the white man's way. Learn to speak his language. Then you will have defeated the white man. You will be as wise as he in the white man's way; and he won't like it because you will know also the Indian's way.'

"I stopped my sobbing. I stood as straight as my old, old grandfather, and I did as he told me. I learned to speak the white man's language without accent, and I have had a better education than most white people. I mastered every course they offered me. I was always properly behaved and they treated me well. I was able to help many Indian children adjust to the white man's school. But never have I forgiven the white man for the brutal way they rounded up us children and separated us from our parents.

"They had not let our parents know they were coming for us. Had our parents known, they said they would have taken us to the mountains, where no one would ever find us."

657 871 Similar roundups must have taken place among the Comanches in the early Reservation period—the late seventies, the early eighties, maybe into the nineties. They could even have used the army. It was handy, there at Fort Sill. It was Indian Bureau policy—an unfortunate policy forced upon a people with thousands of generations of freedom and independence behind them.

In my time there were older brothers and sisters who had traveled

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 778
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without 726
waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his 778 [595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes.
A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn. 415 531

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche. 534 202 714 [237] [283] [171]

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature. 000

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of 415 531 [462] 415 [531] 415 171 [531]

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A [See p. 180-B--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13] 415 171 531

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red. 415 415 531

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14] 531 437 431

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian. 292 171

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top 283 531

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. 113

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the 292 331
larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn
to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue
and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a 292
band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which 237
are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit
skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants
from each side of the cap.

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden
eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each [284]
feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide
(2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord,
and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the
feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart.

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, 171
it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in
Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur
traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15]

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in 292
battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche 714
war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768
as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned
leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche
who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino [237]
Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a
horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet,
who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as
various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's 292
parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the 714
horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads 237
with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile
confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual 292
preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to
1850.

Feather Ornaments Figures 30–31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, 301
carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather 237
around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82–83) claim that the well-known [171]
"war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s.

A [See p. 169—Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files--Analyst.]

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 184

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

291

FIGURE 32. Pair of Comanche hard-soled moccasins. (USNM 1471.)

171

FIGURE 33. Pair of soft-soled moccasins of Caddoan type. (USNM 1466.)

[p. 181]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 301 [237]

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. [237]

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 291

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 171

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 415 [237]

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of 171
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20] A

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in [237]
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 412
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in 284
place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

412 it would shrink as it dried and bind the blade securely to the handle. In 189
284 using this tool to remove the hair or to chip the inner surface of a buffalo
412 hide to an even thickness, the woman stood on the hide, bent over, and, with
281 the sharp blade nearly perpendicular to the surface of the hide, performed
her painstaking task with vigorous strokes, holding the tool with both hands.
412 Elk horn-handled skin-scraping tools of this kind were widely used among
(171) the Plains Indians, as well as the Shoshoni and their neighbors west of the Rockies, in historic buffalo days.[24] This may be, however, the earliest well-documented example of this useful tool from the Comanche.

24. Wissler (1910, pp. 67–68) pictures four of these adze-like tools equipped with blades and gives the tribal distribution of this type of skin-dressing implement.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

C
D
W
171
127
128
795

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

000 K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
127
128
795

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
127
128
795

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
127
128
795

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute Wk13
Washo NT20
Comanche N06

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism

Element	Occurrence																		
	H.T.	E-A	Ele	Cow	Kit	Ab II	Du 1	Du 2	Wis	Ho II	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wh II	Du	Cow	W-P	Tot.	N	W
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	171	171
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	534	534
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	745*	745*
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	746	746
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+			
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+		
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+		
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+			
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+			
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+		
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+		
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+		
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–			

(Continued on next page)

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

P4:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No6
Delaware NM7
C
D
171
495
749
534
276

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	Ut T	K-A	Ute	Cheh	Kio	Ab B	Del I	Del S	Win	No C	Cr I	Cr S	WRS	Ute	Com	W-P	Tim
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+•	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−•(+)		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

Comanche N06 ●
Delaware NM7

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism

Element	Occurrence																	
	H.T.	M-A	Kip	Cow	Kin	Ab-B	Dr-1	Dr-2	Wis	Mo-C	Cr-1	Cr-2	WRS	Ute	Cow	W-P	Tem.
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		–	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•–	+	•+	–		+	•–	•–	+	•(+)	•–	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		–	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		•+	•–	–	•+	•–	•–	•+	–	•–	•–
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	•–	•–	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

C
D
171
.M95
1946
[2x]

Comanche ND6
Crow N Q40
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

G
Cr
D
W
171
745
796
783
778

PAYUTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	1st	2-4	5-8	9-12	13-16	17-20	21-24	25-28	29-32	33-36	37-40	41-44	45-48	49-52	53-56	57-60	61-64	65-68	69-72	73-76
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	°+	°+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	°+	–		(–)		°–			°–	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+		
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+
96. In open			°–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°–		+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	°–	°–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+		–		–	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	°+	–		+	+	+			–	°–	°–	–	+	+	°+	+	–	
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	°–	(–)	+	°–	°–	–		°–	+	°+	–	+	+	+	+	°–	
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–		–	°–	°–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	°+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	°+	+		°(–)		–			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+			+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+			+	°+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–			+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+		
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	°+	+	+	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	°+	°+	+		+	+	°–	°+	+	–		–		

Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Ka	Eo	Co	Es	Ap	In	Dk	Wn	Dn	Lo	Ro	Wb	Da	Do	Wp	Tm	
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+		
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+	
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−		
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−		
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+		
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+		
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
171 ●
785
796
[276]
[783]

C
P
● 1171
P45
P46
[538]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut T	E-A	Kio	Cum	Ko	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Dia	Cos	W-P	Tom
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Comanche NM6 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																	
	B-T	E-A	Ela	Cum	Ess	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tem
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•	(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
171 ●
745
746
[276]
[782]

C
W
●171
PAS
796
[264]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	E-A	Eso	Com	Kis	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tam
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	–	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+ +
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06 ●
Wiiwehagp NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 113[A]

C
W
191 ●
785
796
[571]
[574]
[276]

Element	Occurrence																
	13 T	K-A	Ko	Cosh	Ela	Ab II	Do 1	Do 2	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WES	Uta	Gos	W-P	Tom
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)•	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	••	+	
265a. (See note)																	

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06●
Winnebago NP12

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C
W
●171
795
796

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171 ●

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). W [824]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin). W [276]

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. D 171 ● 795 796

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). D [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98. D [823]

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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C 125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

D 127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

● 171 128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

795 130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

796 132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

D [276] [782] 133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

D [538] 160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

D [782]

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damê apê (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nî'mê apê (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06 ●
Delaware NM7

[A]

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goo: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

C D 171 ● 795 796

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

GUD

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

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162
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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1936.

(Concluded on next page)

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NU6
Winnebago NA12
Ojibwa NG6
Shoshoni NA12
Iroquois NM9

[A]
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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Starker, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			85 Active	162 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

Visit to the Ruins

The battle lasted but a moment, the bright blades, in 578
the meantime, glittering and glimmering in the sun, and the contestants instantly presenting the appearance of men suddenly overtaken by a storm of blood. At length, a mortal thrust by one was followed by a fierce blow from the other, gashing through the side of the neck, from which the purple tide of life spouted up in a high wide arch, when both fell lifeless to the ground.

Had either survived the conflict, according to their code of honor, it would have been the duty of his brother to have put him immediately to death. Throughout the exciting scene not the slightest partiality was exhibited. The faintest shadow of emotion could not be detected upon the countenances of the savage stoics as they gazed upon it. They were stretched side by side on the spot where they had fallen—buried in the customary manner—and left to rest together in peace, at last.

The week succeeding this tragedy, a party of ten or 484
twelve, including the Rolling Thunder and myself, started 224
on a long journey, its object being to ascertain whether the buffalo droves had changed their feeding grounds, before the warriors set out on their annual hunt. In the course of this trip we crossed a valley, the singular appearance of which has very frequently since been the subject of study and reflection.

On the summit of many of the mountains we passed, 172
were broad, level tablelands, destitute of a solitary tree, and covered with rank grass. Upon every one of these elevated plains was to be seen a mound, in most instances in the form of a half-circle, resembling the overgrown ruins of an ancient fortress, and plainly the work of human hands.

Finally we descended into a ravine, walled on either 133
side by rugged cliffs which led us a day's ride to the south-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

133 west, when we emerged into a valley about four miles wide and thirty long. It was surrounded on all sides by very high mountains, exceedingly bleak and barren. There was not a tree, or bush, or even a blade of grass to be discovered over the entire surface of the valley. It was covered, to the average depth of fifteen feet, as near as I could judge, with broken pumice stone, a substance precisely similar to the lava of Vesuvius. That it was the result of volcanic eruptions there was no possible doubt, inasmuch as numerous tracts down which it had flowed from the mountain tops were distinctly visible.

172 The Rolling Thunder, in order to convince me of the correctness of a belief, universal throughout the Comanche nation, conducted me to the western side of this strange valley, where I saw, with infinite astonishment and surprise, the dilapidated ruins of a large town. In the midst of the falling walls of a great number of buildings, which, in some remote age, beyond doubt, had lined spacious streets, was what appeared to have been a church or cathedral. Its walls of cut stone, two feet thick, and in some places fifteen feet high, included a space measuring two hundred feet in length, and, perhaps, one hundred in width. The inner surface of the walls in many places was adorned with elaborate carved work, evidently the labor of a master hand, and at the eastern end was a massive stone platform which seemed to have been used as a stage or pulpit. In my surprise at beholding so unexpectedly these evidences of civilization in that wild region, I turned to the Rolling Thunder and asked if he could explain it.

173 This is the legend of the Comanches, as he related it: Innumerable moons ago, a race of white men, ten feet high, and far more rich and powerful than any white people now living, here inhabited a large range of country, extend-

The Comanches

171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 174 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millenia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic*, vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

THE SITE

172 The Jared Site (34CM221) is located in the bottom of a deep ravine about one-half mile
131 west-northwest of the summit of Medicine Bluff Number Four at 98° 25' 31" west and 34° 41'
172 18" north (Fig. 1). The ravine is a branch of a small unnamed intermittent stream that empties into Medicine Creek. Erosion has cut through clay soils into fine conglomerate bedrock, leaving many boulders and gravel in the bed and sides of the ravine. The area is a highly dissected upland now covered with oaks, cacti, and short grasses.

The grave was located in the bed of the ravine against the south bank in a triangular area framed by three large boulders. The body was covered with large flat stones, probably gathered from the immediate area. When we first saw the burial, soil that had long ago slumped from the bank was covering most of the stones. Immediately above the skeleton and among the stones was soil
[114] that had been deposited by the stream. Erosion had recently exposed a portion of the skull, leading to its discovery by an alert zoology student, Jon Nickles.

126 Before excavating, we set up a mapping
172 station and two datum points in an east-west line on the south bank. All finds were triangulated from these points. We then exposed and mapped the stones covering the grave (Fig. 2). The stones were removed, and the area was troweled and brushed. Everything was left *in situ* until the entire site was open to view (Fig. 3).

172 With the possible exception of the removal of large stones, there had been no preparation of the grave site. A black rubber-coated cloth, probably part of a poncho or light tarpaulin, had been spread out and the body laid upon it with the right side down, head to the west, facing south. The hands had been placed in front of the

[p. 316-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

172

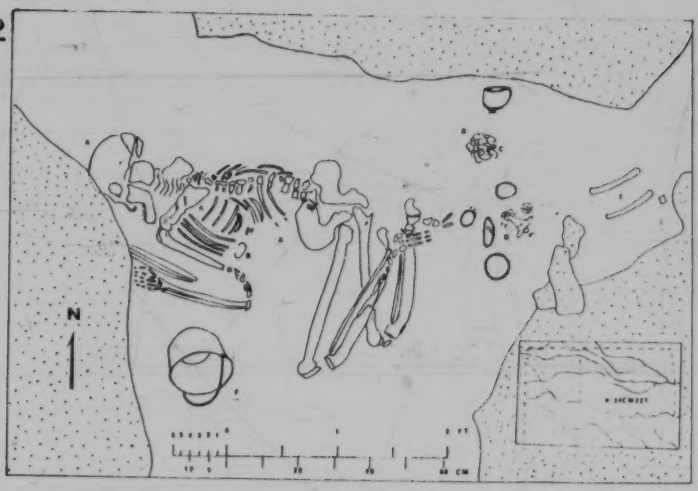

Figure 1. Plan of 34CM221. *a*, rubber coated cloth; *b*, bracelets; *c*, beaded bag; *d*, saddle parts; *e*, iron straps; *f*, pail.

Figure 2. View of the grave with the stone cover exposed.

Figure 3. View of the grave with the stone cover removed.

172 face, the right hand palm up, fingers curled, the left hand palm down, fingers extended. The upper part of the legs had been brought up to approximately a right angle with the body, with the lower part of the legs tucked back toward the hips. Soil movements, the weight of overlying stones, and a tree root had caused considerable displacement of the bones. The left humerus was shattered just above the proximal end, having been pressed against a stone by a tree root. The left radius and ulna had been moved up vertically two to four centimeters by the same root. The left ribs had collapsed into the thoracic region; the vertebrae had separated in the lumbar and thoracic regions; and the right ribs had broken as the thorax and shoulder girdle collapsed. The left tibia was shattered near the distal end, and both legs had been raised vertically some 5 cm. by the tree root. A galvanized pail had been placed upright in front of the chest (Fig. 4). A saddle and a beaded bag containing 52 brass wire bracelets had been placed below (upstream from) and behind the feet. In front of the body near the base of the sternum was one brass wire bracelet, which may have been on the left arm above the elbow at the time of burial and may have become displaced by the action of the root that grew through the burial and crushed the humerus against an overlying stone. Two partial iron hoops or straps were found east of (upstream from) the saddle parts.

THE SKELETON

127 This section draws freely from and with grateful acknowledgment to the work of Dr. Clyde Snow.

144 Only one investigator has reported in detail on the anthropometry of the Southern Plains tribes: Goldstein worked with the Comanches in 1931 and concluded at the time of his research that only ten percent of the adults could be considered full-blood Comanches (Goldstein [172] 1934:290). The measurements and indices made by Dr. Snow closely agree with the data pre- 128 sented by Goldstein. In Table 1, Dr. Snow lists the skeletal measurements and descriptions. It should be noted that cranial capacity was derived using the Lee-Pearson formula (Lee and Pearson 1901). In addition to the measurements and indices obtained from the skeleton, Dr. Snow has prepared a table summarizing the data as traits indicative of sex, race, and cultural status. Table 2 thus shows at a glance some important characteristics of this skeleton.

A [See p. 320-B--Analyst.]

[p.318-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

172

Figure 4. Galvanized pail from 34CM221.

172 141 128 *Sex:* Table 2 shows the morphological and metric traits diagnostic of sex. Both the pelvis and the skull are typically female. A more objective assessment of sex is obtained with the discriminant function formula of Giles and Elliot (1963). The value derived from the formula, 899.02, lies on the "female" side of the sectioning point of 912.14 for American Indian crania.

172 144 [141] [128] *Race:* Table 2 indicates a predominately Mongoloid racial affinity. The Giles-Elliot discriminant analysis for race (1962) would classify the skull as "indeterminate" but with rather less likelihood of being white than Negro or American Indian. A possible explanation for the "indeterminate" status of the skull lies in the fact that Southern Plains tribes have long been active in assimilating non-Indian captives into their breeding populations.

172 141 128 *Age:* Since the symphyseal facets of the pubis were largely destroyed, cranial suture were relied on for age. The mean for 16-segment closure ratings is 1.09 (Nemeskéri, Harsanyi, and Ascadi: 1960:95), indicating an age of 25-35 years. This estimate is partly supported by the minimal osteo-arthritic lipping of the lumbar vertebrae,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320-A]

[318-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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TABLE 1
SKELETAL MEASUREMENTS AND DESCRIPTION

SKULL	Millimeters or degrees
Cranium	
Maximum length	179
Maximum breadth	140
Basion-bregmatic height	124
Minimum frontal diameter	89
Bizygomatic breadth (estimate)	131
Prosthion nasion length	66
Nasal height	51
Nasal breadth	26
Orbital height	36
Orbital breadth	39
Basion-nasion length	96
Basion-prosthion length	91
Foramen magnum length	36
Bimaxillary breadth (M2)	63
Cranial thickness (parietal)	5
Palate length	38
Palate breadth	41
Arch length	48
Facial angle	85°
Subnasal angle	75°
Biorbital breadth	98
Nasion protrusion	14
Bizygomaxillary breadth	97
Auricular head height	104
Mandible	
Total length	109
Bicondylar breadth	123
Bigonial breadth	94
Mandibular angle	119°
Ramus height	59
Ramus breadth	32
Symphyseal angle	70°
Body height	
M2	27
PM 1-2	29
Symphyseal	28
Body thickness	
M2	13
PM 1-2	11
Symphyseal	12

Cranial and Mandibular Indices and Derived Measurements

Index or Measurement	Value	Classification
Cranial index	78.2	Mesocranial
Mean height index	77.8	Low skull
Upper facial index	51.1	Mesene
Transverse facial index	93.5	Phenozygene
Transverse frontal index	80.1	Divergent
Fronto-parietal index	63.5	Sthenometopic
Fronto-zygomatic index	67.9	—
Orbital index	92.3	Hypsicouch
Nasal index	50.9	Mesorrhine
Palatal index	107.8	Brachystaphyline
Alveolar arch index	131.2	Brachyuranic

[p. 319-A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

172
141

Flower's index	94.7	Orthognathic
Facial flattening	14.4	Flat
Upper facial angle	75°	Orthognathic
Subnasal angle	75°	Mesognathic
Index of robustness (PM1-2)	37.9	—
Cranial capacity	1297±cc.	—
Mandibular index	88.6	Mesognathic
Fronto-gonic index	105.6	—
Gonio-condylar index	76.4	—
Ramus index	54.2	—

Descriptive Characters

Vault (vertical)	Ovoid
Inion	0
Nuchal lines	Slight
Dental arch	Parabolic
Palatine torus	Absent
Metopic suture	Closed
Mandibular torus	Absent
Nasal margin	Fossicula
Vault contour (sagittal)	Platycranic
Mastoid process	Small
Pterion	"H" type
Supraorbital ridges	Slight
Vault sutures	Simple
Suture closure (mean of 16 segment closure ratings)	1.09
Chignon	Moderate

POST-CRANIAL SKELETON

Clavicle - not measured		
Scapula - not measured		
Vertebrae and sacrum - not measured		
Innominates		
Coxal height	—	196
Iliac breadth	147	146
Iliac height (cotyloid)	—	122
Ischial length	—	87
Pubic length	—	—
Sciatic notch angle	76°	77°
Sciatic notch width	—	48
Sciatic notch depth	—	27
Cotylo-sciatic breadth	32	32
Cotylo-sciatic index	—	—
Coxal breadth index	—	119.7
Iliac breadth index	—	74.5
Ischio-pubic index	—	—
Apertural index	—	56.2
Humerus		
Maximum length	300	302
Maximum diameter	19.6	20.4
Minimum diameter	15	15.1
Head diameter, vertical	43	42
Head diameter, horizontal	40	40
Bicondylar diameter	—	—
Supracondylar foramen-breadth	10	—
Radius		
Maximum length	216	220
Ulna		
Maximum length	246	239

[p. 319-B]

Table 1 (continued)

172 Transverse diameter	18	18
141 Anterior-posterior diameter	21	21
Femur		
Maximum length	415	---
Physiological length	409	---
Transverse diameter	26	---
AP diameter	27	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, AP	25	---
Subtrochanteric diameter, transverse	30	---
Head diameter, vertical	45	---
Head diameter, horizontal	46	---
Bicondylar diameter (estimate)	73	---
Collo-diaphyseal angle	137°	---
Tibia		
Maximum length	322	318
AP diameter (nutrient foramen)	32	30
Transverse diameter (nutrient foramen)	22	21
Bicondylar diameter	---	70
Fibula		
Maximum length	318	---

Long bone indices	Value	Class
Diaphyseal index, humerus	75.2	Platybrachic
Brachial index (humerus/radius)	72.4	Short
Platoleneal index, ulna	85.7	Uroleneal
Index of robustness, femur	13	Average
Pilasteric index, femur	103.8	Weak
Platymeric index, femur	83.3	Platymeric
Tibio-femoral index	78.7	---
Cnemial index	69.4	Mesocnemic
Humero-femoral index	73.3	---
Intermembral index	70	Average

172 the general texture of the bones, and the relatively unworn second and third molars.
141 *Stature:* Since there are no reliable estimates for
128 determining female Mongoloid stature, the Trotter-Gleser table (Trotter and Gleser 1952, Table 13) for white females was used. Thirteen
172 calculations were made; the results range from
141 152.78 cm. to 162.80 cm., averaging 157.31 cm.
144 Since Mongoloids have rather shorter legs relative to trunk height than do whites, this average may be an underestimate by two to five centimeters.
[128] Goldstein (1934:299) reported an average stature of 156.1 cm. for 25 full-blood Comanche females measured in 1931. Since Indians of mixed blood almost always exhibit maximum dimensions greater than full-bloods, the skeleton would fit into the range of variation expected for either the full-blood or the mixed blood population.
172 *Cultural status:* The heavy dental attrition indi-
141

[p. 320 A]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

TABLE 2
TRAITS INDICATIVE OF
SEX, RACE, AND CULTURE STATUS

172
141
144

Trait	Sex		Culture		Race		
	♂	♀	Primitive	Modern	Negroid	Caucasoid	Mongoloid
Head and Mandible							
Mesocrany		x				x	x
Long Skull			x				
Cranial Capacity		x					
Chiasma							x
Mesony							x
Prognathy			x				x
Sphenomegalia					x		x
Frontozygomatic Index					x		x
Hypsiconchy		x					x
Mesostaphyly							x
Brachystaphyly							x
Brachyrany						x	x
Orthognathy (Upper Face)		x				x	x
Mesognathy (Alveolar)		x					x
Facial Flatness							x
Nuchal Crests		x					
Mastoid Processes		x					
Supra-orbital Ridges		x					
Arch Form						x	x
Molar Form							x
Prognathic Alveolar							x
Dental Wear			x				
Shovel-shaped Incisors							x
Edge-to-Edge Bite			x				
Mandibular Index					x	x	
Frontozygomatic Index			x				
Gonio-Condylar Index						x	x
Ramus Index							x
Gonial Angle		x					x
Symphyseal Angle							x
Simple Sutures					x		x
Post-Cranial							
Humeral Head Diameter		x					
Platybrachia							x
Supracondylar Fragmen Breadth		x					x
Brachial Index						x	
Urolenny		x					x
Iliac Breadth Index		x					
Sciatic Notch Angle		x					
Acetabular Index		x					
Preauricular Sulcus		x					
Bicondylar Diameter Femur		x					
Index of Robustness							x
Platymeric Index		x				x	
Platymeria			x			x	
Mesocnemia		x					x
Equalling Facets			x				

172 cates a coarse diet with much gritty contamination. This wear is relatively greater in the anterior
141 dental arcade, indicating some use of the teeth in preparing hides, cordage, etc. At least one tibia shows the presence of squatters facet, and the femurs are platymeric. Both conditions are indicative of primitive living.

Conclusions: The osteological evidence thus indicates an adult female Plains Indian, 25-35 years old, who lived at a time before acculturative
172 shifts in diet would reduce tooth wear. Although
141 the observations fit the data given by Goldstein (1934), it is not possible to assign the skeleton
128 definitely to the Comanche because of the limited sample on which the comparison was
144 based.

[p. 320-B]

ARTIFACTS

172 The upper case letter preceding each unit can
[128] be used to locate that unit in Figure 1.

(A) The body had been placed on part of a black rubber-coated cloth tarpaulin or poncho, possibly of U.S. Army issue. Among the small pieces that remained of the poncho were five circular brass grommets with five-millimeter openings and several pieces of finished edge showing machine stitching.

(B) Of the fifty-three brass wire bracelets found, one was in front of the chest, and 52 were in the remnants of a beaded skin bag near the saddle parts at the foot of the grave. Viewed in cross section, two of the bracelets are round and 51 have flattened sides. The bracelets were made from lengths of brass wire, cut with a chisel, most of them with the ends smoothed by filing. Two of the parallel-sided bracelets are decorated with chisel cuts on their top surfaces (Fig. 5*f-g*). The bracelets range in diameter from 1.7 mm. to 2.8 mm., averaging 2.3 mm.

172 Bracelets similar in diameter and design were
171 found at the White site (Suhm 1962:94-7 and Fig. 2), a mid-to late-19th century child's grave of assumed Comanche affiliation in Yoakum County, Texas. Similarly decorated brass wire bracelets of a larger diameter were found at the W. H. Watson site (Ray and Jelks 1964:135-7 and Fig. 5) in Fisher County, Texas. The authors reported a crevice burial of a woman in a standing position and interpreted the site as a Comanche grave dating before 1840.

172 (C) Two small fragments of skin from the bag were preserved under the bracelets. Also preserved were two small patches of the beaded design originally made up of at least 1,857 beads. All of the beads are of the simple cylindrical "seed bead" type. Colors present are opaque white, blue, and green; and translucent turquoise, light blue, dark blue, red, and amber. Lengths of the beads range from 1.5 mm. to 2.5 mm., diameters from 2.1 mm. to 3.1 mm. The amber beads are slightly smaller than the other beads, and the light and dark translucent blue beads have thinner walls than the other beads.

A broken shell hair pipe bead, probably
[171] *Strombus gigas*, was among the bracelets. This bead, whose broken end had been smoothed, may have been threaded on a drawstring of the bag, as is the case with two hair pipe beads on a Kiowa bag illustrated by Ewers (1957, Plate 29).

(D) While none of the wooden frame or leather covering remained, the nature of the

A [See p. 31 —Analyst.]

[p.321-A]

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5*a*) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5*b*) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm. by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5*d*), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button face or rosette (Fig. 5*c*). Identical rivets were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig. 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered

172
171

172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle. Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

[127]

[439]

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

172

[p.322-A]

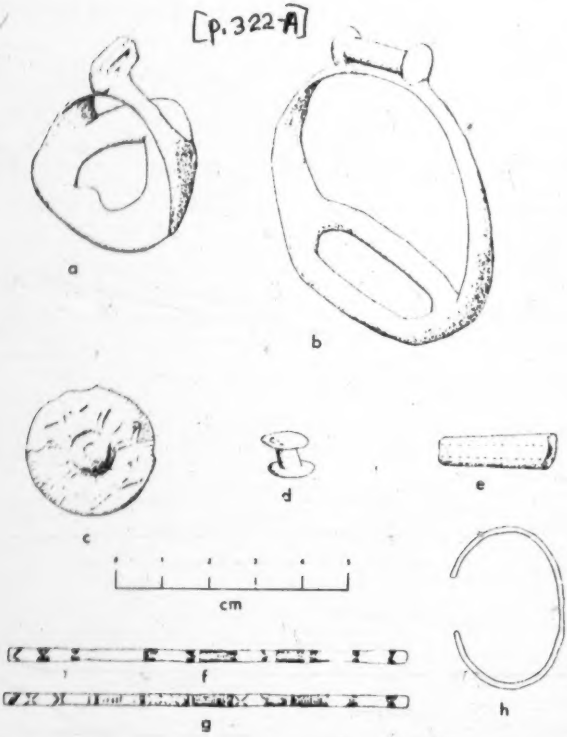

Figure 5. Artifacts from 34CMZ21. *a-b*, stirrups; *c*, rosette; *d*, rivet; *e*, hair pipe bead; *f-g*, bracelets; *h*, side view of bracelet. Stirrups are approximately 3/8 actual size. Top views of bracelets are 1/2 actual length, side view of bracelets is 1/2 actual size. The rosette, rivet, and hair pipe bead are actual size.

172 long were lying parallel to one another 60 centimeters east of (upstream from) the skeleton's feet. These straps are badly corroded, and the ends are irregular -- hence their original length is unknown. They are slightly curved in cross section from end to end, are 20 mm. wide, and appear to have been about 1.5 mm. thick. Although their purpose is unknown, they were possibly hoops on a barrel or other circular wooden container; they may have been used in
172 making ornaments. At Fielder Canyon Cave,
171 Kirkland found several fragments of flat hoop iron of approximately the same width as the straps from the Jared site, along with some iron tinklers and trapazoidal ornaments cut from the iron straps (Kirkland 1942:62 and Plate 15).
172 These trapazoidal pieces may be unfinished tinklers.

[p. 322-B]

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different -- the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is [114] rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

> The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

18: Jackson. A-4,5 (1969) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substan-
764 tiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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113

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Dodge, R. I.
1882 *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-three Years' Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West.* A. D. Worthington and Co., Hartford.

Ewers, J. C.
1955 The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 159. Washington.

[p.324-B]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet. 714 531

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions. 532 172 531

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs. 531 714 789

Comanche Quivers Figures 24–25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8] 411 237 531 237 237 825

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa Indians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 415 237 415 531

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). 714

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1841, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

175 stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

197 The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Shoshonean* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

●173 Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the presence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

174 Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation.

The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

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[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271-287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5-6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304-305.

775 ing and undoubting faith in a future state of existence, and in future rewards and punishments. They hold that the soul of the wicked coward or thief, after death, will be driven before the frown of the Great Spirit, afar off into a region barren and cold and desolate, there to wander forever through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain; but the good Indian, who has been brave in battle and walked uprightly among his tribe, will be translated to a valley ten thousand times ten thousand fold longer and wider than their own valley of Mannasaw, where the climate is always mild as it is in the moon of plants; where there is cool water, and pounded corn and mustang meat forever at his hand, and where buffalo and deer abound, and the horses are fleeter than the wind.

[173] They have many traditions but no records; nevertheless, 212 they have certain hieroglyphics by which they contrive to communicate intelligence with as much accuracy as if they understood the epistolary art. For instance, if one party goes out before another has returned, and wishes to convey information of the course they have taken and the business they are upon, they will seek some point where it is probable their trail will be discovered. Here, providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded in the form of a letter without breaking, they will make such figures and emblems upon it as represent the idea they wish to convey. If they are on the war path, the character will be a tomahawk and a scalp; if on a visit to a friendly tribe, it will be a pipe; if on a buffalo or deer hunt, there will be no characters, but the folded bark will simply enclose some of the hair of the animal of which they are 212 in pursuit. If they intend to be absent a month, the emblem 201 will be the full moon; if two weeks, a half-moon, if only a few days, the new moon. Then they strike a hatchet deep

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Three Years Among the Comanches

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

175 726 Because of their courage in battle, the Comanches even won, with certain reservations, the grudging respect of the Anglo-American settlers in Texas. After a fight in 1859, Captain E. K. Smith wrote that "the Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."[1]

175 175 101 The general outlines of Comanche history are well known. Members of the tribe first appeared in the Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico soon after 1700. Prior to that time they seem to have dwelled in the plateau and basin country west of the Rockies in parts of present Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In those early years they apparently formed a single tribe with the Shoshones.

173 According to a native tradition, all the Shoshones were camped together along a river when the young son of a chief was accidentally killed during a kicking game. The incident stirred up bitter feelings, so that the camp broke into two factions. To avoid open hostilities, one group moved north, the Shoshones proper or Snakes, while the people who remained behind eventually drifted east and became the Comanches.

175 101 In the seventeenth century, the Comanches in their several bands probably inhabited the parks just back of the Front Range in Colorado and the country as far as the valley of the North Platte. James

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 195 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their
721 *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
[173] to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their
101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time immemorial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the
171 identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NO15

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 193 101 K 648 193 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Origin

174 The Comanches' emergence probably occurred on the eastern fringes of the Basin area, somewhere in the vicinity of southwestern Montana and northwestern Wyoming. The specific area of Comanche birth would be impossible to pinpoint; however, judging from the range of the eastern Shoshone, the origin tales of the Comanches, and the Spanish records of New Spain, it can be suggested that the area of Wyoming between the Yellowstone and Platte Rivers may come close to defining the general vicinity of Comanche origin.

173 The most commonly recorded tale of Comanche origin tells of a dispute which arose among a large group of Indians who were traveling in the northwestern Wyoming area. Two factions of this group disagreed over the division of a game animal, usually identified as a bear. As a result, they separated. One group went north, and this group is now identified as the Shoshone. The other group turned south and east, and the tale states that this group was the Comanche.

The following is Sanapia's version of the origin of the Comanches. I include it here because it is an explanation of Comanche origin which to my knowledge has never been recorded and also because it illustrates a significant point with reference to Sanapia. The core reason for the eventual fracturing of the main group is attributed to disease. This type of explanation would seem most relevant to Sanapia as a doctor. This tale was taught to Sanapia by her mother, who in turn learned it from her father.

> There was lots of groups of them at that time . . . by the thousands, here and there, just like that. They be on a river, east of those big mountains . . . Wyoming, I guess. This whole army of Indians, mens, womens, and childrens.
> 173 Somehow, I don't know how, they got a big sickness. It was this polio . . . some-
> 164 thing like that stuff, I think. Did you ever hear the like of that? It just twist their arms and their legs this way and that way. It twist their necks too. They act like that for about five minutes, and they just die. If they walking, fall right over
> 173 and die where they are. The bottom of that place where they were camping was just full of dead peoples. So this man, like a chief or something, got on his horse and rode around the camp and he was talking loud, you know. He said, "I want you all, this group, go south as far as you could go. If you don't, you are going to all die out soon." Then they all got on their horses with their wives and childrens and just left their tepee there or what they living in, them days. They just took out carrying nothing except their knives. They didn't even have nothing to carry water in. So that big camp went south just as far as they could go. Then that man said to some other people, "Now you all go west . . . right straight west just as far as you can go. When you come to the big mountains just go on the other side if you could get over. You other group, go northwest, way up that way. It'll be alright." And so they scattered like that . . . all those ways. Some of them was left and they said, "We going east." The chief said, No, don't go that way. That's white people's land. They be up that way when you get over there. They going to kill you all. You all go west just so far. When you hit a river just live there." So these other folks went southwest from there and northwest. They all scattered and went like that. These other ones that didn't believe him, well, they just died. Their bodies were everywhere. So lot of them end up in the mountains. Bunch went into Wyoming, I guess, and

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

another bunch went back into Texas somewhere, and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them. 173

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes. 167 177 [231] 721

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken. 167 721 648 [177] [411]

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 177 101

35:: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005 101

Federal
Trust Area 659
161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (661)

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

175 stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

197 The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Snoshoncan* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

173 Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the presence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

●174 Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation. The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

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[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271–287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5–6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304–305.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit. 174

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches. 619 [578]

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9] 621

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

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[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235). [161]

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

The Comanches

●174 The Comanches were relatively late arrivals in the South Plains. It has been suggested that they were encountered by Coronado and that previously they had made inroads on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, but the evidence is thin.[6] When first definitely identified by the whites, they were so closely associated with the Shoshones culturally and linguistically that it was impossible to distinguish between the two. At that time the "Shoshones" covered a vast area, including most of Wyoming, the entire central and southern parts of Idaho except for a portion occupied by the Bannock, northeastern Nevada, a small strip of Utah west of Great Salt Lake, the headwaters of the Snake and Green rivers, the upper Platte down to the vicinity of the junction of the North and South forks, part of western Kansas, and the Missouri River from the headwaters eastward for some distance. Lewis and Clark in 1805 found bands of Shoshones on the headwaters of the Missouri in what is now western Montana. They had been driven from their eastern home along the Missouri by the hostile Atsinas and Siksikas, who had by that time obtained firearms from traders to the east.[7]

The language and culture of the Comanches point directly to a Shoshonean origin for the tribe. History also substantiates an origin in Shoshone country. According to Crow tradition, the Comanches once inhabited the Snake River region. Omaha tradition places them on the Middle Loup River probably until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[8] By 1700, a noticeable shift toward the south had begun to take place. La Sever's map (1701) places the Comanches near the headwaters of the Arkansas, principally on the north side, at about its closest point to the *Grande Rivière Cansez* (Kansas River).[9] Étienne Veniard de Bourgmond in 1724 found Comanche villages on the upper Kansas River along the route that later became the Santa Fé

[6] G. P. Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," B. A. E. *Fourteenth Annual Report*, Part I, 523–24; J. P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," B. A. E. *Twenty-ninth Annual Report*, 477–78.

[7] Thomas Jefferson, *Message from the President of the United States Communicating Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River and Washita by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar*, 60; Farnham, *op. cit.*, I, 261.

[8] J. W. Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," B. A. E. *Seventh Annual Report*, 109.

[9] Waldo R. Wedel, "An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology," B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 112*, p. 4, map 4. The map is reproduced from a copy in the South Dakota Collection, I, 49.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanchería

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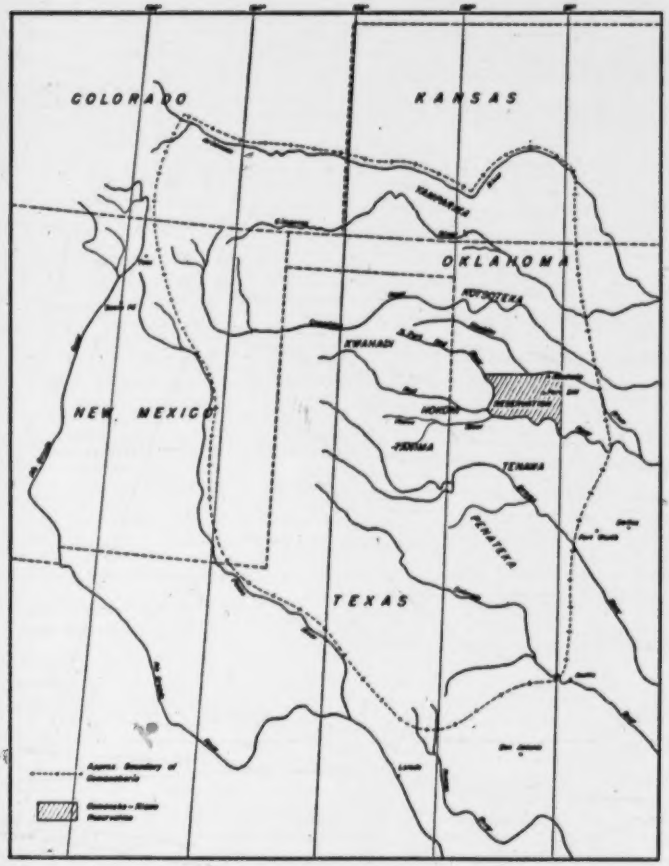

The Comanche Country

174 Trail, and located the tribe as occupying the territory between the headwaters of the Platte and the Kansas rivers.[10]

According to their own accounts, the Comanches came from the Rocky Mountain country north of the headwaters of the Arkansas to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas about 1700, having previously occupied the more northern region with the Shoshones. Their account is fairly well substantiated by historical records, and they were unquestionably identified in New Mexico in 1705.[11] So devastating were their incursions into New Mexico in the following years that a punitive expedition was sent against them into Colorado in 1719. No Comanches were found, but rumors were heard of French traders who were active among them to the northeast. Consequently, in the following year the Villasur expedition was dispatched to check the French. The venture met disaster on the Platte, and before the Spaniards could recover, the Comanches had moved into the territory of present eastern Colorado, southern Kansas, western Oklahoma, and northwestern Texas. For control of this territory the Comanches waged a long but successful triangular war with the Jumano allies of the French on their east, the Spaniards and their Indian allies in New Mexico, and the Apaches to the south. The Jumanos were never very formidable; Spanish power in the north was on the decline, and the Spanish system of control was not adequate to the Great Plains. The Apaches, after fierce resistance, were defeated. They retreated, leaving much of their Texas territory to the Comanches. Although Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico as late as 1786 still held the opinion that the Comanche stronghold was in what is now the state of Colorado, north of the Napestle (Arkansas) River, the Comanches, two decades before that time, had established their supremacy as far south as the San Saba country of Texas. Soon after the turn of the century, American explorers reported them between the Arkansas and the Río Grande,

[10] Henri Folmer, "Etienne Veniard De Bourgmond in the Missouri Country," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XXXVI (April, 1942), 290–94; Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," *loc. cit.*, 109; James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," B. A. E. *Seventeenth Annual Report*, Part I, 161.

[11] Ralph E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, 301; Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, 1777–1778*, 57.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

extending from the headwaters of the latter eastward into the Great Plains.[12] 174

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their movement toward the South Plains, for Pike, Lalande, Pursely, Chouteau and DeMun, James, and others mention the Comanches' and Snakes' using trails along the edge of the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Platte to the Arkansas River and to New Mexico. Bandelier recorded that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited a Comanche village near Taos on a tributary stream near the head of the Canadian and traded the inhabitants guns, but a few years later the stronghold of the latter was to the east in what is now Oklahoma and Texas.

Any attempt to explain why the Comanches and the Shoshones separated is largely inferential. But if we may accept one Comanche tradition, the split occurred as the result of a dispute over the distribution of a bear which the Comanches had killed. The misunderstanding is supposed to have occurred on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo, Colorado, in the edge of the mountains.[13] Unable to reconcile their differences, the Comanches drifted southward while the Shoshones gradually shifted to the north and west.

A somewhat more plausible legendary account was given to the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933 by Post Oak Jim, then aged sixty-four. It is as follows:

« « « Two bands were living together in a large camp. One band was on the east side; the other on the west. Each had its own chief. 174 539

Every night the young boys were out playing games—racing, and so forth. They were having a kicking game; they kicked each other. One boy kicked another over the stomach so hard that he died from it. That boy who was killed was from the West camp. He was the son of a chief.

When this thing happened, the West camp cried all night. In

[12] Jefferson, *op. cit.*, I, 78.

[13] G. B. Grinnell, "Who Were the Padoucas?" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXII (1920), 260.

The Comanches

174 the East camp it was silent. Next day, they buried that boy.

539 The boy's father, the chief, had his crier go around announcing that there would be a big fight to see which camp was best so as to settle the question of his son's death. There was big excitement. Both sides had good warriors. The East camp ran to its horses. "If they really mean what they say, they will kill us," they cried.

The two sides lined up, and the chiefs met in the center. Then an old man from the East camp came up into the center. He wept and told them it wasn't right for them to fight among themselves like that. They took pity on him. Then other old men came out and gathered with him. "You have plenty of enemies to fight," they cried. "These were just boys playing a game. Don't take this thing so seriously. You are setting a bad example for the children. Whatever this chief wants to keep the peace, we'll do it."

That chief called it off. He said he did not realize what he was doing. So the East camp brought them horses and other things.

After that the chief had his announcer tell the people it was time to move camp. "We have had bad luck here. There has been hard feeling." While they were still there, smallpox broke out.

Then they broke up. One group went north; those are the Shoshones. The other group went west. » » »

174 Simple legendary explanations never tell the whole story, however, for many factors are at work when a people is on the move. It is most probable that the Comanche migration to the South Plains was in part forced by the incursion of more powerful tribes equipped with muskets coming from the northeast. Quarrels may have given no more than the impetus to split the groups.

It was an aggressive southward movement of the Blackfeet and a western advance by the Crows and other eastern tribes that forced the peoples occupying the western fringe of the plains between latitudes forty-three and fifty-two to retire toward the south, west and northwest. According to Flathead tradition, shortly after this eastern impact the Shoshone-Comanches disappeared from the vicinity of the Missouri.[14]

[14] James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau: The Flathead Group," B. A. E. *Forty-fourth Annual Report*, 304, 318.

Comanchería

However, the southward migration cannot be explained altogether as the result of superior enemy pressure alone. The Comanches had obtained the horse, being among the first tribes of the plains to do so, and the desire for a more abundant supply of horses was certainly an important motive for moving closer to the source of supply: the Southwest. 174

Of the Shoshones, starving and pitiful, whom Lewis and Clark finally found in the mountains of Idaho, the captains observed, "Within their own recollection they formerly lived in the plains, but they have been driven into the mountains by the Pawkees, or the roving Indians of the Sascatchawain, and are now obliged to visit occasionally, and by stealth, the country of their ancestors."[15] And in explanation of this state of affairs, "they [the Shoshones] complain that the Spaniards refuse to let them have firearms. . . . In the meantime, say the Shoshonees, we are left to the mercy of the Minnetarees, who, having firearms, plunder them of their horses and put them to death without mercy."

The gun was the crucial factor, as was clearly recognized by the headman, Cameahwait, who declared fiercely, "But this should not be, if we had guns; instead of hiding ourselves in the mountains and living like bears on roots and berries, we would then go down and live in the buffaloe country in spite of our enemies, whom we never fear when we meet them on equal terms."[16]

The Comanches escaped this pressure by drifting southward into relatively unoccupied areas, where they finally consolidated their position against all comers. Furthermore, once they had horses, they could really launch forth on a buffalo-based economy, and the buffalo was ever present to the south. Thus, "I do not believe the Comanches were driven into the country," declares Professor R. N. Richardson. "On the contrary, it seems that they visited it, found that it was well suited to their mode of existence, and proceeded to fight for it and take it."[17] While taking the more desirable country, they abandoned the less desirable northern territory, and they were better off because of this action.

[15] Lewis and Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 445.

[16] *Ibid.*, 450.

[17] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 19.

The Comanches

●174 By 1836 the Comanches claimed and occupied all the country from the Arkansas River on the north to the Mexican settlements on the south, and from the Grand Cordillera on the west to the Cross Timbers on the east, according to the report of the United States Indian agent for the Osages.[18] Actually, however, the territory occupied was hardly that extensive. Comanchería, the land of the Comanches, may reasonably be said to have been in the mid-nineteenth century the vast South Plains area bounded on the north by the Arkansas River, on the west by a line extending from the headwaters of the Arkansas River southward near the Mexican settlements of Taos and Santa Fé, on the southwest by the Pecos River, on the southeast by the white settlements in the vicinity of San Antonio, Fredericksburg, and Austin, and on the east by the Cross Timbers, or approximately along a line slightly west of the ninety-eighth meridian: an area more than six hundred miles from north to south and four hundred miles from east to west. Although they shared parts of this vast country with the Kiowas and the Wichitas, it was theirs to have and to hold. Outsiders, red or white, who entered it did so at their peril.

133 What was the country like? It is generally level. The eastern portion is slightly rolling with an occasional range of rugged hills. And in the east-central section the solid masses of the Wichita Mountains, geologically one of the oldest exposed land masses in the United States, rise sharply from the plains. The western part is the level tableland of the *Llano Estacado* or Staked Plains. A number of rivers cut southeastward across Comanchería, but even so the distances between them are relatively great. From north to south, the Arkansas, Cimarron, Canadian, Washita, Red, Pease, Brazos, Colorado, and Pecos constitute the major streams. They are low-banked, sand-filled, and sinuous; and because of the gypsum and other minerals contained in their waters, they are not satisfactory for drinking. In the areas contiguous to the headwaters of the streams are escarpments, arroyos, buttes, and canyons. These "breaks" are generally barren and desolate, but contain small running streams and springs that provide an occasional oasis with drinking water, grass, and cottonwood. They give

[18] P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages, to Governor M. Stokes and General M. Arbuckle, April 25, 1836 (MS copy in National Archives, Western Superintendency file, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington).

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

174 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Mexico spoke of three major bands. For a time, the Anglo-Americans designated three divisions—Northern, Middle, and Southern—but as they came to know the Comanches better, the practice was replaced by the use of definite band names. Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, was able to identify eight bands. James Mooney listed thirteen, but Robert H. Lowie, in 1912, recorded only four. R. B. Thomas, who lived with the Comanches for many years during the early reservation period, knew of twelve bands, six of which had already been absorbed or exterminated;[14] and at the time of the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Study Group in 1933, living Comanches still remembered thirteen.[15] Multiple names are usually recorded for a band, and in some instances it is impossible to determine whether two names refer to the same or different bands. Regardless of how many bands there may have been, during the nineteenth century there were five outstanding divisions, the others being small or transitory groupings.

The largest and best-known divisions of all the Comanches was the *Pɛnatɜkə*, or Honey-Eaters. Other names by which the band was known include *Teyuwit* (Hospitable), *Tekapwai* (No Meat), *Kuβatatpat* (Steep Climbers), *Pɛnanɜ* (Wasp or Quick-stinger, i.e., Raiders), and *Ho'is* (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived adjacent to the Spanish and Texas settlements in the vicinity of the Cross Timbers belt and along the headwaters of the central Texas rivers. A map of the country between the frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico, based on the expeditions of Captain Marcy from 1849 to 1852, locates the Southern Comanches, or Wasps, between the Pecos River and Fort Phantom Hill.[16] Their residence in the timber belt explains some of the various names by which they were called. They lived near the settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Early references by the whites to the Comanches pertain largely to this band. According to their own traditional accounts, the Wasps had moved so far away that for a long time they had no contact with other Comanche groups. They were

[14] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*, 153.

[15] E. A. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 12–13.

[16] Annie H. Abel (ed.), *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map (unattached).

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174 619 rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yampariḳə*) and Antelope bands (*Kwəharɛnə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyɛḳa*), or *Nɔḳoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief [765] who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔḳoni*), because of the tabu [551] forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyɛḳa* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsuɛḳa*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica.* The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainə*, or *Yamparikə*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nɜm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika.* In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni,* it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

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[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers,* 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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174 619 According to their own accounts, they came around 1700 from the Rocky Mountain country, north of the headwaters of the Arkansas River, to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas. Previously they had inhabited the country with the Shoshones. Governor Anza in 1786 located them as ranging across present northern Colorado and south to the Arkansas River. The accounts indicate, however, that the Yap-eaters felt at home south of that stream also. During the nineteenth century they camped generally on the south side of the Arkansas River and along the Canadian, the Arkansas being considered the northern boundary of their territory. They raided, however, far north of that stream across Kansas and Nebraska.

Another populous band, although little known until towards the close of the pre-reservation period, is the Antelope or *Kwɜharɛnɔ*. The name of the band is indicative of its life on the open plains where antelope were plentiful. And because they lived and traveled on the [293] glaring, treeless plains, these Comanches carried on their backs a square of rawhide that could be held over the head as a sunshade. Hence they were also nicknamed *Kwahihɜkɛnɔ*, "Sunshades on Their Backs." William Clark called them Qua-he-hu-ke, which he said meant "back-shade," because in their treeless country the only way to shade the face was to turn one's back to the sun, but we doubt the correctness of this interpretation.[21] Before the Comanches migrated to the South Plains country, the Antelope band was located just south of the Yap-eaters. The two bands probably drifted south about the same time, and then the Antelopes made the *Llano Estacado* their home and challenged all intruders. Within the wild depths of the Tule and Palo Duro canyons they found protection from the winter blizzards of the uplands and safety from their enemies until Colonel MacKenzie bearded them in their stronghold on September 27, 1874. They harried the frontier of Texas as much, perhaps, as any other Comanche band, and they were the last of the Comanches to submit to the efforts of the United States to bring them under control. For years they scoffed at their beef-eating kinsmen on the reservation, and did not submit until they had been drubbed repeatedly by superior military forces. It has been argued that present-day Comanche

[21] W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 119.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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dialects, traditions, and customs are largely Antelope.[22] To what extent this is true is impossible to judge, but even a casual student of Comanche culture cannot fail to note that the influence of the Antelope band is strong. These people are reluctant to accept innovations to this day, a few still preferring the tipi and the arbor to the modern house. 174 619

In addition to the above-mentioned major groups, there were a great many bands of less importance. Some of these are difficult to distinguish because of similarity of band names and variations in spelling the same name, and also because some bands had become extinct or had merged with others before becoming known to whites.

The *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), mentioned by James Mooney, were so called because they are reputed to have eaten the liver of their game in its raw state. Although Mooney found only one survivor at the time of his visit, Agent E. L. Clark reported several survivors living with other bands in 1881,[23] and Goldstein was able to identify the band in 1931. The Liver-eaters were neighbors of the Wanderers and with them composed a part of the group known as Middle Comanches. [262]

A third band which lived in the same region as the Wanderers and the Liver-eaters was the *Tenawa* or *Tenawit* (Down Stream), also noted by Mooney. The *Tenawa* and *Tanima* were frequently confused by the whites, partly because of the similarity of the sound of the names and partly because they inhabited the same geographic region. So confused are the accounts of the two that it is often impossible to determine to which band the name refers.[24] The Down Streams were practically exterminated in a battle with the Mexicans about 1845, and the band did not exist when the Comanches went on the reservation in 1869, or else they had been absorbed by other bands. R. N. Richardson believes that the Yupes or Jupes listed by Governor Anza as one of three major divisions known to the Spaniards in New Mexico in 1786 were the *Tenawa*.[25] The Liver-eaters

[22] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*

[23] Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

[24] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 21, lists the following variations of the two words and states that it is an incomplete list: Te-na-wish, Ta-ne-wa, Te-ne-wah, Te-na-wa, Tan-nee-wish, Ten-en-e-ree, Te-ne-mes, and De-na-vi.

[25] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

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174 619 and Down Streams often camped with the Wasps and were probably strongly influenced by them.

The *Itɛta'o* habitually put up more pemmican than they could eat in a winter. They threw the surplus out in the spring, and other Comanches, seeing their dumps of dried, black meat along the trails, dubbed them *Itɛta'o,* "Burnt Meat."

The *Wɔ'ai* carried a name meaning "Wormy," but more inelegantly, according to That's It, the full name means "Maggots on the Penis." They are supposed to have married incestuously, and hence they were also scornfully called *Namaɜ'ɜnɔ*, "Something together" or "Intercourse." Mooney reported them to be extinct at the time of the reservation period, but the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Group was able to record evidence of them in 1933. There were a few living in the vicinity of Geronimo, Oklahoma, in 1945, and only a few of the older tribal informants had no knowledge of this band.

The *Mutsanɜ* (Undercut Bank) were so called because their favorite camp site was underneath an overhanging cliff. According to Mooney, who called them *Mot-sai,* they were annihilated in a battle with the Mexicans sometime around 1845, presumably suffering the same fate as the Down Stream band. Mooney also identified a group which he called *Pagatsu* (Head of the Stream), probably the same band as that recorded by the Santa Fé Laboratory group as *Panaixtɜ* (Those Who Live Upstream).

A band famous among the Comanches but little known to whites was the Water Horse (*Pahuraix*). According to That's It, who was a member of this band, these people were taller and slimmer than most other Comanches. They were reputedly great runners who excelled at lacrosse. They bet prodigiously on their prowess, and like the Lamarkian giraffe they are supposed to have gotten their height by stretching—they piled their bets so high! In time, on account of their propensity for huge stakes and their unbeatable skill at lacrosse, other bands refused to play them. Robert S. Neighbors says that they were called *Par-kee-na-um* (Water People) because they usually camped near lakes and streams.

The *Wia'nɜ* (Hill Wearing Away) was a very small band of six or seven families which camped in a gap between a large hill and a rapidly eroding smaller one.

The People

Mooney and Neighbors both listed a few Comanche bands that were not noted by any other reporters. Mooney's *Pohoi* (Wild Sage) were nothing more than some Wind River Shoshones who joined with the Comanches. Neighbors mentions a *No-na-um* band, who he said "live in the high prairie where there is no timber or running water, and never leave that kind of country." He also notes an *It-chit-a-bud-ah* (Cold People) band and a *Hai-ne-na-une* (Corn-eaters). All of these later groups were of little importance or had by mid-nineteenth century been absorbed or otherwise become extinct. 174 619

How many people all these bands added up to is hard to say. At best the Comanche tribe was never very large. Mooney estimated its population to be 7,000 in 1690.[26] Governor Anza of New Mexico reported that Comanches visiting Santa Fé and Pecos Pueblo in the first half of the year of 1786 included twenty-three chiefs representing 593 lodges or around 6,000 persons. In the same year Anza's emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, reported that he visited an area about one hundred miles square north and east of the Pecos River where he found eight villages of "Kotsoteka," containing a population of 6,000 to 7,000.[27] The figure given by Ortiz is quite likely exaggerated, but if it is approximately correct, then the tribe at that time could have numbered as many as 20,000 to 30,000. 161

It was several years after the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory that government agents learned much about the Comanches. One of the first reliable estimates of their military strength was by P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages. He wrote in 1836, "The numerical military forces of the Comanches (which includes all males old enough and not too old to bear arms) is estimated, and always has been, by the Mexican Government at 8,000, but from my personal observation, I have been induced to calculate the number of Comanche warriors at 4,500."[28] In the following year United States military authorities estimated the number of warriors at about 5,400.[29] Based upon the figures given by Chouteau and Bonville, the population of

[26] James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX, No. 7, 13.

[27] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 290–91, 325, 327.

[28] Agent Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 25, 1836, *loc. cit.*

[29] B. L. E. Bonville, captain, Seventh Infantry, to Commissioner, General Roger Jones, January 24, 1837 (MS copy, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Archives, I).

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171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few
174 nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millenia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic,* vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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231 some of which escaped and became truly wild. Others were stolen. Most of the horses to reach the plains at an early date probably came by way of New Mexico.

231 174 Available evidence indicates that the Plains Indians began using horses some time after 1600. None of the tribes could be classed as having a horse culture before 1630, and probably not until after 1650.[6] Once the Indians of the South came to use horses, the spread northward was rapid. By 1659 Indians to the northwest of the Spanish settlements in New Mexico were raiding the ranch stock, and within another five years raiding was common practice. A significant number of horses, no doubt, were captured by the Indians in the revolt of 1680 in New Mexico, and it is likely that many of these fell into the hands of Plains Indians either as a result of trade or of plunder. In 1675 Fernando del Bosque found no trace of horses or horse-using Indians while exploring along the Río Grande from the mouth of the Conchos to the Pecos River and eastward. The Mendoza-López expedition eight years later likewise found the banks of the Río Grande still barren, but as it progressed northeastward, it encountered Indians with a few horses. The Spanish expedition into East Texas in 1690 found a few horses near the mouth of the Colorado River, and in the same year it was reported that about thirty were seen near the Arkansas-Texas boundary and that the Caddo to the west had four or five per lodge.[7]

All the tribes west of the Missouri had horses when first encountered by the French and English. The Pawnees and other tribes along the Missouri had horses as early as 1680. Du Tisne in 1719 reported that two villages of Pawnees in Oklahoma near the Arkansas River had three hundred horses, which were highly valued and not for sale. By 1724 the edge of the horse belt had reached the neighborhood of the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. By 1754 the Blackfeet had horses in general use both for pack and for riding, having obtained their supply from the Shoshones or Comanches. By 1770 the dispersion had reached its northern limit except for a small extension

[6] Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 112–17.

[7] Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *loc. cit.*, 429–32.

into the timbered area. The Shoshones of Idaho had obtained their horses by the route west of the continental divide about 1690 to 1700, or approximately twenty years before horses had reached the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. 231 174

Ponca tradition credits the Comanches with having the first horses seen by the people of their tribe. According to it, the Comanches at the time fought on horseback, using the long-handled stone battle-axe as their principal weapon. Furthermore, the Poncas claim that the Comanches had thick covers of overlapping pieces of rawhide to protect the breasts and sides of their animals. The Comanches taught the Poncas how to ride and to use the horse as a beast of burden. Soon afterwards they left the country, and the Poncas knew not where they went.[8]

The Comanches probably acquired horses as early as, or before, the Shoshones. They certainly had them by the time they moved into the South Plains. They were raiding in New Mexico in 1705. The next year, the Apaches in the northeastern part of that province suffered from Comanche horse-raiding expeditions. Comanche raiding in New Mexico apparently became progressively more frequent, for in 1719 the governor of the province sent a punitive expedition against the Comanches in an attempt to check the forays.

How many horses the Comanches accumulated is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Clinton Smith reported that his band had about 6,000 head, about one-half of which were the property of the chief; and that sometimes within a single night horses by the thousands were captured or stolen.[9] Captain Marcy estimated that the most successful warriors owned from fifty to two hundred animals each. By comparison, a Sioux considered himself wealthy if he owned thirty to forty.[10] The Antelope band, with a population of less than two thousand, had about 15,000 horses and 300 to 400 head of mules in 1867. Modern Comanches say that A Big Fall By Tripping owned 1,500 horses at the time of his death, although he was so fat he could not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. 231 174 556 [492]

[8] Alice C. Fletcher and Frances La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 27*, 79–80.

[9] Clinton and Jeff D. Smith, *The Boy Captives*, 50–51.

[10] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of America* (vol. I of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*), 160.

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
● 174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure through- 535 out, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 778 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received 787 an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [781] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 174 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

they stressed the fact that the Comanche did not use a Sun Dance image while the Kiowa did.

The material on which the preceding report is based was collected by the Ethnological Field Party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fé, New Mexico, while working with the Comanche during the summer of 1933.

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[pp 429-end, not processed]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 The caveat that meanings do
825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[162] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ʔevikuyú·si? *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·ʔ *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[163]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[162] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [163] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224–235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

[p. 256-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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The indications of comparative linguistics are that they have had a long pre-history of mobility. Their closest linguistic relatives are the Wyoming Shoshone, from whom they must have separated shortly before Columbus. The first records already show the Comanche separated from these relatives by hundreds of miles. The Shoshone-Comanche may have formed a single group with the Mono-Paviotso group and with the Ute-Chemehuevis about 1000 years ago. Much farther back, their linguistic relatives include the Tubatulabals and the Cahuilla family in California, the Hopi and the Pima-Papago in the American Southwest and in the northern part of Mexico, the Yaqui-Tarahumara complex in northern Mexico, the Cora, the Huichol and the Nahuatls or Aztecs of Mexico. The time when all these groups were still a single unit goes far back, perhaps more than 4000 years ago, a time not much more recent than when English and the Germanic languages were one with the Celtic, the Italic, the Hellenic, the Baltic, the Slavic, the Iranian (including Persian) and the Indic (of India). There seems to be a certain rough parallel in these two groups, called the Uto-Aztekan and the Indo-European, in the fact that a few thousand years ago they began to expand and continued expanding down to recent times. Up to the time when Indo-European moved into America, the two stocks were fairly close together in the land area they had covered.

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29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

1 Plains Indian Law in Development: The Comanche

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Men have occupied the Great Plains of the West for a good ten thousand years or more. They came in, apparently, when the last ice sheet was in its northward retreat, and their archaeological culture seems to have been fairly stable over long periods of time. But the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting, tipi-dwelling culture of the eighteenth-century Plains Indian was something quite new in its development. 174

Before the coming of Columbus the Indians of the Plains were largely riverbound and not overly inclined to venture afar into the vast, poorly watered stretches of open grasslands. They had to go afoot.

The coming of the European altered the situation with drastic effect. The Spaniard to the south introduced the horse and thereby provided the means for extensive penetration of the Plains by native populations, for which the thick herds of buffalo and fleet antelope were an enticing lure. On the eastern frontier the French and British were working to cause a far-reaching displacement of the Woodland tribes. White settlements forced some tribes to move westward at an early date. And out beyond the frontier, other displacements were accelerated ahead of the line of settlement by the imperialistic rivalry of the fur trade. 177

The fur trading tribes sought ever to enlarge their trapping and hunt-

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Comanche Origin

174 The Comanches' emergence probably occurred on the eastern fringes of the Basin area, somewhere in the vicinity of southwestern Montana and northwestern Wyoming. The specific area of Comanche birth would be impossible to pinpoint; however, judging from the range of the eastern Shoshone, the origin tales of the Comanches, and the Spanish records of New Spain, it can be suggested that the area of Wyoming between the Yellowstone and Platte Rivers may come close to defining the general vicinity of Comanche origin.

173 The most commonly recorded tale of Comanche origin tells of a dispute which arose among a large group of Indians who were traveling in the northwestern Wyoming area. Two factions of this group disagreed over the division of a game animal, usually identified as a bear. As a result, they separated. One group went north, and this group is now identified as the Shoshone. The other group turned south and east, and the tale states that this group was the Comanche.

The following is Sanapia's version of the origin of the Comanches. I include it here because it is an explanation of Comanche origin which to my knowledge has never been recorded and also because it illustrates a significant point with reference to Sanapia. The core reason for the eventual fracturing of the main group is attributed to disease. This type of explanation would seem most relevant to Sanapia as a doctor. This tale was taught to Sanapia by her mother, who in turn learned it from her father.

> There was lots of groups of them at that time . . . by the thousands, here and there, just like that. They be on a river, east of those big mountains . . . Wyoming, I guess. This whole army of Indians, mens, womens, and childrens.
> 173 Somehow, I don't know how, they got a big sickness. It was this polio . . . some-
> 164 thing like that stuff, I think. Did you ever hear the like of that? It just twist their arms and their legs this way and that way. It twist their necks too. They act like that for about five minutes, and they just die. If they walking, fall right over
> 173 and die where they are. The bottom of that place where they were camping was just full of dead peoples. So this man, like a chief or something, got on his horse and rode around the camp and he was talking loud, you know. He said, "I want you all, this group, go south as far as you could go. If you don't, you are going to all die out soon." Then they all got on their horses with their wives and childrens and just left their tepee there or what they living in, them days. They just took out carrying nothing except their knives. They didn't even have nothing to carry water in. So that big camp went south just as far as they could go. Then that man said to some other people, "Now you all go west . . . right straight west just as far as you can go. When you come to the big mountains just go on the other side if you could get over. You other group, go northwest, way up that way. It'll be alright." And so they scattered like that . . . all those ways. Some of them was left and they said, "We going east." The chief said, No, don't go that way. That's white people's land. They be up that way when you get over there. They going to kill you all. You all go west just so far. When you hit a river just live there." So these other folks went southwest from there and northwest. They all scattered and went like that. These other ones that didn't believe him, well, they just died. Their bodies were everywhere. So lot of them end up in the mountains. Bunch went into Wyoming, I guess, and

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177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

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natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife. 174

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly 175 178 561 175 178 624

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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands. 177 [184]

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future. 619 621

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *bənitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *pɛnatəkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *bonono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. [174]

The largest Comanche band was the *pɛnatəkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration. 619 621 101

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

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the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the N. boundary of the Comanche.

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[p. 327A]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE BASIS OF COMANCHE SOCIETY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONTACTS

The Comanches in the nineteenth century roved the entire southern plains as hunters following the buffalo and as warriors whose raiding parties reached down through the pueblo country deep into Mexico. But the place the Comanche called his was the territory extending from the Wichita Mountains across the plains and streams to the Red River in Texas. There was no strictly defined tribal territory, however; some Comanche camps could be found scattered among the Kiowa villages on the north side of the Wichitas. 175 [131]

Previous centuries had seen the Comanche in a more northerly location. The earliest white travelers on the northern plains in the eighteenth century had found the Comanches in great numbers on the upper Platte River and its environs. Within three generations, they appear to have vanished from this country, for their whereabouts are reported as unknown to the Americans of the times.[1]

In the southwest during this same period the Comanches had been becoming increasingly frequent visitors to the Spanish territories. In company with the Utes they committed repeated depredations on the Spanish frontier, raiding and destroying Apache haciendas, slaying and capturing Apache men, women and children. Irritated Spaniards with Apache guides marched about the country in fruitless punitive expeditions against the raiders from the north and east. By 1786, however, the Comanches were familiar enough to the Spaniards to be enlisted by the latter as allies in a campaign against the then obstrepterous Apaches.[2]

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their extension southward. We read that,

Ruxton speaks of a tradition that the Comanche and Shoshoni separated on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo (Colorado) in the edge of the mountains. Pike, Lalande, Purseiy, Chouteau and De Mun, James, and other early sources, all mention the Comanche and "Snakes" as using trails in the edge of the mountains or among the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Arkansas to the Platte. One of the very early mentions of the Comanches out in the plains is in Bandalier where it is

[1] Lewis and Clark, *A History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark* (Philadelphia, 1878), vol. I, pp. 36–37.

[2] A. B. Thomas, *After Coronado* (Norman, Okla., 1932), p. 67; A. Chaves, *The Defeat of the Comanche Indians in 1717* (Historical Society of New Mexico, No. 8, 1906).

A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* (American Anthropologist, vol. 31, 1928), pp. 289–295.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

175 stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

171 The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Shoshonean* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

173 Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the presence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

174 Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation. The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

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[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271-287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5-6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304-305.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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121 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike
701 other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

114 Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior
701 societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

114 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century
175 presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a
619 Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed. 114 175 619

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches. 114 701

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu- 756

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

3: Wallace & Hoebel NO6 Comanche NO6
175, 648

[For information on international relations between the Comanche and whites, and the history of such relations, see category 116, pp. 280-331, 338-353.]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

175 fore the Civil War, but it appears that several trading concerns employed men who combined hunting with trading. There were very few buffalo left by 1852 in the vicinity of Fort Phantom Hill, Texas.[48] A few years later, however, there were great numbers of buffalo in the same vicinity. In 1855, John W. Whitfield, Indian agent, wrote that the Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes were then confined to a district from which the buffalo had almost entirely disappeared, and that they were feeding upon their horses and mules until the number of those animals had fallen below their necessary supply. He recommended that the government furnish them subsistence until they could be taught to support themselves.[49] The Arapahos in 1857 were on the verge of starvation, and their chief told the agent that his people must learn either to work or starve.[50] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in that same year that the game had diminished to the point that many of the Indians were compelled to live by plunder.[51] The Comanches, although feeling the pinch of the diminishing supply, were faring better than their neighbors. The Civil War interrupted temporarily the encroachments on the Plains Indians' hunting grounds, but when the war was over, the slaughter soon was resumed in such proportions as to make that of the earlier period seem child's play.

By 1870 the original great buffalo range had become permanently divided into two sections. The northern herd ranged from about forty-three degrees north latitude through the Powder River country to the British possessions. The southern herd ranged from North Texas to about forty-one and one-half degrees north latitude. This southern buffalo range corresponded almost entirely with the territory held by the Comanches with the exception of the feeding grounds between the South Platte and the Arkansas. In the winter of that year an eastern company experimented successfully with buffalo hides

[48] Clarksville, Texas, *Standard*, May 28, 1853; A. B. Hasson, Post Surgeon at Fort Phantom Hill, "Report," 1852, West Texas Historical Association *Year Book* (1924), I, 75.

[49] Agent J. W. Whitfield to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 4, 1855, 34 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 1*, No. 46, 437.

[50] Robert Miller, agent for the Cheyennes, "Report," October 14, 1857, 35 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 11*, No. 60, 432.

[51] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1857, 35 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 11*, 296.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

for making leather. By 1872 it became generally known that buffalo hides were marketable, the price being about $3.75 per hide. The railroad lines leading into the plains soon swarmed with "would-be hunters" from the East, excited by the prospect of having a buffalo hunt that would yield a monetary return. By rail, wagon, horseback, and afoot, the hunters poured in, and the slaughter was on.

A number of hunting outfits operating from Dodge City crossed into the northern Panhandle of Texas in the autumn of 1873 in violation of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, made in 1867 between the Federal government and the Indians, reserving the region between the Arkansas and Canadian rivers for an Indian hunting ground. The buffalo hunters, refusing to respect the treaty, established a trading post at Adobe Walls, which action instigated the Comanches to resume the warpath. After a short cessation of activities, the hunters shifted to the southern part of the range. By the fall of 1874 some professional hunting was being done in the southern part of the range, and by 1875 the slaughter was definitely under way in an organized and systematic manner. The slaughter abated during the hot summer months, but as soon as the first cold of autumn started the buffalo south, it was renewed. Destruction of the herds went on at an increasing rate throughout 1876 and 1877. The greatest slaughter came in the winter of 1877–78. More than one hundred thousand hides were taken in the months of December and January on the Texas range.[52] J. N. Atkinson claimed that in Fort Griffin at one time there was a stack of buffalo hides as long as a city block, "as high as a man could reach throwing hides out of a wagon, and so wide that it must have been made by driving wagons down both sides of the pile in stacking."[53] Only a few small herds located in the Yellowhouse, Blanco, and Palo Duro canyons, in the valley of the Canadian River, and along other water courses traversing the Southern Plains were to be found in the winter of 1878–79, and by the end of another year the buffalo were gone.

The buffalo slaughter became an important issue with the public. Opponents fought it for sentimental reasons, or cited the great waste and the renewal of the Indian wars in support of their position. On

[52] W. C. Holden, *Alkali Trails*, 13.
[53] Mary J. Atkinson *The Texas Indians*, 331.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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175 the other hand, the buffalo hunters, supported by a strong public opinion, insisted that they were rendering a great service in removing the buffalo from the Great Plains. Their position was summed up by General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the Southwestern Department, before a joint meeting of the Texas Senate and House of Representatives in 1875. Sheridan argued that it would be a sentimental mistake to attempt to stop the slaughter of the buffalo. Instead of stopping the hunters, he said, the legislature should give them a hearty, unanimous vote of thanks and appropriate money to present to each hunter a medal of bronze with a dead buffalo on one side and a discouraged Indian on the other. He continued in words which reveal clearly the Comanche dependence upon the buffalo:

> Those men have done more in the last two years and will do more in the next year to settle the vexed Indian [Comanche particularly] question than the entire regular army has done in the last 30 years. *They are destroying the Indians' commissary* [italics ours]; and it is a well known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send them powder and lead, if you will, and for the sake of lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until they have exterminated the buffalo. Then your prairies will be covered with speckled cattle and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of civilization.[54]

The general knew whereof he talked.

[54] John R. Cook, *The Border and the Buffalo*, 113.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10]
178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year
175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

[p. 142-A]

177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely noted in 1705. They were already horse [231] Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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(113) Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram [175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and [178] E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p 142-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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175 648 This dark picture of conflict is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the [439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).
[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38:157–76 (1935).
[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 products. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
[721] firearms, also incited them to attack the Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

[p. 143-B]

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[32] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[113] [32] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JBAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JBAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

[p. 145-A]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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128 Canonge's translations, though simply presented, show the fruit of patient research into the manner of word formation, characterized in Comanche by a rich use of affixes and of stem composition, while still maintaining a fairly simple inflectional apparatus. Some of the facts were already worked out for Comanche and for closely related languages (e.g. Southern Paiute) before Canonge began his work, but he still had much to do to reach his present fine understanding of Comanche structure and the meaning of each element. He supplemented his general knowledge of the language by careful study of his texts, with the help of Mrs. Riddles and other natives.

The author is to be congratulated on his technique for showing the relation between the native text and the translations. He uses numbers for each word in the native text and marks with the same number the part of the translation corresponding to each native word. This gives a good correlation of the two texts without making the publication impossibly expensive, as is the use of interlinear translation. The linguistically skilled reader, by consulting some of the published work on the structure of Comanche or related tongues, will be able to analyze the material with relative ease; naturally the untrained reader will need more patience to follow the structure but not more than he would need with interlinear translation. A possible criticism is that the literary style of the translation is at times a bit clumsy for trying to parallel the native version strictly.

Canonge uses brief summaries rather than short-phrase titles to the texts.. This will be welcomed by the folklorist concerned with finding "folk-theme" parallels between Comanche and other mythologies, and by the general ethnographer looking for data on particular aspects of Comanche customs. The material is classified into parts, including: Coyote stories, Fairy tales and fables, Humor in ridicule, Manners and morals, Adventure, Obtaining and preparing food.

It is to be expected that the majority of readers will be interested in the content rather than in the specific linguistic form of these texts. They will be able to read right along, simply disregarding the little numbers used for showing the analysis. The latter will be important to the linguist and the student of native story-telling style.

492 In historic times, the Comanche distinguish themselves as one of the tribes which was quick to adopt the use of the
175 horse, becoming accomplished riders, and using this rapid means of movement to hunt the buffalo and in exploits of war.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

OVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

175 726 Because of their courage in battle, the Comanches even won, with certain reservations, the grudging respect of the Anglo-American settlers in Texas. After a fight in 1859, Captain E. K. Smith wrote that "the Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."[1]

175 The general outlines of Comanche history are well known. Members of the tribe first appeared in the 175 Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico soon 101 after 1700. Prior to that time they seem to have dwelled in the plateau and basin country west of the Rockies in parts of present Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In those early years they apparently formed a single tribe with the Shoshones.

173 According to a native tradition, all the Shoshones were camped together along a river when the young son of a chief was accidentally killed during a kicking game. The incident stirred up bitter feelings, so that the camp broke into two factions. To avoid open hostilities, one group moved north, the Shoshones proper or Snakes, while the people who remained behind eventually drifted east and became the Comanches.

175 In the seventeenth century, the Comanches in 101 their several bands probably inhabited the parks just back of the Front Range in Colorado and the country as far as the valley of the North Platte. James

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be regarded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since [197]
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado, and from this vantage point they maintained close contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Comanches must have first learned of these peoples, and from them too, they may have acquired their first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to shift their camps southward and eastward. No doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtaining mounts, but at the same time they may have been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An added attraction to the south and east were the plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos and Picurís. Thus were the rustics from the northern wilderness introduced to the material refinements of more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the century and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 721
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest. 648

The first persons against whom the Comanches displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos. As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

175 party struck at Apache rancherias above present
721 Trinidad, Colorado. This event was the opening
648 curtain on several decades of intense hostility be-
tween the Comanches and the Plains Apaches. By
175 1733 the continual hammering of the mountain In-
dians had caused Apache power to crumble in a
wide swath of country extending from eastern Colo-
rado to Central Kansas.

Remnants of the defeated tribes fled to the security of settlements in New Mexico where in this same year, a mission for 130 refugees was established by the Spanish near Taos. Some of the defeated Plains Apaches, however, were unwilling to submit to the discipline of Christianity, and as an alternative they fled south, out of range of the Comanches who would exterminate them and the Spaniards who would civilize them.

175 By 1715 the government authorities in Santa Fe
648 had begun to pay heed to the growing danger posed
by the Comanches. The Spaniards had not fully
realized at this early date that the Apaches of the
plains were being displaced by an even more aggres-
175 sive foe. This point was driven forcefully home,
648 however, when the Comanches with their Ute allies
721 assaulted the Taos district in 1716. Other severe
raids followed each year thereafter, until the Span-
ish governor personally led a punitive expedition northward to the vicinity of the Arkansas River in the autumn of 1719. No hostile Indians were encountered, but it was definitely established that the Comanches had filtered through the passes in the Front Range and had occupied much of the valuable buffalo country formerly held by the Apaches.

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175 721 648 727 175 721 648 175 701 [648] [721] [161] 175 648 [721] [411] [728]

ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists had been massacred up to that date. When the Indians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and taking the remainder prisoner. Although victories such as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists, having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for example, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

The Spaniards won minor victories now and then, but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired firearms in quantity so that they were an even more formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

the several Comanche bands which resided on the 175 648 728
the eastern limits of New Mexico.

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including 175 648 the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were 728 probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the 101 Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during 175 the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered 101 the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band).

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate 175 hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion 728 of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, 648 Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase [643] his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, [431]

175
648 the Spanish government through the viceroy in
728 Mexico City authorized an annual distribution of
[431] gifts to the Comanches to be paid for by a special fund created for that purpose.

There were, in truth, a number of cogent reasons why the warlike Comanches were willing to accept Anza's offer of peace in 1786, quite apart from the
[721] elaborate gifts which were to be forthcoming. In the first place, their raids against New Mexico in the 1770's had proved so devastating that the impoverished province, at least for the time being, had little
[164] to offer them. Moreover, a severe smallpox epidemic that had visited most of western North America in 1780-1781 had taken its toll among the Comanches, leaving the tribe greatly weakened for a number of years thereafter. Finally, the Comanches were continuing their drift toward the south and east so that the focus of their attention was moving away from New Mexico and toward the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

Not so understandable is why the Eastern Comanches or Orientales were led to accept peace terms at about the same time as their kinsmen to the west. Apparently, the overriding consideration in this case was the hatred felt toward the Lipan Apaches, against whom the Orientales now joined with the Spanish in common cause. [See Document I].A

The peace established in 1785-1786 with both the Eastern and Western Comanches relieved the settled frontier of serious attacks from this tribe for almost a generation and was one of the few notable achievements registered by Spain in her dealings with the Indians of the northern frontier during the eight-

A [See Category 175, pp. 21-22--Analyst.]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 648 their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the 728 following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the [721] years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 175 648 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased somewhat—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—[487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with 175 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation 177 had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

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175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
701 Indians were organized under their own "generals"
177 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt,
175 of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

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[Document I]. Writers, in lauding the accomplishment of Governor Anza in bringing the Western Comanches to terms, have often neglected the fact that a similar peace was also made with the Orientales. 175

The treaty translated below was included in a general report on Indian affairs made by Pedro de Nava, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces (1792-1800) to the Viceroy of New Spain, Miguel Joseph de Azanza. As Nava notes, harmony between Spanish citizens and the Comanches had been maintained up to the time of his writing (1799) with a few minor exceptions. [648]

Originals of Documents I and II rest in the Provincias Internas section of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City. Photocopies of these are available in the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library. The remaining five documents are found in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. 113

—Marc Simmons

[p. 18 is blank]

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Document One

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN COMANCHES, October, 1785, from the report of Pedro de Nava Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, Chihuahua, July 23, 1799.

THE COMANCHES are divided in three branches or tribes known by the names Jupe, Yamparicas, and Cuchanec, or Cuchihantica. The first two inhabit the frontier of New Mexico, and the third, that of Texas. At almost the same time, peace was arranged in both Provinces with this numerous and warlike nation; and the terms settled upon in October of 1785 with the eastern tribe were the following:

175 101 175 648 728

1st That hostilities should cease on both sides, and that in whatever place Spaniards and Comanches might meet, they should treat each other as brothers and good friends.

2nd That the preceding condition is understood to apply not only to the inhabitants of Texas but to all the vassals of the King.

3rd That they should return our captives which they took for ransom, ceasing to engage in such acts against any nation.

4th That they should not admit into their camps any strangers, unless they suppose them to be traders who provide them with merchandise in exchange for hides.

[1785-1799]

175 648 728

5th That they should be friends and enemies to those who are ours.

6th That they should declare as their enemies, the Lipan Apaches and that whenever the Comanches attack them, some of them should come to [San Antonio de] Bexar to advise us of the results.

7th That they should request the license of the Governor of Texas when they intend to transfer themselves to the frontier of the Province of Coahuila for the purpose of making war on the Lipan Apaches and the Mescaleros.

8th And that each year a gift should be given to the captains and Indian leaders of the Comanches as a proof and as a manifestation of our good friendship.

Some of the Eastern Comanches have broken away from the main group and have created small disorders and have perpetrated robberies, but without the knowledge of the captains or other Indian leaders of that nation, who themselves have continued to observe in an acceptable manner the conditions of peace since the time of the agreement.

Pedro de Nava

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace 175
with us, its members have undertaken on 648
their own initiative various campaigns 721
against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico.

On one expedition which they carried out last July 175
with 95 men commanded by one of their captains 648
called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon 727
Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both 701
sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Do Juan Bautista de Anza. The 175
original copy of this report is being sent to Your 648
Excellency.

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

175 648 ent Governor [of New Mexico] Dn Fernando de la Concha to compile a careful and exact record of their operations and successes and to pass this information on to me so that I may inform Your Excellency of all developments.

By these documents and by the facts referred to in various reports which I have sent to Your Excellency, ample demonstration has been provided for the usefulness of the system developed for the destruction of the Apaches who are now caught between two frontiers [those of New Mexico and Texas]. And since these borders are free from the attacks of other enemies, [the settlers] may devote their arms and energies to the principal objective of subduing the Apaches. And if by good fortune it should come about that the Mescaleros in the north should be kept at peace, at least for a little while, I feel certain the Province [of New Mexico] would shortly experience the favorable effects toward which my orders made in the field and at the Presidio [of Janos] have been directed. And my future orders will provide for whatever else may be necessary along this line. With regard to new developments, I will keep Your Excellency informed from Chihuahua.

May God keep Your Excellency many years

Janos, 13 of March of 1788

His Lordship Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola

[To] His Lordship
d. Manuel Antonio Florez

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) - New Mexico

Document Three

FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA TO THE VICE-roy Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Santa Fe, May 6, 1793, regarding inter-tribal warfare between the Comanches and other Indians.

THE FOUR nations of the Comanches, Utes, Navajos, and Jicarillas who have allied themselves with this Province [of New Mexico] continue without change their good conduct and they remain in harmony with the local settlers. But among themselves they still launch raids, and this stems primarily from the hate which the latter tribes feel for the first. 175 648 [721]

At the beginning of last winter, the Utes and Navajos got together for a council and they resolved to go and attack the Comanches. They set out immediately and soon encountered a rancheria left unguarded by [Comanche] men who had gone buffalo hunting. They proceeded with little difficulty to destroy it completely, capturing and killing the women and children, and running off the horseherd that was there. When news of this reached the other Comanches, they swore to avenge the offense and raising a considerable war party, they attacked the village of the Utes in a like manner and completely destroyed one of their rancherias, with the result that both [tribes] have suffered almost equal harm from the other. 175 648 727 [721]

000 [1793]

175 648 from the other. These acts have been committed outside the Province [of New Mexico].

More regrettable are the consequences which the Province may suffer if the Comanches are not restrained in the just anger which they feel toward the Navajos, because to search out and attack them in their haunts, [the Comanches] will be forced to pass through the center of New Mexico, thus disrupting the tranquil state which has been maintained up to this time.

To try and guard against further harm which may originate [from this situation], since first receiving news of these developments, I have worked constantly to the present day endeavoring through use of means which seem to me most reasonable to bring about a conciliation between the two Nations,[3] all of which must be managed with considerable tact and prudence.

To succeed in this important objective, I have ordered the Navajos through their general, who is a subject with admirable qualities, to gather together all the captives of the Comanche Nation which may be in their power, and that accompanied by the same general and the captains of his retinue, they should conduct [the prisoners] to this Villa [of Santa Fe] to hand them over and to give complete satisfaction to the Comanche general and captains when they reach here.

This same order I have communicated to the Comanches and as a result they have not made any move against the Navajos up to this moment. As soon as they arrive here, as I've already told them, I will notify [the Navajos] who are nearby and I will

take personal charge of the negotiations. Whatever comes of the meeting between the two Nations, I will advise Your Excellency at the first opportunity.

The Apaches who are at peace at the Puesto de Sabinal asked my license on April 3 to go and collect and prepare mescal which they annually store up. I gave them permission with the express condition that they return by the first of this month to do their accustomed planting. I still have not received word of their return from that place, which is forty leagues from this capital, but I expect it momentarily.

May God Keep You,

6 of May of 1793

[Fernando de la Concha]

[To]
His Excellency Conde de Revilla Gigedo

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Four

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA to Governor Fernando de la Concha, Chihuahua, August 8, 1793.

I SEE with satisfaction by the official letter from Your Lordship of last July 25, that friendship and good harmony between the allied [Indian] nations and that Province [of New Mexico] continues, and that the Apaches have made new overtures for peace at Sabinal. To continue, the other news of which your Lordship advises me, I find most regrettable: that concerning the campaign carried out by the Comanches against the Pawnees which resulted in the loss of the [Comanche] Captain Hachaxas, and grave wounds for General Ecueracapa.

The measures which Your Lordship took in dispatching what medical aid was available to the [wounded general] seem to me appropriate. And I await further details which Your Lordship may acquire concerning the encounter between those two Nations, as well as news of the results of the settlement of the Apaches at Sabinal.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua August 8, 1793 Pedro de Nava

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Five

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA
To Governor Fernando de la Concha
Chihuahua, December 31, 1793

I Have received the official letter from Your Lordship numbered 449 of the 19th of November in which you advised me of the impending march to attend the council which the Comanche Indians had called to meet along the Colorado River for the purpose of naming a general to replace the deceased Ecueracapa. And I received the later letter numbered 458 in which Your Lordship informs me that the election by universal approbation of the assembled rancherias fell on Captain Encanaguané, whose suitability leaves nothing to be desired, according to what Your Lordship says. 175 643 [666]

I approve all Your Lordship has done on this occasion, of that which I have been informed; and [I am also pleased] with the deference accorded Your Lordship by the Comanche Nation and the respect which you showed their new leader, and the other Indians in line who came to the council. 175 648

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua December 31, 1793

Pedro de Nava

Señor Fernando de la Concha

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(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Six

REPORT ON COMANCHE AFFAIRS BY THE Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, Santa Fe, November 20, 1805, to the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces.

I AM NOTIFYING Your Excellency that three captains of the Yamparika Comanches who formerly lived to the north but now are found along the Rio Colorado [Canadian River], have presented themselves before me, requesting four favors, the nature of which are here explained; First that I should name as generals one of their captains called Somiquaso, and another from among the Cuchanticas called Quegue so that they would have leaders. 175 648

Second, that I should clothe them and present them gifts;

Third, that citizens from this Province should go and build them houses of wood forming a plaza along the aforementioned Rio Colorado near that of the Conchas. They agree to maintain the laborers and repay them with goods for their work;

And fourth, that I should set free certain prisoners and criminals.

I agreed to appoint the general whom they had requested and he took the name Carlos. I gave them [643] [431]

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648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
439 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.

[643] On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Seven

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMANDANT General of the Western Interior Provinces, Alexo García Conde, to Facundo Melgares, Governor of New Mexico, with regard to punishment of the hostile tribes of the East, May 11, 1819.

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AS A RESULT of the hostilities perpetrated in the Provinces of the East [Texas and Coahuila] by the Comanches, Taguacanas [Tawakonis], Taguayaces [Taovayas], and Lipan [Apaches], the Commandant General of the East has initiated a campaign to search out and punish those Indians who can be found in their rancherías. It is to be feared, therefore, that as a result of such operations some of said Indians will flee by way of the outpost of Presidio del Norte [Ojinaga] with the intention of committing hostilities in this province [New Mexico]. To prevent such an occurrence, I have resolved to dispatch from the said outpost, the 20th of next June a unit of 255 men who for a period of 60 days will scout the territory as far as the right bank of the Pecos River.

As a consequence and by virtue of what I have advised the commander of the expedition, Don Juan Francisco Granados, and so as not to stir up the Western Comanches on the frontier of this province who are observing the peace, you should exercise all

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648

possible care in avoiding any attack on their rancherias. It should prove useful if you would summon the principal leader of those Indians and make clear to him our plans and our intention to observe good faith with his people. In addition, be sure it is understood that the operations of the troops of this province are directed only toward punishing the Eastern Comanches who threaten us with raids. And explain that in view of all this, it would be well if members of the Western Nation would stay away from the territory where the campaign is in progress so that our troops will not attack them by mistake.

May God Guard Your Excellency

Durango, 11 of May, 1819

Alexo García Conde

To the Interim Governor
of New Mexico
[Facundo Melgares]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

171

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

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[p. 324-A]

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substan-
764 tiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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113

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[p.324-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 45) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the southern Great Plains. They came down from the north shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

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Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945.

113 177 128 101

[p. 3]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eighteenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

175 648 175 101

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche society are rare and meager.

175 648 [186] 114

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

114 and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he
124 wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and
126 other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

114 Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

113 The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

175 [*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule,
[121] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, op. cit., I, p. 223.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

(ca. 1818)

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures 175
in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the 121
results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Ar- 175
kansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained 131
habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain 181
some interesting relations to our country. It would not be 000
altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore 175
have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the 648
mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial 721
Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them, 175
721

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their
721 *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion
101 of the country through which they have ranged time imme-
171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[Ca. 1818]

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

101 [ca. 1818]
133 of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and
648 destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is
721 this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory war-
175 fare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio
175 Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about
721 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether
701 they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin
162 bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resûme my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks.
101 These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally
133 extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are
175 found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dis-
101 similar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but
184 are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche 16
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive
[642] official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[671] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

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auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost 562
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 175
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 684
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of muti- 175
lation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interpo- 696
sition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwith- 175
standing the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 571
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 175
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 771
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- 776
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They [775]
therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity. 771

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175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great
776 Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

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seasons. In short they have no visible, operative religion; and such notions as they do entertain, are mere fanciful speculations, that apparently have not the slightest practical influence on their lives and conduct. They are enveloped in thick darkness, and live, and die in dismal estrangement from the God of Heaven. 175 771

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 22, 1824]

Letter III

The Comanchees, like all other heathen nations, mingle with the crudities of their religious tenets, some exceedingly absurd and unintelligible fantasies, to which they adhere with all the tenacity of a blind superstition. They believe in witchcraft, and impute to persons whom they suspect to be possessed of the "evil spirit", the most mischievous and diabolical propensities. All internal diseases, the nature or cause of which they do not comprehend, and they are by no means skilled in physics, they attribute to the *blasting breath* of some secret enemy, who is endowed by evil genii with the mystical powers of enchantment. They say the unhappy subject has been "blown", and represent the manner of communicating the occult infection, by blowing through the hand. These tricks of sorcery they sometimes charge to the evil disposed of their own people, but are never able to detect and identify the foul fiend, or instant immolation would be his destiny. They hold the Kitchies (a small band on a branch of the River Trinity) in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of *blowing;* and charge them with having "blown" the waters that intersect their route to Natchitoches, which has rendered their visits to that post so destructive to their people. Whatever may be the nature of the hidden disease, the consequence is often a gradual dissolution of the miserable victim, who pines away in langour and despondency, amidst unavailing threats of vengeance upon his mysterious adversary. The few persons I have seen who were supposed to have been "blown", have exhibited all the external symptoms of pulmonary affection: but the mild and equable tem- 175 754

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175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
175 They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
[585] principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[687] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

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The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

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727 complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around in tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon
[567] him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him,
[178] where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

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strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, 175
however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient 727
perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration.

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on 175
horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cav- 726
alry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be 492
in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the 175
speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own 492
use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds.

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant 175
parade through the village mounted and accountred, and 726
bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful [714]
style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These

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175 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their
[492] movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em-
bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the
[593] saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross
727 the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
714

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always ride without saddles, and without any other encumbrance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Spanish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buffaloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

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721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and
721 lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in
152

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the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eye-witnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

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157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental nothingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

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175
sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists alto-
gether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are ex-
ceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construc- [415]
tion, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages 261
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal [251]
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times [571]
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride,
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 175
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 261
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic sys-
tem with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies
of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and
gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any
subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then en-
dure hunger with singular patience. and comparatively
trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is ca-
pable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting
the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
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262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful
263 and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

21. Burnet T-5 (1818 1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818]
cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

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000

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824]

192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oct-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

622 [ca. 1870]
624 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his
554 reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of
701 a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes
623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally
[622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in con-
203 travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all
685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which,
684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour,
682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him.
673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own
538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables,
177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the
[797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking
[175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prov de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Come Gral de las Yntern le hace en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre varios circumstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). [113]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Gomanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the 175
Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made 643
themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with 623
their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all 555
their Nation and the following which they have; in the
councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the
rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs 175
and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have 157
in the Negotiations of the Nation? 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not [728]
come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the gover-
nor has not been able to learn their character, but if the
experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the
ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging],
they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more
friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other
friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that 175
the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look 648
at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them
more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the gov- 175
ernor has made of this nation, he has come to understand 648
that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness 181
and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive
nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harsh-
ness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is 175
indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all 648
love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to
behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they
begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and
manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary
that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call
Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in deal-
ing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

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pleased and content. Through that means and by presenting them with those trinkets which they are accustomed to receiving, by which means he will be able to obtain peace treaties, trade, and communication with them, constant and truthful. That is how much the governor has been able to inquire and investigate the character of this Nation.

Royal Presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, April 30, 1876.

DOMINGO CABELLO.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

A [See facing p. 294--Analyst.]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[107] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621]
[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[122]

[113]

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

[113]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175

Petrograph of a figure carrying two lances, points downward (from Kenton, Okla.)

[facing p. 292]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

551 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
551 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
701 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

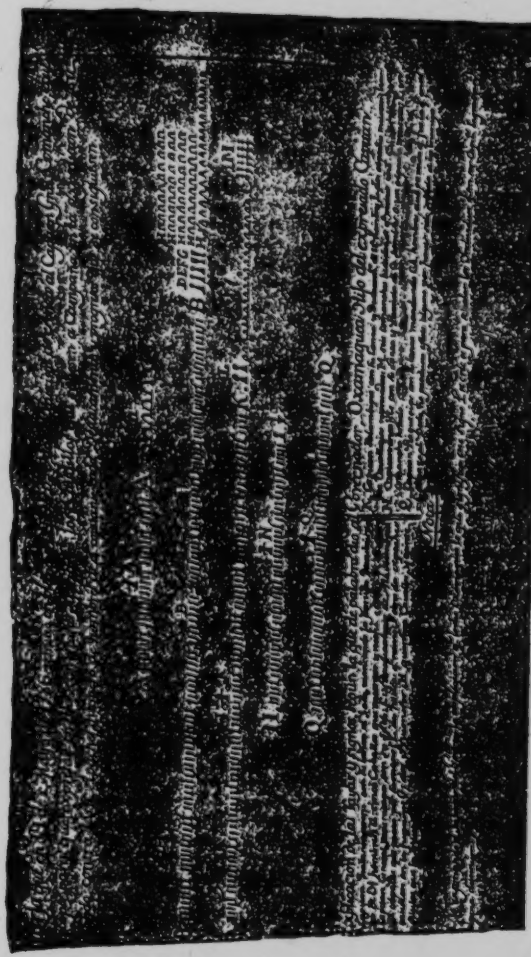
[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)



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Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[11]

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[11]

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[113] [11] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[11] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

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Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[27]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[28] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[29] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe: El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	Exchange[30] of the group Yupe He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	50 6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[27] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[28] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[29] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[30] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubaruh:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuabacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

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[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[623]
[643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 701 648 726 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral:	Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.
701 Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo:	He raises his hands; second son
551 Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero:	Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alexna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[36]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[37]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[36] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[37] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount 174
of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife.

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically 175
able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced 178
an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche 561
lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine 175
man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people 178
at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly 624

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[598] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[776] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[715] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[764] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
72 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[229] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe, and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
175 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government,
657 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874-75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA 101
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal Trust Area 657
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72) 161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 195 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

the right to use—or threaten with—force was not reserved to the government. It was a privilege reserved to the interested parties in case the adjudicative process broke down. In other words, there existed a situation exactly comparable to that observed among nations which recognize certain practices of international law, but which reserve to themselves the sovereign right to resort to force if things don't suit them. Then, in the words of Post Oak Jim, "Lots of trouble, lots of people hurt." 627 577

It is very clear, however, that the Comanches tended to attribute moral rightness to the braver man. This is revealed, for instance, in the settlement of a land-rights squabble in the early days on the reservation:

Case 8. Land Dispute
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

When land allotments were made by the government, two neighbors quarrelled over a quarter section of land which both wanted. One of them succeeded in establishing his claim on the disputed land. The other protested the action and contested the claim. Feeling ran higher and higher over the matter until each was threatening to kill the other.

Quanah Parker, who was chief of the band at the time, was called upon to settle the dispute. He asked two warriors to testify as to the past war record of the disputants. Since one of the warriors was late in coming to report, Parker sent Eagle Tail Feather, then chief of the Indian police, to find him to hear what he had to say. Eagle Tail Feather took another warrior with him as witness. The first disputant also went in the party, thinking to gain an advantage by confronting the witness personally.

When the four men were assembled at the warrior-witness's house, this disputant spoke up, saying, "Which is better, I or this other fellow?"

"All right," said the warrior, "now that you've asked me, I'll speak out plain. That other one (the opponent in the case) is the better man. I was in a battle where I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade from the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed; you'd better look out or he'll whip you, or kill you."

These words silenced the claimant. He knew that he would lose the land unless he could speak up and tell of a braver deed which he had performed. This he could not do, so he remained speechless while the others waited for his words. When they were satisfied that his adversary was the braver man, Eagle Tail Feather and his aide returned to Quanah and told him what had ensued at the meeting.

Quanah decreed that the disputed quarter section should belong to the warrior who had made the rescue. The other released his claim to it without further word.[8]

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[8] This is, of course, an atypical case, involving as it does, land rights which are not a part of the aboriginal culture. However, it *does* show the carry-over of old attitudes to new procedures. [177]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

771 or trait depended on power given to man by some supernatural being. The supernatural beings were animistic objects of nature—birds—the hawk, the eagle, and humming bird; animals—the bear, the otter, bison, rat, wolf, and others; reptiles and fishes; even insects. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed special attributes or powers which they could give to men as medicine. Other spirits were the imaginary environment: a whole fabric created by man's fancy, made real by dogma. These were the dwarf people, who lived in the mountains; the water babies, who lived in swampy places; the dead reincarnated as animals; and the ghosts of men, who were likely to turn up almost anywhere. By association, medicines were usually similar in some respect to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the respective guardian spirit. Lightning and thunder gave power, too, but the earth and the sun were akin to deities. They were active in the affairs of men, yet above that individualized pity which led spirit-beings to bestow medicine powers on an earthling.

The essence of the religion was found in the relation between an earthling and his guardian spirits. Power came in vision visitations. It was a dream phenomenon, or hallucinatory experience. It sometimes came uninvited. More frequently it was sought.

A vision quest entailed a solitary visit to a mountain, or to the grave of a dead medicine man. Fasting and certain rituals were involved, though no self-torture was used by these people. The watch lasted four days; it might last longer. The Comanche stayed at it until he received his vision, or else abandoned the quest.

Religious practice consisted in first instance of the patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. Behind these were relationships which prevailed between men and their guardian spirits, together with certain notions concerning supernatural forces in general: so those pertaining to Coyote, the trickster, or to the earth and the sun. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, these relationships and their observance were a matter of *individual* concern. The Comanche did have medicine societies of a sort, but they were limited both in extent and in importance. Dances or ceremonies were few and simple. Most of them were without religious significance. The great exception, the Sun Dance, was a relatively late acquisition from other Plains tribes.[4]

[77]

Religion being thus an individual matter save in exceptional cases, the tabus which it enjoined were also limited in importance to the person

[4] R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1938), pp. 420–428.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch. 627x 684 558

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic approaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath. 627x 782

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ʈaβéβekʌt. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[8] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in. 627x 177 562

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

[8] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

627 "But you listen, I deny this thing. Now look out! I am going to smoke too.
●177 If you are putting the lie on me, the sun will get you instead." That put a
562 different complexion on the situation; the husband was not begging for such a bargain. "So," as That's It put it, "he called off his sun-killing and gave his wife sugar-words."

Later another husband called the deal and paid the price. A man named Brother-in-law, according to Holding Her Sunshade, tried his wife on false evidence. When he put her to the curse, she made her denial and ended by calling to the supernaturals, "If he cuts off my nose, grant that he shall not live long." Brother-in-law accepted the challenge. He did cut off her nose, and within a month he was dead.

x627 In earlier days when such notions had not yet occurred to women, there
688 were, nevertheless, other escapes, if the aid of a powerful practitioner could be enlisted. For in the case of Looking For Fun, we have one fortunate woman who was able to dodge death through the invocation of strong counterpowers.

Case 30. Adultery, Conditional Curse: Looking For Fun
Informant: That's It

"Her husband suspected her of adultery. This Looking For Fun denied. So her husband made sun-killing. Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the sun saying, 'You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall.'[9] Then to the earth he said, 'You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you.' Whereupon he gave the pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.

Even though she was guilty and knew it, she swore to the powers, 'Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true!'

"That ended the ceremony.

"After a few months Looking For Fun had fainting spells and began to waste away. She was frightened and went to a medicine man for help. He told her to wait to see what his powers offered. After three or four days he came to her and said he believed that the husband's charge was true! The great powers were punishing her. At this she owned up. She told the medicine man she had not confessed because she was afraid of what her husband would do to her. As for the curse, she said she didn't believe in its power and so had lied about it. The medicine man told her that that being the situation, it was too dangerous a matter for him to handle. His power was not strong enough to cope with the sun. He recommended that she take her case to another medicine man who was a specialist in such matters. Looking For Fun was eager and asked her adviser to tell her mother of the situation. The medicine man

[9] Compare this wording with the Crow Indian conditional curse in coup-counting disputes—"It was I struck the enemy. Sun, as you looked down, you saw me. May the one who lies die before winter." R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 217.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. " . . . in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

The Comanches

171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 174 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millenia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic*, vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

The Horse and the Buffalo

These forces brought about an immediate and sweeping change in the life of the Comanches that was even more drastic than in the case of most other Indians. Walter Prescott Webb does not exaggerate in his claim that "Steam, electricity, and gasoline have wrought no greater changes in our culture than did horses in the culture of the Plains Indians."[2] With the horse, the Comanche achieved incomparably greater mobility; he mastered the buffalo; he had an exchangeable asset that made him a greater trader; he was transformed from an impotent infantryman into a fierce cavalryman—a dangerous warrior and insatiable raider. As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation, the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. It enabled the hunter to provide plenty of food, clothing, and shelter for his dependents, the raider to take more plunder, and the warrior to take more enemy scalps with less danger to himself. His life became exuberant, his culture efflorescent. 177

The Comanche had not been devoid entirely of a beast of burden for use in transportation previous to the acquisition of the horse. He had used the dog to draw his travois, as we have already seen. But his movable goods when toted by dogs were meager and his household poorly furnished. After obtaining the larger animal, he merely enlarged his dog harness, lengthened the travois poles, and "as an indication of appreciation of the boon which had been conferred upon him, named the horse the God-dog."[3] But the difference in the load that could be moved and the distance that could be covered as a result of the change increased considerably the area from which the Comanche could draw sustenance and the load of household appurtenances he could move about in his wanderings. 177 492 231

The horse had other practical advantages over the dog. It could eat grass and even the bark of trees. In the lush plains of the past it was easier to feed in large numbers than was the dog. Furthermore, its flesh could be eaten in times of food scarcity, while the dog, although nutritious, could not be eaten because of the coyote tabu. The skin of the horse provided shelter, robes, saddles, and rawhide thongs. The mane and tail were converted into ropes and bridles. The Comanche hunter was no longer compelled to stalk his game on foot. 177 231

[2] W. P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Conflict of Civilization*, 13.
[3] *Ibid.*

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177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

276 796 on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

796 The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

[177] The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.* 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

726 horses that fell behind were abandoned. No time was lost hunting for food. If necessary, old horses were killed and consumed. Captives who retarded the speed of the retreat might be abandoned or killed. To avoid surprise, they stopped to rest for only an hour or two and then moved on again, making three or four such stops within a day. To discourage pursuit, they would take a route on which they knew there was no water. When they became very thirsty, they killed horses and drank the blood. The meager supply of water carried in buffalo paunches was rationed, well guarded, and conserved for the children and women when they were along, or for wounded warriors. Clinton Smith declares that on one occasion the warriors did without water until their throats became too swollen for them to swallow readily.[21]

After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war-bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear-guard actions. The leader designated two men to remain on fast horses some distance behind, yet close enough to signal, in order to watch the back trail. They sometimes set fire to the grass to blot out their trail against both men and dogs, or they emptied pouches of skunk musk on the trail to prevent dogs from following in pursuit. After the advent of the white trader, the rear-guard scouts carried field glasses.[22]

127 When raiders had put two or three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. They needed rest and the wounded required attention. In most cases there were spoils to be divided, and the division was made as soon as convenient. The leader's eyes had been open to industry, willingness, and bravery. He noted or was soon told of the actions of his followers while in battle. Unless previously agreed otherwise, to the man who had excelled he allowed first choice of the horses to be divided. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his services as determined by the chief, the cook usually having high priority. The leader took his pick of what remained. The succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Liberality was

[21] Ibid., 40.

[22] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 34, 39, 40.

[23] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 142–43.

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole. 648x 795 [527 641]

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sekwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material. [177 574]

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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hunt to obtain a portion of their winter supply of meat, and the sale of buffalo robes was the source of a large part of their income. They preferred their own clothing obtained by means of the hunt to that provided by the government. The agent defended their cause, and the final decision was that they might continue to hunt off the reservation, but must be accompanied by a military escort when they did so.[18] 648x

The regulation was tardy, for the day of the old-time summer communal hunt was past. Nevertheless, the whole tribe set out eagerly for their old hunting grounds. But there were no buffalo. Only white bones gleaming ghostlike in the sun, victims of the white hunters' long-range rifles, remained as a reminder of the vast herds that once covered the plains. And even the bones were not to lie undisturbed for long; they were to be ground up for fertilizer. From creek to creek the Comanches journeyed. Their scouts ranged far and wide seeking the herds. The few antelope they met hardly provided them with daily food. Still there were no buffalo, no feasts of marrow bones and tidbits, no racks of meat drying for their winter needs, no buffalo robes to turn the cold north wind.

"They will come when the leaves fall," the Indians said. But the frosts came and the weather grew colder, and still the plains were empty. The time allowed by the agent for the hunt expired. Some gave up hope and returned to the reservation, glad to get their rations of flour, sugar, rice, and beeves. The agent sent an emissary with food to bring the others back to the reservation. The aid came in good time, for they were starving. They had killed some of their ponies and were suffering in the season's early snowstorm. They accepted the inevitable and returned sadly with the emissary to the agency. Sullenness and despair fell upon them. The buffalo had failed, and they now began to realize for certain that their old way of life had ended. Several war chiefs abdicated, and there followed a noticeable trend away from communal life toward family life. 177 648

Now the Comanches began to turn in all seriousness to a source of religious solace that could not and has not failed them. The Sun Dance had failed them and they felt that their power-giving spirits 177 795

[18] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 60; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1878, and reply, October 14, 1878.

177 795 had all but forsaken them. Their accustomed guardian spirits, and even the Sun, lacked sufficient power to turn back the whites and to preserve their old tribal way of life; they needed and sought new power. The answer was peyote.

It was strong power, and it could always be invoked. Visions could always be had through peyote; it was reassuring to The People.

Peyote worship developed as essentially a group experience. It always has been, and still is. The old camp life was broken up. The Comanches were having to learn to live on isolated farmsteads. They yearned for the companionship of each other. In the peyote meetings they were brought together in the warm intimacy of the sacred tipi. They sat shoulder to shoulder in common experience. There they knew that they were not alone, and they could feel that all was not lost.

R. N. Richardson records the general belief that peyote was first used by the Comanches near Fort Sill, about 1875, shortly after they had been confined on the reservation.[19] D. P. McAllester, in his excellent study of Comanche peyote music, also sets the eighteen seventies as the period in which the Comanches first took up peyote.[20] This, it is true, is the time when the use of peyote in the form of a religious cult really took hold among the Comanches. Until their collapse and the failure of their venture with Coyote Droppings there was no functional reason for them to rely on a drug as the means to supernatural power, although they had access to it and, indeed, had used it in a limited way for some time.

There is ample evidence in the data given by Post Oak Jim, Breaks [824] Something, White Wolf, Kɔwino, and Frank Moeda to make it quite certain that the Comanches "knew" peyote before the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days it was used exclusively as a war medicine—especially as an aid in seer-seeing to determine what dangers to expect or where to find horses or enemies.

Peyote, a small, gray-green, spineless, napiform cactus, is botanically known as *Lophophora williamsii*. It contains pharmacologically a complex number of alkaloids capable of producing a variety of physiological effects, including visual and auditory hallucinations, as well

[19] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 34, n.55.
[20] D. P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, 13.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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as a number of medicinal specifics for an as yet undetermined series of illnesses and pathological states. It is not, so far as has been determined, a habit-forming drug of the sort that requires continuing and increasing doses in order to meet a physiological craving. Unlike alcohol it does not cause a loss of muscular control or co-ordination, although it does produce a slowing down of reaction time accompanied by a sensation of euphoric relaxation and a feeling of absolute social harmony toward everyone present in the peyote session. Among the American Indians, at least, the effect is sedative and it has not the least tendency to rouse its partakers to violent behavior. It banishes fatigue and produces no "hangover" effects.

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The ritual use of peyote goes far back into old Mexico. The *conquistadores* found it in religious contexts in Central Mexico, and it flourishes among the Cora-Huichol and, to a lesser extent, among the Tarahumara. The word "peyote" is corrupted Nahuatl (Aztecan) for the word for caterpillar, "peyotl," so called because the fuzzy white tufts on the rounded top of the plant look like the fuzzy back of a caterpillar.

By 1716, according to a note of Velasco, the Indians of South Texas were using "pellote." The Carrizo Apaches are believed to be the group through whom it was transmitted to other Apaches; and the Comanches believe that they first got it from either the Carrizo or White Mountain Apaches.

McAllester presents a full and detailed Comanche version of the acquisition of peyote from the Carrizo Apache. According to this account, a young Comanche war leader lost all his followers in a fight with the Carrizos. He himself was scalped, stripped, and left for dead. The Apaches were holding a peyote meeting sometime later when the scalped Comanche entered their lodge. He told them that in four days seven Comanches would arrive among them. "When those seven arrive you are to have a peyote meeting. When you have the meeting I command you to give them my bow and this peyote. They shall take these things from you with them." This the Carrizos agreed to do; and thus it came to pass that the Comanches learned about peyote.[21]

As McAllester points out, his version, which was recorded in

[21] *Ibid.*, 14–17.

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1940, is "more of an historical account than a myth," for it lacks the usual diagnostic characteristics of Plains Indian mythology. But when set against a hitherto unpublished and more pristine account, given to the Laboratory of Anthropology researchers by White Wolf in 1933, it may be seen to what degree the myth-making tendency has built up the story in the McAllester version.

« « « A war party of Comanches was returning from a raid in the country far to the west. When they were camped in the country of the White Mountain Apaches, they heard a drumming different from any kind they knew. Their leader said, "I shall go to see what kind of a thing this is. If I do not return, you will know that I am dead."

An Apache had had a dream that an enemy Comanche was to appear, so they were not surprised when this war chief showed up. Their leader had said they should bring him right in when he appeared.

When he came into their meeting, the Apache leader asked him why he was there.

"I wanted to follow up the drum," was his reply.

They were holding a peyote meeting, and the peyote leader told him to observe closely all that happened. In this way he learned the ritual. When the meeting was over, they gave him the drum and the Father Peyote. They told him where to find more peyote for the use of the Comanches. This is how we learned about this herb.

I was told this when I was a small boy by an old man who had been told it by an old man. » » »

White Wolf, at the time of the telling of this simple account was himself eighty ears of age.

Greyfoot observed that although the Comanches first got peyote from the Apaches "a long time ago," they dropped it "because some medicine men began using it in an evil way."

In the eighteen sixties it was coming into limited use again as war medicine, as indicated in the following account given by Breaks Something, who had been told it by *Mamsska*.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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On the Reservation

« « « Charcoal led us on a trip to find where the peyote plants grew. The Apaches knew where it was, and they gave the directions to Charcoal. 177 795

On the road Charcoal finally recognized the place which the Apaches had described to him. All the Comanches spread out to search for the plant. They had never seen it growing before, but *MʌmsƷka* recognized some. He called the others to come look.

They all gathered around the patch and arranged themselves in the peyote-meeting formation. Charcoal was the leader. He made smoke to the peyote. He addressed it, saying, "We are going to take you for protection against the enemies."

Then he cut off the head of a big peyote plant just below the ground. He cleaned the dirt off of it, wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in his pocket over his heart. Now he told the others to cut all the peyote they needed. He said they would have a meeting that evening.

For their peyote lodge they cut brush which they formed in the shape of a tipi and covered with robes. Charcoal formed the earth crescent and fireplace in the center. All prepared for the meeting; they bathed and returned to the camp to get painted up. Then they entered the tipi in the ceremonial fashion. *MʌmsƷka* was the fire tender. Charcoal placed the first button he had cut on the crescent for the road medicine, Father Peyote. He lit a cigarette with a coal, and then he spoke to the peyote. He told it he heard it had power; he was going into enemy territory; and he told it he was going to carry it for protection. He put his cigarette down and chewed some [783] wild sage which he rubbed over his body as a purifier. The other men did the same.

Now a bag of peyote buttons was brought in. Charcoal took four. Each of the other men was also given four.

Then each man chewed a piece of peyote into a pulp. He spewed it out into his hand, made four circular motions toward the fire, and swallowed it. Then he spit in his hands and rubbed them over his head, arms, and ears to take away aches and pains, and to hear better.

Charcoal used his bow for the singer's staff. A rattle and drum had been brought along for the occasion. Each man sang four songs as they passed the staff and the rattle and drum around the circle.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Then they passed out more peyote.

Finally, Charcoal spoke up: "*Mʌmɜ̃ka,* stir the fire. I have learned that tomorrow we shall all be killed."

He smoked again and spoke to the peyote, telling it that he did not expect anything bad like this from it. Now he was in a very dangerous place, he said.

Next he talked to his followers.

"Tomorrow we go over a certain hill. I have seen that there will be two companies of soldiers there. We might as well die now. Let this peyote kill us right here! Eat a lot of it."

With tears in his eyes, he ate more and more.

At midnight the water was brought in, and they all smoked. Charcoal again upbraided the peyote for treating him thus, and he ate more and more peyote.

After a while Charcoal spoke again.

"I have learned more," he said. "Tomorrow we shall meet some enemies, but no harm will come to us. We shall go on and capture some horses and get home safely. There will be a gray one for me."

The next morning they ate breakfast and prepared to leave. They traveled a bit and went up a hill. On an opposite hill, across a creek they saw two companies of soldiers. After a drill, the soldiers left. Our people went down the hill and traveled southwest all day long. At night they came upon an enemy camp where there were many horses, among them a gray one. Cried Charcoal, "That's *my* horse."

They gathered up the horses and made for home, Charcoal riding the gray.

This shows the wonderful power of peyote. It all came true. » » »

Charcoal's first peyote button was preserved by him until his death, when he gave it to a friend, who in time gave it to *Mʌmɜ̃ka,* who still preserved and cherished this famous button in 1933.

With such powers, peyote took firm hold of the Comanches as soon as they settled down on the reservation. Its worship flourished, until in the early part of the present century it suffered from opposition emanating from missionaries and government officers.

The old leaders were waging a losing fight to retain their religious practices through the peyote sacrament until James Mooney, a rep-

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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rations. During the fiscal year 1909–10 only eighty-seven, all of whom were unable to work, received rations, to the amount of $4,335.90.[24]

The breakdown of established norms of behavior and the change to new patterns of conduct resulted in many social conflicts and disturbances. The whites were not sufficiently well acquainted with the Indians always to apprehend the guilty parties and mete out justice as well as some of the Indians. Horse thieves preyed on the Indians' herds. It was easy to round up a bunch of ponies in the isolated portions of the Comanche lands and run them off into the Chickasaw country or into Texas, where they had a ready sale.

To assist the agents in maintaining order on the reservation, Congress in May, 1878, provided for a system of Indian police. They were to be provided with badges, uniforms, and guns, and each officer was to receive eight dollars and each private five dollars a month in addition to full rations.[25] Their business was to ride over the country and keep watch for thieves and trespassers, to report any troubles that might arise among the Indians of the reservation, and to keep watch over the Indians' cattle and horses. They would work under the agent's orders.

Agent P. B. Hunt, whose task it was to organize the first police force, found it difficult to secure men willing to serve. He wanted young men, but the compensation was too small to induce men to volunteer for the service. Furthermore, the chiefs declared that it was not right for younger men to arrest the older members of the tribe. The agent reminded the leaders that the police were to work for all their people, to guard their livestock, to carry information to the agent and from him to their people; they would do work similar to the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In order to win the support of those objecting to the police, the headmen were commissioned to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation, thus satisfying them with a semblance of their old authority.[26] To complete the police rolls, Hunt found it necessary to refuse the Comanches the permit for their annual

[24] Supt. Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, *Annual Report*, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[25] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, p. XLII; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, September 28, 1878.

[26] Agent J. Lee Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1886 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27]

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

The Comanches

177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 648 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
657 I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade out of
695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed.
You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

I took this report back to Quanah. It was then up to this fellow to come out with a true account of a braver deed or else give up the land and abide by the decision.

He could not do this, so Quanah and the two warriors decided for the complainer. That man had to give up the land and keep quiet. » » »

This is hardly the way a white court would have decided the validity of a land claim in dispute. And we have strong doubts as to its being the way that it would have been settled by Comanche peace chiefs, if they had been called upon to adjudicate by the Anglo-Americans. But it was sound Comanche reasoning from a war leader's point of view, and in terms of the Comanches' premises it was just.

177 In 1886, provision was made for the establishment of the Court
x 648 of Indian Offenses with power to try minor cases. The court as con-
657 stituted that year was composed of three judges who were selected
695 by the Indians with the assistance and approval of the agent. The
presiding judge was paid thirty dollars a month; the other two, twenty-five dollars each. The agent certified Quanah Parker of the Comanches as presiding judge, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Jim Tehuacana of the Wichitas as the first members of the newly created court. The court was to have jurisdiction over both the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations. It was to meet twice a month.

The plan worked well. The judges fully appreciated the dignity of their positions, and the Indians were more willing to submit difficulties or complaints to their own court presided over by their own chiefs. The presence of two of the three judges from other tribes was intended to assure impartial hearings and sentences. The court assessed fines or jail sentences which sometimes were more severe than the white man's law assigned for like offenses, and a few times

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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795

would bring back the spirits of the dead Indians, the buffalo, wild horses, and all the other animals which had formerly been on the plains. Indians and whites would live together in brotherly forbearance. But the Sioux, as they took up the Paiute-Christian pacifism of the Prophet, transformed it into a doctrine of aggressive retribution. All peoples except the Indians were to be pushed off the earth into the seas whence they came, and be drowned. All that the Great Spirit required of the Indians was to have faith in the teaching and to dance strange new dances. It would not be necessary to go to war. The dance prepared the people for the Messiah and would bring forth the new earth.

Far out on Elk Creek, away from the agency, a camp was set up for the Ghost Dance. The ceremony was strange and solemn. The dancers, both men and women, sang a plaintive and pathetic song, representing their struggles and hardships. It was a ceremony of despair. Some dancers wore white clothes so that the ghosts of the departed would not be afraid to come back and live with their people. With hands clasped, the dancers moved around a center pole to the cadence of a chant, while the medicine man in the center strove to induce a hypnotic trance in each of the dancers. As the dance progressed, the dancers succumbed, falling on the ground in a stupor and remaining there for as long as an hour. During the trance they saw visions of the antelope and bison in numbers, and the dear, departed dead.

Sitting Bull was sincere, although he was also getting wealthy from the fees he charged. Many Indians were deeply affected and followed him around trying to touch the hem of his garments or grasp his hand and pray, frequently with tears rolling down their cheeks.

Most of the Comanche leaders, including Chief Quanah Parker, had no faith in the new prophecy. They recalled another day in 1874 when a young medicine man claimed great power and had made promises to save his people from destruction if they would only follow him. They had made medicine and followed him to Adobe Walls, where their faith and dreams were shattered and they learned to their sorrow that their leader had no more power than themselves. It had been a bitter and unforgettable disappointment.

On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites.

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah.

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them.

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes 177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

9. Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

10. North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291
"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge. [757]

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archivo General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person 522 with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nîmîʔâraʔ*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lêʔct*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'pîʔ*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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Oklahoma

121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10] 178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year 175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year 177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

[p. 142-A]

177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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(113) Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram
[175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society
(Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and
[178] E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17–25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776–1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p. 142-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[53] and further delineated by Kroeber,[54] Sapir,[55] and Whorf.[56] Sapir

[113] [53] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [54] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [55] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway be-
191 tween the old culture and the new. A few Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is
[191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
[177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[138a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [138a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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|2| siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
|91| of acculturation. It may be noted that in speaking among themselves our interpreters
|24| used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

|91| The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
[177] of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma·. J pronounced jello, jero·, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

[113] [140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175–188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

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191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the 191 794 most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few sentences at a time. The performance of this 191 function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177] [195] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

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191 195 [177] sense of propriety and prudishness, and there has been a direct extension of English word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, naʔroʔipĪ (na-, reflexive + toʔi *come out*, + -pĪ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĪ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipĪ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of koʔavicipĪ *groin milk*, or koʔakwanaʔ *groin smell*. Similarly, [551] the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[140] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[141] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[140] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[113] [141] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions under which these forms of speech flourish were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
198 tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and slave or servant, missionary and convert, or trader and native seems necessary for the formation of a pidgin or creolized language. Such a relationship never held between the Comanche and Whites for any length of time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to function as a living language. The constant contact with Whites, the teaching of English in the schools and, due to the fact that the Comanche live on scattered allotments, the lack of an integrated community or tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the evanescence of the language. English is the language of the dominant culture, the language through which one gets on in the world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed, the language is far and away the most vitally
177 functioning part that remains of the old Comanche culture. Other traits are gone, empty and broken forms, or compromises with the new. Comanche today affords ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity of language in the face of pressure from a dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship terminology,[143] represent a segment of culture where custom and language are virtually inseparable, and it seems especially appropriate in a study of linguistic acculturation to describe the effects of contacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for comparison between the old and new practices,

[143] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.
553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

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551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
[434] money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1921).

[113] [145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

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SS1 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from tītarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wikā? *crow*, and pīhī-mahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

SS1 Since no person over 41 is listed on the
177 census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new
[128] naming system was effected by 1900. The accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[10] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway.
SS1 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[10] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

[113]

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TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40–44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45–49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50–54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55–59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60–64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65–69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70–74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75–79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals.....	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

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551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (poʔoʔ, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tĩmoˑʔ, (from English, *Tim, Tom, Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pĩhĩrĩsohpeʔ *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ʔamaruʔ. Paul Pauau (Paul), 69; and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menĩˑʔ, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwĩkitĩ *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarĩhkaʔ *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcĩˑtO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupáˑreʔ, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tĩháˑnoʔ, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

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SS1 writer has the impression, abetted by a
177 checklist of the names of 335 Indiahoma school children, that the change is more pronounced among the Indians than the Whites.

SS1 The plainness of the names of older persons is attested by the following list of given names of 51 men 55 years old or over (figures in parentheses indicate plural occurrences): Andrew, Albert (3), Alexander, Baldwin, Ben, Bert, Casper, Charles, Codose or Crose (from Spanish, cruz *cross*), David, Edward, Eli, Emerson, Ernest, Eugene, Frank, Fred, George, George E., Grover, Gus, Herman, Howard, Jack, Jesse, John, Johnson, Joseph, Joshua, Mat, Millet, Nathan, Oscar, Otto, Paul, Reuben, Robert D., Rudolph, Samuel, Terrence, Thomas, Tim, Timbo (see above), Tom, Wahnee (from wane? *fox*), Walter, Willie, Wilson, and Mike.

The given names of 86 women of 45 or over are likewise old-fashioned and simple: Ada, Alice (3), Annie, Bertha, Bernice, Bessie, Betty, Birdie, Clou (see above), Cynthia, Daisy, Dorothy, Eliza, Ella (3), Elsie, Emily, Emma (2), Erma, Esther, Eva, Faith, Fern, Grace, Helen, Helen Rose, Ida, Ione, Jane, Josie, Julia, Kate, Kitty, Laura B., Lena, Lillie, Linn, Lucy (5), Lulu, Mabel, Maggie, Mamie, Mary (8), Mary Ellis, Mary P., Mattie, Maude, Minnie, Mollie, Nanny, Nellie, Nora (4), Ophelia, Pearl, Polly, Rachel, Rose (3), Roxie, Ruth, Sallie, Sarah (2), Susan, Susie, Thuma (Therma), and Woonardy.

The giving of two first names seems to have come into vogue within the past few decades. Only a small number of the many persons who have double given names are over 16 years old. If the middle name is written simply as an initial, the individual is usually over 17 years old. Except for the fact that such girls' names as Ann, Jean, Mae or May, and Joyce, and boys' names such as Lee, Allen, and Wayne occur more often as second middle names than first names, middle names are not very different

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551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Lauranis Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local 551 178 Southern White naming patterns. There is little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the 551 177 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the culture of the Whites. The older, relatively 551 177 178 less acculturated Comanche still bear individual names, while the younger generations have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

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given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
197 occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture. Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[231] of the Comanche with the dog,[180] and Stew-
[525] ard notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[181] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[182] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
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[180] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428-29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[181] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[182] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

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177 structive as those included in it. The fact
197 that a trait of Western culture is not named
192 does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or
177 scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtüman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapĭ *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 Finally, we may say that while Comanche
197 contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language
197 has preserved its essential form. Comanche has reacted by adapting itself to new cul-
192 tural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
197 are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or
[192] a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[158] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
192 language the greater the tendency for it to
197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[158] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word: piesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*;
197 in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsó·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

[p. 255-A]

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinī·mĭ (nī·mĭ *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20:195-205 (1954).

[p. 255-8]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 648 their attacks on the upper Río Grande Valley in the 728 following century, these were never as damaging as [721] the blows which had fallen on the province in the years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 175 648 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased some what—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—[487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with 175 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation 177 had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

000

175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
701 Indians were organized under their own "generals"
177 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt,
175 of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the 105
southern Great Plains. They came down from the north 175
shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had 131
established themselves as lords over a vast area extending from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half 105
these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts 175
of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian char- 105
acter. The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study. Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945. [113] [177] [178] [101]

[p. 3]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

648 657 These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Okla-
[131] homa. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (2 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them
[421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for
648 an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com-
423 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres,
and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to
white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed
in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of
white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the
"Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and
in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown
open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had
been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres
648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain
statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally
proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine
Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has
been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money
from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was
enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to
permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for
[427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of
three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal
lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of indi-
vidual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt,
177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves
427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reserva-
tion. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over
the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds
of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets.
The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-
Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western
Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., E. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1952), for an excellent account with a different approach.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, 434
the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite 177
routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reser- 427
vation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive [657]
cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left 177
the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and 427
it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been
driven deliberately on the reservation. The government [657]
reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a
drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual
to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that [657]
Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves
to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privi-
leges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed
their action with an appearance of legality; and they were
convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate
cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among
the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the
cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an ar-
rangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed.
There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no
reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort
of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory
system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a 177
monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and 427
asked the government to handle the business for them. The 657
government refused to assume the responsibility, but au-
thorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The
agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 14, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 348. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervised the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 849.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid an-
nually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left with-
out any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important
factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until
September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agri-
cultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land
for agricultural purposes were required to make certain im-
provements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five
years were required to place on each allotment a three-room
house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees
were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs.
All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease
expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 299. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

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money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Bentin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1940 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1944.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 28 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise. 427 423 177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

427 423 423 423 657

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

427 434

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-310.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 272, and 1876, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 10, 11.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa children have attended public schools. The long range policy 871 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public schools as the principal educational agency. It was generally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into [177]
American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap be-
tween the restricted government schools and the public

46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1918; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Bentin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.
47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants. 797 178

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51] 657 743

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52] 657 744 743

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to 657 177 178 [64]

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51. Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.

52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO Comanche NO6

They are working for a better tomorrow, reminding themselves as they build that "Wise is the Indian who cherishes his cultural heritage, and wise is he who adopts the best of the white man's, but better yet, is he who is wise enough to do both."[53] Within three-quarters of a century they have passed from the stone age to modern civilization. To some tribes the attempt to make the transition brought extinction; to others it brought a miserable existence on the fringe of civilization. There is no longer an attitude of despair among the Comanches. With the same persistence and determination which characterized their resistance to encroachment on their hunting grounds, they are adjusting themselves to live successfully in the new era. Verily, the Comanches have come a long way on the white man's road.

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53. "A History of Riverside School" is staged each year by the students of that school. During the performance an actor speaks these words.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to [622] participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all 685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, 684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, 177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

for the fox, the buffalo for the ox, the falcon for the kite, the quail for the dove, while the enemy of all, the banned wolf, plays the same part for the Comanche fabulist he has performed for all other fabulists. 538 177

The Comanches have, also, lodge-fire legends of their race, and of notable men, and incidents in their history which have been handed down through many generations. One or two of these may prove interesting. 538

"A long time ago there was a great drought. The streams dried up. The grass withered on the plains, then in the valleys. The heavens rained heat, and the dry grass took fire and burned over the whole earth. The animals all fled away, or died. There was nothing to eat. Qua-co-che-bitche was chief of a band. Among them there were many women and children. They lay upon the ground, and their hearts were weak. The sky was yellow with the heat, and all famished, for there was no shade and they had nothing to eat nor water to drink. Qua-co-che-bitche was a great hunter, and he prayed to the Great Spirit to send the buffalo back to the plains. Being strong, he took his bows and arrows and left the camp, saying that he would be back with food in six days. He traveled toward sunrise. It was two days after he left the lodges. He was wearied by journeying and fasting. The sun was sinking in the West, and Qua-co-che-bitche's heart was weak. He was ready to fall down. But he went a little further toward a clump of trees that were green, as if they grew by water. He saw a great stream flowing from under a hill side. His heart grew strong. He approached the crystal waters. He beheld the tracks of an innumerable herd of buffaloes. There were old ones and young ones—a great multitude. The trail was fresh. He quenched his thirst with the cool water, and was strong. He followed the trail rapidly. He soon came in sight of a great object, which he at first thought was a mountain. But on coming nearer it moved. Qua-co-che-bitche was alarmed. His heart grew weak. It was a great buffalo. It had a thousand feet and was very high and covered a large place. When it moved the earth trembled. A voice came to Qua-co-che-bitche, from the waters, bidding him slay the buffalo. Thus encouraged, he attacked it. He was surprised that his arrows were so effective. The great buffalo soon fell, making a noise like thunder and causing an earthquake. He cut a great quantity of flesh from the hump, and after strengthening his heart by eating, he started with some meat for his tribe. He went toward the setting sun. He had not traveled far when he met them, all coming at the command of a voice in the air to feast of the great buffalo. They went forward to the stream of clear water and feasted, for four moons, on the flesh of the great buffalo, and drank water from the pure stream. Their hearts became strong. They made shields of the hide of 539

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
241 of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
657 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. 157 Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 [648] At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1856, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies. [113]

23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid. [113]

24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. [113]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

1 Plains Indian Law in Development: The Comanche

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

Men have occupied the Great Plains of the West for a good ten thousand years or more. They came in, apparently, when the last ice sheet was in its northward retreat, and their archaeological culture seems to have been fairly stable over long periods of time. But the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting, tipi-dwelling culture of the eighteenth-century Plains Indian was something quite new in its development. 174

Before the coming of Columbus the Indians of the Plains were largely riverbound and not overly inclined to venture afar into the vast, poorly watered stretches of open grasslands. They had to go afoot.

The coming of the European altered the situation with drastic effect. The Spaniard to the south introduced the horse and thereby provided the means for extensive penetration of the Plains by native populations, for which the thick herds of buffalo and fleet antelope were an enticing lure. On the eastern frontier the French and British were working to cause a far-reaching displacement of the Woodland tribes. White settlements forced some tribes to move westward at an early date. And out beyond the frontier, other displacements were accelerated ahead of the line of settlement by the imperialistic rivalry of the fur trade. 177

The fur trading tribes sought ever to enlarge their trapping and hunt-

Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author from E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1954, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, pp. 127–142. [113]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

177 ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

101 The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from [177] the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

105 The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

105 In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. 177 With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

72 It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

178 [113]

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938). [119]

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites. Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 177 602 [161] 582 588 684 patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 177 602

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 191 177 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 178 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 593 178 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 178 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K [178] young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K [428] after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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C K 177 186 /35/Historically there is some evidence that this dichotomy was an important one for the Kiowas and Comanches during the period of the 1870's to say 1900. There were those who came into the reservations and those who held out till the end. Later there were the religious converts and those who clung to the old ways of faith. Ever present in the Indian's judgement of his fellows was the gauge of just how white he had become; whose side he was on so to speak. The other side of the coin also held of course; how bull headed, primitive or whatever someone still was. To an extent this attitude pattern is in effect today but it is difficult to see how it determines the factions in the tribe or even adherence to a particular religion.

K 665 [795] To date I have learned more concerning factionalism among the Kiowas than among the Comanches and shall, therefore, deal with them first. People are vocal concerning religious tensions and prejudices (Christian vs. Peyote) and splits within the council concerning allegiances, i.e. Republican vs. Democrat, nor do they seem to pertain to major policy and direction. Tension seems to be centered over the K [795] methods of operation used by those in office. It should be remembered that relatively few are active in tribal politics and that both Christians and Peyotists are minorities. The large bulk of the K 795 population are inactive and do not even follow. They may be listed as Christians as often as not but neither go to church nor know much 771 more than the average bourgeois of the East what Christianity is all K [124] about. Past field work has used as informants members of active [114] leading groups and this study makes no pretense of being different. The life of the "common man" remains virtually untouched in this area as far as I can tell.

K 665 At present there is considerable agitation among the Kiowas between an out group and the in group which controls the business council. Leaving aside the sordid details etc., the line up suggests that there is a split here between a traditional aristocracy and an upstart, "shanty Irish," group. The opposition party consists of

/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
372 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[608] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
177 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 178 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. C K [186] Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 175 178 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. C K 175 177 A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

/page 39 continued/

C consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
K The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
745 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
177 regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
C change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the
K vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.
[787]

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
C and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
K from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
787 old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real
177 it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the
[756] present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual
through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific
situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture,
the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
K the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
823 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
778 raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions
[787] (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace
trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
K since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
823 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
778 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
177 there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
[775] fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
C often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still
K able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.
787

Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
C its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
K
296
745
778
[787]

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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get. In the days before the first World War there were many special peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are instructive.

In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were concerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom. But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation. In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

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Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

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give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

/41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

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795 Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christian-
● 177 ity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of
[824] the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin.
795 That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder,
783 or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it
171 were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage.
772 The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

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The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every-
795 day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers
177 to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give
186 up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem
/42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress,
etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion
of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver
of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it
protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to
a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never
translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain
795 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization
177 present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to
the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members
of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal
footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken
more at face value. The statements of the representative of the
Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to
appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics.
The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent."
They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis,
etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote
religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more
than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an
acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard
to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant
would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individ-
ual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger
than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so
far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will
tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new
factors enter the scene.

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C K 795 177 At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C K 829 177 If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position. He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote play a similar role. And <u>if</u> the White-Indian tensions are central to the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

C K 795 177

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 791 Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

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C K 795 711 [177] [123] In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K 121 Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus tradition-C K 121 alist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once 665 important it might be profitable to do some historical work concern-177 ing the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

C K 121 /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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> another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɔkai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them. 173

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes. 167 177 [231] 721

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken. 167 721 618 [177] [411]

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 177 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands. 177 [184]

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future. 619 621

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hɔnitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *penatəkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *honono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. [174]

The largest Comanche band was the *penatəkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration. 619 621 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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101 The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-
619 Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace
621 and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and
[177] associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

The *pɛnatɔkə* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority
619 of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experi-
621 ment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended
657 in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because
177 of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many
101 of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing
619 the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of
621 Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsweka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the
101 remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the
621 function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, sub-
619 sistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-
101 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai*
619 are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma
621 communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatɜkə* continue to be the southern- 101
most of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted 621
the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the 177
process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progres- 619
sive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in 621
contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might 184
be expected, the southern band, the *penatɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatɜkə* for 101
the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn 619
like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred 621
to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches 184
who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did 619
not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. 621
During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage 184
of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and 648
their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in 721
Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the 619
northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this 621
time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern 184
Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 721
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115 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century
159 Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants
159 when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His
797 conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches,
115 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting
159 to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society.
797 Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her
177 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man
593 and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

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man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo-
159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

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This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

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Sanapia's mother and father.

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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

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I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

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115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three or my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

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115 159 756 [824] [278] year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 159 756 177 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the significance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be somewhat counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

115 159 756 [761] Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut* and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most critical moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 776 115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

> You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [325]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood, or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupitu*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

nassa^{n}ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

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278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
757
[77]

ekəpa

[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[84] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection
[783] against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding

kunənatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakumaᵏ

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakumaᵏ is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of 278
this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, 755
significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches 757
and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could [177] have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment.

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and [752]
spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling.

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bɛkwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bɛkwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which [778]
she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar.

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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *esipobβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] [825] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

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fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group. 775 154 571

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they 157 178 177 [775]

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157 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially
177 dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.
178 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary
775 Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most
177 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa
178 Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work,
775 the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This
571 feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces
[186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive
154 intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional
571 nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than
164 an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a
775 definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unen-
177 durable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense
154 desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three
156 most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

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does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative 186
treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. 775
Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of 177
the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the 154
white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation 156
must act.

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequiv- 186
ocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means 775
nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the 154
Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives 156
into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

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Precipitating Factors

186 775 154 156 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved. The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 775 154 156 184 177 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation. It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 775 154 156 184 177 562 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of independence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively controlled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men" in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 775 154 156 184 177 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

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754 854 164 756 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia cannot alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 775 164 755 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sickness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 775 164 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts. She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

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000 driven east to the Nations and easily had at least a thirty-six hour start on any pursuit.

Caring for the store's money was a disturbing chore. It was nearly two years before we were able to get a safe, and yet another year before we had a local bank. About the time we got our store started, Dad bought the relinquishment on an improved claim. It was about a mile and a half from the store to the house on the claim. The homesteader was returning to Texas by wagon, so he sold us his furniture as well. When we began living on the claim, it meant carrying the money back and forth.

As it was always dark, winter or summer, before we could close the store, we worked various and sundry schemes to get the money back and forth. It was my job to hitch up the team, as well as to carry the silver. We could easily have two to three hundred dollars in silver if the freight wagons had been held up a day or two.

After I had tied the team out front, I would continue working around the store, including making necessary trips out to the tent warehouse in the rear. Finally I would stroll out into the darkness and not come back. I would have the coin sacks, my shotgun, and my bird dog. I tried to go a little different route each night; and before I approached the house I would send the dog ahead to inspect the house and barn to see if we had any company.

Mother handled the paper money and checks. She had a brownish tan wallet like the ones men carried in their inside coat pockets in those days. It was about the color of mesquite grass, and she had several feet of black thread fastened to it. She planned, if anyone stopped her, to throw the wallet out into the prairie. The thread would help us find it the next morning.

439 Our Indian business just seemed to happen. At least we had made
177 no conscious effort to attract it. In fact, Dad and Mother never made
443 any effort to learn the Comanche language. We were surprised to learn later that many merchants made it a practice to boost the price if an Indian was buying. I am sure that idea never occurred to any of
[797] us. We were later to find that the missionaries had been checking our prices and bookkeeping and had passed the word on to the Indians that we had one price for all.

We had no family history of past trouble with Indians; so when an Indian came in the store we accorded him the same degree of courtesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded.

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THE LOST ONES

WHEN WE WENT into the Comanche country in the spring of 1902, 114
it was not only a new country but a new way of life to me, a fourteen-year-old Kansas farm boy. The people I met, homesteaders or home-seekers, came from nearly every state in the Union, as well as from the Indian Nations. Ringed about us were Comanche families, camped rather than living on their allotments.

It was the Comanches, of course, who made the greatest impression on me. Almost as soon as Dad got his trading store opened, we started having an Indian trade. It just seemed to happen. We made no conscious effort to attract the Indians and wouldn't have known how had we wanted to try.

Mother bought our opening stock of dry goods, and she continued to do the buying as long as we ran the store. A few bolts of bright 443
colors, in both calico and gingham, together with matching cotton 177
braid, possibly proved an attraction to the Indian women at the start. Then too, Dad and Mother had the theory that we should treat everyone with the same degree of courtesy. These two things were the only concessions, if they were concessions, you could say we made.

Another thing that probably helped was that a missionary who 443
ran a mission back to the northeast on Blue Beaver Creek made a 177
check, unbeknownst to us, of the prices we charged to the white and 797

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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [492]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 491
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
352 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly
264 from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

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123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I 000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180 pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While we were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure 123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles [481] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility [273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor, [609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for [177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out [797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the [123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when his people needed him.

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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling [563] existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue. 643 [114]

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area. 595 643 177

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law. 643 595 657

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

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452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 829 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to 292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would 302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore 301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the 292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 177
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

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492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

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in Charley's home, though his son To-pet-chy's home was only a short 606
distance away, on the east side of West Cache Creek. And though a Jesus Man (Christian), he belonged to a native Baptist church.

I am sure I felt a bit of intellectual awe in the presence of Charley 181
Ross, and this was renewed at our meetings over the years. Here was a man, it must be remembered, who was born into a stone-age culture that was without knowledge of the smelting of iron or any other metal, and without the skill to forge tools from metal already smelted. From the viewpoint of the white people of that time, the Comanches were murderers, rapists, home-burners, kidnappers of women and children, horse thieves, cattle thieves, and all-round savages. History justifies this opinion, but there is this saving grace for the Comanche: he was here first. The white man was the invader. The empire of Comanchería had been forged and was in existence more than eighty-five years before George Washington became president of the United States. From the ruins of this empire came Charley Ross, who first 177
found a way to enter the white man's world and then set about softening the impact between the two races that events decreed should live side by side. Mrs. Cato wrote in a letter to me, "My father was a very intelligent man, above the average, and so very much interested in higher education for his race of people and his own children. Even though he himself did not receive full benefit of complete education, he had the mind of a college graduate."

What a man accomplishes during his lifetime does not complete his true measurement. One must also judge how well he has projected himself into the next generation by adding the accomplishments of his children. Charley Ross's son-in-law, Mr. Cato, has told me that at the end of the 1965-66 school year Charley's children and grandchildren had completed forty-seven years of teaching. Others, not teachers, hold responsible positions with railroads, oil companies, and hospitals.

I have emphasized Charley Ross's pleasant manners and ready 157
smile. But there was no servility about him, nor did he ever attempt to please everyone at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. He was a positive character about whom I never heard a derogatory word, either from whites, many of whom were always looking for a flaw or chink in his armor of friendliness, or from his tribesmen, who tended to distrust any Indian who earned the friendship of white people. He went about his self-appointed task of being a catalyst for the two races with good will and common sense.

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115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked
643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses
[231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young
643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on
593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting
584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle,
593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning.
584 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she
177 was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her
643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white
593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.
585 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife
177

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"Stranger He Come"

In the spring of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
437

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads--loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

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000 30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, 643 595 177 342 an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595

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593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[516] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
283 dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the
[177] old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

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WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
262 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
435 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight
511 pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

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553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

552 Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
177 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
312 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

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no one to compare him with, white or Indian. He was as unique as a new day dawning to the east of the slightly undulating prairie he loved.

He was born into the Comanche stone-age society, probably in 1861 or '62. Their great inland empire, Comanchería, was still intact. History testifies that it had been theirs for 150 years. But that was only the length of time the white man had known the Comanche. From 1700, their ownership stretches back into the dimness of conjecture. Some anthropologists tell us the Comanche had been a separate and distinct tribe for a thousand years when the white man first met him. In any case, in 1861 Comanchería, more than six hundred miles north and south and almost as wide in places, contained thousands of horses to be captured and claimed and millions of buffalo, deer, and antelope for the Comanche's food.

But when the Civil War ended in 1865, a great horde of restless men was released by both armies. Nearly all craved land. Each wanted a home of his own, a place to grow and expand. The Comanche, other plains tribes, and the buffalo were in their road. Comanchería and the horse buffalo culture came to an end.

Sometimes Wer-que-yah would talk a little of when the Comanche world ended for him. Somewhere, out on the Comanche prairie, in what the white man had labeled the Texas Panhandle, his group was overrun by the Army. The unwounded warriors escaped, but the wounded, the aged, and the women and children were captured and taken to Fort Sill.

The Comanche Family Record Book at Anadarko, Oklahoma, indicates that Wer-que-yah would have been fourteen, and the girl he afterward married, Peet-So, six years old at the time of their capture. This would have been in the last half of 1874 or the first half of '75.

Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, commander of the Army in the Middle West, was determined to bring the Indian wars to an end, once and for all. He secured President Grant's consent to place the Army of the Southwest on a twelve months a year, all-out war basis. Provisions for such an effort were assembled, including grain and forage for the horses and mules, and five columns were ordered into the field.

Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Davidson was ordered west out of Fort Sill. He commanded six troops of the 10th Cavalry, three companies of the 11th Infantry, two howitzers, and eighty-five newly recruited

A /Wer-que-yah--Analyst/

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father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.) This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stallion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

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164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [159] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ground. One end of the bone, thrust through the flesh, gouged into 000
the dirt.

His partner carried Jim into the line shack, broke out a bottle of whiskey to calm him down, and proceeded to set the bone. First he washed the protruding bone in soapsuds made from a bar of yellow laundry soap—the only soap or disinfectant they had. Then, slipping one boot off, the amateur bone-setter put his heel in Jim's crotch and pulled the bone back in place. He tore up a cotton blanket into strips, wound strips of the blanket around pieces of wood from a goods box, put one splint under the leg and one on the opposite side from the wound caused by the bone, and bound them in place with other strips of the blanket.

As nearly as Jim remembers, the wound stopped bleeding and was not bandaged. But Jim wasn't too sure from here on; he was paying closer attention to the whiskey bottle.

His companion put the rest of the whiskey and a bucket of water by the head of Jim's bunk and set out for the ranch. The rancher sent a cowboy for the doctor, and they laid a mattress in a lumber wagon and started for the line shack. There Jim was lifted onto the mattress, and the long, slow, rough trip to the ranch began. The doctor met them on the way. It was night, but he examined the leg by the light of a kerosene lantern. Aside from adding more splints and telling them not to stint on the whiskey, he okayed the job, and the trip to the ranch was resumed.

The doc told them he didn't know anything that was better to clean a wound than laundry soap. Jim was left with a slight impediment in his walk, as if the one leg was a bit shorter than the other. It was a good enough leg for him to serve long years on the police force, in various capacities. He was finally retired because of advanced age.

Time must have been an element in saving Albert. Here was a 177
tramp cowboy faced with a job which would tax the resources of the receiving room of an outstanding modern hospital. He had to complete his job before dark, as the only available light would have been a kerosene lantern with a number one wick. Whatever help he could receive would come from Jim and Earny. All instructions to Jim must 191
be relayed through Earny. The instructions must be reduced to language Earny could understand before he could relay them to Jim. Earny was a good interpreter, an unusually bright boy for his age; but

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Let us review what we know concerning the Bone-setter. Dr. McLain insisted that the cowboy's work indicated he possessed surgical training. His stitches were put in with a surgical needle and catgut suture, and he had a limited supply of powdered calomel. Excepting for the powdered calomel, these things were unlikely appurtenances to be carried by an itinerant cowboy. With the circulation of these facts, the tongues of the curious wagged. 000

The only other testimony comes from Jim Martny, Earny interpreting. No one else acknowledged knowing the cowboy or having seen him. Nearby ranch-owners and their ranch hands would not admit to knowing any cowboy who could fill the bill. They knew of cowboys who had set a bone or two; but this was a multi-fracture, a wholesale affair, along with the job of cleaning and stitching Albert's scalp back in place, besides caring for the numerous horseshoe wounds.

Approximately in these words, with Earny translating, Jim told of the cowboy, and he never varied from it: "Cowboy come to camp just after white medicine man leave. Him say he hungry. We feed cowboy. Him say he cowboy medicine man. Him set Albert's bones. Cowboy ride away north. 177 609

"Him look like all cowboys look. All cowboys look alike. All have mustache. All have big hat, high-heeled cowboy boots. All wear jeans pants and calico shirt. All have big gun in belt. All have good saddle. 829

"Horse him different. I tell about horse. Him sorrel so high," and Jim pointed to his chin. 000

"Horse come long way. Horse tired. Cowboy tired. Horse have white face. One white foot." And Jim made the necessary motions to help Earny finish the description of the horse: blaze face, left front foot white.

There was never one word as to how the long afternoon progressed, other than the use of the yellow soap. This was one of the few specific questions Jim seemed to understand. Like most Indians of his day, he found "No savvy" a convenient way to dodge any question he didn't care to answer.

Never a word as to how the women behaved. No word as to when Albert regained consciousness—whether it was during the ordeal of having his bones set or afterward. He was conscious when Dr. McLain drove his buckboard out, the afternoon of the second day, to dress the wounds. This seems to have been an instruction from the cowboy, to have the white doctor come out the second day.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ancestors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to congratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist. He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient. "Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanksgiving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the overcurious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented
657 the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
423 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
177 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

professed to feel it was all government land, of which the Indians were given the first pick. 177 [657] [423]

The meager description of the Bone-setter, compared to the detailed description of the horse he was riding, fed the flames of those who resented Indians and everything concerning them. They promptly accused Jim of laying a false scent. In number, sorrel horses are in the minority compared to other colors. The dissenters contended that while officers were hunting for a fugitive mounted on a tired sorrel horse, the hunted, on a fresh horse of a different color furnished by Jim, would escape.

Of course, there never was anything to indicate positively that the Bone-setter was a fugitive, nor did any representative of the law ever appear, hunting a mysterious cowboy. The fugitive idea was a product of minds wishing to believe the worst of anyone who gratuitously aided an Indian.

Some insisted that the mysterious Bone-setter hadn't left, but was being harbored by Jim. They wished to form a posse and make a search along West Cache Creek, on Jim's allotments, for the secretive cowboy's camp.

The wildest theory brought forward was the idea of the good Samaritan's having been done away with by one of Jim's squaws. This presumed that Albert regained partial consciousness about the time the Bone-setter finished his job and cried out in a delirium of pain. A nearby squaw used her butcher knife, the theory went, before Jim could rescue their benefactor.

To some, this explained the disappearance of the Bone-setter and the exactness of the description of the sorrel horse. The body could be disposed of in either of two ways. Stripped of its clothing, it could be weighted down in one of the deep holes along Cache Creek. There the garfish would soon dispose of the flesh, while an unbranded horse turned into Jim's herd would go unnoticed. Another suggestion had Jim stripping the body, tying it on a horse, and making a night trip into the Pasture Reserve. There the body could be left for the coyotes and buzzards to dispose of. (When the Pasture Reserve was opened in 1906 with a family on practically every quarter-section, a number of skeletons were found, one only about four miles from Chattanooga. A man named Richardson found it on his homestead. The writer went out the next morning, with the sheriff and county attorney, and helped gather up the bones.)

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

971 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [657] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1] 113 114

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche. 114 101 114

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the 177 178

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–25 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[16] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[17] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[18] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[16] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[17] Tom Garth, field notes.
[18] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

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Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche. Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[2] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

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[2] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɨkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hɨkandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

.1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
I. Communal Organization and Practices				
Bilateral family as preponderant local group.	Regular.	Occasional.	Rare.	Rare.
Cohesive and definite band organization.	Mostly limited to winter villages.	Regular, for the most part.	General.	Ubiquitous.
Tribal organization.	None.	None.	?	Notable consciousness of tribal identity; but no formal tribal organization.
Civil leadership.	Family headman, village headman.	Band peace chief, some with camp crier; family headman for small groups; no juridical authority.	?	Band peace chiefs with camp criers; no juridical authority.
Warfare.	Rare; no institutionalized military pattern.	Unsuccessful simulation of Plains war complex; war leaders; coup and scalp.	Plains type warfare with bravery status; coup and scalp.	Plains military ideal dominant; war chiefs; coup and scalp; bravery status for males.
Horses.	None.	Few.	Numerous.	Multitudinous.

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
Communal hunts.	Occasional ritual drives for antelope and rabbits.	Buffalo hunts on the plains with support of allies.	Annual buffalo hunts.	Annual buffalo hunts.
Hunt police.	No police; direction by shaman.	Special police organized for the occasion.	Organized police, becoming permanent in two military fraternities.	No police.
II. Offenses with "legal" sanctions.				
Public delicts, "crimes."	None (?).	1) Cannibalism. 2) Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Excessive sorcery.
Private delicts, "wrongs."	1) Abduction of females. 2) Homicide (?).	1) Gang rape. 2) Adultery. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide.	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide (?).	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Violation of levirate. 4) Sorcery. 5) Killing a favorite horse. 6) Homicide.
III. Procedure and Sanctions in the Law-ways.				
In abduction and gang rape.	Offender runs the gauntlet; or, mass brawls.	Apparently, no institutionalized reactions.	—	—

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

	Western Shoshone	Bannock Creek Shoshone	Wind River Shoshone	Comanche
In adultery.	?	Either, no action against the male; or else, attempted homicidal attack. Mutilation of the wife by the husband.	Occasional attempt to kill the male offender by sorcery, sometimes no action attempted, other times horses of male offender are killed or mutilated. Female may sometimes be killed or mutilated.	Restituitive damages collected from male offender. Female regularly mutilated, sometimes killed by the husband. "Third degree" and "sun-killing" used to obtain confession.
In wife absconding.	?	Either, no action; or else, attempted homicidal attack on the male offender, the female, or both.	Sometimes no action, otherwise attempt on life of male offender through sorcery or homicidal assault. Occasionally, restituitive damages received in settlement (the wife may be either recovered or released in this event). There is no predictability as to which of the above courses will be followed.	Restituitive damages recovered from male offender; wife may be recovered or released by husband; or, horses of the male offender may be killed or mutilated. Husband may kill or mutilate his wife if he fails to release her.

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In sorcery.	?	No sorcery (?).	Counter sorcery.	Aggrieved resorts to counter magic through his own powers or those of a hired shaman. Or, relatives threaten physical violence to the sorcerer, in which case he may resort to the conditional curse.
In killing of a favorite horse.	—	?	?	Probable retaliation on horses of offender. Possible mutilation of sister of offender, or homicidal attack on offender.
In homicide.	Retaliation uncertain.	Retaliation uncertain.	Probable retaliation, no continuing feud.	Retaliation on killer; no feud.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization 181
made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scru- 577
pulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the
acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nine- 178
teenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to 577
live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians
resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages
had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also,
the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians'
rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible
retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last [274
days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect 273
they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger
race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination
which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by
an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara
(who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio)
Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to
the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing
Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle
of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and
it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NQ6
Oklahoma

121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10] 178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year 175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year 177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

[p. 142-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> "But these injuries are not comparable to those [721] which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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[113] Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram [175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and [178] E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origin and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p. 142-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer as employees. Through the years 1854–1859
657 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

[p. 144-A]

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

[p. 144-B]

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
178 date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[53] and further delineated by Kroeber,[54] Sapir,[55] and Whorf.[56] Sapir

[113] [53] Johann C. Buschmann, Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [54] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [55] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out by fasting and dreaming in secluded places.
[178] This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurania Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local 551 Southern White naming patterns. There is 178 little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the 551 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The 177 degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the 551 culture of the Whites. The older, relatively 177 less acculturated Comanche still bear in- 178 dividual names, while the younger generations have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

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given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

[p. 251-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data
124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the
[101] Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Okla-
[122] homa during the summer of 1940.

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others
439 who passed through their territory, and from their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food, clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 [178] the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a
764 Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche [171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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1841 *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.* Published by the Author, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London.

Dodge, R. I.
1882 *Our Wild Indians: Thirty-three Years' Personal Experience Among the Red Men of the Great West.* A. D. Worthington and Co., Hartford.

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[p.324-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874. 648 [657]

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities. 177 178 [554] [829] [229] [825]

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One 648

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (2 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 255. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house (tipi). I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 60.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, op. cit., 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants. 797 178

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51] 657 743

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52] 657 744 743

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to 657 177 178 [164]

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51. Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.

52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal super-
177 stitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

184 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 They are working for a better tomorrow, reminding them-
177 selves as they build that "Wise is the Indian who cherishes his cultural heritage, and wise is he who adopts the best of the white man's, but better yet, is he who is wise enough to do both."[53] Within three-quarters of a century they have passed from the stone age to modern civilization. To some tribes the attempt to make the transition brought extinction; to others it brought a miserable existence on the fringe of civilization. There is no longer an attitude of despair among the Comanches. With the same persistence and determination which characterized their resistance to encroachment on their hunting grounds, they are adjusting themselves to live successfully in the new era. Verily, the Comanches have come a long way on the white man's road.

53. "A History of Riverside School" is staged each year by the students of that school. During the performance an actor speaks these words.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

175 [ca.1818]
727 complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around in tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon
[567] him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him,
[178] where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and [423] in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancestors roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy,
829 what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is
[224] killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawa-
koni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 20, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1495-1496.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 578 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civi- 181 lization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- 657 tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties [162] of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about 648 two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief 439 Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 264. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 502.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

177 ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied
101 the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from
[177] the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger
105 Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in
105 the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life.
177 With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

72 It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.
178

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.
[113]

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).
[113]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks. 721 178 [181] 611 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men. 562

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother. [593]

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [893]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [776]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable. 577

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 123

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 177 602

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 191 177 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 178 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 593 178 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 178 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.
[428]

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has C K 178 been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 175 178 [178] C K 175 177 Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
[178] shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount 174
of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife.

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically 175
able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced 178
an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche 561
lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine 175
man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people 178
at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly 624

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 844 115 159 756 [753]

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
571 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group.

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

157 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially
177 dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

178 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary
775 Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most
177 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa
178 Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work,
775 the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This
571 feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces
[186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive
154 intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of
571 directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 561 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the 754 561 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con- 554 558 578 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
352 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly
264 from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
513 forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers
[342] became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1] 113 114

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche. 114 101 114

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the 177 178

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of 171
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20] A

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large 237
buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, 412
of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 284
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1971
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA 101
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal 657
Trust Area 161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 422
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)

This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

155
863
181

Comanche NO6
Hopi NT9
Navaho NT13
Kwoma OJ13
Alor OF5
Wogeo OJ27
Woleai OR21
Aymara SF5

[For comparative information on the relationship between toilet training and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 422.]

261
853
155
● 181
106
862
863

Comanche NO6 ●
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

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Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the
●181 establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche.
171 Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[2] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

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[2] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hykandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hykandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6
Northern Shoshone NR14.

N 224 625

number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers táɔkoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

C N [NO] 224 625

It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

C N 181

Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

VIII

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

NO subject is more difficult to treat than one which deals with the beliefs of a people concerning abstract matters. It is not easy to learn from intimate associates their inmost religious ideas; it is obviously much more difficult to determine the beliefs of an alien race speaking an unfamiliar tongue and having a wholly different inheritance, training, and point of view.

The Comanches have often been designated as the skeptics or unbelievers of the plains. This conclusion has been based largely upon the fact that they had comparatively few well-established visible and externalized customs of religious meaning such as were found among other Plains Indians. Since their religion was largely individualistic, there was, as there is among our own people, great diversity of faith and feeling. They had no dogma and no professional priestly class to formulate a systematic religion.

It was not in the nature of the Comanche to be introspective. Nor was it in his nature reflectively to state his motives or ways of acting in formulae. The Comanche was oriented to see things as isolated episodes, not as a patterned unfolding of a great scheme.

We have already seen that the Comanche took the spirit beings with whom he had formal contact pretty much for granted. He hardly bothered at all to concern himself with the nature of the universe beyond them. It is to be expected, consequently, that the vague

threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—i.e., "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites.

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah.

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them.

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE COMANCHES [1]

MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN
Division of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum

ONE TEXT FIGURE AND THREE PLATES

181
[161] The Comanches, numbering some 1956 individuals,[2] at present reside on and near a government reservation in south-central Oklahoma, for the most part leading a sedentary, half-hearted agricultural existence. They were in immediate pre-reservation times a true and the southermost plains tribe,[3] noted as daring and ruthless raiders, who followed and lived largely on the buffalo, their nomadic and depredatory range extending from the Platte River in Wyoming and Nebraska to Durango in central Mexico. As early as 1717 and probably earlier, Comanche encampments were to be found in New Mexico and western Texas (Chaves, '06). Mooney (1898), however, considered them on the bases of language and traditions a "comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming" (p. 161).

144 Admixture of blood, especially with Mexicans, as well as with Indians of other tribes and some whites has taken place certainly since early historical times, and continues to the present day. Mixture with the negro seems to have been very rare throughout their history; in the present population only one Comanche with even suspected negro blood was noted. Mooney, as early as 1896, was impressed by the extent of blood mixture among the Comanches, feeling that "at least

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made possible the securing of the data here reported.

[2] Rept. Comm. Indian Affairs, Washington, 1932, p. 45.

[3] Wissler, C., N. A. Indians of the Plains. N. Y., 1927, p. 13.

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[pp. 1-288 not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

They
533had some music, but their repertoire was limited even for savages. Noah Smithwick, who spent several months with the Comanches about 1837, states that it was customary for the first fellow who awoke in the morning to announce that fact in song; but he thought this was rather a "spontaneous outpouring akin to that of the feathered songsters than a religious rite."[30]

157 Notwithstanding their lack of culture the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men. Once in a council (the proceedings of which were carefully recorded by a secretary) President Sam Houston was trying to get the Comanches to agree to a line of division between the country of the Indians and that of their white neighbors. In the treaty the line was not being described as the Indians had been told it would be run. Buffalo Hump, a young Comanche chief, detected the discrepancy at once and a sharp argument between him and Houston followed. The dialogue is too long to be repeated, but one who reads it will be convinced that the chief knew exactly what he wanted and why he wanted it. He knew the topography of the country to perfection and also the settlements and roads. He clung persistently to his position and would not be moved from it.[31]

181 Notwithstanding their many savage vices the Comanches rated
577higher morally than other nomadic tribes. They were hospitable and would share their last morsel with their guests. In war they gave no quarter and asked none, but it was not their custom to apply slow torture to unfortunate enemies. Of course individuals differed widely. Among the Southern Comanches, chief Buffalo Hump was erratic and sometimes treacherous, but Mo-pe-cho-co-pe (Old Owl) was even tempered and altogether dependable. Robert S. Neighbors, long a Texas and United States Indian agent, knew the Old Owl for a number of years and in his reports quotes him again and again. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Neighbors ever lost confidence in the old savage or ever doubted his word.[32] There were, no doubt, many Comanches as honest as the Old Owl, but the

30. **The Evolution of a State**, 181.

31. "Minutes of a Grand Council held near the Falls of the Brazos, between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, commencing on Monday, October 7th, 1844, Ms. Texas Indian Papers.

32. For instance, see **Neighbors' report to Medill**, 30 Cong., 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 171, 16-25.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization 181
made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scru- 577
pulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the
acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nine- 178
teenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to 577
live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians
resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages
had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also,
the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians'
rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible
retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last [276]
days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect 273
they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger
race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination
which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by
an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara
(who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio)
Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to
the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing
Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle
of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and
it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

[P.188]

[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

101 The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the [131] extensive territory stretching from the northern boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [434] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and 131 fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they 181
are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439]
who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on 771
earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776]
idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789]
storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out by fasting and dreaming in secluded places.
[178] This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat, cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mI (nï·mI *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

[p. 255-B]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

OVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 56
Texas

(ca. 1818)

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you. 175 121

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them, 175 131 181 000 175 648 721 175 721

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable
721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion
101 of the country through which they have ranged time imme-
171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818- 819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(c. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are 175
located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are cer- 721
tainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted [181]
from their political importance, by their habitual indolence,
and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and
protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the pre- 175
sumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly 114
opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements,
they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has
obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The [70]
idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish [162]
from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary
prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their 114
numbers and general character as a close observation dur- 128
ing a residence among them for several months, has en- 175
abled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is 101
divided into three great parties, each of which is distin- 175
guished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, 101
range through a section of country that is watered by the 133
Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits 175
both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

(ca. 1818)

175 721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they 175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally 726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency 175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this 721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and 721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran- 648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them, 175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and 721 lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 152 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to 539
a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the
place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a
long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities 771
—that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations [776]
of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the
vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place 764
in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, 775
and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few
ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at 796
the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, 765
over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to
strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not 181
a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody.

000

Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all their Nation and the following which they have; in the councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the rest of the Nation does not oppose them. 175 643 623 555

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have in the Negotiations of the Nation? 175 157 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the governor has not been able to learn their character, but if the experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging], they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them more subordination than they do their own chiefs. [728] 175 648

With respect to the rest of the observations that the governor has made of this nation, he has come to understand that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harshness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in dealing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always 175 648 181 175 648

24: Richardson H-4 (no date 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 402.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

in Charley's home, though his son To-pet-chy's home was only a short 606
distance away, on the east side of West Cache Creek. And though a Jesus Man (Christian), he belonged to a native Baptist church.

I am sure I felt a bit of intellectual awe in the presence of Charley 181
Ross, and this was renewed at our meetings over the years. Here was a man, it must be remembered, who was born into a stone-age culture that was without knowledge of the smelting of iron or any other metal, and without the skill to forge tools from metal already smelted. From the viewpoint of the white people of that time, the Comanches were murderers, rapists, home-burners, kidnappers of women and children, horse thieves, cattle thieves, and all-round savages. History justifies this opinion, but there is this saving grace for the Comanche: he was here first. The white man was the invader. The empire of Comanchería had been forged and was in existence more than eighty-five years before George Washington became president of the United States. From the ruins of this empire came Charley Ross, who first 177
found a way to enter the white man's world and then set about softening the impact between the two races that events decreed should live side by side. Mrs. Cato wrote in a letter to me, "My father was a very intelligent man, above the average, and so very much interested in higher education for his race of people and his own children. Even though he himself did not receive full benefit of complete education, he had the mind of a college graduate."

What a man accomplishes during his lifetime does not complete his true measurement. One must also judge how well he has projected himself into the next generation by adding the accomplishments of his children. Charley Ross's son-in-law, Mr. Cato, has told me that at the end of the 1965-66 school year Charley's children and grandchildren had completed forty-seven years of teaching. Others, not teachers, hold responsible positions with railroads, oil companies, and hospitals.

I have emphasized Charley Ross's pleasant manners and ready 157
smile. But there was no servility about him, nor did he ever attempt to please everyone at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. He was a positive character about whom I never heard a derogatory word, either from whites, many of whom were always looking for a flaw or chink in his armor of friendliness, or from his tribesmen, who tended to distrust any Indian who earned the friendship of white people. He went about his self-appointed task of being a catalyst for the two races with good will and common sense.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour, four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221 The Comanche were nomad buffalo
224 hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
• 181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes
142 with which they are associated. In person they are well built and rather corpu-
197 lent. Their language is the trade language of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling r. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct.
(115) The Kwahari and Penateka are the most important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Be'dälk'ïnago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 128, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., vi, 289, 1886. **Causouche.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Camanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cinta-sluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comancharo.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 336, 1841. **Comanahima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comasta.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 34, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-as.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p. 328-A]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal
Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes)
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma.

This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

128 727 555 primitive legal thinking, the fact and its legal recognition tend to fuse, and either is spoken of as the whole; the modern layman, e.g., still speaks of "my money in the bank" to describe what is neither his money, nor any money, nor in the bank, but a debt the bank owes him. So with this matter of the coup. The exploit is in strictness no coup, but the new material for 727 one. If unrecognized, the exploit becomes a matter of individual memory, 555 perhaps of individual grievance. *Only recognition in due "legal" form turns deed into coup.*[2] But as soon as recognized, the recognition aspect fades from thought, and the deed that was its reason and justification *seems* to stand alone. As in all cases where legal rights are accurately tailored to the facts, it is enough to deal with the facts. But that does not mean that the legal phases can be overlooked. The minute they are lacking, or are in dispute, they will become important, and may become crucial.[3] This is the case with an exploit accomplished, unwitnessed, and not believed, or of one claimed by each of two or several as his own.

The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not nearly so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines, or drawing blood from an enemy in hand to hand combat.

The Comanche honored two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. This arrangement was an efficient way of providing sufficient coups to meet the cultural demands of the society—an inflation of the currency of war prestige. The first man to reach the body of a fallen enemy struck it with his weapon and uttered the cry, "*ahé*" ("I claim it"), gaining thereby equal honor with the man who had done the killing. But if a bow or gun had been used to bring down the enemy, this second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.

182 727 555 The problem of adjustment of institution to social end is interesting. Superficially, skill at long-distance killing would seem of more immediate social value to a fighting people. But the stress on hand-to-hand valor or dangerously close approach to the enemy is more than shallow glorification of wolf over fox. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed. Grinnell, on the other hand, sees in it merely a cultural survival of the traditional days when the Cheyenne, for instance, fought perforce with sticks and stones because they had no bows or guns.[4]

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[2] Note the ritual formula for the transference of a recognized coup by its owner-performer when the coup is given to a friend as a gift. See p. 29.

[3] Cf. Ritual Evidence, pp. 103–106.

[4] George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1924), vol. 2, p. 36.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

522 575 887 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

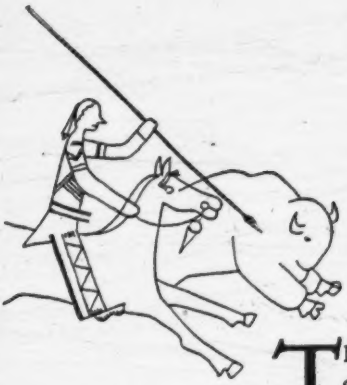
575 887 182 One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

III.

The Horse and the Buffalo



THE dominating characteristics of the "typical" nineteenth century Plains Indian culture, according to Clark Wissler, were the use of the horse, the buffalo, the tipi, the soldier band, and the Sun Dance. Although Wissler tagged them as a "typical" Plains tribe, the Comanches never developed the soldier bands beyond a weak, incipient imitation, and it is unlikely that the Sun Dance acquired any meaning for them, since the only one they held was a prelude to disaster. The warfare pattern of the Plains they could readily adopt, for that was an individualistic game. The military societies, however, called for a kind of internal organization which was foreign to their Shoshonean traditions, and since there was no notable functional advantage to be derived from such societies (as there was from warfare), they sensed no need to develop the military clubs to any great extent. The Sun Dance functioned as a tribal integrator for most Plains tribes and as a focal point of Nativistic revivalism for the peripheral Shoshones at the beginning of the twentieth century, but in the case of the Comanches, again with Shoshonean atomism in mind, it appears that there was no interest in tribal integration until sudden disintegration faced them in the eighteen seventies. Then their interest in the Sun Dance as a tribal catalyst produced for them nothing but disaster and the destruction of the old culture.

If, then, the Comanches lacked the typical military societies and the Sun Dance, what was there that made them typical Plains In-

On the Reservation

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one. 182 648x 795

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing. 648x 795

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles. [534]

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days. [535]

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[13]

[13] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
177 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the
182 Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewɔkə*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1]

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law.

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed.

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

183 684 The Comanche populace greatly enjoyed the spectacle of wife-stealing. The culture enhanced the procedure by providing for group cooperation in the absconding act. It is clearly discernible in this, that though the Comanches "believed" arranged marriages between an older man and younger woman were the best, their sympathies were with the young couple who tried to get together in spite of the formal pattern. Absconding took place when war parties were leaving the camp. The would-be absconder made himself a member of the raiding group and arranged for the woman to join him in the group at the first-night rendezvous. So the couple rode off on the foray with the gang of warriors.

171 Absconding with a war party is apparently unique among the Comanches, their own invention. The practice did not exist among the Shoshoneans from whom the Comanches stem. Among the Cheyennes such conduct was absolutely forbidden.[2]

PROCEDURE IN ADULTERY AND WIFE ABSCONDING

684 626 A Comanche male who had suffered a legal wrong was under social obligation to take action against the offender. For a man not to do so was not looked upon as an act of social grace; indeed, such behavior was a social disgrace. A man so acting was stamped not as magnanimous, but as lily-livered. Adultery and taking another's wife were direct attacks upon the prestige of the wife's husband. Both acts were unmistakable challenges which could not be ignored by the man who would maintain enough face to make life livable.

Naturally, the aggrieved party was not always inclined to act, nor was the reason always cowardice. If the wrong were not made public, it is obvious that public opinion could not drive a man to institute prosecution. Ridicule was the weapon used by society to cause a man to proceed after the cause for action had become public.

This is clearly brought out in the account of an adulterous youth as told by That's It.

Case 4. Adultery: Husband Slays Boy's Pony; Also That of Boy's Grandfather Informant: That's It

"An old man had a handsome grandson. Being very proud of the boy, the old man liked to boast of him in public.

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[2] An enterprising warrior tried it once. The leader of the party immediately convened his followers in council to determine the action to be followed. The man and the woman were sent back to camp, but the warriors all promised gifts to be given to the aggrieved husband. On their return from the raid the promises were handsomely fulfilled. But they also effected a formulation of the rule that no man should ever take the wife of another on a raiding party. No subsequent violations of the rule ever occurred. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

*627 754 683 paint on yourself in some secret place.' When this happened, it broke No Bed's tabu against yellow paint—she was killed in the end by her power."

Here is a case where we see a chief (Grey Flat Lying Object was one of the great Comanche war leaders) taking the role of the champion in a new situation, this time acting for the defendant. We *should* know something of his motives in expousing her cause. We found no evidence of institu- [183] tionalization of a right of asylum.

The next and the only other case we have in which a *real* attempt was made by relatives of a sick person to do direct violence to a sorcerer comes from Dr. Mirsky.

Case 27. Sorcery: Chew Up vs. Bull Roarer
Informant: Talker

"There was a man named Chew Up. He was a Yep-Eater, and had just returned from a war-raid. He asked his father, 'What is that tent doing there?' (pointing to a tipi close to his own).

"His father said, 'Your brother is very ill.'

" 'And what may be the matter with him?' he asked.

" 'Some one has shot him with his medicine. Some one put his curse on him.'

"Chew Up went into his father's tipi; there he found his mother getting food ready for him. His father followed him in and addressed him. 'Son, there is something I cannot keep from you. I cannot keep you in darkness. Bull Roarer is doctoring your brother. Bull Roarer is a very great medicine man—his diagnosis is always right.' The father told him what Bull Roarer had discovered.

"At that moment the mother's brother of Chew Up entered. 'Nephew,' he hailed him, 'you have returned. I overheard you talking. That is why I came in.' That was all he said; taking his leave, he went to the sick man's tipi.

"Chew Up rose and followed him. He found the uncle sitting at the foot of his brother's bed. Chew Up gave sympathy to his brother, encouraging him with promises of his recovery. Then he turned to his uncle. 'You are a medicine man who can doctor. Why don't you doctor him?' he demanded. To his uncle's wife who sat at the far end of the tipi he then gave an order to leave. As soon as she was out the door, he drew his knife.

" 'Oh,' cried the uncle, 'I have failed. I cannot relieve him.'

"As he said that, Chew Up seized him by the hair, and pushing down his head, he stabbed his uncle twice. Then he went out. He had killed him.

"He went striding back to his father's tipi, where his mother was still cooking. 'Mother,' he said, 'I have killed your brother. Now go tell your sister-in-law what I have done to her husband. But tell her this, she is not to mourn for him.'

"His mother went to her sister-in-law with his bidding. 'Come,' she directed her, 'we will get your husband's body out of the tipi.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. " . . . in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

428 *Case 40a. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping*
●183 *Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man*

"Before his death, A Big Fall By Tripping had made an announcement stating his desire that his best horses were to be slain with the arrows which he had in his three quivers. There were one hundred arrows in each. (Indeed, a wealthy man.) The remaining horses were to be divided up among the tribesmen. This order was executed by the tribe's best marksmen under the direction of a peace chief. Three hundred of the best were slain."

Case 40b. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: That's It

"A Big Fall By Tripping made no announcement whatever of testamentary desire. After his death the chief decided that the herd was too large for a woman to handle, so he set the warriors to slaying the horses. They worked at this until all the ammunition ran out. Still there were five hundred horses left. The chief thought it over then and decided that the woman could handle one hundred head without trouble. They picked out the gentler ones for her. Then the dead man's best friend took one hundred too. The chief asked the widow what she would like to have done with the rest, advising that it was good to give them to the husband's best friends. It was done in this way, with the mother and the grandfather of the most intimate friend of the old man coming in for a share too. The horse which had been used to carry the man's travois was buried in the grave with him."

Case 40c. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: She Invites Her Relatives

"The dead man's nephew rounded up the horses and started killing them. He was engaged in this when four disinterested men came to him and told him not to kill all of them. They told him to give the remaining horses to his own children and his friends. He decided to do as they suggested."

Case 40d. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: Talker

"There was an only child, a favorite daughter. Three nephews, Echo Of A Wolf's Howl, Little Crow and Old Weathered Tree, also survived him. They hated their 'sister' out of jealousy for her favored position during the fat man's lifetime. Because these men were her 'elder brothers,' they could control the disposition of the estate. They each selected forty or fifty good horses and shot the rest so that there would be none left for her. They killed so many that they lay in the meadow like so many shocks of wheat. They used their superior status to get even with her and she had no redress. If they had not been mean to her, they would have asked her to take some of the horses because her father would not have wanted her to be poor."

When confronted with such a situation as this the only sound interpretation the investigator can make is that inheritance rules were so uncertain

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

that there was no commonly accepted formula to which retailers of the story could hold fast. Without this unconscious prompter of memory, the truth was soon dissipated and the event is described according to individual notions. 428 183

CONTRACT

Rounding out the survey of situations of possible legal significance, attention must be given to the phenomenon of contract wherein a party or parties assumed a definite, but limited, obligation by virtue of agreement. These obligations are not to be confused with such status-obligations as sharing food with one's father-in-law. These latter may be entered upon by acts of agreement such as marriage, but once entered upon they were social and legal duties inherent in the new relations and carried on indefinitely. Standing economic obligations of a reciprocal nature are not "contractual" in nature. Contract is a specific obligation undertaken at a specific time; the contractual arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. 675

In addition to the transfer of medicine powers and the payment of goods to settle a grievance there were other contract situations involving the rendering of personal services. Of these the most usual was curing; the next most important was the undertaking of responsibility to lead a revenge war party. A third was occult prophecy, or seer-seeing. And a fourth was sorcery for hire, or putting the enemy of another person on the spot through evil use of medicine powers. The last is not substantiated by any case material, but was attested by informants. Saddle and arrow making, if done on order, would also come under this heading.

In seeking a medicine man to perform a cure, there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The proposal and acceptance followed an institutionalized pattern which marked the occasion ceremonially as one of significance. In the first place, it was well to use a "political lawyer" to get the thing done, especially so, if the practitioner sought was a well known medicine man. A friend of the medicine man was known throughout the band as the best person to send to the doctor. The doctor would listen to him with willing ears. The petitioner was also familiar with the ways in which the medicine man liked to have the smoke handed to him and could make the petition smooth in many ways. Such intermediaries received their compensation not from the sick person, but from the doctor, as a share in the gifts received by him.[8] 675 756

[8] The use of a pipe lighting assistant is of limited Shoshonean distribution. Cf. W. S. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Chicago, 1938), p. 127.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective. 603

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"Friends." While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[13] 572 [597] 572 183

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nīmīʔdraʔ* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hâic*, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as 572 196

[13] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hâic* relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔitanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahmsuapĪ *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The [171] Comanche shared the general Plains trait [183] of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nimikuhcU]; taté?cI[135] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pihire?cI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tivahpI *pinon nuts*; tikehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover* (*back medicine*); kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavihka?I *to be menstruating* (*to* [841] *become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkU *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yĪ *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[136] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mi *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; [262] mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite* (*to*

[135] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[136] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwʌp.* A man joined the tɛ́kniwʌp class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1. The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

---

[147] * The word tɛ́kniwʌp, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tɛ́gwəni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called nadedink tɛ́gwəni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pʌ́naiʒo, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

174 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). 796
Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed 755
of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak 796
Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by 755
Kɔwino, a Yɛp Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at- 184

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society,* 67.

796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
755 here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the
796 Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

9. Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one [582] [184] informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

[551] She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected 597
with adoption.

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and 848
especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection
of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it [558]
would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to
marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him [551]
teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship
at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate
happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older
man.

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the 845
mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially
true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the
child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of power- [184]
ful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together,
but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and [847]
offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone
invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died,
all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried
with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what
was offered in the way of other clothes.

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's 604
side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even 593
if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother
is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly
major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a
girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and
uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any
children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with
her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in
the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this ex-
tended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even
distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost
continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and
uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother,
incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized
patterns.

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-hus- 593
bands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of 684
children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they
chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

101 (ca. 1818)
133 of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and
648 destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is
721 this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory war-
175 fare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio
175 Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about
721 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether
701 they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin
162 bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks.
101 These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally
133 extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are
175 found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dis-
101 similar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but
184 are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands. 177 [184]

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future. 619 621

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hənitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *pɛnatəkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *honono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. [174]

The largest Comanche band was the *pɛnaiəkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration. 619 621 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *pɛnatɛ́kə* continue to be the southern- 101
most of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted 621
the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the 177
process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progres- 619
sive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in 621
contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might 184
be expected, the southern band, the *pɛnatɛ́kə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *pɛnatɛ́kə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nəkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *pɛnatɛ́kə* for 101
the southern people; rather they call them *hənitaiβo*, which means "eat corn 619
like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred 621
to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches 184
who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did 619
not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. 621
During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage 184
of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and 648
their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in 721
Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile.
In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the 619
northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this 621
time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern 184
Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 721
657

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972, NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in
166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[755] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Precipitating Factors

186 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally
775 dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors
154 dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved.
156 The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means
775 by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses
154 which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation.
156 It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a
184 Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to
177 the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women
775 could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of inde-
154 pendence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence
156 of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively con-
184 trolled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men"
177 in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize
562 them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to
775 the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with
154 one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—
156 total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-
184 oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner
177 considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

The Comanches

264 the meat is taken out of the kettle by the fingers of the woman who officiates as cook, and apportioned to each one, and placed before him; bread [this was after the government had set up a reservation and was providing some provisions] is apportioned out, and cups for the coffee furnished to each. The party is some time in partaking of the meal, which is enlivened by much conversation, amusing tales, and laughter, while the meat is torn to pieces by the teeth and fingers, sometimes with the assistance of a knife. . . . After a meal water is always offered to all who have partaken to rinse the mouth and wash the hands. After this the pipe may be in order but not necessarily. If it be introduced, the women withdraw, and some important subject discussed. The pipe is always circulated from one to another, from right toward the left.[15]

261 Perhaps opportunism in the life of the nomadic Comanche is best
[185] reflected in his attitude toward subsistence. Seldom were efforts put forth to make provision for the future other than preserving meat or wild fruits and nuts by drying in such quantities as could be carried when the camp moved. He ate sparingly when on a raid or a hunt. Times of hunger were frequent. He could subsist on a surprisingly small amount when game was scarce, or he could demonstrate an amazingly gluttonous appetite when food was plentiful and no danger present. Besides, the food might spoil unless quickly consumed. By practicing self-denial, he developed a quality of hardihood unequaled by other peoples who later came to his country. It was because of his surprising resourcefulness while traveling on the semiarid Staked Plains that he was able to survive where the Anglo-American invader would starve or die of thirst. And when all resources were exhausted, he could go for many hours through trying circumstances without either food or water. Indeed, his self-restraint could be quite as pronounced as his gormandizing. Clinton Smith relates that on a trip across the plains, when water was not found where expected, the most rigid discipline was enforced in the interest of the weaker members of the party. Grim warriors, with blood-shot eyes and swollen tongues, staggered on, threatening with death anyone who might attempt to

[15] Battey, *op. cit.*, 322–23.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal.

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism.

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation.

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

were generally willing to cooperate to the best of their knowledge. Again and again they expressed the wistful wish that the recordings taken by the Laboratory group may find their way into the hands of their children and grandchildren. "When we are gone, and there is no one to tell them, we want them to be able to read it in the book," they said. We, the investigators, were often subjected to impromptu quizzes by the informant when we came to the end of a particularly difficult problem, so that the Indian could satisfy himself that what had been written was written correctly. The Comanches revealed a genuine desire for completeness and accuracy in the production of their ethnology.

Finally, the reader must keep in mind that this memoir is not a complete Comanche ethnography. I have tried to keep the treatment of all phases of political and legal problems in their proper cultural context. Even so, it is possible that a magnified picture of Comanche law may result. The reader is warned to make his own corrections for distortion by doing his best to keep the broader cultural background of Comanche society constantly in mind.

The contribution of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology towards the publication of this memoir has been made possible by a grant extended by the Southwest Society. The author's sincerest appreciation is extended to these two organizations and to the American Anthropological Association for their generous interest and aid in making publication possible.

those countries, he laughed me to scorn, arguing that its 823
inhabitants would have to walk with their heads downward, and must necessarily fall off; besides, the premise upon which rested the superstructure of the argument was false, inasmuch as the earth was not round, but flat, a fact patent to the naked eye.

I described a train of cars, wooden tents placed above 000
rolling wheels, filled with a crowd of people outnumbering all his tribe, forced by the power of steam, such as he saw rise from the water boiling in his kettle, along an iron trail, faster than he ever saw the wild horse run across the prairie —endeavored to explain how they could converse, however distant from each other, through the marvelous electric telegraph, describing the immensity of their towns, the number of their warriors; in fine, whether under his own tent in the village, or encamped on the prairie after a day's hunt, he was constantly interrogating me upon some subject connected with their manners, customs, or inventions. Usually, 186●
when I had concluded, the old man would remain silent a long time, absorbed in deep study, from which he would, at length, arouse and exclaim—"Wonderful! wonderful! are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all!"

The Rolling Thunder evidently entertained a favorable 584
opinion of me. This was shown soon after my arrival in his camp, by insisting that I should take a wife. I took the matter into serious consideration, endeavoring to decide in my own mind what effect it might have on the chances of escape. The conclusion was that the effect would be favorable, and, accordingly, I signified to the chief that "Barkis was willin'."

The next step was to make a selection from the dusky daughters of the tribe, a matter about which I felt dis-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

ing from the rising to the setting sun. Their fortifications 773
crowned the summits of the mountains, protecting their populous cities situated in the intervening valleys. They excelled every other nation which has flourished, either before or since, in all manner of cunning handicraft—were brave and warlike—ruling over the land they had wrested from its ancient possessors with a high and haughty hand. Compared with them the palefaces of the present day were pigmies, in both art and arms. They drove the Indians from their homes, putting them to the sword, and occupying the valleys in which their fathers had dwelt before them since the world began. At length, in the height of their power and glory, when they remembered justice and mercy no more and became proud and lifted up, the Great Spirit descended from above, sweeping them with fire and deluge from the face of the earth. The mounds we had seen on the tablelands were the remnants of their fortresses, and the crumbling ruins that surrounded us all that remained of a mighty city.

In like manner, continued the Rolling Thunder, the 186
day will surely come when the present white race, which 773
is driving the Indians before it, and despoiling them of their inheritance, and which, in the confidence of its strength, has become arrogant and boastful and forgotten God, will be swept from existence. For the Great Spirit is *just*—and as certainly as the rivers flow downward towards the salt sea, or the sun rises in the morning and sets at night, so certainly will He yet restore the land of their fathers to the red man, when the days of his affliction are passed.

It would, indeed, be difficult to adopt any other hypothesis than the one entertained by the chief. The evidence before me was too clear and palpable to be controverted,

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

186 773 that at some period, more or less remote, this valley had been inhabited by a people skilled in architecture and evidently possessing, in a high degree, a knowledge of mechanism and the arts. Whether the Rolling Thunder's account of their destruction is correct, or his belief that their successors will eventually be disposed of in the same summary manner is orthodox, will admit of argument; nevertheless, there is no doubt that, in common with all the tribes of the Comanches, he entertains this belief, in genuine sincerity. It is this unwavering faith in the future ascendancy of the red man, and the final restoration to him of all the possessions he has lost, which prompts him to perpetual resistance, and which so often led the Rolling Thunder to exclaim, after I had described some marvelous invention—"Wonderful, wonderful are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all."

224 After leaving the volcanic valley and ascertaining the feeding grounds of the bison, we returned to the village, and soon again set forth on the yearly buffalo hunt. It is [136] a singular fact that on these excursions the hunters are followed by droves of wolves. They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the business in which the party is about to engage. As soon as the skin is stripped from the buffalo they surround the carcass and devour it. To wake in the dead of night, after dreaming, peradventure, of early home and friends, to find yourself under a rude tent, in those far distant wilds, surrounded by a savage tribe, produces sensations, lonely and desolate indeed—but terror mingles with the sense of desolation when, all around, the adjacent solitudes are vocal with the barking and snarling and howling of wolves, gorging themselves at their midnight feasts.

It was at such times as these my soul longed to reach once

114 *Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

121 The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

114 Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of
[186] our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and their ways should be true and adequate. They want their children and grandchildren to be able to read this book when they are gone. The memories of the old ways are to survive in print.

The chief informants used by Mr. Wallace were Wiley Yellowfish, *Pakawa* (Kills Something), John *Padoponi* (See How Deep the Water Is), *Pohawe* (Medicine Woman), and *Tawaka*. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data in question were recorded from them by him in the summer of 1945.

The chief informants used by the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group were Post Oak Jim, *Nayia* (Slope), *Tasuɾa* (That's It), *Quasia* (Eagle Tail Feather), *Tɛnəβəkə* (Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man), Frank *Chikoβa* (Breaks Something), *Nəməɾuiβɛtsə* (She Invites Her Relatives), *Həkiyani* (Carrying Her Sunshade), George *Kɔwino*, and Howard White Wolf. When these Comanches are cited, it means that the data were recorded from them by Mr. Hoebel or by other members of the Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933.

The Reverend Robert Chaat served as interpreter and informant for Mr. Wallace in his work. Mr. Herman *Asenap* (Greyfoot) and Mr. Norton *Tekwitchi* (Skinny and Wrinkled) were the indispensable interpreters and go-betweens for the Laboratory field party.

We are also indebted to many other persons who aided one or the other of the authors in their work. Among these are Professors Walter Prescott Webb and J. G. McAllister of the University of Texas, Mr. Martin Taylor and Mr. Max Penrod, educators to the Comanches, Professor R. N. Richardson of Hardin-Simmons University, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Holden, Mr. O. A. Kinchen, and Mrs. Ida Vernon of Texas Technological College, and Mrs. Ernesteen Barton. A fond salute is given to the members of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology Comanche field party: Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett, Waldo R. Wedel, and F. Gore Hoebel (an ex-officio member). Mr. Joseph Casagrande generously made the manuscript of his unpublished dissertation on "Linguistic Accommodation to Acculturation in Comanche" available to us.

Illustrations and materials to be used in illustration for this book were kindly provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the United States National Museum, the Denver Art Museum, the University of Texas Anthropological Museum, and Texas Technological

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 45) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 325.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 15) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

657 871 212 877

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

186

31. Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Boston, 1875), 38-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 186.

113 113 113 113

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO Comanche NO6

657 to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend
871 school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort
[186] Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily
[874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocational courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort
657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government
871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm
874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill
242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal super-
177 stitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory 175
from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and 648
western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the
Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The
Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned 175
the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eigh- 101
teenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the
northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying
between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill
Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and
the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New
Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded
as *Comancheria*, and for more than a century few there
were, either red men or white, who intruded against their
will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, 175
the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white 648
civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a
reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever ex- [186]
isted between them and any of their white neighbors. Sel-
dom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village
longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Co-
manche to visit a white settlement except to war and plun-
der. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche 114
society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
175 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference
577 to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Comanchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to
[186] other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche .06
Texas

[Co. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
136 into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alternatives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

/page 34 continued/

C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 C K 608 [582] C K [178] The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C K 177 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

C K 177 186 /35/Historically there is some evidence that this dichotomy was an important one for the Kiowas and Comanches during the period of the 1870's to say 1900. There were those who came into the reservations and those who held out till the end. Later there were the religious converts and those who clung to the old ways of faith. Ever present in the Indian's judgement of his fellows was the gauge of just how white he had become; whose side he was on so to speak. The other side of the coin also held of course; how bull headed, primitive or whatever someone still was. To an extent this attitude pattern is in effect today but it is difficult to see how it determines the factions in the tribe or even adherence to a particular religion.

K 665 [795] To date I have learned more concerning factionalism among the Kiowas than among the Comanches and shall, therefore, deal with them first. People are vocal concerning religious tensions and prejudices (Christian vs. Peyote) and splits within the council concerning allegiances, i.e. Republican vs. Democrat, nor do they seem to pertain to major policy and direction. Tension seems to be centered over the methods of operation used by those in office. It should be remembered K [795] that relatively few are active in tribal politics and that both Christians and Peyotists are minorities. The large bulk of the K population are inactive and do not even follow. They may be listed 795 as Christians as often as not but neither go to church nor know much 771 more than the average bourgeois of the East what Christianity is all K about. Past field work has used as informants members of active [124] leading groups and this study makes no pretense of being different. [114] The life of the "common man" remains virtually untouched in this area as far as I can tell.

K 665 At present there is considerable agitation among the Kiowas between an out group and the in group which controls the business council. Leaving aside the sordid details etc., the line up suggests that there is a split here between a traditional aristocracy and an upstart, "shanty Irish," group. The opposition party consists of

30: Levy E-S (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 798 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 795 Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in 798 coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. [178] What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 795 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This 177 shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

/page 41 continued/

795 177 186 The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem /42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress, etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain 795 177 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken more at face value. The statements of the representative of the Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics. The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent." They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis, etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new factors enter the scene.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in
166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[755] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

157 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially
177 dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.
178
775 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most
177 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa
178 Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work,
775 the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This
571 feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces
[186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive
154 intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of
571 directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than
164 an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a
775 definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unen-
177 durable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense
154 desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three
156 most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation must act

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequivocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

31: Jones . E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Precipitating Factors

186 775 154 156 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved. The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 775 154 156 184 177 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation. It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 775 154 156 184 177 562 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of independence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively controlled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men" in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 775 154 156 184 177 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

643 choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and
595 build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass
657 Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

[186] It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company.
[563] In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land
648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
423 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white
186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221 The Comanche were nomad buffalo
224 hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a reputation for dash and courage. They
[186] have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-
142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
[194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
[115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinahore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dälk'ïnago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainsh.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corbin, Dacotah MS. Vocab., B. A. E., 166, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Albert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1886. **Comanches.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-a^.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

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192 sources of the latter type in English.[71]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[72] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the formation of words by incremental affixation
192 [193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[73] pacahto?i? *pump* (*raise water forcefully with the hands*) [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn* (*turned inside out by heat*) [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle* (*make one's self go with the feet*) [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [71] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[72] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [73] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p. 222-A]

192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kĪtūhkapĪ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tĪ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s [191] [563] noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. [563] At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kJ is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tïe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[113] [108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 58 (London, 1841).

[p. 232-B]

825 pacikwasi? *bare tail*; pīwīya?ino·hr *carries his own rope* (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: parú·kU *water animal* (?); tu?pa?wehni? *black hanging down* (*from the cheeks*); cuhniwi?A *bone penis*.

Mourning Dove: ?eka?omo? *red legs*; pasahó·? (Possibly related to pasapĬ *dried up*. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); ku?ewó·?; na?yanimaitĬ *lazy one* (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, wo?woki? *barker*, in addition to the usual [552] word for *dog*, sari·?, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named.

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: po?ro? (from Spanish, *puerco*); ho·kI (from English, *hog*); *muvipo?ro? (*nose* + po?ro?); munua? *nose mover*.

Mule: mu·ra? (from Spanish, *mula*); to?moci? (from to?mocI *sharp-pointed hoof*); mī·wari?ipĬ (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.).

Elephant: ?eni?inī·? *grey animal*; mu?kwipuna? *nose curled up*; mú·pichatīnó·wapI *carries things for mupic*[18] (a legendary giant).

Chicken: ko·ko?; ko·korá?a·?; ta·ya?ke? *dawn crier* (*rooster*); ?ona?ai? *use salt* (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

191 5.1. Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

[18] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only mupic for elephant.

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which is other and which mother tongue. Most old
191 people over 60 speak little or no English,
S61 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few
191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
S63 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is
[191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
[177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[189a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [189a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185–202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects of acculturation. It may be noted that in speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 124

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

[177]

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as mar. J pronounced jello, jero, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

[140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175–188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

(113)

[p. 241-B]

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the 191 794 most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few 191 sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177] [195] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

[p. 242-A]

191 195 [177] sense of propriety and prudishness, and there has been a direct extension of English word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipĪ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pĪ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĪ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipĪ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipĪ *groin milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, [551] the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[101] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[102] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[101] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[102] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937). [113]

[p. 242-B]

198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
the language is far and away the most vitally
177 functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[143] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[143] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
191 ture, and it is significant that those Coman-
177 che most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives,
197 adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

[p. 251-B]

20: Wallace H 4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche M06

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, op. cit., [illegible]-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

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C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 199 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 199 602 [161] 582 588 684 patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 178 602 Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are [191] probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know C K 601 191 179 602 to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 191 199 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 198 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 593 198 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 198 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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159
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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
101 tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over 492
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a 177 lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling 562 existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of [563] school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 191 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for "*to-o-pac.*" (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been "*pina*" for "sugar four bits," "*hocoon*" for "matches five cents," "*mo-be-po-dra*" for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, "*Heepet?*" or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw.

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject.

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?"

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old—a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong—neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of 648
mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, 726
would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is defi- 657
nitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, con- 871
cerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade terri- 191
tory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English 871
and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in- 657
law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister 657
and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I be- 871
lieve, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
19 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
57 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money. 609 191 571

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City. 609 191 797 [794] [551]

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature. 657 191 609

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds. 609

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the 648 657

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land
648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
723 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white
186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

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ground. One end of the bone, thrust through the flesh, gouged into 000
the dirt.

His partner carried Jim into the line shack, broke out a bottle of whiskey to calm him down, and proceeded to set the bone. First he washed the protruding bone in soapsuds made from a bar of yellow laundry soap—the only soap or disinfectant they had. Then, slipping one boot off, the amateur bone-setter put his heel in Jim's crotch and pulled the bone back in place. He tore up a cotton blanket into strips, wound strips of the blanket around pieces of wood from a goods box, put one splint under the leg and one on the opposite side from the wound caused by the bone, and bound them in place with other strips of the blanket.

As nearly as Jim remembers, the wound stopped bleeding and was not bandaged. But Jim wasn't too sure from here on; he was paying closer attention to the whiskey bottle.

His companion put the rest of the whiskey and a bucket of water by the head of Jim's bunk and set out for the ranch. The rancher sent a cowboy for the doctor, and they laid a mattress in a lumber wagon and started for the line shack. There Jim was lifted onto the mattress, and the long, slow, rough trip to the ranch began. The doctor met them on the way. It was night, but he examined the leg by the light of a kerosene lantern. Aside from adding more splints and telling them not to stint on the whiskey, he okayed the job, and the trip to the ranch was resumed.

The doc told them he didn't know anything that was better to clean a wound than laundry soap. Jim was left with a slight impediment in his walk, as if the one leg was a bit shorter than the other. It was a good enough leg for him to serve long years on the police force, in various capacities. He was finally retired because of advanced age.

Time must have been an element in saving Albert. Here was a 177
tramp cowboy faced with a job which would tax the resources of the receiving room of an outstanding modern hospital. He had to complete his job before dark, as the only available light would have been a kerosene lantern with a number one wick. Whatever help he could receive would come from Jim and Earny. All instructions to Jim must 191
be relayed through Earny. The instructions must be reduced to language Earny could understand before he could relay them to Jim. Earny was a good interpreter, an unusually bright boy for his age; but

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191 after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

763 158 My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been [304] in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left [147] hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory con- [165] tent in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

[147] Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

000 I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.

The Horse and the Buffalo

Northern Mexico afforded a golden harvest of horses with little 721
danger to the Comanche raiders. Padre Jacob Sadelmeyer wrote in 1744 that the Comanches were raiding the Río Grande frontier for horses. Long years of internal strife and revolution after revolution had impoverished the Spanish borderlands, and the poor inhabitants were without adequate means of defense. Spanish and Mexican authorities, fearing revolution, resolutely sought to deprive the people of arms. The fierce Comanche raiders struck the defenseless towns, haciendas, and ranches like a whirlwind, capturing thousands of horses, mules, and cattle, and many Mexican children. They swept south to Durango, within five hundred miles of Mexico City, and over Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, San Luis, and Nuevo León. "For days together," said one traveler who passed through the country from Mexico City to Santa Fé in 1846, "I traversed a country completely deserted on this account, passing through ruined villages untrodden for years by the foot of man." The same authority stated that from the fall of 1845 until the time of his visit in September, 1846, on the northern frontier of Mexico "upwards of ten thousand head of horses and mules have already been carried off, and scarcely has a hacienda or rancho on the frontier been unvisited and everywhere the people have been killed or captured.[20]

When "Dot" Babb, for many years a captive and later an adopted 192
warrior-member of the Comanche tribe, expressed the view that the Comanches had a limited vocabulary,[21] he was reflecting the view of earlier centuries that primitives are incapable of abstract thought—an incapacity reflected in paucity of language. Of course, it is perfectly true that primitive peoples, whose simpler cultures have fewer objects to identify and fewer abstract concepts demanding expression, do have need for fewer words. But this is no indication of any inability to refine a vocabulary. Boas pointed out long ago that Eskimos, to whom the condition of snow is a life and death matter, have more than a score of words for snow in various degrees of temperature, crystallization, moisture, and compactness. LaBarre, in his recent work among the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, who made potatoes their mainstay in prehistoric times, recorded more than two hundred words

[20] George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 112.
[21] Babb, *op. cit.*, 144.

for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieka*), a reddish brown (*ɛkakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*ʈɔsa*), a blue (*epixtuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔtɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*ekaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛkasɔnaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsɔnaro*), or black (*ḍuu:-tsɔnaro*). And finally there were the red (*ɛkanaki*), yellow (*ohanaki*), and black (*ḍuunaki*) ears.

Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 862.

194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^y and g^w commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^w respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[11]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tivo·pĬ *paper*—nĭrĭvo·pĬ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final Ĭ in such a word as tĭhkapĬ *food*, is often heard as simple aspira-
[192] tion. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] [11] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

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194 few in number. With a very few exceptions, chiefly in loanwords, there are no clusters of more than two consonants. Except where vowels are elided, and in a number of English loanwords, only the clusters h plus consonant and ? plus consonant, and, more
194 rarely, h plus n, appear. Examples are: puhaknI or puhakhnI *church* (puha *supernatural power*, plus kahnI *house*; tu?re? *rubber*; tehnsé·? *ten cents* (English). The
192 seeming cluster k or k^h plus consonant is common; however in every instance noted a medial vowel had been elided: ?eka- *red*, plus sĭkwe? *half*, gives ?eksĭkwe? *red half*, *an old style blanket*.

194 3.2. Vowels are unrounded in front position and rounded in back position (with i and u closer than e and o, respectively), and mixed in central position (mid close ĭ and low open a). These six vowels also appear long (i· and u·, e· and o·, ĭ· and a·); also whispered (I and U, E and O, Ĭ and A); rarely nasalized as in the morpheme, ha· *yes*.

The vowel ĭ approximates the vowels in English "look" and "luck". All vowels, lacking closely contrasting phonemes, vary somewhat from high to low: e.g., o may approach ɔ, or e approach ɜ, etc. Whispered and long vowels, which could also be described as clusters of two identical vowels, are of the same quality as their voiced short counterparts.

No vowels occur in utterance initial; and all vowels occur in utterance medial. Only long vowels, clusters, and whispered vowels occur in utterance final; however there is a tendency for most speakers to close an utterance ending in a long vowel or a cluster with a glottal stop or aspiration. An echo vowel is sometimes heard after a glottal stop:-a?(A).

Short morpheme final vowels become voiceless in utterance final position, e.g., ?e·konĭ· *tongue*, and ?e·kO *tongue*. They also tend to assimilate to a preceding consonant, or to be replaced by simple aspiration. In utterance medial position

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194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel [192] loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĭsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ĭe, ĭi, ai, [192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔĭvĭiʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapĭ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first [104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[23] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern. [192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be [196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [23] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297-301 (1953).

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193 **3.4.** Infixation, if indeed it may be so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
193 lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĬ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes include the nominalizers, -pĬ and -?, which make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
193 highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tĭhka *eat* plus -? gives tĭhka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĬ gives nohkopĬ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĬ gives piapĬ *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĬ) gives ?ekavItĬ *red one*; yĭva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĭva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93–9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203–12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

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193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among those productive of new words are: -kī
193 *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikī? *rocking-*
196 *chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks* + ?ai *go, lope* + -kī + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nïmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (nïmī- *1st per. plural* + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* + -?e + -V *plural* + -tĬ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion away*; -?tu?i *future* (*in positive statements*); -wa?i *future* (*in negative statements*); -?i *past, semelfactive*; -yU *past, duralive* (?); -nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*; -yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tī *nominalizer*; -nī· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĬ *dual*; -hī *dual* (*on proclitic pronominals*); -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 **3.6.** Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/yïcĭ?I *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -ci? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
196 locative, pronominal, numerative, demonstrative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[48] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 197 192 There are four principal means by which a language may enlarge its vocabulary to accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[48] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[49] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[50] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[49] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonization and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[50] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 208 ff. (New York, 1921).

[p. 218-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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While we shall discuss primarily terms for the products of White culture, extensions of meanings, as well as the other neologistic devices mentioned above, were likewise employed during the shift of Comanche culture from a Basin-Plateau Shoshonean to a Plains type. In fact, a number of terms have undergone two distinct permutations of meaning: wosA in Shoshone[51] refers to a conical carrying or seed basket, the Comanche extended its meaning to parfleche, and today it refers to a box, pocket, container, or luggage. Similarly, kahnI was used for a brush-covered hut, then a tipi, and now a modern house. In most Basin-Plateau dialects deer is tuhuya or some related form,[52] while in Comanche tihï·yA, the cognate form, was extended to mean horse, and another word, ?arika? (possibly ?a· *horn* + tihka? *meat or food*), was coined for deer. Further, a number of newly introduced traits seem to have closer analogues in the old Shoshone rather than in Plains culture: wihtua *bucket*—Sho. *pottery bowl*,[53] ?a·wO *cup, dish, drinking glass*—Sho. *basketry bowl*.[54]

The extension of meaning depends upon the recognition of some resemblance between the new products of the alien culture and objects and ideas present in the native culture. The old and the new are equated on the basis of form, function, and symbolic meaning. Any or all of these three aspects

[51] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2, p. 239 (University of California, 1941).

[52] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, Vocabularies, pp. 272-283 (1938). Robert G. Lathan, Elements of Comparative Philology (London, 1862) gives teheyer for horse.

[53] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 375 (University of California, 1943).

[54] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[p. 218-13]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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197 may be utilized; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[55] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[56]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of
192 function and symbolic meaning regardless of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[57] *#pia?e·tĪ *gun* (*big bow*); *ta·vE *clock, time of day* (*sun* compare ta·venItĪ *day*); *#nava·kA *bullet, lead* (*its arrow*).

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĪ *4th of July* (*big puha day*); *puharaivo·? *doctor, minister, Christian* (*puha white man*); puharavenItĪ *Sunday* (*puha day*); puharekĪraivo·? *minister* (*puha talk white man*); puharivo·pĪ *Bible* (*puha book, writing*); *puhahuvia *hymn* (*puha song*); puhaknI[58]

[113] [55] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [56] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [57] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ?, a, e, i, ĭ, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked # appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[58] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

[p. 219-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

197 *church* (*puha house*); suavevuharaivo·? *Catholic* (*cross puha white man*); tamavu-
192 haraivo·? *dentist* (*tooth puha white man*).

In similar fashion ?aca?vI, *supernatural*; *guardian spirit*, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle.

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,[59] or at least a similar attitude towards both the religieux and the healer.

192 A representative list of words with ex-
[128] tended meanings is given below.[60] The
[197] analogies are based chiefly on partial or more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E *electricity* (*lightning* [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? *butcher knife* (*sway-backed* [related to ?ehkwe?ne·tI *a swaybacked person*]); *?eksa·? *dye of any color, vermilion* (*red boiled*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*playing cards*) (*yellow carried on the head* [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisini· band.]); ?ona·vI *salt in any form* (*salt*); ?oyo?rI *belongings, goods, wealth* (*belongings*); *paraivo·? *boss, leader, head* (*so-called peace chief*);[61] paco?E *fresh beef* (*wet*); *pahmU *tobacco in any form* (*tobacco*)

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by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

[59] This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 261-287 (University of California, 1943).

[60] Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

[61] See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 54, pp. 18-20 (1940).

[p. 219-B]

192 *pihna·? *sugar, candy (sweet);*[42] *pihcī?nia? *straight pin* (related to pihcīnīarA *a person with wide, fat buttocks.* Pin so called because of butt end); * pisapĪ *paint, rouge, powder, compact* (*paint,* chiefly ochres); pisipĪ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, any pussy infection, rotten flesh*); pima?nika? *menstrual napkin* (*push into the buttocks with the hand* [formerly used old buffalo robes]); pokopI *candy, nuts, berries, fruit,* etc. (*edible part of plant*); * * pu·kU *horse* (singular only) (*pet*);[43] *pu?E *road* (*trail, path*); *puhiwI *money, dollar, iron, metal* (*metal, ore*); *tahka?mi·cA *cucumber, "blueballs", a venereal disease* (*gland* [at groin]); tanesi? *king* (*playing cards*), *fetlock,* also a decoration hanging from knee on dress leggings; *tīrani? *hammer, sledge* (*hammer* [ta·nI *conquer!,* imperative]); tīciwai? *ramrod* (*a probe* [especially for marrow]); *tī·hka?a? *hatchet, axe* (*hatchet*); *tīmuhkU *cord, rope; reins* (cording [narīmuhkU *harness, reins, its rope*]); tī·wai? *solitaire* (card game) (*to drive game* [as from bushes with a stick]); * to?I *tobacco pipe* (*pipe*); *tu?re? *rubber, elastic* (*leech*); kahpE *bed* (*bed*); kī·kA *onion* (*wild onion*); kīmina- *break* (*a limb*) with machinery or automobile; also, as formerly, to break with the teeth; korohkO *scarf, cravat, yoke, collar* (*neckpiece*); kohca·pĪ *pudding, mush, gravy, fruit jam,* etc. (esp., mesquite bean mush [kohca· *to stir*]); kohinehkI *belt* (*sash with long tassel*); kupIta? *electric light, flashlight* (kupIta- *light the fire*); kwasu? *shirt, dress* (*dress of deer or antelope skins*); kwitacI *sausage* (*big intestine*); kwinumapĪ *drunk* (*dizzy*); cahani- *drive* (horse or automobile); *straigh-*

[113] [42] Marcy gives melon as the meaning in 1851. The same word, written pyi-n-hH', appearing in Kiowa is translated as "honey, sugar, anything sweet"; John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE-B 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928). Possibly both are loanwords from panocha, a coarse Mexican sugar.

[113] [43] Also in Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), written, bunko.

[p. 220-A]

192 *ten*, as clothes; cohpE *pillow* (*headrest, head of bed*); *co·mO *beads* (*bone beads*); savahpaki? *drum* (*drum* [Detrich gives waw vee wihk to ow, woviwihtua *wood bucket*]); sanahpĬ *glue, paste* (*pitch*); sanahkó·?[65] *chewing-gum* (slippery elm bark which was chewed); *sohovokó·? *fig* (*cottonwood fruit*); *suavE *cross, crucifix* (*cross*); suapĬ *soul* (*thought?*);[66] suthai- *bless* (*pity*); hivihkatĬ, hivipĬ *drunk* (hi·vI *drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); hĭ·kI *awning, umbrella* (*shade*); maniha- *to read, make a fixed speech* (*name something*); na?sihpé·? *ball, baseball* (*gourd* [na? *it's* + *fallen from the cold*]); *nakuel *gunpowder* (*powder*); *nacu?U *medicine* (*medicine*); *nĭ·tipĬka? *button* (*tipi lacing-pin*); nĭ·tĭvu?ipĬ *button-hole* (*slits for lacing tipi*); *nohi? *toy, game* (*toy* [nohi *play*]); *wa?ihpikwasu? *woman's dress*; wahka?e·tĬ *running, galloping* (said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.); *wanapĬ *cloth* (*bark*); wa?rohkĭyá·? *pincers, tongs* (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); *wihI *knife* (*flint knife*); wĭ?aikĭ- *to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up;* formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (wĭ?- *instrumental* + ?ai *go* + -kĭ *causative*); wihivi? *cup* (old word) (wĭ- + hivi- *drink* + -?, nominalizer); wĭnomenA *move hips back and forth as in copulation;* now *dance, hula*, etc; wokoral? *scrape* (*painted bunting*, (*bird*) [woko- *pine* + tai *spot*]); yokapĬ *oyster* (mucous, spittle); *yuhU *oil, grease, lard* (*fat*).

192 In order to distinguish the old trait from
193 the new the modifiers taivo·-[67] *White man's*,
197

[65] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives pitch for sanako.

[66] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

[67] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

[p. 220-B]

192 and nīmī- *Indians' or ours*, are often prefixed
193 to a word whose meaning has been ex-
197 tended.[47] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when
192 the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nīmīʔaʔahká·ʔ *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔa· *horn*, katĪ *got*). ʔamawó·ʔ *apple*; nīmīʔamawó·ʔ *redhaw* (tīrie- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nīmī-). *tīsaaI *perfume*; nīmīrīsaaI *a native perfume made from a plant.* *kahnI *house;* *nīmīkahnI[48] *tipi.* konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nīmīkonO *cradle-board.* *kuhcU[49] *cattle* (*pimoro·ʔ, however, is more common);

Amer Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [47] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivo·-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert B. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391-403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, p. 436 (1943).

[48] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[49] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotso for bison.

[p. 221-A]

192 *nīmīkuhcU *buffalo.* kwasu? *shirt, dress;* nīmīkwasu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napĬ *shoes;* *nīmīnapĬ *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nīmīnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahĬ *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hĬ *hair*); *nīmīwanahĬ *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nīmīwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yīva·ci? *grapes;* nīmīyīva·ci? *wild grapes.* nīmīvarīvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pī·yĬ *wild duck;* taivovī·yĬ *domesticated duck.* nihkapĬ *dance;* taivonihkapĬ *modern dance.* nīkī·tA *Canada goose;* taivonīkī·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe* (*White man's sweet*). taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nīmī?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapĬ *leather;* taivovikapĬ *leather;* nīmīvikapĬ *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nīmīmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon* (*its seeds got*); taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nīmīna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nīmīna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 197 [828] Comparable to this simple widening of meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the new cultural borrowings. These are often reflected in a word: kuhcutīvininA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yīharihkapĬ *one with a hare-lip* (yīhA *fruit worm* + tīhkapĬ *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[11] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[11] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[p. 221 B]

192 sources of the latter type in English.[71]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·?[72] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the forma-
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[73] pacahto?i? *pump* (*raise water forcefully with the hands*) [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn* (*turned inside out by heat*) [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle* (*make one's self go with the feet*) [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [71] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[72] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [73] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p. 222-A]

192 hu·tohtīvī?i? *brace and bit* (*to make a hole in wood with the fist*).

4.3 New descriptive formations are listed in the following paragraphs:

?ara?I *bridle* (*at the temple*); *?amakwAsU *vest* (*chest shirt*); ?a·wonohi? *dice* (*cup game*).

?ekahpa· *soda water* (*red water*); ?ekavĪta?wo?i? *22 rifle* (*copper* (?ekavI) *gun*; socalled because the shells are copper); ?ekarī·pI *brick* (*red stone*); ?ekarīhkapĪ *beets, radishes* (*red food*); ?ekanarohtīma? *tomatoes* (*red tin can*); *?ekayīyīka? *jelly, jam* (*red shaky stuff*); *?eksahpana? *soldier* (*red belly*) [?eka- *red* + sa- *belly* + pana?; compare mahpa·nA *palm*, and tahpa·nA *sole*; or pana *stretch across* + -?, nominalizer.] U. S. Army uniforms of the mid-1800s had red braid across the chest. ?eksīkwe? *old style blanket, half red, half blue* (*red half*); ?evisi?yuhki? *the Hopi piki*, a thin stone-baked corn meal cake often colored with vegetable dyes. (*blue-green flat pieces*); ?evisonipĪ *alfalfa* (*green grass*); ?eviweha? *sulphur* (*blue burn*); ?esinī·mĪ *captive* (*grey, drab person*) [compare ?esi- in ?esitīyai *epileptic*, tīyai *dead person*; and ?esiwa?ihpī? *a drab*, wa?ihpī? *woman*].

?icakwasu? *veil* [compare ?icahpī? defined as *a person who doesn't care what he or she does, or what people think*; kwasu? *shirt, dress*]; *?īmakwAsu? *mackintosh* (*rain dress*).

?otī?a·wO *canteen, jug, thermos bottle* (*brown cup*) [Detrich gives awt ah ow ah, ?otī?a·wo for *bottle*]; ?otīwanapĪ *khaki* (*brown cloth*); *?ohavicipĪ *butter* (*yellow milk*); ?ohahpuhiwI *gold, a gold piece* (*yellow metal*); ?ohasīkīkamatĪ *mustard* (*yellow sour taste*); ?ohahkunawaikin *street-car* (*yellow train, locomotive*) Lawton, Oklahoma, used to have yellow street cars. ?omowihtua *camp kettle, cauldron* (*leg bucket*); *?onanacu?U *Epsom salts* (*salt medicine*); ?oyorītani?i? *chest of drawers* (*belongings put away*).

papikamAnacu?U *aspirin* (*headache medicine*); papica?nika? *wig* (*put onto the head with the hands*) [pa·pI *head* + ca?-, instru-

[p. 222-B]

192 mental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; papicihtīpka? *hairpin* (*fasten hair with something pointed*) but papivĭ *head hair*; pavoko?a·wO *tumbler, glass* (*clear or transparent cup*); pavoko?awovici? *nursing bottle* (*glass breast*); patĭwiarĭ·pI *turquoise* (*algae-colored rock*) [pa *water* + tĭ-, intransitivizer + wia *wear out*, + tĭ·pI *stone, rock*]; pa·kĭco?nika? *beaver fur hat* (*beaver hat*); paborapĭ *well* [pa *water* + hora *dig* + -pĭ, nominalizer]; pahte?e·? *whip* (*customarily cracks*); pa?muci? *old style saddle* [pa?- *long* + muci- *sharp* + -?, nominalizer]; pawovivu·kU[74] *boat* (*water board horse*); pekwinarohtĭman *canned salmon, or sardines* (*fish canned*); pia?ohapItĭ·? *grapefruit* (*big orange*); piakwAsu? *coat* (*big shirt*); piahuhcu?raivo·? *Republican* (*eagle White man*); ko·korá?a·raivo·? *Democrat* (*rooster White man*) [The eagle and the rooster were early party emblems]. pikakUsA *chaps* (*leather leggings*); pikwsi·? *single buggy* This was translated as *nothing behind*. [pi- *buttocks*; and kwasI *tail*; also pikwsinakwĭ *back end*]; pici?wĭhpara? *brassiere* (*spread over breasts*); *picohkO *trousers* (*buttocks covered*); *pisayune? *tin, tin can, canned goods* (*paint falls off*) (pisapĭ *paint* + yuman *fall off* (?). Another informant thought this referred to a soft noise from tin rolled up and strung and put on moccasins]. pisimaroko·rĭ·pI *opal* (*rainbow, sore thumb, stone*) [Belief that if one pointed to the rainbow, one's finger would rot and fall off]; *piso·nA *cushion, rug* (*buttock pad*); pihivos *type of modern dress; petticoat* (*spread out from the buttocks fan-wise*); *pimoró·? *cattle* (*graze backwards* (?)); pimoró·?sari·? *collie* (*cattle dog*); *pihnárohtiya? *cake, sweet roll* (sweet bread); pihná·nohkopĭ *cake, cookies* (sweet baked); pierĭyaimuya?kè? *radio* (ghost music); piesĭnahanipĭ *ready made* (*clothes*) [pie- *old*,

[821]

[113]

[74] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes wo-we-poke (wovivu·kU *wooden or board horse*) for boat.

[p. 223-A]

192 *former* + **-ši** *very own* + **na-**, reflexive + hani *make* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; pïesu?ve? *bandanna* [pïe- + su?, 3rd per. sing. demon. + pe *hang down* (?)]; pïhïkukwe?ya? *lion* (*head comes out of hair*); *pïhïsïawanapĬ *velvet* (*down feather cloth*); *pïhïwanapĬ *flannel* (*hair cloth*); *pïhïsï?kï?I *peach* (*hairy plum*); pïmatanácinaro?ikï?enA *syringe* (*pointed object which makes one defecate*); *po?sava· *whiskey* (*crazy water*); po?sarïvo·pĬ *comics* (*crazy book*); po?sava?ihpI? *harlot* (*crazy woman*); pokorïhkapĬ *vegetables* (*fruit food*); posa·kĬ *bridge* (*string* [as beads] *at*); pukurïhka? *oats* (*horse food*); #*puhivihna·? *watermelon* (plant sweet); puhi(pĬ)tïhkapĬ *greens: celery, lettuce, spinach, etc.* (*plant food*); *puhihu·vA *tea* (*weed coffee, wood water*); *puhiwi?ai? *blacksmith* (*makes metal*); puhiwiknI *bank* (*money house*); *puhiwirekwapĬ *telephone, telegraph* (*metal talker*); puhiwitïvo· *typewriter* (*metal writer*); puhiwitïvo·pĬ *check, bank note* (*money paper*); puhiwitïropOsa? *nails* (*metal string* [*fasten*] *with the fist*); puhiwitïrawïna? *nails* (*metal pegs, wooden tipi pegs*); puhiwitositO *horseshoe* (*metal hoof*); puhiwihïa? *fish hook, steel trap* (*metal trap*); puica?nika? *eye glasses* [pui *eye* + ca?- instrumental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer].

ta?ivihú·ra? *kidney beans, lima beans* (*flat beans*); ta?nika? *stirrup* (push into with the foot); taivo·rekwapĬ *English* (*White man's talk*); tavevo·? *captive, or descendant of captive; White man:* derogatory [corruption of taivo·?, (*White man*)]; tavehuhcu·? *peacock* (*sun bird*); tapúhiwimapĬ *loan* (*our money gotten*); tarïhkapĬ *cereal* (*morning food*); takïya?enA *fever thermometer* (*hold in one's mouth*); tasi? awïsiwïpĬ *vaccination* (*small pox cut open*); tasikó·?E *skate* (*slide on the foot*); taso·nA *rug, carpet* (*foot pad*); tahivĬnohkopĬ *pancake, tortilla* (*thin baked*); tahivĬwihI *sword* (*thin knife*); tahivĬwoeA *suitcase* (thin container); tahmani? *early corn* (tahma·nI *spring of year*); tamakï·nika? *false teeth* (*teeth push into with the mouth*); tïe?a·wO *spoon* (*little cup*); tïevïhïsï?kï?I *apricot*

[p. 223-B]

192 (*little peach*); tĭehna?kwIsi? *squash* (*little punpkin*); tĭpeca?nika? *bit* (*thrust into the mouth*); *tĭvo·pĬ *paper, printed matter, book, letter; credit* [tĭ- + po· *draw, mark* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; tĭvo·pĬwosA *mail box* (*letter holder*); tĭvo·knI *school* (*writing house*); tĭvo·wapI *school child, amanuensis*; tĭpipu?E *concrete road* (*stone road*); tĭpitaso·nA *concrete sidewalk* (*stone foot pad*); tĭpiknI *jail* (*stone house*); tĭ?nokatĬ *camel* (*got loaded*); tĭrahcuki? *eraser* (*rub out with the foot*); *tĭrawipĬ *wages* [tĭ- + tawi *bet, win* + -pĬ, nominalizer]; *tĭrĭ?aiwapI *slave, captive; tenant, hired hand; lessee* (*person who works for one*); *tĭrĭkAraivo·? *robber, thief, freebooter* (*thief While man*); tĭrĬna? *lister* (*planter*); tĭrohtĬwa? *can opener* (*open with the fist*); tĭrohtĭma? *cork, stopper* (*close with the fist*); *tĭkĬso·nA *oil-cloth* (*pad to eat off*); tĭkĭhkoa? *scissors* [tĭ- + kĭh- *with the teeth* + koa *cut through* + -?]; tĭkĭma?ai? *ribbon* (*make an edge*); *tĭkĭmahIa? *black pepper, spices* (*food mix*); tĭkĭnarsO *lunch-box* (*food sack*); tĭca?o·ki? *rake* [tĭ- + ca?- + ?o·ki *gather together* + -?]; tĭcavo·? *plow* [tĭ- + ca- + po· *mark* + -?]; tĭcahpico·ni? *clothes wringer* (*twist with the hands*); tĭcahto?i? *winch, pulley* (*raise with the hands*); tĭcahkĭna? *sewing machine* (*hold down with the hands*); tĭcipOsa? *nut and bolt, screw* (*string together with a point*); tĭ·cIkeraivo·? *barber* (*cut While man*); tĭcikwĬsipĬ *knitting* (*twisted together with a pointed object*); tĭso·nA *dish, table cloth*, (*food pad*); tĭhtĭma? *fence* [tĭma- *enclose*]; *tĭhĭ·yaknI *barn* (*horse house*); tĭhka? *fork, table* [tĭhka- *eat* + -?]; tĭhkaphanarsupĬ *hamburger, sausage* (*food ground up*); tĭhmsune? *wash-board* (*rub with the hands*); tĭhnIhatĭvo·pĬ *book* (tĭ- + niha- *name* + tĭvo·pĬ); tĭmava·pĬ *dough, batter* (*put the hand in something sticky*); *tĭmacune? *file, whetstone, grindstone* (*rub with the hand*); tĭmanĭku?wĭpĬ *cottage cheese* [tĭ- + ma- + nĭku?wĬ, *coagulate* + -pĬ]; * tĭmĭ· *buy, sell, trade* [tĭ- + mĭ· *to distribute surplus food such as buffalo meat, dried plums, etc.*]; tĭyaiphano?e·tĬ *ambulance, hearse* (*carries the dead*); tĭyaiha-

192 konO *coffin (dead person's cradle)*; tī·yUsike? *harrow* [tī- + yusiketĬ *fine, granular*]; tokĬnE *thresh by having horses trample grain covered with a cloth; shell corn* [to- *with the fist or hoof* + kĬne]; tosakīma? *blanket with white edges, or cut in two and sewn together to get stripe down the center (white edge)*; *tosaknI *tent, canvas (white tipi, house)*; *tosahketuka? candle *(white lamp, doesn't go out)*; tosahnarsO *flour sack (white sack)*; tosawanahĬ *sheet, bedspread (white blanket)*; tosoyoki? *powder (shake out with the fist)*; tu?rekwasu? *sweater (rubber-shirt)*; tu?recinarsO *condom (rubber foreskin)*; tu?renapĬ *rubbers, overshoes (rubber shoes)*; tuivihciwaikin *passenger-car (young men's wagon)* [JC said people dress up like young men to board them]; *tu·pa· *coffee (black water)*; *tu·pihna·? *molasses, chocolate (black sweet)*; tu·pu?E *asphalt road (black road)*; *tu·taivo· *Negro (black White man)*; *tuka?[75] *lamp* [see tu·kA *put out;* possibly shortened from ketuka? *doesn't go out*]; tu·ku·nA *coal (black fire)*; tumarī·kI *to fingerprint a check, document or record (make a black mark)*; tu·naivihna·?[76] *molasses (viscous sweet)*; tu·wihtua? *iron kettle (black bucket)*.

kahni?aitaivo· *carpenter (house make White man)*; kahnivusi?A *bedbug (house louse)*; kahnituka?e·tĬ *fire extinguisher (house customarily puts out fire)*; kahnisi?yuna? *shingles (house flat pieces piled up)*; kahnihavinA *street (houses stretched along)*; kahninahī·kI *porch (house shade)*; kahniwo?-nokanA *street (house canyon)*; *ketuka?anáva· *kerosene (lamp's water)*; kesuakhnI *jail (mean, bad house)*; kīhtavicipĬ *cheese (hard milk)*; kīhtawanapĬ *denim (hard cloth)*; ko?avicipĬ *cheese (groin milk)*; ko?akawana? *cheese (groin smell)*; *kovetīvo·pĬ *portrait (face paper, picture)*; koveca?nika? *mask*

[113]

[75] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ka to kah ?ots ah yah knt, ketukanacayakatĬ, (ketuka- *lamp* + na-, reflexive + ca- + ya *carry* + -katĬ *possessor of; lanterns*).

[76] ibid, gives saw ny pee nah, so·naivihna·? *very sticky sweet.*

[p.224-B]

192 (*push onto the face with an upward movement of the hand*); kovEsari·? *bulldog* (*face dog*); *kuekwAsihtaivo· *Chinese* (*top tail White man*) kukĬme?a·wO *skillet* (*cooking cup*); *kuhpate?é·? *fire-cracker* (*cracks, pops by heat*); kwavihkhnI *hotel* (*lie down house*); *kwasitaivo· *monkey* (*tail White man*); kwa?sinapĬ *slippers* (*tailless shoes*) [kwa?si? *bob-tailed, tailless one*].

ca?sawīki? *sieve, sifter* [ca?- + sa·wītĬ *porous* + -ki? (?)]; ca·titi·pI *jewel* (*fine stone*); ca·wanapĬ *silk* (*fine cloth*); cena?sari·? *German Shepherd* (*wolf dog*); ci?veta·? *flat dish, saucer* (*spread out and shallow*); ci?wīnihti?eka? *vaseline* (*chapped to put on*); cipIsi? *gonorrhea* (*penis rotten*); cihpoce? *billiards* (*bounce with a pointed object*); *co?nika? *hat* (*push into with the head*).

sapīvicohkO *overalls* (*belly trousers*); *sa·tociva· *beer* (*foam water*); *sa·hu·vA *soup, stew* [sa· *boil meat* + hu.- *wood* + pa, *water*]; *sa·wītivó?a·katĬ *almond* (*has porous shell, rind*); sa·wītináhrsokatĬ *almond* (*has porous sack*); sa·wĬnacahtīma? *screen door* [sa·wī *porous* + na-, reflexive + cah- instrumental + tīma *close* + -? nominalizer]; sekwikhnI *storm-cellar* (*mud house*); *sīkīka?ma? *pickles, vinegar, mustard, lemon* (*sour taste*); sīmīsī-wánavuhiwI *paper dollar* (*one cloth money*); so?onarīvaki? *repeating rifle* (*load from the cheek*); *so·kahnI *town, city* (*many houses*); *soko?a·wO *china cup or dish* (*earth cup*); *soko?eksahpana? *infantryman* (*earth soldier*); sokorīvo·pĬ *map; deed to land* (*earth paper*); sokocihpomi?i? *disc* (*break up earth with a sharp instrument*); sokocihtova? *shovel* (*uproot or displace earth with a pointed object*); sonarīwaki? *mattress* (*straw stuffed in*); sonivihná·? *sugar cane; sorghum* (*grass sweet*); sonivuhiwI *money received from cattlemen for leasing grasslands* (*grass money*); sonicihima? *pitchfork* (*pick up grass with a pointed object*); *soninahrsO *gunney sack* (*grass sack*); *soninahrú·? *oats* [soni- *grass* + nahru·? *counters used in a hiding game*]; soniyīkwi? *binder, mower* (*grass sits down*).

*hapi?na? *suspenders* [ha·vI *lay*, and pi?- instrumental, *referring to buttocks* +

[p. 225-A]

192 nakwĬ, *side, direction*]; hanito?I *corn-cob pipe* (*corn pipe*); hanitusupĬ *corn-meal* (*corn ground up*); hanikahnI *corn-crib* (*corn house*); haniwo?ora· *corn-cob* (*corn backbone*); hi?o·kwana? *mentholatum* (*sunflower smell*); *hiki?ai? *umbrella; parasol* (*makes shade*); hu·vA *coffee* (*wood water*); hu·pihná·? *molasses; syrup* [newer word] (*wood sweet*); hu·ko·?i? *saw* (*wood cut up*); *hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); huhcú·rekwa?e·tĬ *parrot* (*bird talks customarily*); hu·cihka?a? *saw* [hu·- *wood* + cih- *with a sharp instrument* + ka?A *separate* + -?]; hu·sive? *draw-knife; plane* (*wood scrape*, arrow, hide); humasiapĬ *orchard* [hu- + ma- *with the hand* + sïa *grow* + -pĬ, resultative nominalizer]; hu·masu?ne? *file, rasp* (*wood rub hand back and forth*); hu·hwane? *axe* [Used by older persons. Possibly from hu·- *wood* + hani *to make*].

ma?nï?sari·? *dachshund* (*heavy-bodied dog*); mawicohkO *bracelet* (goes around arm); makUsA *sleeve* (*arm legging*) a tubular legging of buckskin worn from hip to ankle. mahtu·pE *cuff* (*arm mouth*); masïa *to plant* [ma- *with the hand* + sïa *grow*]; mayake? *piano* (*make cry with the hands*); mo?orïcahkïna? *thimble* (*finger sewer*); mo?oci?nika? *ring* [mo?O *hand* + ci?- + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; *mo?onahrsO *glove, mitten* (*hand sack*); muvico·ni? *lollipop* (*wring out juice with the mouth*) [compare namavico·ni? *mesquite, wring itself out with the hands*]; muvisari·? *greyhound* (*nose dog*); muvo·tohki? *balloon* (*swollen with the mouth*); muhpe? *hoe* (*nose bend over*); *muyake? *musical instrument; phonograph, organ* (*make cry with the mouth*); muyake?e·tĬ *musician*; muyake?etï· *orchestra, band*.

na?a·wO *drawer* (*its cup, container*); na?o·mO *wheel, leg* (*its leg*); na?raivo· *captive, slave; hired hand* [na- + taivo· *White man*]; *na?kïhtava?i? *pecans, nuts* [na?- + *crack with the teeth*]; na?koro·mi? *Ku Klux Klan* (*face covered*); na?kwIsï? *pumpkin* [na?- + kwisI *braid*[11] + -? nomi-

[251] [11] It was stated that in the old days pumpkin was cut into strips, dried, and woven into mats for

[p. 225-B]

●192 nalizer]; na?ciya·?*see-saw* (*raise one's self with a pointed object*); napĬca?·ka? *shoe-horn* (*shoe pull in*); navo·pĬ *writing, print* [na- + po· *draw* + -pĬ]: navo·royaruhku? *tiger* (*striped mountain lion*); navOsa? *chain* [na- + po·sA *string*, as beads, + -?]; navukuwaricavo·?*tractor* (*horseless plow*); narahwsanapĬ *boots* (*legging shoes*); nari?iyatĭ/puhiwirekwapĬ *telegraph* (*dangerous or wonderful metal talk*); narimĭ· *town, village* [na- + tĭmĭ *buy, sell*]; narihka? *groceries* [na- + tihka *eat* + -?]; narino·? *saddle* [na- + tĭ- + no· *load* + -?]; narino·va·pI *pommel* (*saddle head*); narino?anahotUkO *saddle skirt* (*saddle's flanks*); naro?i? stairs; ladder [na- + to?i *go up* + -?]: *narohtĭma? *tin can, jar; lid, cover* (*close itself with the fist*); *nakarĭ? *chair* [na- + ka·rĬ *sit* + -?]; nakariticavo·? *plow* (*horse drawn*) (*chair plow*); nakIsari·? *hound* (*ear dog*); *nakohpo·pĬ *brand* (*cattle*) (*its fire mark*); nakohto·? *stove* [na- + kohto· *build a fire* + -?]; naca?ani?[73] *buggy* [na- + ca?- + ?anI *fall, come down* + -?]; nacahkwinU?e? *revolver* (*turns itself with the hand*); nacahwi? *gate, door* (*pushes aside with the hand*); *nacamukwe? *grapes, currants, raisins* (*eat by plucking off with the mouth*); nacahwi? *gate* (*thrown aside*); nacayakatĭtuka? *lantern* [*tuka?- *lamp*, given above]; naci?aikĭ? *wheelbarrow* [na- + ci?- + ?ai *go* + -kĭ benefactive + -?]; *nacihtĭma? *lock, bolt; key* [na- + cih- + tĭma *close* + -?]; nacihto·? *cane* (*brace one's self with a pointed instrument*); naciwekwa? *spur, rowel* [na- + ci- + wekwa *jab* + -?]; nacu?ukahnI *hospital* (medicine house); nasa·wĭ? *screen* [na- + sa·wĭ- *porous*]; nahawari?iphaknI *poor-house* (*person who cannot do for himself house*); nahoikItĭ? *belt* (*put around one's self*); *namahIa? *baking powder* [na- + mahIA

[251] storage, perhaps following the custom of the Wichita or Mandan.

[73] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives to wah we pok, tu·wovivu kU (*black board horse*) for buggy. tu·waikin *black hack* (black wagon [English]), was collected in 1940.

[p. 226-A]

●192 *mix* + -ʔ]; namocono?i? *tweezers* [na- + mo·cO *whiskers* + noʔI *pluck* + -ʔ]; *namocowïcke? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); namuvIsicïma? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); nana?atahpunaha? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); narïmu?irivo·pĬ *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); *nani?o·ki? *court* [na- + niʔo·kI *call people together* + -ʔ]; nano·? *harness*, old people's word (*its load*); *nayohkahnI *brothel* [na- + yo·kO *copulate* + kahnI *house*]; *nayokOwa?ihpï? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); nï·pïcapĬ *operation* (*cut one open*); nï·pohpi? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); nï·hïca?wï? *fan* [nï· + hïhca?wĬ *cool a person* + -ʔ]; nïmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (*customarily draws people*); nïmimáka?e·tĬ *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); nïminó?e·tĬ *bus* (*customarily carries people*); nïmiwïcIke?e·tĬ *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); *nïnakarïkï? *medal, badge* [nïnapĬ *chest* + ka·rĬ *sit* + -kï benefactive + -ʔ nominalizer]; nïnaci?nika? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); nïnïyï?wi? *alligator* [nï-, reduplicated (?) + yï?wi (swallow) + -ʔ]; noʔanohkopĬ *pie* (*pregnant bread*, baked); noʔsïna?camokwe? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); nohihtaivo·? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); nohihknI *theater* (*play house*); nohkopĬ *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); nukIsari·? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); nunurawï? *movies* [nunurawïpĬ *stampeded, ran off*, as buffalo herd].

*wanaramU *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); wanarasé·yu? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot* re pantaloons); *wanakoʔce? *soap* (*cloth washer*); *wanacahkïna? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); *wanaciya·? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); *wananapĬ *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); wanso·nA *cotton* [wanapĬ *cloth* + so·nA *pad*]; wansonamuvIcapĬ *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with*
[824] *the mouth*) [so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird]; wïhavi·tĬ *parade* (*stretch along*, as vine, etc.); *woʔ-
[262] arïhkapĬ *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

[p. 226-8]

192 **away when first received as rations]**; *wokohuhcu? *parrot* (*pine bird*) [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananikitĪ *movies* (vibrate, flicker); yīcī?e·tĪ *airplane* (customarily flies); yīyītu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarihkapĪ *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapĪ *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketĪ *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapĪ *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwI *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[n] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tihkapĪ *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tiso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopĪ *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhunacu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapĪ *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapĪ *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 197 **4.4.** In addition to the new descriptive words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was understood in context. If Comanche did not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 197 124

192 197 Many of these periphrastic formations, such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[n] kusitaivo·? *grey, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

[p. 227-A]

192 [197] form and have general currency in the language. Morphologically they are comparable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[50] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

?ekavItī/namarĬnipkahtu/tawĭhtia?enA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

?ohapItī?a/taka/sīkīkamatĬ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesīcī·sīsa/pahiku/ta?apī?/tekwaphanávo·pĬ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

surīcahtīsoko·vi/pihaya?īkīna·/tenapīma?aiku·/wa?ihpī?a/tatáhtīki? [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pīkĬrahávi?ena/pi?wesuru·?i? [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sī?kī?iha/taka/pahpa?akunácaweni?e·tī [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nīmīpīknáyīkwi?ena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakocewa?itī/pīmatatīrohtīma?enA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 192 121 The problem of accounting for the large proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed, in most American Indian languages,[51] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95 % of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[50] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[51] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[p. 227-B]

192 words.[52] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[53]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[54] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[55]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[56] and they

[52] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [53] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[54] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[55] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [56] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-559 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ĭ, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, es-
197 pecially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.A Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
192 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavīrī·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wowitĭn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]
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197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[50] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[51] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĪ[52] pa·nU *while bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[53] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[54] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[50] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[51] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [52] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [53] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[54] See footnote 62.

[p. 229-B]

192 diminutive); *tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate); *kamú·ta? *sweet potato, yam* (camote); *kavírí·? *goat; sheep,*[33] *mutton* (cabra); kucára? *small spoon* (cuchara); *caré·ku? *vest* (chaleco); *ci·ra? *pepper, chili* (chile); more? *monte (a card game)* (monte); *naho·? *knife* (navaja); *mu·ra? *mule* (mula); wara·cI *sandals* (huaraches); *wenu *good* (bueno).

With English model: ?aiskrim[34] *ice-cream;* ?ekí? *acre;* ?i·cin ?ecin *(Indian) agent;* ?uró·? *law* (?u-, *its,* + *law*); pai *pie;* paisé·? *five cents;* papko·n *pop-corn;* pa·re? *barley;* pikí·? *pig* (baby word); pi·c *beets;* pinácI[35] *peanuts;* po·kA *poker* (card game); purí·si? *police;* taks *tax, taxes;* tevo? *devil;* tehnsé·? *ten cents;* tinípsI *turnips;* to·kI *dog* (rare); tuvic *two bits, (25 cents)*; kapiko·? *Kaffir corn;* ka·t *God;* ka?tin *cotton;* kamísin *commission, (Indian) Commissioner;* ka·vic *cabbage;* cakawe· *it's time to eat, let's eat!* (From the American slang word, chuck, or chuckwagon); cikí·? *chick, chicken* (baby word); ci·s *cheese;* ci·sis *Jesus;* hatima·re? *hot tamale;* hato·kI *hot dog* (rare); hampikí? *hamburger;* ho·kI *hog, pork;* senati? *senator;* sikí·rU, sikí·? *cigar;* sikvic *six bits, (75 cents)*; su·ta? *jack (in cards)* (probably from suit); makaró·ni? *macaroni;* mamá·? *mother* (baby word); marimé·? *Milo maize;* mavo·? *marble;* merit *millet;* wincesti? *Winchester (repeating rifle)*; wit *wheat* (rare); wihnsé·? *one cent;* wo·sitin *Washington, (D.C.), President of the United States;* waikin *wagon.*

[197] A number of place and personal names have been taken into Comanche from Spanish and English and are in common use. Those listed below were familiar to even those Comanche who had little or no knowl-

[33] Sheep is more commonly, pihikavírí·?, *hairy goat.*

[34] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives *sweet ice* for ice-cream.

[35] Detrich notes nah-vee-mee, which he translates as *carrying double* (for peanut).

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192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa?
103 *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*

Place names from English:* ?ahpaícI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksīn *Faxon;* posto·kĪ *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* teksīs *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sinaírī? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rīs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarīmī·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarīmī·? *Fletcher* (*sand town*); tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·- *many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre?
551 (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tīhá·no? (tejano) *Tezan;* tīrássas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *Maria*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahcí·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Felix;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nī? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* mení·? *Minnie;* mīru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 A list of tribal names might also be given
552 here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

* All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

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192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* cikšó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* sosoni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

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192 197 [601] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[102] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nĩ· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĨ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĨ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĨ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĩma? tfmĩ· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nĩrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nĩhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

[113]

[102] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĨ, for *corn.*

[103] George Hersog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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121 done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -us.
197 Comanche, however, has borrowed only
192 one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents
[193] is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and
192 origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog* (*green mule crier*); *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie* (*brown bread*); pehekatipa·nĬ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĬ *possessor of* + pa·nĬ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers* (*white bread*); *ku-simu·ra? *donkey* (*grey mule*).

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad* (*fire wagon*); ci·sïsa pía *Mary* (*Jesus' mother*); *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apó?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw hawv, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kItihkapI *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tI *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

[191] [563] [563]

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tïe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

[113]

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192 197 synonyms for English loans. Moreover, several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century. 000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arizona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphoricaily.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·ʔ *wi'hout its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Frans Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[113] [114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *ʔahpī ʔ[119] *Father (God)*; ʔ ta ʔahpī ʔ *Our Father;* ʔahóhtavehnItĬ *Thanksgiving Day;* ʔohanpitĭ·ʔ[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihi ʔ *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pihīkavīrĭ·ʔsári·ʔ *sheep dog;* ta ʔkivihu·ra ʔ *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot)*; tuhtaivo·atahtokó·ʔ *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavīrĭ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvsikatĬ *smart, brainy* (kuhvsI *brains* + -katĬ *possessor*); kwási-raivo·arĭhkapĬ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kīhta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·ʔ *cowboy (cow White man)*; napaʔe·kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narīmi ʔ *Master*[121] *(Jesus)*; nīmikuhcusónipĬ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings
192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awĭ pá, ʔohanareopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sikwekatĬ *half got* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

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192 ?otīmu·ra? *oatmeal*. Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule*. The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapé?atíhkapĬ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food*, tihkapĬ.

wa?o·rihkapĬ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorihkapĬ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodisg, lagéht', literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, privates or common people*, has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodisg, ?lhagéht', the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders*. Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

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128 likelihood relatively complete and contain most of the words collected.

192 RELIGION: ʔáikurahánipĬ *sin* (*bad deed*); ʔá·hkatĭ kehínarokwehání·tĬ *devil* (*got horns, doesn't do anything right*); puhaniwĭnĭnA *religious camp meeting* (puha *supernatural power* + niwĭnĭ- *speak to a group* + -nA, verbal suffix); tá ʔahpĭʔa tékwapha rúawe·tĬ *sermon* (*telling God's word*); tá ʔahpĭwakatu kwíco ʔaipĬ *redeemed* (*saved by God*); tapí·hivin *communion* (*drinking blood*); tatohtíyarĭhkan *communion* (*eating bread*); tapó ʔsahanipĬ *sin* (our crazy deed); tasó·patko ʔive *The Flood* (*when many were drowned*); *tanávawĭhtia ʔe·nA *baptism* (*water poured on one*); tanárĭmi ʔayĭcĭ *resurrection* (*Our Master flew*); tánárĭmi ʔma ʔai yĭka ʔetĭ· *disciples* (*those who go with Our Master*); tĭnihnĬkepĬ *parable* (*illustrate by talking*); tomova ʔatĬ *Heaven* (*on top of the sky*); tu·kwasitaivo·ʔ[128] *devil* (*black tailed White man*); *kasaraivo·ʔ[128] *angel* (*winged White man*); ku ʔenavawĭhti ʔapĬ *Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations that sprinkle baptismal water on the head* (*water poured on top*); sokorohkatĬ pĭkhĭnawéhanA *Hell* (*under the earth, place of fire*); suavevuhavaraivo·ʔ *Catholic priest* (*Catholic leader*) (4.1) suavema tanárĭmi ʔa tatáwĭna ʔ *Crucifixion* (*on the cross Our Master nailed*); nahnsuthaipĬ *prayer* (*name bless*); *navawĭhtiapĬ *Christian* (*water poured on*); nahnsuwĭkai ʔ nahapĬ *miracle* (*wonderful happening*); namaváku ʔnepĬ *Baptist* (*immersed in water*); nĭmisúthai *have mercy on us!* (*pity us!*).

DISEASES: ʔamawĭhmina ʔ *pneumonia* ([newer word, see below] *side sickness*); ʔeviwĭhmina ʔ *flu* (*green sickness*); ʔekarasi ʔA *measles* (*red spots*); ʔohahuhcĭni ʔ *yellow fever, typhoid* (ʔoha- *yellow* + kuh- *by heat* + cĭni *soak through* + -ʔ, nominalizer); ʔo ʔni ʔ *tuberculosis, cough* (?), see ʔo·ʔI *to vomit*); pahowĭhmina ʔ *tuberculosis* (*fatigue sickness*); pihiwĭhmina ʔ *heart disease* (*heart sickness*); pihná·wĭhmina ʔ *diabetes* (*sugar sickness*); pisipĬ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, or any pus infection; rotten flesh*);

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192 pï·hpasapĬ *anemia* (dried blood); pï·wihto?in *tuberculosis* (*vomiting blood*); pï·wihmina? *high blood pressure* (*blood sickness*); tasi?A *small pox, chicken pox* (*sore places, skin infection, hives*, etc.); tie?ekatAsi?A[126] *measles* (*little small pox*); tïvana·wihmina? *pneumonia, pleurisy* ([older word] *chest sickness*); kohikahmkatĬ *dysentery* (*intestine pain*); *cipĬsi? *gonorrhea* (*rotten penis*); cihciki? *whooping cough* (*cough all the time*); cuhnivasapĬ *rickets* (*dried up bones*); cuhniwïmina? *rheumatism* (*bone sickness*); so?ovekwipĬ *mumps* (*cheeks swollen*); nïmicá?toponi?e·tĬ *meningitis* (*makes you round* [*doubled up*]); nïmïvuivihka? *trachoma* (*Indian's eye disease*); nïmitúhki? tihka?e·tĬ *cancer* (*your flesh eaten*).

PLAYING CARDS.[127] *waná·si? *playing cards* (*little pieces of cloth*); wanarohpetin *to play cards, old Comanche game* (*to throw down on a blanket with the fist*); *watasI *ace* (origin unknown, possibly from English *ace*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*yellow carried on the head*) (4.1); tanesi? *king* (*fellock*) (4.1); wa?ihpï? *queen* (*woman*); su·ta? *jack* (from English, *suit* [?]). (The cards numbered 1 to 10 are called by the regular Comanche numerals.) narohtïma? *joker* (*lid, cover* [so-called because the joker is on top in a new pack of cards]); ná?vutitïkatĬ *joker* (*mates with anything*); watasiatáka? *joker* (*ace's brother*); kasama·hr *clubs* (*one who has bushy, uncombed hair* [compare kasA *wing*]); kinavo·hr *diamonds* (*corner shaped*); pihinavo·hr *hearts* (heart shaped); tahkanavo·hr *spades* (*spear shaped*); tïhimapĬ *hand in cards; rations* (tïhima *to draw a share of something*); tïvA *bet!* (meaning extended); narïvapĬ *ante, pot* (*its bet*); to·n *or* to·hkatïnï? *to stand pat, no more cards* (*to graze*); tï·wai? *solitaire* (*to drive game from cover*); more? *monte* (*monte* [Spanish]);

[126] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives tár-see-ah wo mee nok et, tasi?awïhminakatĬ *spot sickness*.

[127] The words given here and under Time and Measure are not listed alphabetically.

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192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nïhW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nï· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rïhima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĪ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasïmïhtĪ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sïmïhtĪ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usíkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tïmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sïmïrímanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sïmïyú·tïmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetïmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sïmïnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sïmï- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokorïcï·pĪ *mile* (*one land count*); sïhï?-awotïhpetĪ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kï? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kï, causative + -?); sïmïnáraya·kï? *pound* (*one scaled*); sïmïrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pïpekuma?ïrï?ï·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mïarïvo·pĪ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sïmïvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĪ[131] *Sunday* (see 4.1); tapúharai/hapíeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sïhï?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[805] [805] [171] [113] [130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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●192 wáhahávicI *Tuesday* (*slept twice after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/páhihávicI *Wednesday* (*slept three times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/háyarokwihávicI *Thursday* (*slept four times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/mó?ove?kahávicI *Friday* (*slept five times after Sunday*); tīhimAhravenItĪ[128] *Friday* (*rationing day*); tĭevuharavenItĪ *Saturday* (*little Sunday*); ?ikīromon *New Year's Day* (*new* or *fresh year* [tomO may mean either *year* or *winter*]); ko·korá?/nóyópīkhratĭhka?enA *Easter* (*when one customarily eats chicken eggs*); pīkhrapĭarihka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when there is big eating*); pīkhrako·korá?a·rĭhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when one eats chicken*); pīkhrawá·cinika?enA *Christmas* (pīkhra- *when* + wa· (pI) *cedar* + ci- *with a point* + nika- *push into* + -?e, habitual verbal

[657] [128] Up until about 1900 the Government used to issue clothes, groceries, utensils, meat, etc., to the Comanche on Fridays. This is more common than the alternative word for Friday above.

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192 suffix + -nA, verbal suffix); wa·cinikapI *Christmas* (*cedar tree put up*).

197 The acculturation vocabulary described
192 in the preceding pages represents the growing point of the Comanche language. It will undoubtedly be augmented as time goes on, but at what will presumably be a diminishing rate. Although these are words of quite recent origin, there is reason to believe that once accepted in the language they are relatively stable. Of the 196 acculturation terms in the 1895 Detrich vocabulary 170 are identical to those collected by the author. These are marked with an asterisk in the lists above. Eighteen, while recognizably similar, vary somewhat from their later form and 7 are completely different from words collected in 1940. The latter are words for *fork*, *glue*, *hoe*, *peanut*, a second word for *bean*, and two terms for *potatoes*. The remaining word is that for quinine, tosanacu?U *white medicine*, for which no word was collected by the author.

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION III

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5. Some other effects of acculturation on Comanche language and speech
5.1. Comanche bilingualism
6. On Comanche personal names
7. Theoretical conclusions

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5. At the same time that Comanche has added new vocabulary, old words have been sloughed off or have become obsolescent.[133] Even when the word remains, as is the case with many meaning extensions, knowledge of the original referent is often lost. Just as the average American today has little acquaintance with terms for the parts of a horse's harness, types of horse-drawn vehicles, or sailing ships and their rigging, the Comanche lost a wealth of terms for such things as basketry types, various weaves[134] and implements such as the metate and mano, and fishtraps when they entered the Plains. Similarly, words for traits of Plains culture lost or displaced in the transition to Western culture are rapidly disappearing from the language, as is the full and colorful vocabulary of plant and animal names of a people who for centuries had lived by hunting and food-gathering. However, owing to both the conservatism of language and the memories of men, old traits, customs and beliefs are often fossilized in words and may be recovered by means of a little linguistic archaeology.
192 The following is a representative list of half-forgotten words:

ʔe·nA *jerk meat*(!); ʔohahpíya·ʔ *wasp* (*yellow carried behind*); ʔohanaʔsupé·ʔ *wild gourd* (*yellow ball*) [A gourd was formerly

[133] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, pp. 438–40 (1943), discusses this point.

[134] See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, pp. 239 and 241, (1941).

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192 used in various ball games.]; ʔitanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahmsuapI *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhciʔ *contrary one* (The Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); taʔsiwó·ʔ *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nīmīkuhcU]; taté?cI[115] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pihireʔcI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasuʔ *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tīvahpI *pinon nuts*; tīkehkwaʔI *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacuʔU *plover* (*back medicine*); kwiʔnai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcuʔ, *big bird*); cihavīhkaʔI *to be menstruating* (*to become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkU *bone breastplate*; soʔmoʔ *tanned buffalo hide*; haivī·yI *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pī·yī *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hiʔo·wihturuʔA *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[116] buhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mī *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpaʔ *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -ʔ, nominalizer); nacóhkweʔ *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·ʔniʔ *mesquite* (*to*

[171] [183] [841] [262]

[115] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[116] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

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192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĬ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; nïepI *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wï·yu? *awl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural tradition. Also, animal names were frequently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

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Bear: parua?; wasape?; wïra?;[137] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarähpanakatĬ *has big soles*; pihisoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĬ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kihwria? *drooler*; narimiwahtĬ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivihi? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?sinó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[137] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

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551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (poʔoʔ, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tĩmoˑʔ, (from English, *Tim, Tom, Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pĩhĩrĩsohpeʔ *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ʔamaruʔ. Paul Pauau (Paul), 69; and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menĩˑʔ, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwĩkitĨ *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarĩhkaʔ *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcĩˑtO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupáˑreʔ, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tĩháˑnoʔ, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
197 occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
191 ture, and it is significant that those Coman-
177 che most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives,
197 adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[150] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[151] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[152] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
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[150] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[151] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[152] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

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177 197 192 structive as those included in it. The fact that a trait of Western culture is not named does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 177 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtïman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapï *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 197 Finally, we may say that while Comanche contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language has preserved its essential form. Comanche 197 has reacted by adapting itself to new cul- 192 tural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

128 7.2. In the interest of conciseness the numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[133] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[134]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[135]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

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[133] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153–64 (1926).

[134] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335–45 (1948).

[135] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

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121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the native culture. Thus, the extension of co·mO which now refers to *modern beads of various materials*, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

121 192 197

4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue was to be found in the native culture. Thus, the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU *water beard horse*, indicates the absence of watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

121 192 197 121

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

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121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
197 are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or
[192] a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[168] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
192 language the greater the tendency for it to
197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[168] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word: pīesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*;
197 in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

[p. 255-A]

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinī·mĭ (nī·mĭ *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

[p. 255-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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192 distaste for the food when first encountered. —or it may simply memorialize a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

[83]

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.[41] Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

[41] See also Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54-5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

[p. 256-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Co anche NO6
Ok ahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data
124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[122] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

192
195

ʔasí·, ʔaʔsí· *rectum; feces, defecation; anything nasty.*

ʔeroró·ʔ, ʔeró·ʔ, ʔetó·ʔ *white man* [táivo·ʔ *white man*].

ʔítî·ʔ, ʔítítítî·ʔ *it's hot!* (command to stay away); *fire, lamp, lightning, sun, flashlight, firewood; anything that will burn* [ʔírî·ʔ, ʔírírírî·ʔ].

ʔí·kéta? *don't; let me alone.*

ʔî· exclamation of surprise (women or babies).

hî·, hí·kéta? as above; also used by adults; *don't* (scared).

ʔicî·ʔ, ʔicícicî·ʔ *cover me, dress me, I'm cold; it's cold; command to stay away from something cold* [ʔicî· used only as an exclamation].

ʔínî·ʔ *insect; any small noxious animal, to babies when one wants child to be afraid of something or leave it alone; bug, snake, scorpion, ant, person;* exclamation of fright. [ʔínî·].

ʔú·ʔtU *give it to me!* [ʔú·tU].

ʔum·á? *good! nice! beautiful;* said by mother when she wants to comb child's hair, dress it; said to attract child's attention to clothes, toy; *anything bright or colorful that attracts the child: red, yellow, blue.*

ʔumó·ʔ, mó·ʔ *cattle, cow, bull* [onomatopoeia].

papá·ʔ *I want a drink;* water [pá· *water*].

papó·ʔ, popó·ʔ *dog.*

pepé·ʔ *ball* (it was said by one informant that this word was used only by girls as boys didn't play with balls) [naʔ sihpé·ʔ].

pikí·ʔ *pig* [English; pig, piggy].

tatá·ʔ *something to eat, especially meat; I want, give me . . . ; eat!* [tí·kap *food, meat*].

tató·ʔ *shoes, moccasins* [ta prefix meaning *foot:* táhtokó·ʔ *toe*].

táʔsi *vagina* (táʔsip to baby when bouncing it on the knees. A personal name: *one who has a vagina*) [táʔI].

[p. 11-B]

192 **tutú·ʔ** *automobile, train, anything that whistles* [onomatopoeia].

195 **kaká·ʔ, kaká** *bird; head louse.*

kanî·ʔ *house, tipi* [ˈkánhI].

kokó·ʔ *fruit, candy, cookies; any snack between meals;* give me. . . .

cikî·ʔ *chicken* [English].

cicî·ʔ *breast, bottle, milk, I want to be suckled!* [pícip *milk, breast*].

cîʔci?, pícî? mother to child when she is going to nurse it.

mamá·ʔ *horse;* said by child when it wants to be carried on someone's back.

mamá·ʔ *mother* [English].

mukî·ʔ, mu·kî·ʔ *giant, owl, bogey* (to scare child) [related to mú·pic, the legendary *giant owl*].

mumú·ʔ used to scare child; child's exclamation of fright; *the dark, thunder; cow.*

naná·ʔ *it might hurt, get away; blood, sore, hurt;* said if baby doesn't feel well; if it is bitten or hurt by another child [see ʔaná·].

nInî·ʔ *doll; baby; little ones of animals; little. . . .*

nInîcî·ʔ *dear little doll, baby* [related to the pronominal prefix, nI-, *I, me*].

waʔó·ʔ, wa·ʔó·ʔ *cat* [adult: wáʔo·].

ʔîʔsI, nîʔîsik *cover me!* [adult: ʔihîkI, nîʔihîkI].

wîʔasI *penis* [adult: wîʔA (wîʔasi? male personal name *one who has a penis*)].

The sI here, and also in the baby word for *vagina,* **táʔsI**, is probably derived from the diminutive suffix, -cI.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 195 **piá** *mother* (the regular adult word; there is no special baby word in common use).

pipiá said by some babies.

ʔapî·ʔ *father, father's brother, father's haic (friend)* [ʔápI address form; ʔáhpI? reference form].

ʔatá·ʔ *mother's brother, husband of mother's friend* [ʔárhA address form; ʔára? reference form].

pacî·ʔ *older sister* [pácI address form; páci? reference form].

[p. 12-A]

195 from the above list, is another feature: tʌtʃi
193 is said by little girls for tî·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammati-
195 cal function in the child's speech. Various phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pʃhI for kwʃhĨ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for I as tiás for tîas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study
195 of the above list of baby words. First, it must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple:
194 there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

[p. 13-A]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N[illegible] manche N06
[illegible] xas

Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818] cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

175 165 887 145 175 165 [273] 000

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824]

192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

192 [ca. 1818]

Sau-nipp—Grass
Hoophe—Trees
Ooth-table—Dirt, earth
Toome-pee—Stones
Paa-ve—Water
Tath-cabe—Snow
Pe-a-aiate—Gun
Arrico-aiate—Bow
Parke—Arrow
Cheeke—Lance
Nar-quitts—Powder
Nab-bark—Ball
Whee—Knife
Whee-a—Rope, Lareat or halter
Whee-o—Awl
Chome—Beads
Whan-nap—Blanket
Tosha-whan-nap—Red blanket
Inka-whan-nap—White blanket
Kit-sante—Bad, wicked, ugly
Kish-a-wante—Very bad, very ugly
Ha-a—Yes
Kaia—No
Car-nhe—House, tent
Hox-ee—Where, which
Oox-ee—There, that
Ix-ee—Here, this
Mar-tim-erow—To trade, buy and sell
Tome—Give
Me jacke—Give me, bring to me
So-base—Long time, far off
Oo-kist-ee—Now, presently, short time
Mee-isthee—Near, not far off
Man-anke—Far off, great distance
No-be-tink—To encamp
Nab-e-tink—To fight, war
Nad-de-no—Saddle
Array—Bridle
Noothe-pee—Whip
Poon kee—Horse
Cootes—Buffaloe
Sha-ree—Dog
Parrow-a—Bear
Harnish—Beaver
Too-he-a—Deer
Tooth-cap—Meat
Tooth-kee—To eat
Ho-ove—To drink
Na-rath-too-kee—Mockasin
Coo-she—Leggins
Coo-ne—Fire
Too is-chee-kee—Axe or hatchet
Pe-nar—Honey
Ha-nebe—Corn
Pohe-pe-nar—Watermelon
Nar-que-see—Pumpkin
Paam-pee—Head
Phee—Heart
Poo-ur—Arm
Oom—Leg
Tu-ruth-kee—To steal
Noof-kim—Go, begone
Kim-ai—Come
Obes-kee—To kill
Pay-ee—Blood

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĭsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ïa, ïe, ïi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mïa *moon*; tïe- *little*; ʔïvïïʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapĭ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[28] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 **3.3.** Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [28] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297–301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

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193 196 Derivational prefixes include a set of instrumentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransitivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[39] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands*; *direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object* (*knife, penis, stick*), *direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[40] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [39] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197 113] [40] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[p. 118-A]

193 **3.4. Infixation, if indeed it may be** so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the
193 infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĬ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes include the nominalizers, -pĬ and -?, which make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
193 highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tĩhka *eat* plus -? gives tĩhka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĬ gives nohkopĬ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĬ gives piapĬ *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĬ) gives ?ekavItĬ *red one*; yĩva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĩva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93–9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203–12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

[p. 148-B]

193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among those productive of new words are: -kī
193 *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikī? *rocking-*
196 *chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks* + ?ai *go, lope* + -kī + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nĭmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (nĭmĭ- *1st per. plural* + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* + -?e + -V *plural* + -tĬ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion away*; -?tu?i *future* (*in positive statements*); -wa?i *future* (*in negative statements*); -?i *past, semelfactive*; -yU *past, durative* (?); -nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*; -yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tĭ *nominalizer*; -nĭ· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĬ *dual*; -hĭ *dual* (*on proclitic pronominals*); -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 3.6. Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/yĭcĬ?I *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -ni? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
196 locative, pronominal, numerative, demonstrative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

[p. 149-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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196

Person		*Singular*		*Dual*	*Plural*
1st	possessive or objective	nI-	exclusive	nihī- -nikwĬ	nimī- -niɑĬ
	subjective	-nI?	inclusive	tahī- -takwĬ, or -tah	-ta-, or -tamĬ-
2nd		?I- -tnĬ		mihī- -mikwĬ	-mĬ-
3rd	visible	ma- -ma?	emphatic	marhī- -marīkwĬ	-marĬ-
	invisible	?u- -?u?	· or -u(?)-	?urhī- -urīkwĬ	-?urĬ-
	close	?i- -?i?	or -i(?)-	?ithī- -itīkwĬ	-?itĬ-
	distant	?o- -?o?	or -o(?)-	?orhī- -orīkwĬ	-?orĬ-
	very own	pI-,	or -aI- (medially)	pI-, or -eI-	pI-, or -eI-

Duality is expressed by the nominal suffixes, -hī and kwĬ, for the 1st and 2nd persons: pīhīkanikĬ?urīkwĬ *they* (dual, invisible) *are at their own house* (pī- + -hī + kahnI *house* + kĬ *at, in* + ?urī + -kwĬ). For the 3rd person demonstratives duality seems to be expressed by an infixed h; however it is probably the result of reduction and assimilation: ?u-, 3rd person invisible, plus -tī, nominalizer, plus -hī, dual, gives ?ur(ī)hī. Inflection for plurality, except for the 1st person exclusive, is accomplished with the pluralizer, -V.

As proclitics these affixes function as possessives, or, plus an inflectional suffix,
193 -i, in the non-singular, as objectives. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that
193 word. In clitic form they are unstressed. In objective pronominals, where the suffix -i
194 is added, phonetic assimilation may occur:
196 mīhī- + -i + pu·ni *see* + -nī? gives mīhivúninī? *I see you two.* Assimilation and reduction with -i also occurs in other stems; sonipĬnī· *grass* + -i gives sonipĬni· *grass* (obj.).

193 When inflected with nominal suffixes these
196 pronominal forms may stand as free stressed words: nī- + -nī, plural, gives nīnĬ *we* (*exclusive*). Both demonstratives and nondemonstratives may cluster with other clitics to constitute a free stressed word: nī?u? *it is I*; ?onai *from there*; ?inai *from*

[p. 149-B]

193 *here*; ?inakwī?u? *it is on this side* (?i- + nakwĭ *side, direction* + ?u?).

[196] 3.8. Compounding is a morphological process defined as the juxtaposition of roots and/or stems to form new stems. These new compound stems may be in-
193 flected or stand as free words. Compounds
196 may be composed of from two to four roots: ?ekahpa· *soda water* (red plus water); tu·ku·nA *coal* (black plus fire); pawovivu·kU *boat* (water plus board plus horse); piarosawovikn I *big white wooden house*. Examples of compounds composed of root plus stem are: wanaciya·? *flag* (wana- *cloth* + ci- *with a stick*, an instrumental prefix + ya· *hold up* + -? *nominalizer*); pihna·nohkopĭ *cake, cookies* (pihna· *sweet* + nohko *bake* + -pĭ *nominalizer*).

193 Among the most productive of compounded acculturation terms are a series of qualitative roots or stems (see the discussion of stem types below). These invariably
[128] precede noun stems in a compound. They are grouped below according to their syntactic position relative to each other:

193 I

196

pia-	*big*
pīe-	*old, former*
tīe-	*little*
ke-	*negative*

II

?isa-	*false, deceitful*
hu·-	*wood*
ca·-	*good, fine*
so·-	*many*
yu·-	*common, ordinary*

III

?eka-	*red*
?evi-	*blue, green*
?esi-	*grey, dull*
?eso-	*light in color*
?oha-	*yellow*
?otī-	*brown*
tu-	*black*
tosa-	*white*

[p. 150-A]

193 Bound particle stems also function in compounding:
196 -wahtĬ *without* (-wah + -tĬ, nominalizer), noyowahtĬ *without testicles*—a personal name; navukuwá·? *automobile* (na-, reflexive + pu·kU *horse* + -wahtĬ *without*. The ending presumably represents reduction to a syllabic pattern common for many plant and animal names—see 3.2.).

-katĬ *possessor of* (-ka + -tĬ, nominalizer), puhakatĬ *medicine-man* (puha *supernatural power* + -katĬ). Both of the above are commonly used in personal and animal names.

193 **3.9.** Reduplication, a very important technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages
196 such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be restricted to the inflection for the dual and plural forms of qualitative stems and a limited group of kinship and status terms. There are several patterns of reduplication: $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$ or $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$: ?ekavI- *red*, becomes ?e?ekavItī·ca? *the red one*; and tīta·tĬ *little one*, becomes tīhtīta·tīnī· *little ones*. $C_1V_1V_2C_2V_3$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1V_2C_2V_3$; ca·tietĬ *favorite child*, becomes ca·tīrietīnī· *favorite children*, and piava· *lake*, becomes piviava·nī· *lakes*. And $C_1V_1hC_2$ apparently becomes $C_1V_1hC_1V_1hC_2$; tahka? *sibling*, becomes tahtahkani *siblings*.

It also seems possible that reduplication may be used with certain verb stems to convey an iterative meaning: ?ekayīyika? *jelly, jam, jello* (?eka- *red* + yīka *to shake* (?) + -?, nominalizer).

193 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in some ejaculations ?īrīrīrī·ī· *I'm*, or *it's so*
196 *hot!*. Reduplication also figures importantly
195 in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby words:[a] papá·? *water*; pepé·? *ball*; and tatá·? *food*.

193 **3.10.** A number of stem classes may be distinguished according to their distribution in relation to affixes and other stems, and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

[a] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11-4 (1948).

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193 The major stem classes and some of their characteristics follow:

Verb stems (appear with a series of verbal inflectional suffixes).

Noun stems (appear with a series of nominal inflectional suffixes; may stand as uninflected words).

Qualitative stems (reduplicated for non-singular; before classificatory derivational suffixes which are lost in composition; before the verbalizing suffix, -yu; and precede verbal or nominal stems in compounds).

Clitic stems, including pronominal stems (may combine with demonstrative and non-demonstrative pronouns to constitute a free form with one stress: nīʔu? *it is I*; ʔinakwīʔu? *it is on this side* [ʔi-, 3rd per. sing. close, plus nakwĭ, *direction, side,* + -ʔu?, 3rd per. sing. invisible); ʔikĭsi? *it is right here* (ʔi- + kĭ *in or at* + -si?, 3rd per. emphatic]).

3.11. Words have as a rule only one major stress, but may also be recognized by their morphological context and speech pause. They may be either particles or inflected or free roots and stems. Words may also be classed according to their syntactic

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193 position, and, if inflected, partially by their final affix, as verbs, nouns, verbal nouns, and particles. Verbs may take subject or object, but may not be subject or object. Nouns may be subject or object, and they may also take a subject. Verbal nouns may be subject or object and may take subject and object. Particles may not be or take subjects or objects: hą· *yes*; ʔaná· *ouch*!, etc.

3.12. Comanche makes good use of sentence-words which may or may not include a verbal stem: nanapĭwahtī·nī? *I am shoeless* (nanapĭ *shoe* + -wahtī *without* + -V, plural + nī?, 1st per. sing. subject); sïmïma? *it is one*, (sī·mĭ *one*, plus ma?); miaru?inī? *I will leave* (mia *go* + -tu?I, future + -nī?). Descriptive phrases conveying a unit meaning are also common and are important in naming the new: mïaca?/ rïyaipĭ (*it is an*) *eclipse* (mïa *moon* + -ca?, declarative, and tïyaipĭ *dead*).

The basic word order seems to be subject, object, verb. This pattern can, of course, be greatly amplified by the parenthetical apposition of additional words.[43]

[43] For examples see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15.93–9, p. 98–9 (1949).

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[pp. 152-216 not processed]

192 *ten*, as clothes; cohpE *pillow* (*headrest, head of bed*); *co·mO *beads* (*bone beads*); savahpaki? *drum* (*drum* [Detrich gives waw vee wihk to ow, woviwihtua *wood bucket*]); sanahpĬ *glue, paste* (*pitch*); sanahkó·?[44] *chewing-gum* (slippery elm bark which was chewed); *sohovokó·? *fig* (*cottonwood fruit*); *suavE *cross, crucifix* (*cross*); suapĬ *soul* (*thought?*);[45] suthai- *bless* (*pity*); hivihkatĬ, hivipĬ *drunk* (hi·vI *drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); hï·kI *awning, umbrella* (*shade*); maniha- *to read, make a fixed speech* (*name something*); na?sihpé·? *ball, baseball* (*gourd* [na? *it's* + *fallen from the cold*]); *nakucI *gunpowder* (*powder*); *nacu?U *medicine* (*medicine*); *nï·tipĬka? *button* (*tipi lacing-pin*); nï·tïvu?ipĬ *button-hole* (*slits for lacing tipi*); *nohi? *toy, game* (*toy* [nohi *play*]); *wa?-ihpïkwasu? *woman's dress*; wahka?e·tĬ *running, galloping* (said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.); *wanapĬ *cloth* (*bark*); wa?rohkïyá·? *pincers, tongs* (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); *wihI *knife* (*flint knife*); wï?aikï- *to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up;* formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (wï?- *instrumental* + ?ni *go* + -kï *causative*); wihivi? *cup* (old word) (wï- + hivi- *drink* + -?, nominalizer); wïnomenA *move hips back and forth as in copulation;* now *dance, hula*, etc; wokoraí? *serape* (*painted bunting*, (*bird*) [woko- *pine* + tai *spot*]); yokapĬ *oyster* (mucous, spittle); *yuhU *oil, grease, lard* (*fat*).

192 In order to distinguish the old trait from
193 the new the modifiers taivo·-[46] *White man's,*
197

[44] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives pitch for sanako.

[45] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

[46] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

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192 and nīmī- *Indians'* or *ours*, are often prefixed
193 to a word whose meaning has been ex-
197 tended.[67] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when
192 the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nīmīʔaʔahká·ʔ *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔa· *horn*, katĬ *got*). ʔamawó·ʔ *apple*; nīmīʔamawó·ʔ *red-haw* (tĭrie- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nīmī-). *tisasĬ *perfume*; nīmīrisasĬ *a native perfume made from a plant.* *kahnĬ *house;* *nīmīkahnĬ[68] *tipi.* konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nīmīkonO *cradle-board.* ¾ kuhcU[69] *cattle* (*pimoro·ʔ, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [67] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivo·-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391–403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu-' Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, p. 436 (1943).

[68] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[69] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotso for bison.

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192 sources of the latter type in English.[n]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tī?ī· *killdeer*; civivī· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wō?ī? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korā?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[n] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the forma-
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[n] pocahto?ī? *pump* (*raise water forcefully with the hands*) [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?ī *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn* (*turned inside out by heat*) [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikī? *bicycle* (*make one's self go with the feet*) [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kī, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [n] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[n] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [n] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

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121 done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ.
197 Comanche, however, has borrowed only
192 one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents
[193] is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and
192 origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog* (*green mule crier*); *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie* (*brown bread*); pehekatípa·nĭ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĭ *possessor of* + pa·nĭ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers* (*white bread*); *ku-simu·ra? *donkey* (*grey mule*).

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad* (*fire wagon*); ci·sísa pía *Mary* (*Jesus' mother*); *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apú?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw haww, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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192 197 [601] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĬ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĬ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĬ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĭma? tĭmī· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nīrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nīhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

[113]

[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĬ, for *corn*.

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?I?á-pI *what is planted*, for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

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0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

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128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[101] [115] [128]

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[194] [104]

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, k^{w}, ?; c; s, s, h; m, n, r; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɨ, Ɨ, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /'/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

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128

affixes in Comanche. Some classes of affixes are not exhaustive (e.g. derivational affixes, class 100, which includes many more morphemes), but the pertinent classes for stem and word formation are represented.

Classification of affixes by centuries is as follows: 100 derivational, 200 verbal inflectional, 300 nominal inflectional. Classification by decades is generally on the basis of relative order. However, morphemes 201, 253, 254, 323 have been classified otherwise for convenience of description since their relative order is not as pertinent as their identity with the group in which they are placed. Decimal numbers indicate mor-

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[104]
[128]

logical juncture where clitic stems are bound to other stems or words (see 3.1.3., 3.1.4., 3.3.).

The recurrent morphophonemic changes are as follows: (1) Single morpheme-final vowels generally become voiceless in utterance-final position. 'kahninII *houses* > 'kahnI *house*.

(2) In certain combinations morpheme-final vowels reduce to open transition of neutral vowel quality. In certain combinations morphemes reduce medially by the loss of one or more morae. Compare 'tihka *eat* in the following: 'tihkaru?i-nI? *I will eat*, 'tiknīnitu?i-nI? *I will always be eating* (['tik^{k}nīnitu?i-nI?] in which [k^{k}] is approximately [ki] but without vowel mora); 'puukU *horse* + 'kahnI *house* > 'pukuknI ['pukuk^{k}NI] *barn*.

(3) t interchanges with r; and p interchanges with n, utterance medially at morpheme boundaries under conditions not always phonologically determined. 'pani? *older brother*, nI-'nani? *my older brother*; 'tInoorI-ma? *he is writing*, 'caa-nI? 'rInoorI *I write well*. After pause the p and t always occur: 'tenahpI?a 'rInik^{w}Iri-nI? 'nuni? *I sees the man singing*, but 'tenahpI?a / 'tInik^{w}Iri-nI? / 'puni? (in which / indicates tentative pause). t (but not p) always occurs after i. '?itI *this one* < ?i 3rd person close + -tI nominalizer; '?orI *that one* < ?o 3rd person distant + -tI; 'pinIapIrII *large ones* < 'piapI *big*.

(4) ? + ? = ?. 'sarii? *dog* + -?a genitive > 'sarii?a *dog's*.

[p.93-B]

193 128 **pheme alternants.** Distribution classes of stems and affixes are defined below.

Reference to affix classes is made in even century and/or decade numbers (e.g. reference to tense is made by 260). Reference to specific morphemes is made by the list number (e.g. reference to -tuʔi future, is made by 261). The distribution of alternants in respect to each other is indicated in the list.

193 Class 100: 110, 120 1st and 2nd order derivational prefixes respectively; 130 derivational suffixes.

111. caʔ-[3] *with an upward movement of the hand*
112. maʔ- *pertaining to the hand*
113. roʔ- *with a violent movement of the hand*
114. coʔ- *with the head*
115. kiʔ- *with the elbow*
116. huʔ- *with the back*
117. taʔ- *with the leg or foot*
118. kīʔ- *with the mouth or scissors*
119. ciʔ- *with something sharp*

121. na- reflexive

131. -pĪ nominalizer
132. -ʔ nominalizer
133. -pI[4] classificatory affix
134. -pIʔ classificatory affix
135. -nI classificatory affix
136. -ciʔ classificatory affix

Class 200: 201 infix; 210–250 verbal suffixes in relative order by decades.

201. -V-[5] imperative → (distribution restricted to an arbitrary class)

[3] Morphemic alternation of affixes in class 110 is not completely analyzed. Each affix in this class has an alternant with final h instead of final ʔ.

[4] Classificatory affixes here listed do not make any determinable difference to the root. That they are derivational affixes, however, is shown by the fact that they are generally lost from R in the formula R + S = S.

[104] [5] *V* is used here and in morpheme 321.1 as a morphophonemic symbol for a lengthening of a single vowel to two morae.

[p.94-A]

193

211.	-kĭ	benefactive
221.	-ma	completive
222.	-ʔe	habitual
231.	-kʷa	motion away
241.	-yu	verbalizer
251.1	-tuʔi	future → (in positive statements)
251.2	-waʔi	future → (in negative statements)
252.	-ʔi	past
253.	-yU	past (?)
254.	-nU	past (?)

Class 300: 310–330 nominal suffixes in relative orders by decades.

311.1	-tĭ	nominalizer, pre-plural → (with S^{a} except as described for 311.2; and after all verbal inflection except 251.1)
311.2	-ø	nominalizer, pre-plural → (with S^{pr} 1st and 2nd persons)
311.3	-nĭ	nominalizer, pre-plural → (with S^{a}, and after 251.1; never occurs except with 321 or 322)
312.1	-ʔ	subjectivizer → (with S^{pr} 1st and 3rd persons singular)
312.2	-nĬ	subjectivizer → (with S^{pr} 2nd singular)
313.	-ʔa	genitive
314.	-hka	(meaning undetermined)
321.1	-*V*	plural → (occurs except as defined in alternants below)
321.2	-mĭ	plural → (with S^{pr} nĭ 1st person exclusive, in proclitic position, and fluctuates with 321.1 after ta 1st person inclusive and mĭ alternant of 2nd person)
321.3	-nĬ	plural → (with S^{pr} 1st and 2nd persons in plural free forms and 1st person exclusive in enclitic position)

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193

322.1	-ᵏʷĪ	dual → (fluctuates freely with 322.2 except as defined in alternants below)
322.2	-h	dual → (occurs in objective forms (plus 331); otherwise fluctuates freely with 322.1 except as in 322.3)
322.3	-hī	dual → (occurs on proclitic S^{pr})
323.	C_1V_1-	non-singular (for alternants and patterns of reduplication see **3.1.1.**).
331.1	-ha	objective → (generally with singular S^a ending in 131 or 132; reduction occurs: -ʔ + -ha > -ʔa)
331.2	-hta	objective → (with a group of S^a ending in a bilabial consonant + I)
331.3	-i	objective → (with a group of S^a ending in -tO and -cO without assimilation and reduction; occurs with S^a other than all above, and after 311, 321, or 322, with assimilation and reduction)[6]

2. Stem formation. Comanche stems are derived according to the formulae below. Patterns of stem formation do not coincide with stem classes. In these formulae a root (R) is a morpheme, free or bound, to which

[104]

[194]

[6] Final back vowels become voiced front vowels on the same level. The resulting vowel cluster is reduced by loss of the second member. 'yuhhu *grease* > *'yuhhii > 'yuhhi *grease* (object); 'wihtua *bucket* > *'wihtuei > 'wihtue *bucket* (object). When following 311 and 321 or 322, the assimilation applies to both morphemes. 'sonipĪnĪī *grass* (plural) > *'sonipĪnĪĪĪ > 'sonipĪnii *grass* (plural object); 'hunıyanīh *songs* (dual) > *'hunıyanīhi > 'hunıyanihi *songs* (dual object).

Examples of alternants 331.1 and 331.2: 'waʔooʔ *cat* > 'waʔooʔa *cat* (object); 'pīhīsīkīī *peach* > 'pīhīsīkīīha *peach* (object); 'tosahwI *silver* > 'tosahwihta *silver* (object); 'tosiitO *hoof* > 'tosiitoi *hoof* (object).

A stem which does not fit the pattern: 'yīhnī *porcupine* > 'yīhne *porcupine* (object).

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193 derivational affixes may be attached, or with
104 which other roots may be compounded. R_1 is a free root. A stem (S) is a root, with or without derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes may be attached, or which functions as an uninflected particle.

193 Stems contain only one stress, generally on
194 the first syllable, or none at all in the case of clitic stems. Examples: 'puhihwI *money*, 'to?I *pipe*, 'tīrī?ai *work*, wa'sape *bear*, nī-'ɴia? *my mother*.

193 Formulae for stem formation cover observed formations, but do not imply that any root may occur in all possible formational combinations.

R_1 = S. 'pui? *eye*, 'wa?oo? *cat*, '?ara? *cross uncle*, 'tīhka *eat*, 'mi?a *go*, 'haa *yes*.

110 + R = S. 'tahpaana *sole of foot* < 117 + -paana *palm*; tahto'koo *big toe* < 117 + -to'koo *first digit*; mahto'koo *thumb* < 112 + -to'koo *first digit*; tah'tua *little toe*; 'co?nika? *hat* < 114 + -nīka? *push into*; 'soko-kī ma-'ci?nikatī-nī? *I am sticking it into the ground* < 119 + -nika? *push into*; ma'cihorarī-nī? *I am digging it (with a stick or spade)* < 111 + hora *dig*; ?u-'hu?kʷĪri-?a?i-nī? *I spilled it with my back* < 116 + kʷĪri?a *spill*.

120 + R ± 130 = S. 'naɴoopĪ *picture* < 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; 'narihka *groceries* < 121 + 'tīhka *eat*.

120 + (110 + R)[7] = S. 'narohtīkʷa?i-?inĪ *you hit yourself (with hand)* < 121 + (113 + tīkʷa *hit*).

R + 130 = S. 'tīhka? *table* < 'tīhka *eat* + 132; 'piapĪ *big* < 'pia- *big* + 131; 'tīhkapĪ *meat*; 'poopĪ *drawing* < 'poo *draw* + 131; 'huupI *tree* < 'huu- *wood, log, tree* + 133; 'paapI *head* < 'paa- *head* + 133; 'tenahpī? *man* < 'tenah- *man* + 134.

R + S = S (in which the S preceding the equation sign may be any stem including the resultant of this formula; however, the maxi-

[7] Immediate constituents are divided in this way because *120 + 110 (without R) never occurs. 110 + R = S above, but S cannot be substituted for 110 + R here because S resulting from other formulae do not occur with 120.

193 mum observed number of roots in any combination is four: 'piarosawoвikni *big white house* < 'pia- *big* + 'tosa- *white* + 'woвi *wooden* + 'kahni *house*). Examples: 'pukuknI *barn* < 'puuku *horse* + 'kahni *house*; '?esiwanah *gray blanket* < '?esi- *gray* + 'wanah *blanket*; 'tīkʷīkʷitu?i-?urīkʷĪ *they* (dual, distant) *will sit down to eat* < 'tīhka *eat* + yīkʷi *sit down* (non-singular); 'tīrī-ehpī?rīī-ca? ma-'вiacahora?I *the children dug out a deep hole* (*with hand*) < 'pia- *big* + 111 + -hora *dig*; 'puica?nika? *eye glasses* < 'pui? *eye* + 111 + -nika? *push into*; 'koвena-вoopĪ *portrait* < 'kooвE *face* + 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; nī-'вia?-ca? 'pianacahki?a?I *my mother scratched herself deeply* (*with something sharp*) < 'pia- *big* + 121 + 111 + -ki?a *scratch*; 'nīmīkʷa?ihpī? *Indian woman* < 'nīmI *Indian* + 'kʷa?ih- *woman* + 134; '?eso?ekaвItĪ *pink* < '?eso *not quite ripe* + '?eka- *red* + 135.

193 128 3. Stem classes. The above stems are divided into distributional classes S^s, S^a, S^p, on the basis of potential occurrence with alternants of 311. Stems as such are not equated with words.

193 3.1. S^s may take alternants 311.1 or 311.2, with the formal sub-classes S^q, S^v, S^e, S^{pr}:

3.1.1. S^q (qualitative stems) take 323. They are inflected for future according to the formula S^q + 241 + 251. '?eвIвI *blue* + 311.1 > '?eвIвItĪ *blue, blue one*; '?eвIвI *blue* + 241 + 251 > '?eвIвIyutu?i-marīī *they will be blue* (-marīī 3rd person plural close).

The initial syllable of stems beginning $C_1V_1C_T$- reduplicates with 323 in two patterns: $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_T$- and $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_T$-. 'huyunihtĪ *cylindrical* > 'huhuyunihtīkʷĪ *cylindrical ones* (dual); 'tītaatī *little one* > 'tīhtītaatīkʷĪ *little ones* (dual).

Some S^q show morphophonemic reduction when occurring with 323, with some initial $C_1V_1C_T$- becoming stem-initial -C_1C_T- when occurring with 323 (see fn. 2). 323 +

[p. 96-A]

193 'pohotatĭ *thick, thick one* + 321 > 'pophotatiĭ *thick ones* (plural).

Some non-S^q which contain as the initial morpheme a root which generally forms an S^q may take 323 in the same manner. ʔĭ-'totsʌbimoroo'niĭ-ca' 'koi'niĭ *your white cows died* < 'tosʌbimoroo' *white cow*; ʔĭ-'pibiarosʌbimoroo'niĭ-ca' 'koi'niĭ *your big white cows died* < 'piarosʌbimoroo' *big white cow*.

3.1.2. S^v (verb stems) do not take 323. They are inflected for future tense according to the formula S^v + 251. 'mi'a *go* + 311.1 > 'mi'arĭ-tah *we* (dual inclusive); *are going, we are the ones going* (-tah 1st person dual inclusive); 'mi'a *go* + 251 > 'mi'aru'i-tah *we* (dual inclusive) *will go*.

3.1.3. S^e (phonologically bound enclitic stems) may take 200 and/or 300 (but not 323). These stems are considered clitics in that (1) they are phonologically bound to words[4] being normally unstressed and not uttered in isolation; (2) they occur after any inflection on the stem, although they may themselves be inflected. 'kahninĭ-kĭyutu'-iniĭ *the ones who will be in the houses* < ('kahni *house* + 311) + (-kĭ + 241 + 251 + 311). 'tenaniĭ-ma'aiyutu'iniĭ *the ones who will be with the men* < ('tenah- *man* + 311) + (-ma'ai *with* + 241 + 251 + 311). Immediate constituents are divided on the analogy of 'nĭ-ma'aiyutu'i-'urĭkʷĭ *they* (dual) *will be with me*. nĭ 1st person exclusive (see 3.1.4) does not take 200 inflection.

3.1.4. S^{pr} (pronoun stems) may take no other inflection than 300 (but not 323). In clitic form they are unstressed.

Non-demonstrative S^{pr} (1st and 2nd persons): nĭ 1st person exclusive, ta 1st person inclusive, ʔĭ–mĭ 2nd person (ʔĭ is never inflected with 311; mĭ is always inflected with 311). nĭ-ʌia' *my mother*, ʔĭ-'po'oro' *your* (sg.) *pig*, mihĭ-'sariĭ' *your* (dual) *dog*.

[4] For the formation and definition of words, see 4.

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193 Demonstrative S^{pr} (3rd person): ma 3rd person close, si and ?i[9] 3rd person close, so and ?o 3rd person distant, su and ?u 3rd person distant or out of sight. 'pae ma-'?uhtu *give him* (close) *the water*, 'sitĬ-ha ?u-'ʁuni? *did he* (close) *see him* (distant)?

S^{pr} with specialized meanings: pī 3rd person identical with subject, nī 2nd person predual imperative. These have also a specialized distribution. pī appears only in proclitic position as possessor of nouns and verbal nouns. pī-'sarii? *his own dog*, pī-'kahni-kĬ-?u? *he is in his own house*. nī always appears in enclitic position inflected with 322. 'kʷaʁi-nīkʷĬ *lie down* (dual)*!*, 'keta-nīkʷĬ '?ihkoitīkʷĬ *don't go to sleep* (dual)*!*, nī-'rami?a-nīkʷī 'ʁuuni? *look at my brother* (dual)*!* < nī- 1st person exclusive + 'tami? *younger brother* + 331 + -nī 2nd person imperative + 311 + 322, 'puni? *see* + 201.

ma, ?o, ?u and all non-demonstrative S^{pr} may be proclitic or last order enclitic. Proclitic position indicates possession of a noun or object (with objective inflection in the non-singular) of a verb or verbal noun.[10] nī-'ʁia?-ca? nī-'ʁuwaitĬ *my mother wants me, my mother is the one wanting me* < nī 1st person exclusive + 'pia? *mother* + -ca? stative particle (S^p), nī 1st person exclusive (object) + 'ʁuwai- *want* + 311.

Enclitic position (with 312 in the singular) indicates subject of a noun, a verb, or a verbal noun. ?ī-'pia-?u? *she* (distant) *is your mother*, mīhī-'tohpa?i-marīkʷĬ *they* (dual, distant) *hit you* (*dual*) (mī + 311 + 322 + 331; ma + 311 + 322); 'yaketī-?inĬ *you are crying*. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that word. 'picipĬha-?orii 'hinitii *they* (distant) *are drinking the milk, they are the ones drinking the milk*.

Non-demonstrative S^{pr} may be free forms when inflected with 321.3 or 322.1. They

[9] Meaning distinction between ?- and s- undetermined.

[10] For the formation and definition of words, see 4.

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193 carry stress in this form (see 4). 'nīnĬ *we* (plural exclusive), 'mīkʷĬ *you* (dual).

Demonstrative S^{pr} may be free forms (with stress) when inflected with 311.1 or 314. (ma has never been found inflected with 314.) '?itī *this one*, 'surīī *those* (out of sight), '?ohka *that one* (distant).

Demonstrative and non-demonstrative S^{pr} may cluster with other clitics (S^{pr}, S^{s}, S^{p}) to constitute a free form with one stress. 'sukīrĬ-?u? *it is over there* < su 3rd person distant + -kĬ *in, at* (S^{s}) + 211 + -?u 3rd person distant + 312; 'nī-?u? *it is I*.

3.2. S^{a} (noun stems) may take alternant 311.3.[11] 'peekʷinīī *fish* (plural) < 'peekʷi *fish* + 311.3 + 321; tahto'koonīkʷĬ *big toes* (dual); 'tīnoopĬnīī *paper* (plural); 'pinarosawonikninīī *big white houses* (plural).

One group of S^{a} does not take 323 in the non-singular. 'pui?nīkʷĬ *eyes* (dual); 'kwasu?unīī *shirts* (plural).

Two groups of S^{a} take 323 in the non-singular: (1) stems which contain as the initial component a root which generally forms an S^{q} (see 3.1); (2) a class of simple stems. 'yuyuupĬnīī 'tenanīī *fat men* < 'yuupĬ *fat*; '?i?īrī?nīī *good natured ones* < '?īrī? *good natured*; 'mumucipĬnīkʷĬ *sharp ones* (dual) < 'mucipĬ *sharp*.

3.3. S^{p} (particle stems) never take inflection. They are of two types, free and bound, e.g:

Free: 'kee *no*, 'haa *yes*, 'nah *just*.

Bound: -ca? stative particle (generally used in declarative sentences), nī-ɴaci?-ca? ?ī-'paɴi?-ɴetĬ *my older sister is the size of your older brother*; -se? narrative particle (gener-

[11] In one loan-translation, '?ohaɴItĬ *orange* (a fruit), '?ohaɴItīnĬī *oranges*, both -tĬ and -nĬ (alternants of 311) occur in sequence in the non-singular. Apparently the S^{q} '?ohaɴI *orange* (color) and -tĬ with which it generally occurs as a noun, form an S^{a} in this case. S^{a} take 323 in the non-singular while the S^{a} '?ohaɴItĬ, now the name of a specific object, does not. In one informant's speech the transformation has been made more complete: '?ohaɴItĬ? *orange* (with 123 nominalizer).

[p. 97-B]

193 ally used in tales), 'surī-kĬ-se' 'wihnu 'rīya-ainU *he then died*; -ha interrogative particle, 'surĬ-ha pin'haa?a 'caa 'kīsuka *does he like sugar?*

4. Word formation. Stems and affixes may be combined into words according to formulae presented below. Words generally contain only one major stress. A second stress may occur late in a long word. 'tīkkahni-'ku-ma? 'mi?arĬ *he is going to the dining hall.* Words of each class are mutually substitutable in the syntactic positions defined for each class. Inflected words are partially identifiable by the class of the final affix with they occur. If the final
193 affix is of class 300 the word is a noun (N) or
104 verbal noun (VN). If the final affix is one of class 200 the word is a verb (V). Words which consist of uninflectable S^p are particles (P).

193 Although clitic S^p and S^{pr} enter into word formation they are not included in formulae for word classes. S^p and proclitic S^{pr} do not change the class of the word in which they are bound and are therefore non-pertinent to the formulae. Enclitic S^{pr}, always subject, are not generally in the same immediate constituent with the word in which they are bound. It is syntactically convenient to define word classes without the limitations which enclitic S^{pr} place on them. 'po?ro?a-ma? 'ruhiBIti 'suwaitī *he wants the black pig* [N (object) -S^{pr} (subject), N (object), VN]; 'kanaBihci?-ma? *he is slender* [N-S^{pr} (subject)].

4.1. Verbs (V) may take subject or object; they may not be subject or object.

S^v ± 200 = V. nī-'rīi-ca? 'narīmī-kU 'kahnimi?a?I *my friend went visiting in town* < S^{pr} + S^s ('rīi *friend*) + S^p = N (subject), S^s ('narīmī *town*) + S^c (-kU *in*) = N (object), S^v ('kahnimi?a *go visiting*) + 252 = V; 'mahitenahpī?-ca? pī-'pake bī-'nahu-ma 'wīsaka?I *the warrior split his arrow with his knife* < S^s ('mahitenahpī? *warrior*) + S^p = N (subject), S^{pr} + S^s ('pake *arrow*) + 331 =

193 N (object), S^{pr} + S^{a} ('nahu *knife*) + S^{e} (-ma *with*) = N (object), S^{v} ('wīsaka *split*) + 252 = V.

S^{q} + 200 = V. 'sīīpe?yutu?i-marii *they will be even (level)* < 323 + S^{q} ('sīīpe? *even*) + 241 + 251 = V, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject). 'pīprīyutu?i-marii *they will be heavy* < 323 + S^{q} ('pīrī *heavy*) + 241 + 251 = V, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject).

N + S^{e} + 200 = V (in which N is the resultant of any formula in 4.2). 'tīhtītaatī-ca? 'woʁiawoniī-kĭyutu?i *the little ones will be in the boxes* < 323 + S^{q} ('tītaa *little*) + 311 + S^{p} = N (subject), [S^{a} ('woʁiawo *box*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^{e} (-kĭ *in*) + 241 + 251 = V. 'marii-kĭyutu?i-ma? *it will be in them* < ['S^{pr} + 311 + 321 = N] + S^{e} + 241 + 251 = V, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject). ka'huu-ca? 'cena-kuhpayutu?i *the rat will be inside the fox* < S^{a} (ka'huu *rat*) + S^{p} = N (subject), S^{a} ('cena *fox*) + S^{e} (-kuhpa *inside*) + 241 + 251 = V.

4.2. Nouns (N) may be subject or object; they may take a subject but may not take an object inflected with 331.

N_1 is substitutable in the last formula of this section; N_2 is not. Otherwise both are referred to as N.

S^{a} ± 300 = N_1. ka'huunii-ca? 'kīhtaaʁicipĭha 'rīhka?I *the rats ate the cheese* < S^{a} (ka'huu *rat*) + 311 + 321 + S^{p} = N (subject), S^{a} ('kīhtaʁicipĭ *cheese*) + 331 = N (object), S^{v} ('tīhka *eat*) + 252 = V. '?arīka-ca? 'wacipĭ *the deer is wandering* < S^{a} ('?arīka *deer*) + S^{p} = N (subject), S^{a} ('wacipĭ *wanderer*) = N.

S^{q} ± 300 = N_1. pimo'ro?raiʁonii-ca? 'keksuatii *the cowboys are near* < S^{a} (pimo-'ro?raiʁo *cow-while man*) + 311 + 321 + S^{p} = N (subject), 323 + S^{q} ('kesua *near*) + 311 + 321 = N. 'pīhtīti-nī? ma-'?uhtu?I *I gave him the heavy one* < S^{q} ('pīhtī *heavy*) + 311 + 331 = N (object), + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), S^{pr} + S^{v} ('?uhtu *give*) + 252 = V. '?orī '?esiʁĭtĭ 'rīhka?-ruhka *that gray one is under the table* < S^{pr} + 311 = N (subject), S^{q} ('?esiʁĭ *gray*) + 311 = N (subject),

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193 [S^a ('tīhka? *table*) = N] + S^c (-ruhka *under*) = N.

'S^{pr12} + 300 = N_1. 'surī-?ıı? *it* (distant) *is he* (distant) < 'S^{pr} + 311 = N, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject). 'sitī-ca? 'rītaati 'wobiknıba?I *he* (close) *has a little wooden house* < 'S^{pr} + 311 + S^p = N (subject), S^a ('tītaa *little*) + 311 + 331 = N (object), S^v ('wobiknıba?i *have a wooden house*) = V. pimo'roo-ca? '?urii 'makUye?I *the cow chased them* (plural) < S^n (pimo'roo *cow*) + S^p = N (subject), S^{pr} + 311 + 321 + 331 = N (object), S^v ('makUye *chase*) + 252 = V.

V + 300 = N_2 (with limitation noted in 4.3). '?ekabIyutu?inīī-?urīī *they will be red ones* < [S^a ('?ekabI *red*) + 241 + 251 = V] + 311 + 321 = N, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject).

N_1 + S^e ± 300 = N_2. '?ok^{w}etīī-kIrī-?urīī *they are in the river* < [S^v ('?ok^{w}e *flow*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^c (-kĪ *in*) + 311 = N, + S^{pr} + 311 + 321 (subject). '?e?ekabItīī-ca? '?e?ebIbItīī-'kīma? *the red ones are beside the blue ones* < 323 + S^a ('?ekabI *red*) + 321 + S^p = N (subject), [323 + S^a ('?ebIbI *blue*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^e (-kīma? *beside*) = N. 'tīhtītaatī-ca? 'wobiawo-kUpatĪ *the little ones are in the box* < 323 + S^a ('tītaa *little*) + 311 + S^p = N (subject), [S^a ('wobiawo *wooden box*) = N] + S^e (-kUpa *in*) + 311 = N. 'paapasi-nī? 'sahuba-ma?ai-ku 'mahiaru?I *I mixed the potato in with the stew* < S^a ('paapasI *potato*) + 331 = N (object), + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), [S^a ('sahuba *stew*) = N] + S^e (-ma?ai *with*) + S^e (-kU *in*) = N (object), S^v ('mahia *mix*) + 251 = V. 'tīpinīī-hoikIt-Īca? '?ekabItĪ *the thing around the stones was red* < [S^a ('tīpi *stone*) + 311 + 321 = N] + S^e (-hoikI *around*) + 311 + S^p = N (subject), S^a ('?ekabI *red*) + 311 = N.

[12] Any formation with S^{pr} unstressed is a clitic within a larger word unit (see 4).

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193 **4.3.** Verbal nouns (VN) may be subject or object; they may take subject and object.

$S^v \pm 200 + 300 = VN$ (note that VN = N formationally, in V + 300 = N above, but distributionally it is distinguished by the fact that it may take an object inflected with 331). 'tūhoitī-ca? '?arīka?a ?a'ʁehka?I *the hunter shot the deer* < S^v ('tūhoi *hunt*) + 311 + S^p = VN (subject), S^a ('?arīka *deer*) + 331 = N (object), S^v (?a'ʁehka *shoot*) + 252 = V. 'kohtoorī-?urīh *they* (dual) *are building the fire* < S^v ('kohtoo *build a fire*) + 311 = VN, + S^{pr} + 311 + 322 (subject). 'surī pī-'tīetuka?a 'muruka?etĪ 'hanī?eeyU *he, blowing out his little lamp, was asleep* < 'S^{pr} + 311 = N (subject), S^{pr} + S^a ('tīetuka? *little lamp*) + 331 = N (object), S^v ('muruka *blow out*) + 222 + 311 = VN (subject), S^v ('hanī *sleep*) + 222 + 253 = V. hu'cu?a-nī? 'yaketi 'naka?I *I heard the bird singing* < S^a (hu'cu? *bird*) + 331 = N (object), + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), S^v ('yake *sing*) + 311 + 331 = VN (object), S^v ('naka *hear*) + 252 = V. ka'huu-ca? 'hanīsihta 'kuu?etī 'rīyai *the rat that used to store away the corn is dead* < S^a (ka'huu *rat*) + S^p = N (subject), S^a ('hanīsI *corn*) + 331 = N (object), S^v ('kuu *store away*) + 222 + 311 = VN (subject), S^v ('tīyai *is dead*) = V. 'tūhka?eeru?inīī *ones who will be eating continually* < S^v ('tūhka *eat*) + 222 + 251 + 311 + 321 = VN.

4.4. Particles (P) may not be subjects or objects, nor may they take subjects or objects. Only those particles which carry their own stress may stand as words.

S^p = P. 'haa 'ciharīyaihumi?arī-nī? *yes, I am hungry* < S^p ('haa *yes*) = P, S^v ('ciharīyaihumi?a *go hungry*) + 311 = VN, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject). 'ke-nī? 'wananapĪha 'suwaitĪ *I do not want the sock* < S^p ('kee *no*) = P, + S^{pr} + 312 (subject), S^a ('wananapĪ *sock*) + 331 = N (object), S^v ('suwai *want*) + 311 = VN.

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601 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form; **námi?** reference form].
195 taká·? *sibling* [tákA address form; **táka?** reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pávI address form; pávi? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; káku? reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kînú·? *father's father* [kînU address form; kînu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first
[591] used for all grandparents. This suggests matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned.
195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the re-
193 lated -sI to words; e.g., haicí·? for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[3] as might be inferred

[113] [3] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

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195 from the above list, is another feature: titti
193 is said by little girls for tî·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammati-
195 cal function in the child's speech. Various phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pîhI for kwîhĨ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for I as tiás for tîas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study of the above list of baby words. First, it
195 must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple: there are no preaspirated consonants; the
194 sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

194 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It
121 is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[3]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'kuʔ-okʷekʷaiʔu ʔ *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔokʷEkʷaiʔu ʔ *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phono-
194 logical junctures are the same. The gram-
193 matical structure is also comparable: each begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d*
196 *per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku- *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -kʷa *movement away*, the morpheme -ɨʔ *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔu ʔ *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔokʷe means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

[3] idem. 26.

[p. 63-B]

194 *in the following morpheme*, whereas the
196 stem ʔokʷE is a complex stem composed of
193 ʔokʷe modified by the addition of the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing, and which has the semantic implication of *stem meaning resulting in action indicated by the following morpheme.*

194 Brought about by the occurrence of this same stem-final-unvoicing morpheme, and preceding -ki *movement toward*, similar contrasts between voiced and voiceless vowels can be observed, e.g. 'norĩnakikiʔuʔ *he came to pack* versus 'norĩnakIkiʔuʔ *he packed and came on.* Again, no phonological or morphological conditioning factors are present. Similar contrasts can be seen in 'mayakekiʔuʔ *he came to play* (e.g. *the piano*), 'mayakEkiʔuʔ *he played and came on*; ʔu'hanikĩkiʔuʔ *he came to fix it for him* versus ʔu'hanikĨkiʔuʔ *he fixed it for him and came on*; ʔu'niʔaciki'uʔ *he came to advise him* compared with ʔu'niʔacIkiʔuʔ *he advised him and came on.* Another contrast preceding -kʷa can be observed in 'namakaʔmukikʷaiʔuʔ *he went to dress himself* versus 'namaka'mukIkʷaiʔuʔ *he dressed himself and went on.* -ki and -kʷa are interchangeable in any of the illustrations listed above.

2. Utilization of analogous data should prove profitable, contrasting /u/ /U/, /o/ /O/, /e/ /E/. Thus ʔu'ʔuhtukiʔuʔ *he came to give to her* contrasts with ʔu'ʔutUkiʔuʔ *he gave to her and came on*; 'nohkokiʔuʔ *she came to bake biscuits* with 'nokOkiʔuʔ *she baked biscuits and came on*; and ʔu'manahkekiʔuʔ *he came to measure it* with ʔu'manakEkiʔuʔ *he measured it and came on.* These same stems occur with similar resultant contrasts preceding -kʷa.

Nothing in these word pairs is of such a nature or in such a position as to make a non-phonemic conditioning variation from voiced to voiceless a characteristic of the vowel. The theoretical possibility of /U/ /O/ being conditioned by voiced equivalents occurring in contiguous syllables preceding these voiceless vowels is partially eliminated

[p. 64-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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197 another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a semiromadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, z); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (?, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ḫ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ? and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced [197] other phonemes (? or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[113] [14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445-502, p. 476 (1940).

[113] [15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11-4 (1948).

[113] [16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

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11: Casagrande E,L-S (1940) 1954
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194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^{y} and g^{w} commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^{w} respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[11]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tīvo·pĬ *paper*—nīrīvo·pĬ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final Ĭ in such a word as tĭhkapĬ *food*, is often heard as simple aspira-
[192] tion. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

(113) [11] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175–88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

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194 few in number. With a very few exceptions, chiefly in loanwords, there are no clusters of more than two consonants. Except where vowels are elided, and in a number of English loanwords, only the clusters h plus consonant and ʔ plus consonant, and, more rarely, h plus n, appear. Examples are: 194 puhaknI or puhakhnI *church* (puha *super-* 192 *natural power*, plus kahnI *house*; tuʔreʔ *rubber*; tehnsé·ʔ *ten cents* (English). The seeming cluster k or k^h plus consonant is common; however in every instance noted a medial vowel had been elided: ʔeka- *red*, plus sīkweʔ *half*, gives ʔeksīkweʔ *red half*, *an old style blanket*.

194 3.2. Vowels are unrounded in front position and rounded in back position (with i and u closer than e and o, respectively), and mixed in central position (mid close ī and low open a). These six vowels also appear long (i· and u·, e· and o·, ī· and a·); also whispered (I and U, E and O, Ī and A); rarely nasalized as in the morpheme, hą· *yes*.

The vowel ī approximates the vowels in English "look" and "luck". All vowels, lacking closely contrasting phonemes, vary somewhat from high to low: e.g., o may approach ɔ, or e approach ɜ, etc. Whispered and long vowels, which could also be described as clusters of two identical vowels, are of the same quality as their voiced short counterparts.

No vowels occur in utterance initial; and all vowels occur in utterance medial. Only long vowels, clusters, and whispered vowels occur in utterance final; however there is a tendency for most speakers to close an utterance ending in a long vowel or a cluster with a glottal stop or aspiration. An echo vowel is sometimes heard after a glottal stop: -aʔ(A).

Short morpheme final vowels become voiceless in utterance final position, e.g., ʔe·kouī· *tongues*, and ʔe·kO *tongue*. They also tend to assimilate to a preceding consonant, or to be replaced by simple aspiration. In utterance medial position

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĭsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ĭe, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔĭvĭiʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; cospĭ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[a] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [a] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297–301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransitivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[44] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands*; *direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object* (*knife, penis, stick*), *direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[45] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tima?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [44] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197] [113] [45] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[p. 148-A]

193 **3.4. Infixation,** if indeed it may be so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
193 lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĪ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes include the nominalizers, -pĪ and -?, which
193 make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tihka *eat* plus -? gives tīhka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĪ gives nohkopĪ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĪ gives piapĪ *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĪ) gives ?ekavItĪ *red one*; yīva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yīva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93–9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203–12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

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193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among those productive of new words are: -kĭ
193 *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikĭ? *rocking-chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks*
196 + ?ai *go, lope* + -kĭ + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nĭmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (nĭmĭ- *1st per. plural* + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* +
-?e + -V *plural* + -tĬ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion away*; -?tu?i *future* (*in positive statements*); -wa?i *future* (*in negative statements*); -?i *past, semelfactive*; -yU *past, durative* (?); -nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*; -yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tĭ *nominalizer*; -nĭ· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĬ *dual*; -hĭ *dual* (*on proclitic pronominals*); -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 **3.6.** Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/yĭcĬ?I *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -ĭ? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
196 locative, pronominal, numerative, demonstrative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

[p. 149-A]

193
196

Person		*Singular*		*Dual*	*Plural*
1st	possessive or objective	al-	exclusive	nihi- -nikwĬ	nimi- -niĬ
	subjective	-nĬ?	inclusive	tahi- -takwĬ, or -tah	-ta-, or -tamĬ-
2nd		?i- -iaĬ		mihi- -mikwĬ	-miĬ-
3rd	visible	ma- -ma?	emphatic	marhi- -marikwĬ	-mariĬ-
	invisible	?u- -?u?	or -su(?)-	?urhi- -urikwĬ	-?uriĬ-
	close	?i- -?i?	or -si(?)-	?ithi- -itikwĬ	-?itiĬ-
	distant	?o- -?o?	or -so(?)-	?orhi- -orikwĬ	-?oriĬ-
	very own	pĬ-,	or -sĬ- (medially)	pĬ-, or -sĬ-	pĬ-, or -sĬ-

Duality is expressed by the nominal suffixes, -hī and kwĬ, for the 1st and 2nd persons: pīhīkanikĬ?urīkwĬ *they* (dual, invisible) *are at their own house* (pī- + -hī + kahnI *house* + kĬ *at, in* + ?urī + -kwĬ). For the 3rd person demonstratives duality seems to be expressed by an infixed h; however it is probably the result of reduction and assimilation: ?u-, 3rd person invisible, plus -tī, nominalizer, plus -hī, dual, gives ?ur(ī)hī. Inflection for plurality, except for the 1st person exclusive, is accomplished with the pluralizer, -V.

As proclitics these affixes function as possessives, or, plus an inflectional suffix,
193 -i, in the non-singular, as objectives. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that
193 word. In clitic form they are unstressed. In objective pronominals, where the suffix -i
194 is added, phonetic assimilation may occur:
196 mīhī- + -i + pu·ni *see* + -nī? gives mīhivúninī? *I see you two.* Assimilation and reduction with -i also occurs in other stems; sonipĬnī· *grass* + -i gives sonipĬni· *grass* (obj.).

193 When inflected with nominal suffixes these
196 pronominal forms may stand as free stressed words: nī- + -nī, plural, gives nīnĬ *we* (*exclusive*). Both demonstratives and nondemonstratives may cluster with other clitics to constitute a free stressed word: nī?u? *it is I*; ?onai *from there*; ?inai *from*

[p. 149-B]

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121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into 197 the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke 197 a Southern American dialect. Thus, the 194 r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekīʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
ð	o	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ð	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdez, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–44 (1937).

[p. 228-B]

197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ĩ, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, es-
197 pecially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1. Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[57] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[58] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[59] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
192 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavirí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·itIn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [57] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[58] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[59] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146—A--Analyst.]
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[p.229-A]

197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĪ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

[p. 229-B]

192 ʔotīmu·raʔ *oatmeal.* Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule.* The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapéʔatĩhkapĬ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food,* tĩhkapĬ.

waʔo·rĩhkapĬ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorĩhkapĬ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodisg, lagéhtᵊ, literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, privates or common people,* has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodisg, ʔlhagéhtᵊ, the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders.* Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

[p. 234-B]

121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
197 are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] [192] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[148] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
192 language the greater the tendency for it to
197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[148] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

[p. 254-B]

121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word: pīesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*;
197 in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

[p. 255-A]

14: Riggs L-5 (1948) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 ALTERNATE PHONEMIC ANALYSES OF COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Consonants: Analysis A
2. Consonants: Analysis B
3. Discussion
4. Vowels
5. Stress

128 0. This paper presents two alternate phonemic analyses of the consonants of Comanche, a Uto-Aztecan language.[1] The 128 question involved is whether the sequence h 194 plus consonant should be regarded as a consonant cluster or as a unit phoneme in 128 this language.[2] In section 3 the relative advantages and disadvantages of each solution will be discussed without any attempt to favor either analysis. The writer, however, prefers analysis B.

128 194 1. Consonants: Analysis A. In this analysis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a consonant cluster.

194 1.1. Stops and spirants generally occur in unique allophones, namely voiceless; h is assimilated to preceding vowels and following nasals.

Stops: p, t, c (an affricate, patterning as stop), kʷ, k, ʔ. Examples: paa *water*, picipə *milk*, təaʔ *son*, peetə *daughter*, caatə *good*, paciʔ *little sister*, kʷeeniʔ *pointed hill*,

[101] [115]

[1] The data on which this paper is based was gathered during the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants were Molly Weryavah, Emily Riddles, and Mrs. Joe Harry. I am indebted to C. F. Voegelin for suggestions in the presentation of the material.

[2] A third possible analysis, that of interpreting preconsonantal h as a voiceless vowel has not been considered due to the fact that Comanche voiceless vowels are contrastive as to quality, while the phoneme h is not. See section 1.1., Spirants.

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194 tənikʷərə *singing*, kooko? *hen*, toko? *grandfather*, ?ara? *uncle*, mo?O *hand*.

Spirants: s, h. Examples: sarii? *dog*, kesautə *wicked*, hiipI *drink*, paha? *aunt*.

1.2. Oral and nasal sonants are voiceless before voiceless vowels, only slightly voiced following h, fully voiced elsewhere.

Oral sonants: w, ʋ, r, y. In intervocalic position, w and y have idiolectal variants gw and dž respectively. The phoneme ʋ is a bilabial fricative; r an alveolar flap. Examples: wa?oo? *cat*, ?awO *cup*, təʋicI *very*, naini? *young lady*, tərə?aitə *working*, karərə-nə? *I am sitting*, yakeetə *crying*, təhəəyA *pony*.

Nasal sonants: m, n. Examples: mi?arə *going*, kimA *come!*, nə-rəa? *my son*, səsə?anA *sometime*.

1.3. The distribution of the consonants according to analysis A is as follows:

All consonants occur in utterance medial.

The phonemes ʋ and r occur in word initial but not in utterance initial.[3] All other consonants occur in utterance initial.

Only ? and h occur in utterance final.

Consonants occur in the following clusters, which appear only in utterance medial:

h + p, t, c, kʷ, k, w, r, m, n
? + n, r
n + h

2. Consonants: Analysis B. In this analysis the sequence h plus consonant is inter-

[3] The phonemes ʋ and r alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively. Conditions of alternation are not always phonologically defined. Cf. nə-rəa? *my son*, ?ə-təa? *your son*. In utterance initial position, however, v and r are always replaced by p and t respectively, and r is always replaced by t following i.

[p. 229-B]

194 [128] In this analysis the sequence h plus consonant is interpreted as a unit phoneme, i.e. a preaspirated consonant.

2.1. Consonants which show an opposition of preaspirate versus simple are certain stops and continuants. The stops always appear voiceless; the preaspirate continuants are only slightly voiced; the simple continuants are voiceless before voiceless vowels, voiced elsewhere.

The stops are:

Preasp. ʿp, ʿt, ʿc, ʿkʷ, ʿk

Simple p, t, c, kʷ, k

Examples: ʔaʿpəʔ *father*, kaʿpeʔ *bed*, ʔəʿtui- *to give* (*sing.*), moʿtoʔA *pimple*, tuneʿci- *to run*, paʿcikeetə *slick*, yaʿkʷi- *to say*, tənəcaʿkʷeyaʔi- *to skin*, təʿka- *to eat*, naʿkia *maybe*, pahaʔ *aunt*, tamiʔ *little brother*, caatə *good*, kʷiipə *smoke*, kakuʔ *grandmother*.

The continuants are:

Preasp. ʿm, ʿw, ʿn, ʿr

Simple m, w, n, r

Examples: naʿmeitə *table*, kaʿnI *house*, taʿniʔikI- *to put* (*with plural object*), wokoʿwiʔ *squirrel*, puhiʿwI *money*, noʿrənapI *bed*, ʔuʿri- *third person obj. dual*, marǽaʿweʔ *greeting*, waʔooʔ *cat*, naramaʔipA *story*, karərə *sitting*.

2.2. Remaining consonants are those consonants in analysis B which do not show opposition of presapirate versus simple. Their allophones are as described under analysis A.

Stop: ʔ. Examples: miʔarə *going*, ʔaraʔ *uncle*.

Continuants: ɲ, s, y, h. Examples: ʔonaɲiʔ *salt*, muɲipóroʔ *pig*, sariiʔ *dog*, sahopA *broth*, yəʿkʷi- *to say*, təhəəyA *pony*, haicI *friend*, pahaɲitə *swimming*.

2.3. The distribution of consonants under analysis B is as follows:

All consonants occur in utterance medial.

All simple (i.e. non-preaspirate) consonants except ɲ and r (as explained in section 1.3.) occur in utterance initial.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final.

There are only three consonant clusters.

[p. 230-A]

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight,* where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual
121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long,* paˈpaʔatə *long(redup.).* In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔī-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem təˈka-), təkənəninəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem təkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely
197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of
197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[113] [4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106–109 (1949).

[p. 230-B]

197 pirate consonants, while consonant clusters are not at all rare in the Uto-Aztecan lan-
197 guage family. Comanche preaspirates may correspond to simple consonants in cognate
194 languages. cf. So. Paiute yəŋə, Com. yə'nəʔ *porcupine*; Tübatulabal tək-, So. Paiute təq.a, Com. tə'ka- *to eat*; So. Paiute qan.i-, Tübatulabal hani, Com. ka'nI *house*; So. Paiute ap.əi-, Com. ʔa'pəi- *to sleep (sing.)*; So. Paiute aq.əi-, Com. ʔə'koʔi- *to sleep (pl.)*.

194 4. Vowels. Only one analysis is presented for the vowels; these are voiced and voiceless.

Voiced: i, e, a, o, u, ə. Vowel ə is a high, unrounded vowel varying from central to back position. Vowels i, e, c, u vary from close to open varieties; a varies to [ʌ] in unstressed position. Examples: piapə *big*, tena'pəʔ *man*, papI *hair*, sonipə *grass*, hununI *creek*, wənə-nəʔ *I stop*.

Voiceless: I, E, A, O, U, ə. These are of the same quality as their corresponding voiced vowels. In normal speech, utterance medial ə appears somewhat shorter than other voiceless vowels.[5] Examples: ʔekaʁItə

[5] This fact has given rise to still another interpretation of Comanche phonemes: namely that of considering voiceless, when occurring in medial position, as aspiration of the preceding consonant.
[113] See Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93-99 (1949), where the form təkəbənituʔi-nəʔ *I will always be eating*, is transcribed [tikʰbinituʔi-nIʔ]. This interpretation admits of a

[p. 231-A]

194 *red*, hayarokʷEtI *four (as used in counting)*, sahopA *broth*, ssəmanUrii *ten (used as object)*, moʔO *hand*, təkəɹənitə-nəʔ *I keep on eating*.

The distribution of the vowels is as follows:

All vowels occur in utterance medial.

Only voiceless vowels and vowel clusters occur in utterance final. When a morpheme with a final single voiced vowel occurs in utterance final position its final vowel is replaced by a voiceless vowel of corresponding quality.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. These are of two members, which may consist of identical or diverse vowels. All voiced vowels occur in identical clusters. Examples: tiipE *mouth*, kʷeeɹiʔ *pointed hill*, caatə *good*, kooɹeʔ *face*, huupI *tree*, pəərA *arm (wrist to elbow)*. The following clusters of diverse vowels have been observed: a, u, e, o followed by i. kasaráiɹoʔ *angel*, pui *eye*, naˈmeitə *table*, kookʷaʔənoi *egg*, i, ə, o followed by a. piapə *big*, təasə *again*, moakU *lots*. ə, a followed by e. nəetə *wind*, pae *water (obj.)*.

128 5. In the examples given above stress is unmarked when it falls on the first syllable of a word; in all other cases it is marked.

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few more consonant clusters, but these are much less frequent in occurrence than the type h plus consonant, with which we are concerned.

[p.231-B]

15: Osborn & Smalley L-5 (1948) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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FORMULAE FOR COMANCHE STEM AND WORD FORMATION

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0. Introduction
1. Affix check list
2. Stem formation
3. Stem classes
4. Word formation

128 0. In this paper we discuss Comanche stem and word formation. The formulae utilized to represent the observed constructions grew out of an attempt to handle the cross-cleavage between stem classes and word classes. Although not all possible combinations of formational and inflectional elements have been found, this method of statement by formulae can be expanded to include any new combinations recorded.

193 Stem classes are characterized by their potential distribution with alternants of suffix 311, but are not identifiable by any feature of internal structure. Word classes are characterized by their potential syntactic distribution, and when inflected are identified morphologically by their final suffix (see 4).

193 128 1. Affix check list.[2] The following list is representative of the most commonly used

[1] Data for this paper were gathered in the 1948 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. Comanche informants from Walters, Oklahoma, were Molly Weryavah, Helen Seahmer, and Emily Riddles. We are indebted to the staff of the Institute, particularly to Elliott Canonge and John B. McIntosh for technical information on Comanche, and to William L. Wonderly for advice in the presentation of the material.

[101] [115] [128]

[2] The phonemes of Comanche are analyzed as follows: p, t, k, kʷ, ʔ; c; s, s, h; m, n, ŋ; w, y; i, I, e, E; ɨ, Ɨ, a, A; u, U, o, O. Large caps represent voiceless vowels; small cap B represents bilabial v. Stress /'/ is written immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Hyphen (-) represents morpho-

[194] [104]

[p.93-A]

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affixes in Comanche. Some classes of affixes are not exhaustive (e.g. derivational affixes, class 100, which includes many more morphemes), but the pertinent classes for stem and word formation are represented.

Classification of affixes by centuries is as follows: 100 derivational, 200 verbal inflectional, 300 nominal inflectional. Classification by decades is generally on the basis of relative order. However, morphemes 201, 253, 254, 323 have been classified otherwise for convenience of description since their relative order is not as pertinent as their identity with the group in which they are placed. Decimal numbers indicate mor-

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logical juncture where clitic stems are bound to other stems or words (see 3.1.3., 3.1.4., 3.3.).

The recurrent morphophonemic changes are as follows: (1) Single morpheme-final vowels generally become voiceless in utterance-final position. 'kahninII *houses* > 'kahnI *house*.

(2) In certain combinations morpheme-final vowels reduce to open transition of neutral vowel quality. In certain combinations morphemes reduce medially by the loss of one or more morae. Compare 'tIhka *eat* in the following: 'tIhkaru?i-nI? *I will eat*, 'tIkɜInitu?i-nI? *I will always be eating* (['tIkʰɜInitu?i-nI?] in which [kʰ] is approximately [kI] but without vowel mora); 'puukU *horse* + 'kahnI *house* > 'pukuknI ['pukukʰNI] *barn*.

(3) t interchanges with r; and p interchanges with ɜ, utterance medially at morpheme boundaries under conditions not always phonologically determined. 'pani? *older brother*, nI-'sani? *my older brother*; 'tIɜoorI-ma? *he is writing*, 'caa-nI? 'rIɜoorI *I write well*. After pause the p and t always occur: 'tenahpI?a 'rInikʷIri-nI? 'ɜuni? *I see the man singing*, but 'tenahpI?a / 'tInikʷIri-nI? / 'puni? (in which / indicates tentative pause). t (but not p) always occurs after i. '?itI *this one* < ?i 3rd person close + -tI nominalizer; '?orI *that one* < ?o 3rd person distant + -tI; 'piniapIrII *large ones* <'piapI *big*.

(4) ? + ? = ?. 'sarii? *dog* + -?a genitive > 'sarii?a *dog's*.

[p. 93-B]

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322.1	-k^{w}Ī	dual → (fluctuates freely with 322.2 except as defined in alternants below)
322.2	-h	dual → (occurs in objective forms (plus 331); otherwise fluctuates freely with 322.1 except as in 322.3)
322.3	-hī	dual → (occurs on proclitic S^{pr})
323.	C_1V_1-	non-singular (for alternants and patterns of reduplication see 3.1.1.).
331.1	-ha	objective → (generally with singular S^{a} ending in 131 or 132; reduction occurs: -ʔ + -ha > -ʔa)
331.2	-hta	objective → (with a group of S^{a} ending in a bilabial consonant + I)
331.3	-i	objective → (with a group of S^{a} ending in -tO and -cO without assimilation and reduction; occurs with S^{a} other than all above, and after 311, 321, or 322, with assimilation and reduction)[6]

2. Stem formation. Comanche stems are derived according to the formulae below. Patterns of stem formation do not coincide with stem classes. In these formulae a root (R) is a morpheme, free or bound, to which

[104]

[194]

[6] Final back vowels become voiced front vowels on the same level. The resulting vowel cluster is reduced by loss of the second member. 'yuhhu *grease* > *'yuhhii > 'yuhhi *grease* (object); 'wihtua *bucket* > *'wihtuei > 'wihtue *bucket* (object). When following 311 and 321 or 322, the assimilation applies to both morphemes. 'sonipĪnII *grass* (plural) > *'sonipĪnIII > 'sonipĪnii *grass* (plural object); 'husiyanīh *songs* (dual) > *'husiyanīhi > 'husiyanihi *songs* (dual object).

Examples of alternants 331.1 and 331.2: 'waʔooʔ *cat* > 'waʔooʔa *cat* (object); 'pīhīsīkīi *peach* > 'pīhīsīkīiha *peach* (object); 'tosahwI *silver* > 'tosahwihta *silver* (object); 'tosiitO *hoof* > 'tosiitoi *hoof* (object).

A stem which does not fit the pattern: 'yīhnI *porcupine* > 'yīhne *porcupine* (object).

[p.95-A]

193 derivational affixes may be attached, or with
104 which other roots may be compounded. R_1 is a free root. A stem (S) is a root, with or without derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes may be attached, or which functions as an uninflected particle.

193 Stems contain only one stress, generally on the first syllable, or none at all in the case of
194 clitic stems. Examples: 'puhihwI *money*, 'to?I *pipe*, 'tīrī?ai *work*, wa'sape *bear*, nī-'ɲia? *my mother*.

193 Formulae for stem formation cover observed formations, but do not imply that any root may occur in all possible formational combinations.

R_1 = S. 'pui? *eye*, 'wa?oo? *cat*, '?ara? *cross uncle*, 'tīhka *eat*, 'mi?a *go*, 'haa *yes*.

110 + R = S. 'tahpaana *sole of foot* < 117 + -paana *palm*; tahto'koo *big toe* < 117 + -to'koo *first digit*; mahto'koo *thumb* < 112 + -to'koo *first digit*; tah'tua *little toe*; 'co?nika? *hat* < 114 + -nika? *push into*; 'soko-kī ma-'ci?nikatī-nī? *I am sticking it into the ground* < 119 + -nika? *push into*; ma'cihorarī-nī? *I am digging it (with a stick or spade)* < 111 + hora *dig*; ?u-'hu?kʷĪri-?a?i-nī? *I spilled it with my back* < 116 + kʷĪri?a *spill*.

120 + R ± 130 = S. 'ɲaʁoopĪ *picture* < 121 + 'poo *draw* + 131; 'narīhka *groceries* < 121 + 'tīhka *eat*.

120 + (110 + R)[7] = S. 'narohtīkʷa?i-?inĪ *you hit yourself (with hand)* < 121 + (113 + tīkʷa *hit*).

R + 130 = S. 'tīhka? *table* < 'tīhka *eat* + 132; 'piapĪ *big* < 'pia- *big* + 131; 'tīhkapĪ *meat*; 'poopĪ *drawing* < 'poo *draw* + 131; 'huupI *tree* < 'huu- *wood, log, tree* + 133; 'paapI *head* < 'paa- *head* + 133; 'tenahpī? *man* < 'tenah- *man* + 134.

R + S = S (in which the S preceding the equation sign may be any stem including the resultant of this formula; however, the maxi-

[7] Immediate constituents are divided in this way because *120 + 110 (without R) never occurs. 110 + R = S above, but S cannot be substituted for 110 + R here because S resulting from other formulae do not occur with 120.

[p. 95-B]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

121 0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that 121 there are rhythm patterns which are 194 arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

121 194 emphatic stress and attentative rhythm[3] (and by particles), but pitch contour is conditioned by other factors.

121 A minimum of intonational contrast has previously been reported for Oto,[4] another Indian language of Oklahoma, but languages with little or no contrastive pitch system have not generally been described. In Oto intonational contrast occurs only on exclamations. Comanche however has not [194] even that minimum of pitch contrast.

In discussing the nature of intonation, Bolinger has declared that it is 'both conventional and instinctive', that the physiological tension which is the basis of intonation can be 'trained out' (which, he feels, accounts for lexical pitch systems), and that English intonation is not an arbitrary structure because we do not 'occasionally deliberate about our choice of contours'.[5]

On the other hand, without denying the physiological basis of any part of speech or denying the close physiological association of GRADIENT differences of pitch, or of intensity of stress, this paper would lend weight to an understanding of the 'arbitrariness' of intonational SYSTEMS where they occur. Lan- 121 guages range from the complicated and 194 contrastive system structure of English intonation to the lack of any such contrastive structure in Comanche.

The data presented here will show that in Comanche length, stress, and rhythm are interconnected in their distribution and mutual conditioning, patterning together in the total phonological structure,[6] and that

[3] A distinctive rhythm pattern with meaning 'attention here' (see 2).

[113] [4] Kenneth L. Pike, The Intonation of American English, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 21.

[113] [5] Dwight E. Bolinger, Comments on Pike's American English Intonation, SIL 5.69-70 (1947).

[113] [6] For a tentative list of other Comanche Pho-

[p. 297-B]

194 [121] an adequate description of the phonology must include phonemic rhythm. The prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by [104] such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /ˌ/. ˌˈtenahˌpɪʔˌcaʔ ˌˈpiʂiaˌnakIˌkatɪˌˈpuʔ-etu ˌˈmiʔaarĪ *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* ˌˈnameˌwahˌsīk=IˌtII ˌˈpiʂiaˌkahniˌnII *eight big houses.*

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[113] [104] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /,/ anticipation pause, /./ non-anticipation pause, /ˈ/ emphatic stress, /ˌ/ rhythm marker, and /ˌˌ/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [Ī], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

[p. 298-A]

194 Rhythm units in sequence tend to have perceptually the same timing, with some fluctuation and variation. So important is this timing that rhythm units of one, two, or even three syllables are sometimes perceptually alike in duration. In the following example the rhythm unit ˌʔa (because of the accompanying pause) is perceptually of the same length as such sequences as ˌˈparïʁo. ˌˈʔiknī? ˌˈkahnikĬ ˌˈʔikahˌciʔ, ˌˈtīʁooˈʔa, ˌˈtīʁooˌpha, ˌˈtīhkaˌʔa, ˌˈnakarīˌʔa, ˌˈtīasī, ˌˈparïʁooˌʔa, ˌˈpuniʔ *As I come into the room I see the pencil, the paper, the table, the chair, and the pen.* In sentence (21) of the text[6] (6.1) there is some variation in timing due to the disparity of number of syllables in the units, but there is a tendency toward perceptual equalization wherever possible.

This perceptual regularity of rhythm unit timing is accomplished by several devices including pause (as in the example of the paragraph above) and the non-phonemic lengthening of a consonant to keep a phonemically short vowel relatively so and yet preserve the perceptual length of rhythm unit time.[7] ˌˈpiaroˌsaʁĬˌt[·]Ĭ nīˌˈkahnicaʔ ˌˈkuhcuʔ ˌmaʔĬ *My big white house burned down.* ˌˈsīˌmanoˌwïmĬˌnaˌt[·]ĬĬ ˌˈteˌnaˌnīī *nine men.* In sentence (9) of the text there occurs the example ˌˈtïmaˌrïˌm[·]uakuˌʁai *lots of water*; in sentence (18): ˌsuniˌˈnah[·]ˌkatĬ *staying as he was.* In cases of irregularity of number of syllables in the rhythm group there may occasionally be no timing compensation, and irregular timing may occur. See text (20): ʔuˌˈtïrïcʔˌtïhˌciʔˌnīī *his dear little children*, where there is no adequate compensation for the disparity between the

[6] Section 6, Illustrative text will appear in a later issue of IJAL.

(104) [7] In the otherwise phonemic transcriptions of data in this paragraph the non-phonemic length is enclosed in brackets [·]. In the first example the consonant length is necessitated by the fact that voiceless vowels occur shorter than voiced vowels.

[p.298-B]

194 number of syllables in the respective rhythm units.

Rhythmic structural contrasts exist within utterances and between utterances, and the rhythm pattern of a given morpheme or sequence of morphemes is not always the same. In the following examples the sequence of morphemes ˈnī-mi-kuhcu? *buffalo* occurs with different rhythm patterns. ˌˈnīmīˌkuhˌcu?a ˌˈkumaˌīīˌca? ˌˈpiaˌʁīhīˌkʷahˌtītu ˌˈtooˌyīkaˌrīī *The buffalo bulls are grazing out on the prairie.* ˌˈsooˌtīīˌca? ˌˈpueˌkʷaci?ˌnīmīˌkuhcu? ˌnīmīˌˈpiaˌʁīhīˌkʷahˌtītu ˌˈtooˌyīkaˌrīī *Those wild buffalo are grazing out on the prairie.* Compare also the morpheme ˈ?ahpī? *father* in text sentences (17) and (20), ˈtīasī *also* in (4) and (8), ˈmekī *said* in (2) and (3), ˈsurīkse? in (4) and (8).

Rhythm stress generally coincides with lexical stress where it occurs (see 2), but in some utterances lexical stress may be suppressed by rhythm. In such a case the high pitch feature of lexical stress is left to mark the point of its placement (see 4). In the following examples wherever rhythm stress does not coincide with lexical stress /ˌˈ/, but lexical stress occurs without rhythm /ˈ/, the lexical stress should be read with high pitch but no stress. nīˌˈrua ˈrīˌtaatī ˌˈyuupĪˌca? nīˌˈnīasīˌmapĪru ˌˈnīmiitĪ *My fat little son is in the yard.* ˌˈsurīkˌse? ˌˈsu?aˌna ˈ?uˌrīīkĪ ˌˈʁihˌtīn *He took it out of the water.* Other examples may be found in text sentences (6), (11), (12), (14), (15), (19), and (20).

[104]

The rhythm units between pauses (/ˌ/ or /./[a]) comprise a rhythm group. There are more likely to be differences of timing between rhythm groups than between rhythm units of the same group. In text sentence (1), for example, the rhythm group ˌˈpekʷi ˌʁīˌˈtīrīˌeˌtīīˌmaˌ?ai *a fish with his children* occurs with even timing but different timing from the rhythm groups preceding or following. There is also a marked change of timing between the final rhythm group and those

[a] See 4.

[p. 299-A]

194 preceding it in (15). So far as has been ascertained at present, such differences are fluctuant and not meaningful.

194 The only association between rhythm and meaning differences so far detected is in 196 situations demanding attention ('attentative') as in imperative constructions and the drawing of exaggerated attention to words or specific parts of utterances. This rhythm pattern consists of a deliberate, slow rhythm with few syllables to the rhythm unit and marked extra lengthening. It may optionally [104] correlate with emphatic stress. In the following illustrations attentative rhythm (symbolized /‖/ for each rhythm unit with which it occurs) should be read with each modified syllable long, and such rhythm units containing vowel clusters with exaggerated length. ‖ˈ?orii ‖ˈnīmĪ‖kuh‖cu?‖nii ‖ˈpuuni *Look at those buffalo!* ‖ˈpia‖rīksĪ‖-kīpĪ ‖ˈkima ‖ˈ?inU‖ni‖tU *Beefsteak,* (nickname of a person) *come here!* Text examples may be found in sentences (5), (7), (8).

194 2. The contrastive placing of lexical stress may be seen in the following words: ˈtosahwI *silver,* waˈsape *bear,* mahtoˈkoo *thumb,* kuyuˈ-ni?nII *turkeys,* nīmĪˈkuhcu? *our* (pl.) *cow,* ˈnīmīkuhcu? *buffalo.*

Emphatic stress, which occurs occasionally for affective purposes, always coincides in point of placement with lexical stress. (See text sentences (9), (13), (14), (18).) Emphatic stress is used to give extra intensity to a situation, and not as in English to emphasize one word as against another. It may occur on a single point of lexical stress or at several such points in sequence. The distribution of lexical stress is most prevalent on one of the first three syllables of a word[9] and most often on the first syllable of a root or compound.

3. Interpretation of vowel length. Contrastive length of vowel may be seen in

[104] [9] The word is defined by implication as an intrapotential in Formulae pp. 98, 99. It is written bounded by space.

[p. 299-B]

194 such pairs as ˈʔurī *that one* vs. ˈʔurīī *those*, ˈtĩhkati *the one eating* (obj.) vs. ˈtĩhkatii *the ones eating* (obj.), ˈsookonai *lots of water* (obj.) vs. ˈsokona *on the ground*, ˈmeeku *now* vs. ˈmekI *said*. These phonetically contrastive vowel lengths are interpreted phonemically as a sequence of two identical vowels by analogy to other VV sequences as ˈmĩa *moon*, ˈpĩeckU *tomorrow*, ˈpiapĨ *big*, ˈʔĩhpĩi *sleep*, ˈtuaʔ *son*, ˈtuinĩhpĩʔ *boy*, and ˈtĩrieʔtĩi *children*.[10]

Single vowels or sequences of identical vowels maintain their relative contrast except under conditions of morphemic alternation but the relative amount of difference in length between the two is conditioned by rhythm and position in the utterance. Sequences of identical vowels before pause (either /./ or /,/, see **4**) are generally extra long. Non-phonemic modification of length is conditioned by rhythm as follows. (1) Within the same rhythm group (but not before pause) a sequence of identical vowels is perceptibly longer than a single vowel, but not as long as if before pause. (2) A single vowel in a rhythm unit containing only one syllable with only one vowel will still contrast with a rhythm unit containing a sequence of vowels or two syllables, even when the timing is maintained as approximately the same, by a non-phonemic compensatory lengthening of a following consonant or by slight pause if the short syllable comes at a point of optional pause (see **1**). (3) When two parts of the utterance occur with rhythm groups which contain varying numbers of rhythm units, the relative contrast between single vowels and sequences of identical vowels applies only within the rhythm group be-

[128]

[10] We cannot here decide the question as to whether or not such sequences constitute two syllables or one. For purposes of description here they are assumed to be one. So far as prosodic evidence is concerned, the evidence of pitch level would lend weight to interpretation as single syllables, whereas rhythm stress may occasionally occur on the second member of such a cluster as in ˌtĩrĩ]eʔˌtĩĩ [6.1 (1), (2)].

[p. 300-A]

194 cause a vowel of one group may be non-phonemically longer than a sequence of another group. In text sentence (21), ˌˈtihtīˌtaayuˌtuʔiˌnīī *ones who will be little* at least three perceptible phonetic vowel lengths occur. taa is phonemically long but phonetically shorter than nīī because the latter occurs alone in a rhythm group and the former does not. taa is shown to be phonemically long by its contrast with several short vowels in the same rhythm group.

4. The importance of rhythm (as limited as its affective meanings seem to be) is accentuated by the complete conditioning of pitch contours. In Comanche all utterances occur with the same relative intonational pitch contour. That contour may be described roughly as high pitch on lexically stressed syllables and regular pitch elsewhere, but there are other modifying factors which must be described.

194 104 Three basic phonetic pitch differences have been distinguished on voiced vowels:[11] pitch level[1] (high) occurs on lexically stressed syllables, sometimes with a slight drop on the end of a VV sequence. The height of pitch is correlative with the contrast between lexical and emphatic stress, extra height being sometimes associated with emphatic stress. Pitch level[2] (mid) occurs elsewhere except for optional[3] (low) before /./.

Variations of these pitches are: [1] > [1a] (high-falling glide) on stressed syllables which contain an identical VV cluster if the syllable is the last voiced syllable of the word (i.e., if the following syllable contains no voiced segments). [1] ≥ [2a] (slightly higher than [2]) optionally preceding lexical stress within a word. [2] > [2a] (mid falling

[11] The superscript numbers, assigned to pitch differences which have been heard, have no significance except that of labels for phonetic phenomena. Examples in this section will be transcribed phonemically except for the pitch symbol in brackets with each syllable.

[p. 300-B]

194 to low) optionally on unstressed syllables containing a VV sequence before /./.
[104] ˈʔa[1]ˈnaa[1a]. (exclamation); ʔo[2a]ˈnoo[1a]. (exclamation); ˌˈʔī[1]ˌʀia[2]ro[2]ˌko[2]ʔI. (exclamation); ˌˈʔī[1a], ˌˈsī[1]ma[2]nuʔ[2], ˌˈwa[1]-na[2]ˌwi[2]ˌwih[2]ˌtaʔ[2], ˌˈsī[1]ma[2]ˌnai[2]ˌku[2] ˈna[1]ˌʀo[2]ri[2] ˌˈʔu[1]ra[2]ʔI *Oh, I found a dollar bill!*; ˌˈʔu[2]sī[2a] ˌˈha[1]kaa[2]rī[1] *Who's that?*; nī[2a]ˌˈha[1]kai[2], ˌˈyī[1a]kʷI *What shall I say?*; ˌˈkee[1a] nī[2]ˌˈrī[1]ʀooʔ[2]ˌmaʔ[2] *No, that's my pencil!*

194 A check of texts, both narrative and
128 conversational, made on tape recording, and observation of Comanche speech in other situations than informant ones, revealed that this one pattern with its variants occurs on all utterances.

[104] The distinction made here between /,/ anticipatory pause, and /./ non-anticipatory pause, is as follows. Non-anticipatory pause is a pause preceded or followed by a modification of pitch or rhythm. It may be preceded by a drop of intonation to [1] or [1a]. It may be preceded by a dropping of the general height of voice through the utterance and followed by a sudden raising of voice height at the beginning of the next utterance. It may be followed by a quickened tempo of rhythm in the beginning of the next rhythm group. Anticipatory pause, on the other hand, is a pause without any modification of the pitch or rhythm of preceding or following utterances.

194 /./ may coincide with grammatical sentence units or may group several such grammatical units. In the text compare (1),
[104] (2), (3), etc., where the non-anticipatory pause coincides with grammatical units, and the latter parts of the text where fewer such pauses occur. /,/ anticipatory pause, may occur at any potential (symbolized here by space).

[p. 301-A]

10: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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5. Some of the prosodic features described above occur occasionally in gradient degrees of difference. The range between non-phonemic pitches may vary without structural contrast under situations of extra stimulus.[12]

The total contour of an utterance or part of an utterance may be raised gradiently, especially in quotation situations, so that the quotation is optionally spoken on a higher pitch. This is true of text examples (2) and (7) but not of others which contain quoted materials. When the gradient raising occurs, the same relative contours, conditioned by stresses, vowel clusters and pause, are maintained, but all are gradiently higher.

Rhythm units may likewise be slowed or extended gradiently from normal speech to that of sleepy or tired situations. The non-structured variation lacks the intensity and precision of attentative rhythm types.

[12] Gradient differences of pitch in English or Comanche as opposed to the structured contrastive levels of English, are more directly associated with the physiological conditioning of which Bolinger speaks (see fn. 5). Physiological tension may vary the range between English phonemic pitch levels, as it may vary the range between the levels of languages with phonemic lexical tone, but so long as there is a point in any speech context beyond which the meaning changes, the levels are arbitrarily contrastive and not physiologically conditioned. Pike points out to me that the contrast between John, John, John, (with tone 4-3, 4-2, 4-1 respectively), may be maintained in normal voice, falsetto, or laryngealised speech ('low voice') and that the range may be small or great, but WITHIN ANY SPEECH STYLE THE CONTRAST IS PRESENT AND ARBITRARY, not 'instinctive' or 'physiologically' determined. The contrast is a conventionally structured one even though high pitch may be associated with emotional tension.

[p. 301-B]

195 from the above list, is another feature: tΐtfi
193 is said by little girls for tΐ·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammati-
195 cal function in the child's speech. Various phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pfhI for kwΐhΪ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for I as tiás for tΐas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwΐtA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study
195 of the above list of baby words. First, it must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple:
194 there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

[p. 13-A]

25: Canonge L-5 (1948 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

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0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

[113] [1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114] My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[115] Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113] [2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

194 121 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[8]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'kuʔ-okʷekʷaiʔu *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔokʷEkʷaiʔu *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phonological junctures are the same. The grammatical structure is also comparable: each begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku- *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -kʷa *movement away*, the morpheme -i *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔu *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔokʷe means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

194 193 196

[8] idem. 26.

[p. 63-B]

194 *in the following morpheme*, whereas the
196 stem ʔokʷE is a complex stem composed of
193 ʔokʷe modified by the addition of the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing, and which has the semantic implication of *stem meaning resulting in action indicated by the following morpheme.*

194 Brought about by the occurrence of this same stem-final-unvoicing morpheme, and preceding -ki *movement toward*, similar contrasts between voiced and voiceless vowels can be observed, e.g. 'norinakikiʔu? *he came to pack* versus 'norinakIkiʔu? *he packed and came on.* Again, no phonological or morphological conditioning factors are present. Similar contrasts can be seen in 'mayakekiʔu? *he came to play* (e.g. *the piano*), 'mayakEkiʔu? *he played and came on*; ʔu'hanikikiʔu? *he came to fix it for him* versus ʔu'hanikIkiʔu? *he fixed it for him and came on*; ʔu'niʔaciki?u? *he came to advise him* compared with ʔu'niʔacIkiʔu? *he advised him and came on.* Another contrast preceding -kʷa can be observed in 'namakaʔmukikʷaiʔu? *he went to dress himself* versus 'namaka'mukIkʷaiʔu? *he dressed himself and went on.* -ki and -kʷa are interchangeable in any of the illustrations listed above.

2. Utilization of analogous data should prove profitable, contrasting /u/ /U/, /o/ /O/, /e/ /E/. Thus ʔu'ʔuhtukiʔu? *he came to give to her* contrasts with ʔu'ʔutUkiʔu? *he gave to her and came on*; 'nohkokiʔu? *she came to bake biscuits* with 'nokOkiʔu? *she baked biscuits and came on*; and ʔu'manahkekiʔu? *he came to measure it* with ʔu'manakEkiʔu? *he measured it and came on.* These same stems occur with similar resultant contrasts preceding -kʷa.

Nothing in these word pairs is of such a nature or in such a position as to make a non-phonemic conditioning variation from voiced to voiceless a characteristic of the vowel. The theoretical possibility of /U/ /O/ being conditioned by voiced equivalents occurring in contiguous syllables preceding these voiceless vowels is partially eliminated

[p. 64-A]

194 by the occurrence of /E/ in a similar construction in which the preceding voiced vowel is not identical with it, that is, /a/. Instances of vowel assimilation have been observed, e.g. -ruʔI *future tense* occurs as -rōʔI in 'nohkoroʔIʔu ʔ *she is going to bake biscuits*. Here, however, a change of vocalic timbre is involved rather than a change of voiced to voiceless. A more pertinent analogy may be noted in 'sikItīʔu ʔ *it is here*, 'sokOrīʔu ʔ *it is over there*, 'sukUrīʔu ʔ *it is out of sight* and might seem to imply some sort of vowel agreement. However, e, indicating *scattered items*, occurring in a similar construction, results in 'sekItīʔurīī *they are here and there*, not *'sekEtīʔurīī.

Furthermore, limited instances of the occurrence of /U/ and /O/ in environments in which neighboring voiced vowels are not of the same vocoidal timbre with them have been observed, e.g. ʔu'hotUkonīī *its hindquarters* and 'tuukOnenīʔ'ʙunīʔ *I saw a black cradle*, in which the voiceless phoneme /U/ is preceded and followed noncontiguously by voiced /o/, and in which the voiceless phoneme /O/ is preceded and followed noncontiguously by voiced /u/ and /e/ respectively.

The influence of neighboring voiced vowels as a criterion for predicting the distribution of the particular vocalic timbre of the voiceless vowels can be ruled out since voiceless vowels occur in contrast in identical environment where no conditioning element is present, as in 'ʔicaʔnī'rūpI *this is my stone* compared with 'ʔicaʔnī'rūpE *this is my mouth*; and in nonconditioning analogous environment, e.g. 'ʔicaʔnī'kūkA *this is my onion*, 'ʔicaʔnīʔhūkI *this is my arbor*, 'ʔicaʔnīʔeekO *this is my tongue*.

In the analogy 'ʔuhtu-, 'ʔutU-; 'nohko-, 'nokO-; the presence or absence of /h/ (phonetically [U] or [O] in these instances) as a possible conditioning factor can be discounted since /h/ does occur (though rarely) contiguous to a syllable containing a voiceless vowel syllabic, as in nī'ʔuhtl *give it to me* compared with 'kimA *come!* or 'ʔicaʔnī-

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194 wahcĬ *this is my rib* versus ʼʔicaʔnīʼnakI *this is my ear.*

It may be noted here, furthermore, that there is frequently morpho-phonemic alternation between a pre-consonantal /h/ and a post-consonantal voiceless vowel preceding certain suffixes. Compare the stem alternants ʼpohpi- and ʼpopI- before the suffix -tuʔI *future tense* and -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* in the illustrations ʼpohpituʔInīʔ *I am going to jump* and ʼpopIcinīʔʼmiaruʔI *having jumped, I will go.*

The contrast /a/, /A/ is extremely rare due to the low frequency of occurrence of /A/ and its frequent morpho-phonemic alternation with /Ĭ/. Whereas the analogies ʼpohpi-, ʼpopI-; ʼcoʔme-, ʼcoʔmE-; ʼʔuhtu-, ʼʔutU- preceding -ki, -kʷa and other morphemes are common, the analogy ʼtīhka-, ʼʼtīkA- would be erroneous. Rather, the second form would be ʼtīkĬ-. However, preceding -ci *dependent completed action by the subject* and ci, a syllable in the stem ʼniʔaci- *to advise*, a valid contrast can be observed, e.g. ʼmiʔAcinīʔʼtīhkaruʔI *having gone, I will eat* versus ʔuʼniʔaciki ʔuʔ *he came to advise him.*

128 The preceding illustrations have given crucial contrastive data for each of the six vowel pairs. The following miscellaneous sets of forms supplement those given above and the phonemicization postulated in reference to them.

194 In the first set of examples, the contrast between /i/, /I/ occurs following stops and preceding the identical morpheme -nīī *plural*, e.g. ʼpapinīī *heads*, ʼnakInīī *ears*, 194 ʼtīnoowapInīī *teachers*, ʼtoʔInīī *pipes*. Note that it was a pair of this type which Jakob- 114 son used for his spectrographic analysis: ʼtīrīʔaiwapInīī *hired hands* and ʼtīpinīī 114 *stones*. At the time the tape was sent to him, the minimal pairs quoted above had not been discovered and none occur in the data of Riggs and Smalley. Nevertheless, the earlier data of contrast in analogous (non-conditioning) environment appeared to all

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114 of us conclusive even before the newer minimal pairs had been discovered and which have been included above.

194 In a specialized verb compound composed of noun plus verb, /i/, /I/ contrast preceding juncture in the set 'papiwīnĬkatīnī? *I have a headache* compared with 'nakIwīnĬkatīnī? *I have an earache.*

As the first syllable of a two syllable stem, the contrast /i/, /I/ may occur in stem syllables *not* contiguous to another morpheme following, as in the set 'tīkᵛiɪukitī?u? *he is whipping* (*something*) compared with ?u'kīkᵛIya?etī?u? *he habitually tastes it.* Here, the stem in the second instance is -kᵛIya- so that the unvoicing is not a product in this instance of a change at morpheme boundaries. Possible conditioning by the morpheme kī- *use of mouth or teeth* preceding, can be discounted by 'kī?okᵛetī?u? *he is slobbering,* in which the vowel in the syllable following kī- is voiced, i.e. /o/.

Though the morphemes -kī *benefactive* and -ki *movement toward* differ morphologically, in the following set they present a phonologically nonconditioning environment in which to contrast /e/, /E/, e.g. ?u'wīhtokᵛekītī?u? *he is killing for her* versus ?urii'wīhtokᵛEkitī?u? *he is killing them and coming on.*

The next sets of illustrations show contrast between /ī/ and /Ĭ/. They can be observed, for example, preceding -ka *stative* and -?e *habitual* in ?u'karīkī?etī?u? *she habitually cooks it* compared with ?u'karīkĬkatī?u? *she is cooking it.* Note also the occurrence of voiced /ī/ preceding -ru?I *future tense* compared with the voiceless phoneme /Ĭ/ within a complex verb stem, as in the constructions 'pitīru?I?u? *he will arrive* and 'patĬrīyaai?u? *he drowned.* Preceding the dependent clause clitic -ku *dependent action being performed by secondary subject* and -ka, a like clitic denoting *completed dependent action,* a similar contrast is noted, e.g. ?uhka?u'karīkīkuma?'mi?a?I *as she was boiling that, he went* versus ?uhka?u'karīkĬkama?'mi?a?I *when he boiled that, he went.*

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194 Contrast in a slightly different type of situation can be seen in the following instances in which /ï/, /Ï/ occur in syllables immediately preceded by morphemes, e.g. following nï- *person* and wï- *instrumental* in 'nïpikarï?u? *he is burying someone* and ?u'wïpÏkarï?u? *he is cutting it open.* However, stem syllables do not always unvoice following wï- as in ?u'wïnucai?u? *he broke it up* compared with ?u'wïnÏkï?i?u? *he tightened it.* The phonetic similarity of the syllable ka immediately following the contrast in the first set presents a valid nonconditioning environment in which to compare the occurrence of /ï/, /Ï/. Furthermore, ka in each instance is a part of different unrelated stems (-pïka- *to bury*, -pÏka- *to cut open*) so that no morpheme boundary is involved.

Another type of analogical data is herewith mentioned, e.g. ?u'wïminaru?I?u? *he will break it* compared with ?u'wïmInaru?-I?u? *he will get sick over it.* The second example is written phonetically as [?u'wïMInaru?I?u?]. This constitutes a legitimate contrast since the allophones [m], [M] are conditioned by their relationship to vowels and not vice versa. That is to say, the total distribution of the phones [M], [N], [R], [W], [Y], [P], [k^{w}], as opposed to their allophonic voiced equivalents, is preceding voiceless vowels. These voiceless consonant phones do not contrast with their voiced equivalents at any point, whereas voiceless vowel phonemes do contrast with their voiced vowel phoneme equivalents following /p/, /t/, /k/, etc. Other examples are ?u'hanïki?u? *he came to do it* compared with ?u'hanIki?u? *he did it and came on*; ?u'-rïrïnitï?u? *he told him to do something* versus ?u'rïrÏni?i?u? *he planted it*; and 'norïnaki?u? *she packed up* compared with 'norÏnaki?u? *she came to make a bed.*

3. Phonetic voiceless vocoids in nonsyllabic position are phonemically interpreted as consonantal /h/ because of their

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194 noncontrastive phonetic characteristics. In postposed position, e.g. ['paAkipĬ], /'pahkipĬ/ *leather*, ['wiInu], /'wihnu/ *then*, ['noOkopĬ], /'nohkopĬ/ *biscuits*, ['paAMU], /'pahmU/ *tobacco*, ['seEka], /'sehka/ *those here and there*, ['tiĬkapĬ], /'tihkapĬ/ *meat*, such vocoids always occur contiguous to, and have the same vocalic timbre as the voiced vowel syllabic. Such sequences as *aĬ, *iU, *oE, with diverse timbre between voiced and voiceless, are structurally impossible in Comanche. In [cvV] syllables, the voiced vowel is clearly heard as the peak of sonority. Thus, the distribution of /h/ in 'pohpi- *to jump* parallels the distribution of the consonant /ʔ/ in 'naʔnïmïnü *relatives*.

Similarly, pre-syllabic voiceless vocoids in utterance initial syllables, e.g. ['UuuUpI], /'huuhpI/ *tree*, ['AaʔnII], /'haʔnii/ *beaver*, ['ĬükI], /'hükI/ *brush arbor*, more closely parallel consonant distribution since all consonants except /ʁ/ and /r/ occur utterance initially, whereas voiced vowels do not. In addition, the vocoidal timbre of the pre-syllabic element here is completely conditioned by that of the following voiced vowel so that no vocoid sequence such as *Ĭa, *Ui, *Eo ever occurs.

Pre-syllabic voiceless vocoids also occur in the middle of words following /ʔ/, e.g., as in the sequence cvʔVv in ['naʔĬimuukU], /'naʔhïmuukU/ *safety pin*. Interpretation of [V] as /h/ in this position reasonably follows since this position is otherwise normally occupied by consonants. For example, note 'ciʔciikiʔuʔ *he strangled*, ʔu'roʔnikaiʔuʔ *he put it away*. Here again, the voiceless vocoid in [cvʔVv] is completely conditioned by the following voiced vowel.

Phonetic voiceless vocoids occurring between voiced vowels have no distinguishing vocalic timbre, being phonetically colored at beginning and ending by the respective contiguous voiced vowels, as in 'nohituʔIniʔ *I am going to play*. Here, the phoneme /h/ is phonetically a vocoidal slur from a

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194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOli-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukĪni *a stable*, 'naBUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /Ī/ of 'puhakĪni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The
194 mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may
195 vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.

194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her
114 Analysis B in which consonant clusters
121 resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hB and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

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194 sonants for ʔs, ʔm, ʔy, etc., which would
114 reduce the number of consonant clusters to
121 zero but would produce thirteen more new phonemes. All possible combinations of ʔ followed by a consonant occur except ʔʔ.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ʔc and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ʰ'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ʰ'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

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33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
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221 224 **The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the** 181 **finest horsemen of the plains and bore a** [186] **reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-** 142 **son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-** 197 **guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.** [194] **It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.**

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still 101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands 621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most [115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Temawa or Tenahwit; Waaih. 101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Be'dälk'ïnago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Dec., vi, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beauvais, Ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Cortiss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 629, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 2, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 34, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumechas.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Da'ta'-as.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

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9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

602 daughter; in the same way, a girl who has been reared to a large extent by her
601 grandmother, especially if she is an orphan, or illegitimate, will be called "daughter," and will reciprocate by calling her grandmother "mother." It is interesting to note that these relationships, however artificial they may be, are always consistent. A person will never use a special relationship term toward another unless this other reciprocates by using an appropriate term toward the first.

The closer terms of kinship which we have just seen substituted for more distant correct terms are also extended in their application to non-related or little-known people toward whom one wishes to show friendliness or respect. Thus a man will usually call a stranger "father," or "mother's father," depending on his age—this latter term is considered to denote the closest relationship, as far as warmth and dependence go, of the two grandfathers.

More formalized are such usages as the reciprocal joking which goes on between grandparents and grandchildren, which operates largely by means of their using various sets of kinship terms and then making jokes about their consequences; this will be considered in more detail in the next section. Also, if
[572] two persons standing in a certain relationship to each other each have close friends of the same sex as themselves, these two friends may playfully adopt
[195] parallel relationship terms toward each other. The terms in this case have a phonetic pattern slightly different from the normal usage.

Perhaps of the same nature is the custom whereby two young men may call each other *nïmïlï'·i?*, "our girl friends," to signalize some affair which they had with two girls who were friends; this usage is said sometimes to continue throughout life, though no instances were recorded.

In these examples it is evident that the universal applicability of kinship terminology and the choices of relationships which are presented, together with extensions of its usage outside of genealogically traceable relatives, make this system a remarkably flexible tool in the hands of its users. With the selection of terms there is, apparently, a selection of behavior patterns also, always followed consistently by both parties involved.

The Comanche seem to follow the usual custom in regard to more distant relationships, wherein the behavior patterns found in the immediate family become gradually less distinct and demanding, and more permissive in nature, providing opportunities for fulfilling them to any degree which the person wishes. Yet some aspects of behavior appear to persist very strongly; this is well exemplified by the alternation of sister and joking relationships already mentioned.

It remains now to see what these behavior patterns are which are associated with the relationship terms, and to what extent there is a distinct pattern for each term.

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593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *iī'rīʔaiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

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men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size. 595 [556]

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it. 607

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *tatêʔcɪ*, and for tarantula, *pi'hīreʔcɪ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. [195] [522]

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

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607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made 522 flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nīmī'âra'*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lē'ci*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'pī'*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nīmī'ara'*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart" liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nīmī'ára'* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership. 607 195

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law. 606

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own [591]

11: Casagrande E.L-S (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

197 another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (?, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ḫ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ? and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced other phonemes (? or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[197]

[113] [14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445–502, p. 476 (1940).

[113] [15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11–4 (1948).

[113] [16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229–31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^{y} and g^{w} commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^{w} respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[27]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tīvo·pĬ *paper*—nīrīvo·pĬ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final Ĭ in such a word as tihkapĬ *food*, is often heard as simple aspira-
[192] tion. Also, other consonants may occur finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

(113) [27] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

[p. 146-B]

193 Bound particle stems also function in
196 compounding:

-wahtĬ *without* (-wah + -tĬ, nominalizer), noyowahtĬ *without testicles*—a personal name; navukuwá·? *automobile* (na-, reflexive + pu·kU *horse* + -wahtĬ *without*. The ending presumably represents reduction to a syllabic pattern common for many plant and animal names—see 3.2.).

-katĬ *possessor of* (-ka + -tĬ, nominalizer), puhakatĬ *medicine-man* (puha *supernatural power* + -katĬ). Both of the above are commonly used in personal and animal names.

193 **3.9.** Reduplication, a very important
196 technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be restricted to the inflection for the dual and plural forms of qualitative stems and a limited group of kinship and status terms. There are several patterns of reduplication: $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$ or $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$: ?ekavĬ- *red*, becomes ?e?ekavĬtĭ·ca? *the red one*; and tĭta·tĬ *little one*, becomes tĭhtĭta·tĭnĭ· *little ones*. $C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$; ca·tietĬ *favorite child*, becomes ca·tĭrietĭnĭ· *favorite children*, and piava· *lake*, becomes piviava·nĭ· *lakes*. And $C_1V_1hC_2$ apparently becomes $C_1V_1hC_1V_1hC_2$; tahka? *sibling*, becomes tahtahkani· *siblings*.

It also seems possible that reduplication may be used with certain verb stems to convey an iterative meaning: ?ekayĭyĭka? *jelly, jam, jello* (?eka- *red* + yĭka *to shake* (?) + -?, nominalizer).

193 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in
196 some ejaculations ?ĭrĭrĭrĭrĭ· *I'm*, or *it's so hot*!. Reduplication also figures importantly
195 in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby words:[a] papá·? *water*; pepé·? *ball*; and tatá·? *food*.

193 **3.10.** A number of stem classes may be distinguished according to their distribution in relation to affixes and other stems, and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

[a] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, I JAL 14.11–4 (1948).

[p. 150 B]

192 words.[52] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[53]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[54] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[55]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[56] and they

[52] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 206-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [53] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[54] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[55] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [56] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

191 194 191 [124]

English has had another rather different influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

[177] [195]

[p. 242-A]

191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
195 there has been a direct extension of English
[177] word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipĬ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pĬ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĬ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kĩhtavicipĬ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipĬ *groin*
[551] *milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

(113) [142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

[p. 242-B]

1(: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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194
195

5. Some of the prosodic features described above occur occasionally in gradient degrees of difference. The range between non-phonemic pitches may vary without structural contrast under situations of extra stimulus.[12]

The total contour of an utterance or part of an utterance may be raised gradiently, especially in quotation situations, so that the quotation is optionally spoken on a higher pitch. This is true of text examples (2) and (7) but not of others which contain quoted materials. When the gradient raising occurs, the same relative contours, conditioned by stresses, vowel clusters and pause, are maintained, but all are gradiently higher.

Rhythm units may likewise be slowed or extended gradiently from normal speech to that of sleepy or tired situations. The non-structured variation lacks the intensity and precision of attentative rhythm types.

[12] Gradient differences of pitch in English or Comanche as opposed to the structured contrastive levels of English, are more directly associated with the physiological conditioning of which Bolinger speaks (see fn. 5). Physiological tension may vary the range between English phonemic pitch levels, as it may vary the range between the levels of languages with phonemic lexical tone, but so long as there is a point in any speech context beyond which the meaning changes, the levels are arbitrarily contrastive and not physiologically conditioned. Pike points out to me that the contrast between John, John, John, (with tone 4–3, 4–2, 4–1 respectively), may be maintained in normal voice, falsetto, or laryngealized speech ('low voice') and that the range may be small or great, but WITHIN ANY SPEECH STYLE THE CONTRAST IS PRESENT AND ARBITRARY, not 'instinctive' or 'physiologically' determined. The contrast is a conventionally structured one even though high pitch may be associated with emotional tension.

[p. 301-B]

17: Casagrande I L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to inform-
ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowl-
124 edge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanǽ·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[122] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

192 ?así·, ?a?sí· *rectum; feces, defecation; anything nasty.*

195 ?eroró·?, ?eró·?, ?etó·? *white man* [táivo·? *white man*].

?ítí·?, ?ítítít·? *it's hot!* (command to stay away); *fire, lamp, lightning, sun, flashlight, firewood; anything that will burn* [?ítí·?, ?ítítítí·?].

?í·kéta? *don't; let me alone.*

?í· exclamation of surprise (women or babies).

hí·, hí·kéta? as above; also used by adults; *don't* (scared).

?icí·?, ?icicicí·? *cover me, dress me, I'm cold; it's cold; command to stay away from something cold.* [?icí· used only as an exclamation].

?inî·? *insect; any small noxious animal, to babies when one wants child to be afraid of something or leave it alone; bug, snake, scorpion, ant, person;* exclamation of fright. [?ínî·].

?ú?tU *give it to me!* [?ú·tU].

?um·á? *good! nice! beautiful;* said by mother when she wants to comb child's hair, dress it; said to attract child's attention to clothes, toy; *anything bright or colorful that attracts the child: red, yellow, blue.*

?umó·?, mó·? *cattle, cow, bull* [onomatopoeia].

papá·? *I want a drink;* water [pá· *water*].

papó·?, popó·? *dog.*

pepé·? *ball* (it was said by one informant that this word was used only by girls as boys didn't play with balls) [na? sihpé·?].

pikí·? *pig* [English; pig, piggy].

tatá·? *something to eat, especially meat; I want, give me . . . ; eat!* [tí·kap *food, meat*].

tató·? *shoes, moccasins* [ta prefix meaning *foot:* tàhtokó·? *toe*].

tá?si *vagina* (tá?sip to baby when bouncing it on the knees. A personal name: *one who has a vagina*) [tá?I].

[p. 11-B]

192 **tutú·ʔ** *automobile, train, anything that whistles* [onomatopoeia].

195 **kaká·ʔ, kaká** *bird; head louse.*

kaní·ʔ *house, tipi* [kánhI].

kokó·ʔ *fruit, candy, cookies; any snack between meals;* give me. . . .

cikí·ʔ *chicken* [English].

cicí·ʔ *breast, bottle, milk, I want to be suckled!* [pícip *milk, breast*].

cíʔci ʔ, pícíʔ mother to child when she is going to nurse it.

mamá·ʔ *horse;* said by child when it wants to be carried on someone's back.

mamá·ʔ *mother* [English].

mukí·ʔ, mu·kí·ʔ *giant, owl, bogey* (to scare child) [related to **mú·pic**, the legendary *giant owl*].

mumú·ʔ used to scare child; child's exclamation of fright; *the dark, thunder; cow.*

naná·ʔ *it might hurt, get away; blood, sore, hurt;* said if baby doesn't feel well; if it is bitten or hurt by another child [see **ʔaná·**].

nínî·ʔ *doll; baby; little ones of animals; little. . . .*

nínicí·ʔ *dear little doll, baby* [related to the pronominal prefix, **nî-**, *I, me*].

waʔó·ʔ, wa·ʔó·ʔ *cat* [adult: **wáʔo·**].

ʔîʔsI, nîʔísik *cover me!* [adult: **ʔîhíkI, nîʔîhíkI**].

wîʔasI *penis* [adult: **wîʔA** (**wîʔasî ʔ** male personal name *one who has a penis*)].

The **sI** here, and also in the baby word for *vagina*, **táʔsI**, is probably derived from the diminutive suffix, **-cI**.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 195 **pia** *mother* (the regular adult word; there is no special baby word in common use).

pipiá said by some babies.

ʔapî·ʔ *father, father's brother, father's haic (friend)* [**ʔápI** address form; **ʔáhpî ʔ** reference form].

ʔatá·ʔ *mother's brother, husband of mother's friend* [**ʔárhA** address form; **ʔára ʔ** reference form].

pací·ʔ *older sister* [**pácI** address form; **páci ʔ** reference form].

[p. 12-A]

601 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form; **námi?** reference form].

195 taká·? *sibling* [tákA address form; **táka?** reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pávI address form; pávi? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; **káku?** reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kīnú·? *father's father* [kīnU address form; kīnu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first used for all grandparents. This suggests [591] matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned. 195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the re- 193 lated -sI to words; e.g., haicí·? for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[2] as might be inferred

[113] [2] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

[p. 12-B]

195 from the above list, is another feature: titfi
193 is said by little girls for tî·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammati-
195 cal function in the child's speech. Various phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pîhI for kwîhĪ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for I as tiás for tîas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·siʔ *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study of the above list of baby words. First, it
195 must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple:
194 there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukĪni *a stable*, 'naBUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /Ī/ of 'puhakĪni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may
195 vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.

194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her Analysis B in which consonant clusters
114 resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to
121 eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hs and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

[p.67-A]

194 sonants for ʔa, ʔm, ʔy, etc., which would
reduce the number of consonant clusters to
114 zero but would produce thirteen more new
121 phonemes. All possible combinations of ʔ
followed by a consonant occur except ʔʔ.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ʔc and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ʰ'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ʰ'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p.67-B]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775 787

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you."

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
784

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
756 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
775
778

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[769] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
785

775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing 321 should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present 376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 756 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on 576 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers, [775] [576]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. 775
By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce 756
to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request 576
presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor [516]
who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved 775
with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between 756
the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. [516]
> I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there [195]
> and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison–advisor. This approach ritual payment [465]
consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅝-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls 775
a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, 756
the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches 276

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective. 603

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"*Friends.*" While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[13] 572 [597] 572 183

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nīmīʔárаʔ* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hâic*, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as 572 196

[13] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hâic* relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

572 196 *hâic* only if he wished to emphasize that for one reason or another he did not consider him a relative at all, and TY used *tɨ̄'·i?* in much the same way. All informants agreed that sibling terms provided a much closer and warmer way of expressing the relationship, but used the friend designation in casual conversation as being more informal. No attempt is made to distinguish which variety of "friend" the individual is; this is assumed to be known to anyone who might be present. It is possible that some of the confusion in this regard is a product of contact with white people, many of whom have *hâic* as practically the only Comanche word in their vocabularies, and use it as a greeting without discrimination; but this does not seem to be the most important factor, for there is every indication that this lack of clear definition of the application of the term is aboriginal. However, the use of *hâic* as an equivalent of "sweetheart" does seem to have been a translation of the American "girl friend," "boy friend."

This lack of clarity makes it practically impossible to formulate any even approximate behavior pattern associated with this term if, indeed, any exists; such opinions as were offered in answer to general questions were obviously references to one or both of the focal relationships, in spite of the fact that the term is seldom applied to own brothers, and the formal friendship, when it did exist, was far from including all the individuals who were regularly called *hâic*. An analogous situation is apparent in our own culture where "friendship," is conceived of as a warm and unselfish relationship, expressive of all our more worthwhile values, and yet one considers hundreds of people "friends" toward whom one is willing to display little more of this ideal behavior than a cheery "hello."

The feminine counterpart of *hâic*, *tɨ̄'·i?*, operates in about the same way, and its usage is often no clearer. Whether the institutionalized friendship ever existed here, and if so, what its basis was, is not apparent. Inasmuch as the affairs of women between themselves were generally considered to be pretty trivial by the dominant warriors of days gone by, it is almost certain that no friendship among them could have achieved the public recognition which the *hâic* relationship did. It is not clear whether women recognized the especially close friendships which obviously existed among them as being a comparable phenomenon, though they presumably did.

602 *Discussion.* It is obvious from the foregoing brief discussion of behavior that there is a definite and distinctive pattern associated with each relationship situation, and that each relative has a number of more or less clear-cut functions toward the individual. While these patterns are unquestionably identified to some extent by the use of kinship terms, it cannot be said on the basis of this alone that the terms are themselves the primary factors in determining behavior; a close group of relatives might well function in much the same way even if their relationships were not terminologically conceptualized.

But the real test can be applied when the terms are used outside of the

11: Casagrande

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196

[For further information on words and meaning, see Category 192.]

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to Ï, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tïcipOsaʔ or tïcipÏsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ïa, ïa, ïe, ïi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pïa- *big*; mïa *moon*; tïe- *little*; ʔïvüʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapÏ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinï· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[*] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [*] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297–301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransi-
tivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[49] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kihpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[49] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [49] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197] [113] [49] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[p. 118-A]

193 **3.4. Infixation, if indeed it may be** so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
193 lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĬ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes include the nominalizers, -pĬ and -?, which make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
193 highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tĭhka *eat* plus -? gives tĭhka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĬ gives nohkopĬ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĬ gives piapĬ *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĬ) gives ?ekavItĬ *red one*; yĭva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĭva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93–9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203–12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

[p. 148-B]

193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among
those productive of new words are: -kĭ
193 *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikĭ? *rocking-*
196 *chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks*
+ ?ai *go, lope* + -kĭ + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nĭmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (nĭmĭ- *1st*
per. plural + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* +
-?e + -V *plural* + -tĬ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative
examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion*
away; -?tu?i *future* (*in positive statements*);
-wa?i *future* (*in negative statements*); -?i
past, semelfactive; -yU *past, durative* (?);
-nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*;
-yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tĭ *nominalizer*; -nĭ· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĬ *dual*; -hĭ *dual* (*on proclitic pronominals*); -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 **3.6.** Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/yĭcĭ?I *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -si? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
196 locative, pronominal, numerative, demonstrative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

[p. 149-A]

193
196

Person		*Singular*		*Dual*	*Plural*
1st	possessive or objective	aĩ-	exclusive	nihĩ- -nikwĨ	-nimĩ- -ninĩ
	subjective	-nĩ?	inclusive	tahĩ- -takwĨ, or -tahĩ	-ta-, or -tamĩ-
2nd		?ĩ- -inĩ		mihĩ- -mikwĨ	-mĩ-
3rd	visible	ma- -ma?	emphatic	marhĩ- -marikwĨ	-mari-
	invisible	?u- -?u?	or -su(?)-	?urhĩ- -urikwĨ	-?urĩ-
	close	?i- -?i?	or -si(?)-	?ithĩ- -itikwĨ	-?itĩ-
	distant	?o- -?o?	or -so(?)-	?orhĩ- -orikwĨ	-?orĩ-
	very own	pĩ-,	or -sĩ- (medially)	pĩ-, or -sĩ-	pĩ-, or -sĩ-

Duality is expressed by the nominal suffixes, -hĩ and kwĨ, for the 1st and 2nd persons: pĩhĩkanikĨ?urĩkwĨ *they* (dual, invisible) *are at their own house* (pĩ- + -hĩ + kahnĨ *house* + kĨ *at, in* + ?urĩ + -kwĨ). For the 3rd person demonstratives duality seems to be expressed by an infixed h; however it is probably the result of reduction and assimilation: ?u-, 3rd person invisible, plus -tĩ, nominalizer, plus -hĩ, dual, gives ?ur(ĩ)hĩ. Inflection for plurality, except for the 1st person exclusive, is accomplished with the pluralizer, -V.

As proclitics these affixes function as possessives, or, plus an inflectional suffix,
193 -i, in the non-singular, as objectives. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that
193 word. In clitic form they are unstressed. In
194 objective pronominals, where the suffix -i is added, phonetic assimilation may occur:
196 mĩhĩ- + -i + pu·ni *see* + -nĩ? gives mĩhivúninĩ? *I see you two*. Assimilation and reduction with -i also occurs in other stems; sonipĨnĩ· *grass* + -i gives sonipĨni· *grass* (obj.).

193 When inflected with nominal suffixes these
196 pronominal forms may stand as free stressed words: nĩ- + -nĩ, plural, gives nĩnĨ *we* (*exclusive*). Both demonstratives and nondemonstratives may cluster with other clitics to constitute a free stressed word: nĩ?u? *it is I*; ?onai *from there*; ?inai *from*

[p. 149-B]

193 *here*; ?inakwī?u? *it is on this side* (?i- + nakwĬ *side, direction* + ?u?).

[196] 3.8. Compounding is a morphological process defined as the juxtaposition of roots and/or stems to form new stems. These new compound stems may be in-
193 flected or stand as free words. Compounds
196 may be composed of from two to four roots: ?ekahpa· *soda water* (red plus water); tu·ku·nA *coal* (black plus fire); pawovivu·kU *boat* (water plus board plus horse); piaro-sawoviknI *big white wooden house*. Examples of compounds composed of root plus stem are: wanaciya·? *flag* (wana- *cloth* + ci- *with a stick*, an instrumental prefix + ya· *hold up* + -? *nominalizer*); pihna·nohkopĬ *cake, cookies* (pihna· *sweet* + nohko *bake* + -pĬ *nominalizer*).

193 Among the most productive of compounded acculturation terms are a series of qualitative roots or stems (see the discussion of stem types below). These invariably
[128] precede noun stems in a compound. They are grouped below according to their syntactic position relative to each other:

193 I
196

pia-	*big*
pĭe-	*old, former*
tĭe-	*little*
ke-	*negative*

II

?isa-	*false, deceitful*
hu·-	*wood*
ca·-	*good, fine*
so·-	*many*
yu·-	*common, ordinary*

III

?eka-	*red*
?evi-	*blue, green*
?esi-	*grey, dull*
?eso-	*light in color*
?oha-	*yellow*
?otĭ-	*brown*
tu-	*black*
tosa-	*white*

[p. 150-A]

193 Bound particle stems also function in compounding:
196 -wahtĬ *without* (-wah + -tĬ, nominalizer), noyowahtĬ *without testicles*—a personal name; navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (na-, reflexive + pu·kU *horse* + -wahtĬ *without*. The ending presumably represents reduction to a syllabic pattern common for many plant and animal names—see 3.2.).

-katĬ *possessor of* (-ka + -tĬ, nominalizer), puhakatĬ *medicine-man* (puha *supernatural power* + -katĬ). Both of the above are commonly used in personal and animal names.

193 **3.9.** Reduplication, a very important
196 technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be restricted to the inflection for the dual and plural forms of qualitative stems and a limited group of kinship and status terms. There are several patterns of reduplication: $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$ or $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$: ʔekavĬ- *red*, becomes ʔeʔekavĬtĬ·ca? *the red one*; and tĭta·tĬ *little one*, becomes tĭhtĭta·tĭnĭ· *little ones*. $C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$; ca·tĭetĬ *favorite child*, becomes ca·tĭrĭetĭnĭ· *favorite children*, and piava· *lake*, becomes piviava·nĭ· *lakes*. And $C_1V_1hC_2$ apparently becomes $C_1V_1hC_1V_1hC_2$; tahka? *sibling*, becomes tahtahkanĭ· *siblings*.

It also seems possible that reduplication may be used with certain verb stems to convey an iterative meaning: ʔekayĭyĭka? *jelly, jam, jello* (ʔeka- *red* + yĭka *to shake* (?) + -?, nominalizer).

193 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in
196 some ejaculations ʔĭrĭrĭrĭrĭ· *I'm*, or *it's so*
195 *hot*!. Reduplication also figures importantly in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby words:[a] papá·ʔ *water*; pepé·ʔ *ball*; and tatá·ʔ *food*.

193 **3.10.** A number of stem classes may be distinguished according to their distribution in relation to affixes and other stems, and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

[a] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, I JAL 14.11–4 (1948).

[p. 150-B]

194 preceding it in (15). So far as has been ascertained at present, such differences are fluctuant and not meaningful.

194 The only association between rhythm and meaning differences so far detected is in 196 situations demanding attention ('attentative') as in imperative constructions and the drawing of exaggerated attention to words or specific parts of utterances. This rhythm pattern consists of a deliberate, slow rhythm with few syllables to the rhythm unit and marked extra lengthening. It may optionally [104] correlate with emphatic stress. In the following illustrations attentative rhythm (symbolized /‖/ for each rhythm unit with which it occurs) should be read with each modified syllable long, and such rhythm units containing vowel clusters with exaggerated length. ‖ˈʔorii ‖ˈnīmī‖kuh‖cuʔ‖nii ‖ˈpuuni *Look at those buffalo!* ‖ˈpia‖rīksī‖-kīpĪ ‖ˈkima ‖ˈʔɪnU‖ni‖tU *Beefsteak,* (nickname of a person) *come here!* Text examples may be found in sentences (5), (7), (8).

194 2. The contrastive placing of lexical stress may be seen in the following words: ˈtosahwI *silver*, waˈsape *bear*, mahtoˈkoo *thumb*, kuyuˈ-niʔnII *turkeys*, nīmīˈkuhcuʔ *our* (pl.) *cow*, ˈnīmīkuhcuʔ *buffalo*.

Emphatic stress, which occurs occasionally for affective purposes, always coincides in point of placement with lexical stress. (See text sentences (9), (13), (14), (18).) Emphatic stress is used to give extra intensity to a situation, and not as in English to emphasize one word as against another. It may occur on a single point of lexical stress or at several such points in sequence. The distribution of lexical stress is most prevalent on one of the first three syllables of a word[9] and most often on the first syllable of a root or compound.

3. Interpretation of vowel length. Contrastive length of vowel may be seen in

[104] [9] The word is defined by implication as an intrapotential in Formulae pp. 98, 99. It is written bounded by space.

[p. 299-B]

195 from the above list, is another feature: tĩtĩ
193 is said by little girls for tĩ·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammatical function in the child's speech. Various
195 phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pĩhI for kwĩhĩ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for ĩ as tiás for tĩas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study of the above list of baby words. First, it
195 must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple:
194 there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

194 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It
121 is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[3]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'kuʔ-okʷekʷaiʔu ʔ *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔokʷEkʷaiʔu ʔ *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phono-
194 logical junctures are the same. The gram-
193 matical structure is also comparable: each begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d*
196 *per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku- *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -kʷa *movement away*, the morpheme -i *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔu ʔ *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔokʷe means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

[3] Idem. 26.

[p. 63-B]

194 *in the following morpheme*, whereas the
196 stem ʔokʷE is a complex stem composed of
193 ʔokʷe modified by the addition of the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing, and which has the semantic implication of *stem meaning resulting in action indicated by the following morpheme.*

194 Brought about by the occurrence of this same stem-final-unvoicing morpheme, and preceding -ki *movement toward*, similar contrasts between voiced and voiceless vowels can be observed, e.g. 'noribakiki?u? *he came to pack* versus 'noribakIki?u? *he packed and came on.* Again, no phonological or morphological conditioning factors are present. Similar contrasts can be seen in 'mayakeki?-u? *he came to play* (e.g. *the piano*), 'mayakEki?u? *he played and came on*; ?u'hanikīki?u? *he came to fix it for him* versus ?u'hanikĪki?u? *he fixed it for him and came on*; ?u'ni?aciki?u? *he came to advise him* compared with ?u'ni?acIki?u? *he advised him and came on.* Another contrast preceding -kʷa can be observed in 'namaka?-mukikʷai?u? *he went to dress himself* versus 'namaka'mukIkʷai?u? *he dressed himself and went on.* -ki and -kʷa are interchangeable in any of the illustrations listed above.

2. Utilization of analogous data should prove profitable, contrasting /u/ /U/, /o/ /O/, /e/ /E/. Thus ?u'?uhtuki?u? *he came to give to her* contrasts with ?u'?-utUki?u? *he gave to her and came on*; 'nohkoki-?u? *she came to bake biscuits* with 'nokOki?u? *she baked biscuits and came on*; and ?u'-manahkeki?u? *he came to measure it* with ?u'manakEki?u? *he measured it and came on.* These same stems occur with similar resultant contrasts preceding -kʷa.

Nothing in these word pairs is of such a nature or in such a position as to make a non-phonemic conditioning variation from voiced to voiceless a characteristic of the vowel. The theoretical possibility of /U/ /O/ being conditioned by voiced equivalents occurring in contiguous syllables preceding these voiceless vowels is partially eliminated

[p. 64-A]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

175 stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

197 The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Shoshonean* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

173 Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the presence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

174 Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation. The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

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[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271–287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5–6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304–305.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwap.* A man joined the tɛ́kniwap class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1 The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

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[197] * The word tɛ́kniwap, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tɛ́gwəni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called naβɛdink tɛ́gwəni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pamiβo, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

pears to be weak. The eyes of about one-half of those studied by Goldstein appear to be slanted slightly to moderately. In most cases the outer canthi are inclined upward, but a few were observed with a downward slant. The so-called Mongolian fold is common among children, but disappears in most cases by the time adulthood is reached. 142

The Comanche face is broad, even for an Indian people. Goldstein asserts that "In this respect the Comanches are probably exceeded by few or no other tribe." On this wide visage is a broad, high, and long nose with an index of 69.4 as compared to 67.5 for old American whites. In breadth it exceeds that of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest, but is practically the same as that of the Shoshones. The depression of the root of the nose is shallow to medium in depth, and the bridge is straight to moderate. The mouth is moderately wide, and the lips are thin. The lower jaw appears to be moderately developed; the chin firm and of medium prominence. All in all, the Comanche exhibits not a "finely sculptured" visage, but rather a heavy face with fairly massive features. In form as well as in personality he is a rugged individual. [141]

Since their arrival in the South Plains, the Comanches have incorporated great numbers of Mexican captives into their tribe, and Mexican infiltration continues today at a rapid pace. Mixture with the Negro seems to have occurred with extreme rarity, if at all. Clark Wissler found that only 62.9 per cent of the Comanches were "fullblood" in 1910, as compared to 96.9 per cent of the Wichitas and 24.2 of the Iowas, the two tribes having respectively the greatest and least amount of alien admixture.[5] That this admixture has continued at an accelerated pace is shown by Marcus S. Goldstein, who believed in 1931 that not more than 10 per cent of the adults could, with any assurance, be considered fullblood.[6] 144

The Comanches are members of the Uto-Aztekan language family in the sense that English-speaking peoples are Indo-European. The Uto-Aztekan family, which is one of the truly great linguistic stocks of ancient North America, has three major branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean peoples, whose home is centered in the Great Basin region of what is now western United 197

[5] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 148.
[6] Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *loc. cit.*, 290.

The Comanches

• 197 States, may in turn be subdivided into three linguistic groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages differing both phonetically and morphologically. First, the Mono-Bannock group includes the Monos, the Northern Paiutes (Paviotso), the Snakes of eastern Oregon, and the Bannocks. These are the northernmost representatives of the Uto-Aztekan family. The second group is composed of tribes speaking the mutually intelligible Ute-Chemehuevi dialects of the region where Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona meet, there being also fragments in California. In this group are the Southern Paiutes, the Utes of western Colorado and eastern Utah, the Kawaiisus of south-central California, and the Chemehuevis along the Colorado River in southeastern California. The third group is the Shoshone-Comanche-Koso (Panamint), which includes the Shoshones proper, the Comanches, the Gosiutes in the vicinity of Salt Lake, and the Shikaviyams of California.

The area occupied by the Shoshonean linguistic group was exceeded in North America by that of only two other families, the Algonquian and the Athabascan. In the north the Shoshonean area extended far into Oregon, meeting Shahaptian territory at about forty-four degrees north latitude. It included southwestern Montana and southern Idaho and may have extended into Alberta, Canada. The eastern limits of Shoshonean territory are unknown. Tradition declares that when the Blackfeet entered the Great Plains, they found the country occupied by the Snakes (Shoshone-Comanches). Lewis and Clark reported that the Shoshone bands encountered upon the headwaters of the Columbia had within their recollection lived upon the plains east of the Rocky Mountains and had been driven into their western mountain retreats by tribes who had obtained firearms. Western Kansas, western and central Wyoming, western and central Colorado, northern and eastern New Mexico, and northwestern Texas were at one time Shoshonean territory. The family reached west across the Sierras into California, holding a narrow strip of that state in the northeast, with the western boundary extending in a southwesterly direction to the Pacific between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth parallels.[7]

[7] Edward Sapir, "Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language," American Academy of Arts and Sciences *Proceedings*, Vol. LXV, 5–6; R. M. Zingg, *A Reconstruction of Uto-*

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The People

Although most people of this vast area spoke kindred languages, there was otherwise a wide variation of cultural patterns. The Shoshoneans to the west of the Rocky Mountains differed in culture from their kinsmen east of the mountains. The inhospitable nature of their country compelled those west of the mountains to accept a less adventurous and humbler mode of life. The most western representatives of the family subsisted chiefly on fish caught in coarse grass-nets, on rabbits, snakes, rats, grasshoppers, seeds, and roots. Yet southward a few hundred miles lived the Puebloan Hopi of northeastern Arizona, who differed so widely that they have little in common but linguistic affinity. They lived in villages of adobe and stone houses, were skillful potters and weavers, and derived their subsistence mainly from gardening. On the north and along the entire eastern border of the territory were the Bannock, Ute, Shoshone, and Comanche divisions. None of the latter cultivated the soil, and all derived the greater part of their subsistence from the pursuit of large game. Only the Comanches, however, were dependent almost entirely on the buffalo herds for a livelihood.

197

The linguistic relation of the Comanches to the Northern Shoshones is so close that it was patent to early observers, and it was on this basis that the derivation of the Comanches from Shoshonean roots was first posited. The two languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. When one of the authors[8] was doing field work with the Seed-eater Shoshones in Idaho, his Shoshone acquaintances were convinced that he and his wife could speak Shoshone because they could bandy some Comanche words. The fact that they could also phonetically record Shoshone and read it back was the clincher. Susie Lipps, one morning before starting work, said, "At breakfast my husband said, 'Our friends can talk Shoshone. Last night I dreamed and they talked to me in our tongue.'" Her reply was, "Of course they can. They can even write it down

Aztekan History, 1–4; R. H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 190–313; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 555–56; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, "Map of North American Indian Languages," American Ethnological Society *Publication No. 20*. Powell also regarded the Shoshonean-speaking peoples as constituting a distinct linguistic family.

[8] E. A. Hoebel.

The Comanches

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took [198] place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nəmənə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands.
361 The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[23] and further delineated by Kroeber,[24] Sapir,[25] and Whorf.[26] Sapir

[113] [23] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [24] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.66–165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [25] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379–425; Part II, AA 17.96–120, 306–28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443–88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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197 has linked Uto-Aztecan with Tanoan-Kiowa in an Aztec-Tanoan group,[27] and Whorf and Trager have presented evidence for a relationship between Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan.[28] The Voegelins have more recently designated twelve Uto-Aztecan languages, many comprising several mutually intelligible dialects, as spoken in what is now the United States.[29] Mexico claims a considerable number more, including Nahuatl.[30] These are all by no means equally distinct languages, and the actual degree of relationship among them remains to be worked out;[31] however the affinity between Comanche and Shoshone was recognized at least as early as 1862.[32] The vocabularies collected by Steward[33] for a number of Shoshone dialects show a pronounced similarity both among themselves and to Comanche. The two are essentially dialects of the same language, a fact recognized by their native speakers. As one informant put it, "The Shoshone speak as the Comanche spoke long, long ago". In

[113] [27] Benjamin L. Whorf, The Comparative Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan, AA 37.600-08 (1935).

[113] [28] Edward Sapir, Central and North American Languages, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed., 5.138-41 (London and New York, 1929).

[113] [29] Benjamin L. Whorf and G. L. Trager, The Relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, AA 39.609-24 (1937).

[113] [30] C. F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages, Publ. of the American Ethnological Society, Publ. 20 (n.d.).

[113] [31] A. L. Kroeber, Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8, (Berkeley, Calif., 1934); and J. Alden Mason, The Classification of the Sonoran Languages (with an Appendix by B. L. Whorf), Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber, (Berkeley, Calif., 1936).

[113] [32] C. F. Voegelin, North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and their Genetic Relationships, Language, Culture, and Personality, pp. 15-40 (p. 21) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113] [33] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology, p. 473 (London, 1862).

[34] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, pp. 272 ff. (1938).

[p. 145-B]

197 another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (?, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ḫ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ? and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced [197] other phonemes (? or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[113] [14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445-502, p. 476 (1940).

[113] [15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11-4 (1948).

[113] [16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

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193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransi-
tivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[44] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wī?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[45] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/navs· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [44] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197] [113] [45] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[47] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 There are four principal means by which
197 a language may enlarge its vocabulary to
accommodate new objects and ideas. These
192 neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volume: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[46] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC
192 ACCOMMODATION.

A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[49] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[50] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[49] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonisation and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[50] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 208 ff. (New York, 1921).

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While we shall discuss primarily terms for the products of White culture, extensions of meanings, as well as the other neologistic devices mentioned above, were likewise employed during the shift of Comanche culture from a Basin-Plateau Shoshonean to a Plains type. In fact, a number of terms have undergone two distinct permutations of meaning: wosA in Shoshone[51] refers to a conical carrying or seed basket, the Comanche extended its meaning to parfleche, and today it refers to a box, pocket, container, or luggage. Similarly, kahnI was used for a brush-covered hut, then a tipi, and now a modern house. In most Basin-Plateau dialects deer is tuhuya or some related form,[52] while in Comanche tihi·yA, the cognate form, was extended to mean horse, and another word, ʔarika? (possibly ʔa·*horn* + tihka? *meat or food*), was coined for deer. Further, a number of newly introduced traits seem to have closer analogues in the old Shoshone rather than in Plains culture: wihtua *bucket*—Sho. *pottery bowl*,[53] ʔa·wO *cup, dish, drinking glass*—Sho. *basketry bowl*.[54]

The extension of meaning depends upon the recognition of some resemblance between the new products of the alien culture and objects and ideas present in the native culture. The old and the new are equated on the basis of form, function, and symbolic meaning. Any or all of these three aspects

[51] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2, p. 239 (University of California, 1941).

[52] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, Vocabularies, pp. 272-283 (1938). Robert G. Lathan, Elements of Comparative Philology (London, 1862) gives teheyer for horse.

[53] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 375 (University of California, 1943).

[54] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

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197 may be utilized; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[44] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[45]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of function and symbolic meaning regardless
192 of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[47] *# piaʔe·tĬ *gun* (*big bow*); *ta·vE *clock, time of day* (*sun* compare ta·venItĬ *day*); *# nava·kA *bullet, lead* (*its arrow*).

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĬ *4th of July* (*big puha day*); *puharaivo·ʔ *doctor, minister, Christian* (*puha white man*); puharavenItĬ *Sunday* (*puha day*); puharekĬraivo·ʔ *minister* (*puha talk white man*); puharĬvo·pĬ *Bible* (*puha book, writing*); *puhahuvia *hymn* (*puha song*); puhaknI[48]

[113] [44] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [45] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [47] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ʔ, a, e, i, ĭ, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, e, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked # appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[48] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

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197 *church* (*puha house*); suavevuharaivo·? 192 *Catholic* (*cross puha white man*); tamavuharaivo·? *dentist* (*tooth puha white man*).

In similar fashion ?aca?vI, *supernatural*; *guardian spirit*, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle.

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,[59] or at least a similar attitude towards both the religieux and the healer.

192 A representative list of words with extended meanings is given below.[60] The [128] analogies are based chiefly on partial or [197] more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E *electricity* (*lightning* [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? *butcher knife* (*sway-backed* [related to ?ehkwe?ne·tĬ *a swaybacked person*]); *?eksa·? *dye of any color, vermilion* (*red boiled*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*playing cards*) (*yellow carried on the head* [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisinī band.]); ?ona·vI *salt in any form* (*salt*); ?oyo?rĬ *belongings, goods, wealth* (*belongings*); *paraivo·? *boss, leader, head* (*so-called peace chief*);[61] paco?E *fresh beef* (*wet*); *pahmU *tobacco in any form* (*tobacco*)

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by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

[59] This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 281-287 (University of California, 1943).

[60] Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

[61] See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 54, pp. 18-20 (1940).

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192 *ten*, as clothes; cohpE *pillow* (*headrest, head of bed*); *co·mO *beads* (*bone beads*); savahpaki? *drum* (*drum* [Detrich gives waw vee wihk to ow, woviwihtua *wood bucket*]); sanahpĬ *glue, paste* (*pitch*); sanahkó·?[44] *chewing-gum* (slippery elm bark which was chewed); *sohovokó·? *fig* (*cottonwood fruit*); *suavE *cross, crucifix* (*cross*); suapĬ *soul* (*thought?*);[45] suthai- *bless* (*pity*); hivihkatĬ, hivipĬ *drunk* (hi·vI *drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); hī·kI *awning, umbrella* (*shade*); maniha- *to read, make a fixed speech* (*name something*); na?sihpé·? *ball, baseball* (*gourd* [na? *it's* + *fallen from the cold*]); *nakucI *gunpowder* (*powder*); *nacu?U *medicine* (*medicine*); *nī·tipĬka? *button* (*tipi lacing-pin*); nī·tīvu?ipĬ *button-hole* (*slits for lacing tipi*); *nohi? *toy, game* (*toy* [nohi *play*]); *wa?-ihpīkwasu? *woman's dress*; wahka?e·tĬ *running, galloping* (said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.); ~~*~~ *wanapĬ *cloth* (*bark*); wa?rohkīyá·? *pincers, tongs* (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); *wihI *knife* (*flint knife*); wī?aikī- *to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up;* formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (wī?- *instrumental* + ?ai *go* + -kī *causative*); wīhivi? *cup* (old word) (wī- + hivi- *drink* + -?, nominalizer); wīnomenA *move hips back and forth as in copulation;* now *dance, hula*, etc; wokoraI? *serape* (*painted bunting, (bird)* [woko- *pine* + tai *spot*]); yokapĬ *oyster* (mucous, spittle); *yuhU *oil, grease, lard* (*fat*).

192 In order to distinguish the old trait from
193 the new the modifiers taivo·-[46] *White man's,*
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[44] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives pitch for sanako.

[45] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

[46] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

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192 and nimī- *Indians'* or *ours*, are often prefixed
193 to a word whose meaning has been ex-
197 tended.[67] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when
192 the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nīmīʔaʔahká·ʔ *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔa· *horn*, katĪ *got*). ʔamawó·ʔ *apple*; nīmīʔamawó·ʔ *redhaw* (tīrie- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nīmī-). *tīsasI *perfume*; nīmīrisasI *a native perfume made from a plant.* *kahnI *house;* *nīmīkahnI[68] *tipi.* konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nīmīkonO *cradle-board.* ¥ kuhcU[69] *cattle* (*pimoro·ʔ, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [67] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivo·-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391-403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu-' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, p. 436 (1943).

[68] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[69] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotso for bison.

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192 *nīmīkuhcU *buffalo.* kwazu? *shirt, dress;* nīmīkwazu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napĬ *shoes;* *nīmīnapĬ *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nīmīnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahĬ *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hĬ *hair*); *nīmīwanahĬ *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nīmīwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yīva·ci? *grapes;* nīmīyīva·ci? *wild grapes.* nīmīvarīvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pī·yĬ *wild duck;* taivovī·yĬ *domesticated duck.* nīhkapĬ *dance;* taivonīhkapĬ *modern dance.* nīkī·tA *Canada goose;* taivonīkī·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe (White man's sweet).* taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nīmī?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapĬ *leather;* taivovikapĬ *leather;* nīmīvikapĬ *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nīmīmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon (its seeds got);* taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nīmīna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nīmīna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 Comparable to this simple widening of
197 meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the
[828] new cultural borrowings. These are often reflected in a word: kuhcutīvinīnA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yīharīhkapĬ *one with a hare-lip* (yīhA *fruit worm* + tīhkapĬ *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[76] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[76] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 sources of the latter type in English.[71]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tí?i· *killdeer*; civiví· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[72] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use
197 has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the forma-
192 tion of words by incremental affixation
[193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[73] pacahto?i? *pump* (*raise water forcefully with the hands*) [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn* (*turned inside out by heat*) [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikĩ? *bicycle* (*make one's self go with the feet*) [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kĩ, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [71] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[72] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [73] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

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192 away when first received as rations]; *wokohuhcu? *parrot* (*pine bird*) [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananīkitĪ *movies* (vibrate, flicker); yīcī?e·tĪ *airplane* (customarily flies); yīyītu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarīhkapĪ *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapĪ *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketĪ *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapĪ *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwI *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[11] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tīhkapĪ *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tiso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopĪ *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhunacu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapĪ *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapĪ *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 197 **4.4.** In addition to the new descriptive words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was understood in context. If Comanche did not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 197 124

192 197 Many of these periphrastic formations, such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[11] kusitaivo·? *gray, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

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192 form and have general currency in the language. Morphologically they are com-
[197] parable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[80] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

ʔekavItĭ/namarĬnipkahtu/tawĭhtia ʔenA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

ʔohapItĭʔa/taka/sĭkĭkamatĬ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesĭcĭ·sĭsa/pahiku/taʔapĭʔ/tekwaphanáv o·pĬ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

suricahtĭsoko·vi/pihayaʔĭkĭna·/tenapĭmaʔ aiku·/waʔihpĭʔa/tatáhtĭkiʔ [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pĭkĬrahávi ʔena/piʔwesuru·ʔiʔ [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sĭʔkĭʔiha/taka/pahpaʔakunácaweniʔe·tĭ [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nĭmĭpĭknáyĭkwiʔena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakocewaʔitĭ/pĭmatatĭrohtĭmaʔenA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 The problem of accounting for the large
192 proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed,
121 in most American Indian languages,[81] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95 % of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[80] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[81] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 words.[83] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[83]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[84] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[85]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[86] and they

[83] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [84] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[84] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[85] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [86] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into 197 the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke 197 a Southern American dialect. Thus, the 194 r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekīʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
č	c	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	č	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdez, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–41 (1937).

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197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ï, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, especially those of an earlier vintage and in
197 general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.A Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche
192 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavïrí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·sitïn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

(113) [87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]

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197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin, varies depending upon the speaker's knowl-
197 edge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĪ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·paaI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 diminutive); *tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate); *kamú·ta? *sweet potato, yam* (camote); *kavīrī·? *goat; sheep,*[35] *mutton* (cabra); kucára? *small spoon* (cuchara); *caré·ku? *vest* (chaleco); *ci·ra? *pepper, chili* (chile); more? *monte* (*a card game*) (monte); *naho·? *knife* (navaja); S *mu·ra? *mule* (mula); wara·cI *sandals* (huaraches); *wenu *good* (bueno).

With English model: ?aiskrim[36] *ice-cream;* ?ekī? *acre;* ?i·cin ?ecin (*Indian*) *agent;* ?uró·? *law* (?u-, *its,* + *law*); pai *pie;* paisé·? *five cents;* papko·n *pop-corn;* pa·re? *barley;* pikí·? *pig* (baby word); pi·c *beets;* pinácI[37] *peanuts;* po·kA *poker* (card game); purí·si? *police;* taks *tax, taxes;* tevo? *devil;* tehnsé·? *ten cents;* tīnīpsĪ *turnips;* to·kI *dog* (rare); tuvic *two bits,* (*25 cents*); kapiko·? *Kaffir corn;* ka·t *God;* ka?tin *cotton;* kamísīn *commission,* (*Indian*) *Commissioner;* ka·vic *cabbage;* cakawe· *it's time to eat, let's eat!* (From the American slang word, chuck, or chuckwagon); cikí·? *chick, chicken* (baby word); ci·s *cheese;* ci·sīs *Jesus;* hatīma·re? *hot tamale;* hato·kI *hot dog* (rare); hampīkī? *hamburger;* ho·kI *hog, pork;* senatī? *senator;* sikā·rU, sikā·? *cigar;* sikvic *six bits,* (*75 cents*); su·ta? *jack* (*in cards*) (probably from suit); makaró·ni? *macaroni;* mamá·? *mother* (baby word); marīmé·? *Milo maize;* mavo·? *marble;* merīt *millet;* wincestī? *Winchester* (*repeating rifle*); wit *wheat* (rare); wīhnsé·? *one cent;* wo·sitīn *Washington,* (*D.C.*), *President of the United States;* waikin *wagon.*

[197] A number of place and personal names have been taken into Comanche from Spanish and English and are in common use. Those listed below were familiar to even those Comanche who had little or no knowl-

[35] Sheep is more commonly, pihīkavīrī·?, *hairy goat.*

[36] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives *sweet ice* for ice-cream.

[37] Detrich notes nah-vee-mee, which he translates as *carrying double* (for peanut).

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192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* ciksó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* sosonī? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

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192 197 [601] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nï· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĬ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĬ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĬ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matïma? tïmï· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nïrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nïhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

[113]

[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĬ, for *corn.*

[104] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á·pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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121 done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ.
197 Comanche, however, has borrowed only
192 one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents
[193] is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and
192 origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog* (*green mule crier*); *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie* (*brown bread*); pehekatipa·nĭ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĭ *possessor of* + pa·nĭ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers* (*white bread*); *ku-simu·ra? *donkey* (*grey mule*).

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad* (*fire wagon*); ci·sisa pía *Mary* (*Jesus' mother*); *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apó?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw haww, toho·vE *headquarters* for ham.

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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); **ho·kĪtīhkapĪ** *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); **wita·rohkni?e·tĪ** *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s [191] [563] noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from [563] English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kĪ is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tĭe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[113] [108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

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192 synonyms for English loans. Moreover,
197 several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century.
000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arizona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 4.6. Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 It is impossible to say in many cases
197 whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·ʔ *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[113] [114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[p. 233-B]

192 "horseless carriage" or an independent
[197] invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *ʔahpī ʔ[119] *Father (God)*; ⁂ taʔahpī ʔ *Our Father;* ʔahóhtavehnItĬ *Thanksgiving Day;* ʔohahpitĭ·ʔ[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihiʔ *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pīhīkavīrĭ·ʔsári·ʔ *sheep dog;* taʔkivihu·raʔ *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot);* tuhtaívo·atahtokó·ʔ *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavīrĭ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvsikatĬ *smart, brainy* (kuhvsI *brains* + -katĬ *possessor*); kwási-raivo·arĭhkapĬ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kīhta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·ʔ *cowboy (cow White man)*; napaʔe·kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narimiʔ *Master*[121] *(Jesus)*; nimīkuhcusónipĬ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings
192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awĭ pá, ʔohanarsopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sīkwekatĬ *half pot* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

[p. 234-A]

192 ?otīmu·ra? *oatmeal.* Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule.* The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapé?atĩhkapĭ *pear (bear's food).* As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food,* tĩhkapĭ.

wa?o·rĩhkapĭ *catsup (cat food).* This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorĩhkapĭ *pineapple (pine food).* While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[121] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodisg, lagéht', literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, priestes or common people,* has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodisg, ?lhagéht', the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders.* Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[121] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

[p.234-B]

197 [128] rowing has gone on between Kiowa and Comanche. The examples of new Kiowa words which are given below are chosen for their similarity to Comanche acculturation terms.

Kiowa has extended old meanings to apply to such traits as pencil, glue, clock, house, chewing-gum and horse. It uses a modifier, meaning *real*, to distinguish between native and new traits just as Comanche uses *White man's* and *Indian's*. Thus, *real spoon* refers to one made of buffalo horn; a *real necklace* is one made of long bone beads; *buffalo* are *real cattle;* and *real sinew* means *sinew* rather than *thread*. Many new descriptive words such as those for *whiskey*, *doctor*, *Sunday*, *vinegar*, *telegraph*, *automobile*, *fishhook*, *peach*, *beer*, and *pump* are exactly equivalent to the Comanche words for these things. And Kiowa, as Comanche, has borrowed *agent*, *agency*, *commission*, *five cents* and *two bits* from English.

128 Several segments of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, namely words pertaining to religion, diseases, playing cards and time and measure, will be presented in the pages to follow. These are selected as both interesting parts of the vocabulary and as examples of the amount of new vocabulary that has been added in representative areas of culture affected by White influences. Other sub-vocabularies such as those for foods and implements would, of course, bulk larger in the total vocabulary. While new descriptive compounds predominate, a few meaning extensions and loan-translations are also listed. Aside from a few minor omissions and words entered elsewhere in this paper, the lists are in all

[184] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1896), notes a related word containing tu·kwasikatĪ *black, has a tail.*

[185] In this and other words in which taivo·? is used it is perhaps better translated as *man, other than Indian*. It invariably denotes belonging to an alien way of life.

[p. 235-A]

192 suffix + -nA, verbal suffix); wa·cinikapI *Christmas* (*cedar tree put up*).

197 The acculturation vocabulary described
192 in the preceding pages represents the growing point of the Comanche language. It will undoubtedly be augmented as time goes on, but at what will presumably be a diminishing rate. Although these are words of quite recent origin, there is reason to believe that once accepted in the language they are relatively stable. Of the 196 acculturation terms in the 1895 Detrich vocabulary 170 are identical to those collected by the author. These are marked with an asterisk in the lists above. Eighteen, while recognizably similar, vary somewhat from their later form and 7 are completely different from words collected in 1940. The latter are words for *fork*, *glue*, *hoe*, *peanut*, a second word for *bean*, and two terms for *potatoes*. The remaining word is that for quinine, tosanacu?U *white medicine*, for which no word was collected by the author.

[p. 237-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION III

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

5. Some other effects of acculturation on Comanche language and speech
5.1. Comanche bilingualism
6. On Comanche personal names
7. Theoretical conclusions

197 192 **5.** At the same time that Comanche has added new vocabulary, old words have been sloughed off or have become obsolescent.[133] Even when the word remains, as is the case with many meaning extensions, knowledge of the original referent is often lost. Just as the average American today has little acquaintance with terms for the parts of a horse's harness, types of horse-drawn vehicles, or sailing ships and their rigging, the Comanche lost a wealth of terms for such things as basketry types, various weaves[134] and implements such as the metate and mano, and fishtraps when they entered the Plains. Similarly, words for traits of Plains culture lost or displaced in the transition to Western culture are rapidly disappearing from the language, as is the full and colorful vocabulary of plant and animal names of a people who for centuries had lived by hunting and food-gathering. However, owing to both the conservatism of language and the memories of men, old traits, customs and beliefs are often fossilized in words and may be recovered by means of a little linguistic archaeology. 192 The following is a representative list of half-forgotten words:

ʔe·nA *jerk meat*(!); ʔohahpíya·ʔ *wasp (yellow carried behind)*; ʔohana ʔsupé·ʔ *wild gourd (yellow ball)* [A gourd was formerly

[133] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, pp. 438–40 (1943), discusses this point.

[134] See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, pp. 239 and 241, (1941).

[p. 239-A]

198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
the language is far and away the most vitally
177 functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[149] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[149] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

[p. 243-A]

128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[140] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[141] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[142] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
197

[140] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[141] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[142] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

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177 structive as those included in it. The fact
197 that a trait of Western culture is not named
192 does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or
177 scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtïman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapÎ *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 Finally, we may say that while Comanche
197 contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language
197 has preserved its essential form. Comanche has reacted by adapting itself to new cul-
192 tural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

128 7.2. In the interest of conciseness the numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[113] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[114]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[115]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] [113] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153-64 (1926).

[114] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335-45 (1948).

[115] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

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121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the
121 native culture. Thus, the extension of co·mO
192 which now refers to *modern beads of various*
197 *materials*, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

121 4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue
192 was to be found in the native culture. Thus, the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU
197 *water beard horse*, indicates the absence of
121 watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

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121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
197 are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] [192] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[148] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
192 language the greater the tendency for it to
197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[148] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word: piesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of
197 relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*; in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

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13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be regarded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since [197]
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado, and from this vantage point they maintained close contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Comanches must have first learned of these peoples, and from them too, they may have acquired their first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to shift their camps southward and eastward. No doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtaining mounts, but at the same time they may have been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An added attraction to the south and east were the plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos and Picurís. Thus were the rustics from the northern wilderness introduced to the material refinements of more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the century and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 721
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest. 648

The first persons against whom the Comanches displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos. As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight*, where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual
121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long*, paˈpaʔatə *long(redup.)*. In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem təˈka-), təkənəninəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem tąkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely
197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of
197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[113] [4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106-109 (1949).

[p. 230-B]

197 pirate consonants, while consonant clusters are not at all rare in the Uto-Aztecan language family. Comanche preaspirates may 197 correspond to simple consonants in cognate 194 languages. cf. So. Paiute yəŋə, Com. yə'nə? *porcupine*; Tübatulabal tək-, So. Paiute təq.a, Com. tə'ka- *to eat*; So. Paiute qan.i-, Tübatulabal hani, Com. ka'nI *house*; So. Paiute ap.əi-, Com. ?a'pəi- *to sleep (sing.)*; So. Paiute aq.əi-, Com. ?ə'ko?i- *to sleep (pl.)*.

194 4. Vowels. Only one analysis is presented for the vowels; these are voiced and voiceless.

Voiced: i, e, a, o, u, ə. Vowel ə is a high, unrounded vowel varying from central to back position. Vowels i, e, o, u vary from close to open varieties; a varies to [ʌ] in unstressed position. Examples: piapə *big*, tena'pə? *man*, papI *hair*, sonipə *grass*, hunuʁI *creek*, wənə-nə? *I stop*.

Voiceless: I, E, A, O, U, ə. These are of the same quality as their corresponding voiced vowels. In normal speech, utterance medial ə appears somewhat shorter than other voiceless vowels.[6] Examples: ?ekaʁItə

[6] This fact has given rise to still another interpretation of Comanche phonemes: namely that of considering voiceless, when occurring in medial position, as aspiration of the preceding consonant. [113] See Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93-99 (1949), where the form təkəbənitu-?i-nə? *I will always be eating*, is transcribed [tikʰ-bínitu?i-ní?]. This interpretation admits of a

[p. 231-A]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, *1871-80. Condensed from an article in* Ware's Valley Monthly, *Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.*

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former 161
range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, 101
of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of 131
Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and
the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally 101
classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification.
In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the 101
Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a 197
relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by
these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which 101
signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but 233
keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess them- 241
selves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured
by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and 224
some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds 222
of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 462

[p. 333]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

1

The Comanches

Historical Background

THE WORD "COMANCHE" first appeared shortly after 1700 in the records of the colonial administration of the Spanish settlements in the vicinity of Santa Fe, New Mexico. For a long while the etymology of the word was not fully understood since no similar root appeared in the Spanish language. In 1943 some light was thrown on this problem by Marvin K. Opler, in his article "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," who reported that *komanticia* was a Ute word for "enemy." It was applied by the Utes to the Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa before 1726. After this period the Comanches became the major enemies of the Utes, and the word became specifically applied to them. The Comanches were first introduced to the Spanish in New Mexico by the Utes, and thus the word entered the Spanish language from which it was later borrowed into English as "Comanche." 101

The Comanches are speakers of the Uto-Aztecan language family in much the same sense as the English-speaking peoples are members of the Indo-European language family. The Uto-Aztecan group is divided into three major branches—Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean speakers are centered in the Great Basin regions of western North America. The Shoshonean branch can be further divided into Ute-Chemehuevi, Mano-Bannock, and Shoshone-Comanche. The northern Shoshone and Comanche languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest on slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. My Comanche informants noted that the Shoshone Indians speak "Comanche"; however, they speak it rapidly and cut vocalization of their words short. It is from the great similarity in the Comanche and Shoshone languages that the derivation of the Comanche from a Shoshonean parent stock is posited by most authors. 197

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221 224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the 181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a [186] reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per- 142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan- 197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes. [194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still 101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands 621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most [115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Temawa or Tenahwit; Waaih. 101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenanm. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-ma-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Bo'dalk'inago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 160, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camaraches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 (Chaving many horses'; Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Découv., vi, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gelow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (shoshoni name). **Comanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Curtiss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 196, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 450, 1848. **Comanchere.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1756) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 356, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Snoquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumanciss.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-aa.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idaho.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Ídá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p. 328-A]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal Trust Area

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

657
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

197 175 131 173 231 198 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

(657)

The Comanches

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

[198]

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nəmənə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands.
361 The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

192 words.[52] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[53]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[54] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[55]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[56] and they

[52] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [53] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[54] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[55] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [56] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-559 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

[p. 228-A]

192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* ciksó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* sosoni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior,
[113] AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

[p. 231-A]

191 195 [177] sense of propriety and prudishness, and there has been a direct extension of English word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipĪ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pĪ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĪ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kĪhtavicipĪ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipĪ *groin milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations. [551]

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937). [113]

[p. 242-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
177 the language is far and away the most vitally
functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[143] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[143] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

[p. 243-A]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
352 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly
264 from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
513 forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers
[342] became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 516 [352] The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, 609 and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping 432 in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, 609 each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article 432 595 as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother began having trouble.

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. [198] As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of [124] their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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In about a year the Rock Island Railroad came, and they wanted 000
to build only one bridge instead of two. So, only a few feet below Ca-vo-yo's ford, they built a bridge to take their track across Cache Creek. More years passed, and now a splendid highway bridge spans the creek, just below the spot where the now discarded railroad bridge's sawed-off piling marks its once useful evistence. Ca-vo-yo's little T-shaped house also remains.

I was courting my first sweetheart when the ford went into use. Her people lived about two and a half miles east of Ca-vo-yo's house, and our town was about two and a half miles northwest of the ford. The Girl and I used his ford many times. We each had a good riding horse, and often we were horseback. Then by diligence I rated a buggy. (It didn't have a top, but we didn't mind; we were in love.) Ca-vo-yo didn't have an arbor, and if the weather was at all clement, he and his woman would be sitting on the east porch when we went by. We would smile and wave gaily to the old Indian and his [576]
woman, and they would return our smiles and our waves. With slight variations this scene was repeated many times.

One Sunday afternoon, following an afternoon church service, we were returning to her parents' home. While I held the lower gate 609
open for the Girl to drive the buggy through, I saw Ca-vo-yo come 198
out, open the upper gate, and lay it back. Knowing he wanted to talk, when I drew even with him I stopped the horse. Smiling his widest smile, the old fellow approached the buggy and by the means of signs and the use of one word asked, "Is she your wife (squaw)?" Apparently he and his woman were becoming curious, since they didn't understand white man's courting. Probably, to them, we were wasting a lot of time.

When you try to describe the sign language (*maw-ta-quoip* or hand talk), it sounds jerky and disconnected. Instead it had a natural grace and flow, like unhurried water making its way over a well-worn course. The old Indian extended his right fist, closed loosely, knuckles up, in front of us. Quickly extending his forefinger toward the Girl, and as quickly closing the finger back, he extended the thumb pointing to my chest. Then he said the word "squaw" as a question—literally, "She your squaw?"

I didn't look toward the Girl. I am sure she was blushing, as I 000
know I was. I finally managed to shake my head and stammer out a "No," as I drove away. In due time the Girl and I managed to resume

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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

775 ing and undoubting faith in a future state of existence, and in future rewards and punishments. They hold that the soul of the wicked coward or thief, after death, will be driven before the frown of the Great Spirit, afar off into a region barren and cold and desolate, there to wander forever through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain; but the good Indian, who has been brave in battle and walked uprightly among his tribe, will be translated to a valley ten thousand times ten thousand fold longer and wider than their own valley of Mannasaw, where the climate is always mild as it is in the moon of plants; where there is cool water, and pounded corn and mustang meat forever at his hand, and where buffalo and deer abound, and the horses are fleeter than the wind.

[173] They have many traditions but no records; nevertheless,
212 they have certain hieroglyphics by which they contrive to communicate intelligence with as much accuracy as if they understood the epistolary art. For instance, if one party goes out before another has returned, and wishes to convey information of the course they have taken and the business they are upon, they will seek some point where it is probable their trail will be discovered. Here, providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded in the form of a letter without breaking, they will make such figures and emblems upon it as represent the idea they wish to convey. If they are on the war path, the character will be a tomahawk and a scalp; if on a visit to a friendly tribe, it will be a pipe; if on a buffalo or deer hunt, there will be no characters, but the folded bark will simply enclose some of the hair of the animal of which they are
212 in pursuit. If they intend to be absent a month, the emblem
● 201 will be the full moon; if two weeks, a half-moon, if only a few days, the new moon. Then they strike a hatchet deep

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 805
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06 Oklahoma

Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 754 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 [828] 775 [825] [827] [201]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

rectly opposite—but a mile below the bluff was another gravelly beach, almost precisely similar to the one at which we had arrived, and opposite that, and below us, was likewise a high bluff, so that in crossing, it was necessary to move in a diagonal direction, as well as a long distance. The usual labor was expended, and the usual means resorted to in passing the drove, which, in consequence of the low water extending from the opposite beaches, left only the main channel, a distance, perhaps, of a hundred yards, to be swum. When it came our turn to take passage, the blindfolds were removed, and each was seated in a little buffalo-skin boat, an invention original, I believe, with the Comanche tribes, and capable of being taken apart, folded into a small compass, and carried as baggage. To the bow of these boats were hitched one end of a hair rope, the other to the tails of our mules, who safely ferried us from shore to shore.

That night we encamped at the foot of the mountain, and the whole of the next day traveled, as near as I could judge, over a steep, rough, and uneven road. During the entire trip, I was subjected to the same annoyances of being run under trees, burned with hot horseflesh, and staked down at night, as described above.

Early in the afternoon of the fourth day the warriors raised the war whoop, and afar off was heard another war whoop in reply. As we advanced, over what appeared to me a smooth plain, the answering voices grew more and more distinct, until finally the approaching parties met and intermingled. Having halted, I was taken from the mule, and when allowed the liberty of my eyes, found myself and companions standing together, in the midst of a great number of tents, and surrounded by five or six hundred men, all pushing forward to catch a glimpse of us.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-
red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

the buffalo-skin saddle, I sat down upon it and consulted with myself as to what it was best to do. My safety depended much upon circumstances. If the body of the chief should happen to be discovered immediately, my escape was doubtful. The moment it was found, my knowledge of savage life taught me, a party would instantly and eagerly start upon my trail, and at the same time messengers be sent to all the tribes far and near, calling on them to keep a sharp lookout for my approach, so that I had as much to apprehend in front as in the rear.

I was provided with the dead chief's rifle and ammunition, and consequently had the means of kindling a fire, but making the one or discharging the other, at least for some days, would be a dangerous experiment, inasmuch as the noise of the rifle or the light of the fire might expose me. The demands of appetite, however, would render it necessary to risk both, and, in fact, already were they becoming clamorous, having fasted since our early departure in the morning from the camp of the Wild Horse. Being impossible at that hour to capture game, my thoughts turned upon the mule. She had followed me unexpectedly and could be of no possible use; on the contrary, in all probability, would prove an annoyance. Necessity, which is, indeed, the mother of invention, suggested how I could turn her to account, and the suggestion was adopted. Walking up to the tired and patient beast, as unsuspicious of harm as was her now stark owner when he bent down to drink, I grasped the long knife that was wont to grace his girdle, and drew it across her throat.

When life was extinct, I cut from her hams long thin slips of flesh to the measure of some ten pounds, and having done so, resolved to run the venture of kindling a fire, trusting that the Rolling Thunder was still reposing undis-

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

VI

From Cradle to Grave

THE Comanche infant was born into a world of adults who welcomed and cherished it. It was not looked upon as a nuisance or handicap, but rather as a valuable addition to the tribe. Girls were accepted, but boys were preferred. Some families made a practice of painting a black spot on the door of the tipi if a newborn child was a boy, as a means of informing the people that the tribe had been strengthened by the addition of another "brave." Although the motherly affection that was the child's due was bestowed upon both male and female, boys received greater care than girls from their mothers and more indulgence from both parents all along the line.

There is conflicting opinion about twins. The woman who bore twin boys might be honored; other parents might regard twins as unnatural. Sometimes the parents attempted to destroy one or both of them, particularly if one or both were girls, but the more common practice was to give one away if foster parents could be found. For fear her husband might destroy both, the mother would sometimes dispose of one and not inform her husband that she had given birth to twins. In the eighteen eighties Dr. George Holley discovered and saved an infant, which was one of twins, buried in sand by its mother. There is at least one other recorded instance of such a rescue.[1]

Infanticide also seems to have been practiced in case the infant was born deformed, diseased, or a weakling. The attending women

[1] Annie M. Barnes, *Matouchon: A Story of Indian Child Life*, 11.

622 more upon personal influence than upon delegated authority. In addition to the qualities of kindness, generosity, and wisdom in tribal affairs, physical fitness, a record for dash and daring, valor, and firmness, whether in camp or in battle, were also desirable characteristics of such leaders, but were not absolutely prerequisite to the attainment of office.

While it was not necessary for a man to have a war record to become a peace chief, it was not uncommon in later years for a war leader to achieve that rank. Certainly one who had attained leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill, either in the chase or on the field of battle, had added prestige. The peace chief was usually a man whose raiding days were over, although he might occasionally take to the warpath, designating someone to act in the capacity of civil chief during his absence.

When a man emerged as a civil chief, he had become a kind of revered patriarch. To all the band he was "father." The People were his "children." Although he wisely refrained at times from intervening in disputes, there were times when his judicious words brought satisfaction to both parties. Judge he was not, but mediator he seems to have been at times. It was in situations where the problem was a question of what ought to be done that the civil chief was important. That his advice was followed means no more than that his ideas appeared to be right and proper. He spoke the custom. Under no circumstances did a civil chief have the power to order an adjustment to be made. He had no power over the life of any member of the tribe. His influence was limited to internal and civil matters only. No peace chief had authority to prevent by force a war party from taking the trail. His only really definite power was that of deciding the time and place of camp moving.[4] The chief who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but the readjustment would take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure. Should the chief disgrace himself by an act of cowardice or maladministration, the band might quickly depose him and elevate another.

[202] An important peace chief had his personal herald or camp crier, who served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news and comments of the chief.

[4] Informants: Kills Something; That's It.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Roberts' Rules of Order, but their procedure was on a very high level 623
of parliamentary decorum.

Such a council was held in 1843 to decide the fate of the ambassadors sent by President Sam Houston of the Republic of Texas to invite the Comanches to discuss a treaty. Each speaker, as his turn came, delivered a vociferous oration, but was never interrupted. When all who were entitled to speak had finished, the head chief, whose turn it was, remained silent, and no one moved or spoke from noon until four o'clock. Either the chief was pondering the weighty matter or seeking by his silence to impress upon his audience the importance of the decision before the body. When he spoke, he gained such support that when the vote was taken the ambassadors were spared.[7]

The council considered such matters as moving the camp, undertaking a tribal war, making peace, seeking an alliance with other tribes for the purpose of proceeding to war against a common enemy, the selection of the time and place of the summer hunt, community religious services, the disposition of spoils belonging to the band (but not of spoils acquired by a raiding party), the allocation of supplies to widows and the needy, and the regulation of trade with outsiders.

When any important decision had been reached, it was announced [202] ●
by the camp crier, who, mounting his horse, heralded the news as he rode through the village. If by any chance the decision was not in accord with public feeling, the action was likely to be modified. In practice, however, this seldom happened, for public sentiment had been well ascertained before the council met. The older men were always slow to take any radical action.

Decisions of councils generally were regarded by the warriors as 687
sacrosanct. Punishment for violating these decisions was certainly neither common nor necessary. The warriors obeyed more from fear of arousing the anger of their chiefs and the displeasure of the supernatural powers than because of any respect for authority in the abstract. The nomadic character of the Comanches, however, made it impossible for the chiefs to keep in touch with their warriors at all times, and when a warrior committed an offense, his punishment, so far as the chief and council were concerned, usually went no further

[7] M. M. Kenney, "Tribal Society among Texas Indians," *The Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association, Vol. I (1897), 31.

The Comanches

727 Captive white children were generally initiated into the tribe by a series of terrifying experiences in which the Indians tried their courage by brutal treatment and threats of destruction. They would sometimes be tied to a stake while their captors, with slashes and menacing gestures, punctuated by hideous yells, threatened to cut them to pieces, shoot them, or even burn them at the stake. Some of these unfortunate children never lived to recount their experiences. If the victim survived the initiation to the satisfaction of his captors, he became a slave and was compelled to do menial tasks, like Carrying Her Sunshade. If he proved his mettle according to Comanche standards, better days awaited him. He would likely be adopted as a member of a chief's or warrior's family. Later he was permitted to take part in raids and battles. If he proved a brave fighter, he might become an honored and respected warrior and rise to any position open to a natural-born Comanche. The captives, mostly Mexicans, who did not become warriors tended the horse herds and practiced such specialized industries as gun repairing and saddle-making. The captive woman who made a dutiful and faithful wife and the captive man who had won war honors were sometimes publicly honored.[17] Ordinarily the Comanches refused to surrender a captive without the payment of a reward. Some of the more responsible chiefs tried to stop the taking of white women and children as captives, and some went so far as to buy captives from other Comanches and liberate them. Some of the most hardened warriors are known to have wept because a captive of whom they had become fond returned to his own people.

574 All the accounts agree that a Comanche felt obligated to lodge, entertain, protect, and feed, even to his last morsel, any person, regardless of nationality, even though it might be his bitterest enemy, who happened to ask for lodging.

726 202 When a Comanche raiding or war party found itself hard pressed by an enemy force too large to resist, or if it feared pursuit, it divided and subdivided its forces until each fleeing warrior left a separate trace and pursuers found it impossible to follow the trail. Scattered Comanches were adept in communicating with one another through means of signals. After a night raid when the warriors knew them-

[17] Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 421; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 163.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

selves to be in close proximity, they communicated by imitating an owl or a coyote. Writing of one occasion when the members of a party had become separated during a night raid on the settlements, one of the raiders said, "When all was quiet we hooted like an owl for our missing companion; when he failed to answer, we knew he was dead."[18] They would build fires and surround them with blankets, forcing columns of smoke to ascend as signals. Different numbers of columns had various meanings. Mounds of stones were arranged to indicate routes followed and the time of the moon when they were arranged. When buffalo bones were available, they were certain to be used to convey messages to comrades. Herman Lehmann has left an interesting paragraph on signaling.

> We found buffalo bones and on them pictures representing a fight with the white people. On some bones properly arranged were the pictures of seven men pierced with arrows, also a wagon burning up; the bones pointed upward. Twelve bones peculiarly arranged represented twelve days journey. We traveled twelve days and saw smokes a long way apart in a row pointing westward which indicated that the Rangers had made it too hot for them and they had gone on west.[19]

The scattered warriors would seek some point where the chances were good that their trail would be discovered. Providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded without breaking, they placed upon it the information which they wished their comrades to have, then striking a hatchet deep into the trunk of a tree and withdrawing it, they placed the bark in the incision, the outer part pointing in the direction they had taken.

After an expedition the Comanches normally had plenty of mounts, and they kept going night and day at a high rate of speed until they believed themselves out of danger of pursuers. On one occasion they kept going so long that one captive "began to think they had quit eating."[20] During a fast retreat, old, slow, and weak

[18] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 64.

[19] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 119.

[20] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 35.

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche 16
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to
202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

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FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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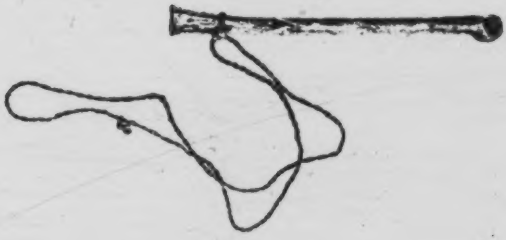

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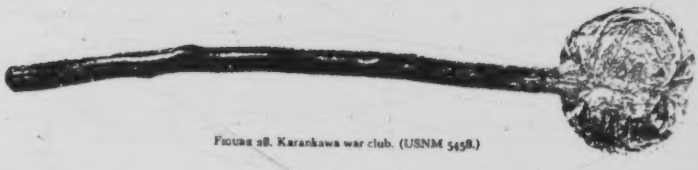

FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Cónkwa War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18. This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

[See p. 180-B--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group 796
returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the tri- 541
umph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling [203]
on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front 796
of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the 701
lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his [411]
war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct 796
approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all 535
finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes 623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally [622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all 685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, 684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, 682 the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known 177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

775 ing and undoubting faith in a future state of existence, and in future rewards and punishments. They hold that the soul of the wicked coward or thief, after death, will be driven before the frown of the Great Spirit, afar off into a region barren and cold and desolate, there to wander forever through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain; but the good Indian, who has been brave in battle and walked uprightly among his tribe, will be translated to a valley ten thousand times ten thousand fold longer and wider than their own valley of Mannasaw, where the climate is always mild as it is in the moon of plants; where there is cool water, and pounded corn and mustang meat forever at his hand, and where buffalo and deer abound, and the horses are fleeter than the wind.

[173] They have many traditions but no records; nevertheless, 212 they have certain hieroglyphics by which they contrive to communicate intelligence with as much accuracy as if they understood the epistolary art. For instance, if one party goes out before another has returned, and wishes to convey information of the course they have taken and the business they are upon, they will seek some point where it is probable their trail will be discovered. Here, providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded in the form of a letter without breaking, they will make such figures and emblems upon it as represent the idea they wish to convey. If they are on the war path, the character will be a tomahawk and a scalp; if on a visit to a friendly tribe, it will be a pipe; if on a buffalo or deer hunt, there will be no characters, but the folded bark will simply enclose some of the hair of the animal of which they are 212 in pursuit. If they intend to be absent a month, the emblem 201 will be the full moon; if two weeks, a half-moon, if only a few days, the new moon. Then they strike a hatchet deep

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212 of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201 in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 805 ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796 themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781] rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796 took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241 corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796 and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241 537 his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 212
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They 800

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1788, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tomo 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

657 871 212 877

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

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31. Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Boston, 1875), 28-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 166.

113 113 113 113

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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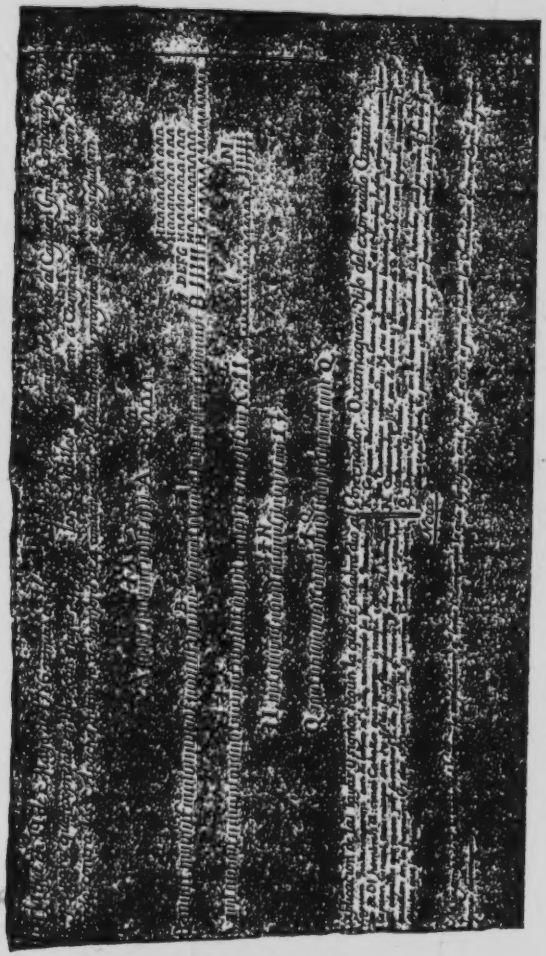

Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight-lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21]

175 Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General 212 Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs 701 the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his [648] command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;

a five horses he encountered and recaptured

B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

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[113] [21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders, appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[32] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

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Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children.

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[32] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
● [212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

Three Years Among the Comanches

727 In time I came to understand that this was the usual summer residence of the tribe, where their corn and beans and tobacco were cultivated—that it, in fact, was their main camping ground, their home, and that the other valley was only resorted to for the purpose of hunting, during those moons when the hair on the buffalo is thick and long. In the suburbs of this village were extensive specimens of Indian agriculture. The Comanche women—for the men have nothing whatever to do with it—would not be likely to receive even a "volume of the Transactions," were they to compete for the prize offered for the best system of farming at one of our state fairs. The expense of drainage and subsoil ploughing is small; nevertheless, they manage to raise respectable crops.

727 The confidence I had in the shrewdness and judgment of Aikens, and the encouragement I had received from him in our interview, inspired me with hope, and I resolved to follow his advice to the letter. My fame, evidently, had spread abroad through the new community soon after our arrival, for those I had never seen before came and gazed upon me for a long time, and then turned and walked seriously and thoughtfully away. It was not long before Moko came with a group of the new faces and presented me the watch. My obstinacy was now abandoned, and I fell again, very deep, into the mysterious mood. Winding it up and setting the alarm a minute or two ahead, I bowed my face before it—clasped it affectionately to my bosom—held it out at arm's length before me in my two hands, regarding it with that intensity of expression with which a tragedian on the stage always regards a love letter just received—turning up my eyes adoringly towards the glorious heavens—and let it whiz!

The effect was solemn and satisfactory. I felt that I had

Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw

Lounging about the camp, I now led a monotonous and 727
weary life until about November, or, at least, until after [221]
the season of buffalo hunting had arrived, when I was ordered, unexpectedly, one morning, to mount a mule, and riding forth from the camp, accompanied by Big Wolf and half a dozen of his warriors, I left behind me forever the beautiful valley of Mannasaw.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

648 and are sanguine in the belief that the time will eventually arrive when they will be enabled, with the assistance of the Great Spirit, to sweep them from existence and reclaim their rightful inheritance. In their ignorance, they compare, favorably for themselves, their feeble strength with the whole power of the United States.

000 It would be cheaper for the government, in the end, instead of maintaining a line of military posts on the frontier—standing merely on the defensive—to send an army through their territories, giving them ocular demonstrations of its power, arresting their turbulent chiefs, and teaching them a lesson too impressive to be forgotten, that the rights of a citizen of the United States shall not be violated with impunity. Hundreds of our people, in the pursuit of their lawful business, are captured yearly, enslaved, and barbarously put to death, without attracting the attention of government, whereas if the hundredth part of the same outrages were committed by any enlightened nation, it would call upon the people to fly to arms. For my own part, I do not see why the arm of authority should not be stretched forth to protect the outraged citizen at the headwaters of the Guadaloupe with the same promptness it is to protect him in Paraguay, or on the Gulf of Mexico.

221 The camp of the Spotted Leopard, as has previously been
241 seen, was situated at the source of the Boge Lescoha, at the foot of a mountain range. Fifty miles south, at the other extremity of the valley, were his planting grounds, where a small village had been constructed, and where a number of the tribe, principally squaws, usually remained.

727 I had been here several months when a party arrived from the plantation, among whom I observed were three white women, notwithstanding their faces were painted.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 were not known by the particular informants questioned. One man felt that the white sage had a practical value, but did not know what it might be. Some of these plants have been recorded as used by tribes more or less in contact with the Comanche and may have been employed in a similar manner by the Comanche. The informant who pointed out the western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*) gave its name as *woanatsu*, but knew of no use for it. The ending *natsu* [757] indicates a medicinal plant, and it is interesting to note that this plant was prescribed by the Cheyenne in the treatment of colds, cramps in bowels, and bloody stools (9, p. 188), and that it was also valued by the Gosiute in the treatment of sore eyes (6, p. 49), but has a quite different name, without the *natsu* ending, in Gosiute.

221 166 824 The Comanche were formerly a very nomadic people, particularly after their acquisition of the horse. Marcy and McClellan (15, pp. 94–95) describe them as following the buffalo from place to place and also tell of their horse- and cattle-stealing expeditions, which covered over a thousand miles and even took them into the northern provinces of Mexico, consuming two years or more at a time. Richardson (19) tells something of the migrations, movements, expeditions, and contacts of the Comanche. They appear to have been in at least occasional touch with Apache and Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with Plains and Plateau tribes as far north as what is now the Canadian border. It seems reasonable that they should have been an important agency in the diffusion of plants and of knowledge of plant uses as well as of other culture traits. They controlled practically all the limited area in which the valuable *bois d'arc* or bowwood grew and from which it was traded to the Siouan, the Caddoan, and other tribes to the north, and to the Pueblos to the west. They doubtless also were instrumental in spreading the narcotic cults based on the peyote and mescal beans. La Barre (12, p. 43) considers the Kiowa and the Comanche to be the center of diffusion of peyote in the Plains. Both peyote and mescal beans were native to the southwestern region of Texas and in Mexico, but were diffused almost throughout the Plains and as far northeastward as the Great Lakes. Certainly the many similar plant uses of the Comanche and of other tribes of the Plains, the Plateau, and the Southwest indicate either Comanche contact with these various peoples or a very active dissemination of such traits throughout these areas.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221 dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224 camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251 it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281 The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492 horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In **Notes Taken With Marcy**, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. **Exploration of the Red River**, 95.

18. Parker, **Notes Taken with Marcy**, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, **The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days**, Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 36
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to
202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-i 19) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor
262 alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
175 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible
317 supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175

438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others 439
is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not 621
possible to ascertain the number of people that compose 224
them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they 175
keep their strength gathered with the caution with which 721
they always live; they never situate themselves in a place 621
that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wander- 175
ing from one place to another without maintaining them- 221
selves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no [241]
crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of [262]
buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel.

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131
[133]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

221 224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the 181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a (186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In person they are well built and rather corpu- 142 lent. Their language is the trade lan- 197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes. [194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still 101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands 621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most [115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Wasih. 101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Alleborne.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Bo'dälk'inago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 128, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses'; Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Dec., vi, 289, 1886. **Caunoucha.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 34, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumanciss.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Dä'tsē-as.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p.328-A]

so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica*. The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainə*, or *Yamparikə*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nɜm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika*. In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni*, it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

252 plucked out and it was flung into the fire or red coals. When one would suppose that there was nothing left to the bird, the burnt, black mess was raked out, left to partially cool, then with dexterous movement of the knife the skin is peeled or stripped from the neck downwards taking the burned feathers, revealing a white and tempting morsel to a hungry man. It was then cut and torn apart.[10]

252 Even when game was plentiful, the Comanche taste for certain
262 foods would not appeal to us. When a buffalo, beef, deer, antelope, or elk was killed, it was not uncommon for a hunter and his family to gather about, open its veins, and drink the warm blood. Raw brains and the marrow from the leg bones were stirred together on the flesh side of the hide or in a dish made by cutting out a section of the slaughtered animal's ribs, and were consumed without further preparation. The fresh, warm liver covered with the contents of the gall bladder was considered one of the finest delicacies. Children crowded around the butcher and begged for it. Liver cooked on coals and spread with rich marrow also formed a choice dish. Entrails stripped of their contents by drawing them between two fingers, kidneys, paunch, loin tallow, and the tallow around the kidneys were all eaten raw while still warm and without washing. A Comanche would cut into the udder of an animal and, placing his mouth on the gash, suck the warm mixture of milk and blood with the greatest of pleasure. The curdled milk from the stomach of a suckling fawn or calf was a delicacy indeed. Herman Lehmann also refers to their having eaten the heart, but this appears to have been unusual, for it was generally left within the skeleton,[11] probably a ceremonial gesture to propitiate the animal spirit. These appetites may have been indelicate from our point of view, but they provided an effective way to get vitamins and iron in large quantities. The Comanche would have had the hearty approval of the modern dietitian.

222 Although buffalo meat was their dietary mainstay, the Comanches did not suffer the unrelieved monotony of boiled stew and jerked

[10] R. G. Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 279.

[11] Herman Lehmann, *Nine Years among the Indians*, 115, 116; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones. Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today. Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also dehydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuberous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, remember, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar-content.

Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 were preserved for later use. The manner of preparation and storage
262 is of considerable interest.

824 The fruits of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) were eaten
262 fresh or were dried and stored for future comsumption. The per-
251 simmon was commonly used in this manner by various tribes in the southern prairies and in the Southeast, and it is frequently mentioned in early historical accounts. The common method of preparation for storage seems to have been to beat the ripe fruits to a pulp, remove the seeds, and dry the paste. The cakes thus formed were later softened in water and prepared in various ways for eating. The persimmon has achieved little commercial importance, but is still widely used and esteemed by Indians and whites wherever it is available. An informant also described a black persimmon (Comanche: *dunaseika*) obtained in Texas and Mexico. This was doubtless the Mexican persimmon (*Brayodendron texanum*), which occurs from central Texas southwestward into Mexico.

The fruits of the mulberry (*Morus rubra*) were eaten fresh, when ripe, but no attempt was made to store them. This species is the one most generally preferred by Indians, from the Iroquois country to Kansas and Missouri and southward.

The fresh ripe fruits of two hawthorns or "haws" (*Crataegus spp.*) were eaten by the Comanche. According to an informant, one should shout like a wolf before partaking of them, or he will be sure to get stomach-ache and constipation. An indication of the wide use of Crataegus fruits is a list, compiled by Yanovsky (27, pp. 30–31), of eleven species used by various tribes of Indians from the eastern states to California and British Columbia.

The Comanche names for several wild "plums" were recorded, including designations for early plums, late summer plums, and fall plums. It is quite likely that some of the "plums" are wild cherries or chokecherries. Only one was collected, the Chickasaw plum (*Prunus angustifolia*). The fruits of this species were either eaten fresh or stored for winter use. Another kind of plum (Comanche: *su:kui*) was also said to be stored after the seeds had been removed and the fruits dried on a hide in the sun. Later they were boiled in water and eaten. In the winter the Indians sometimes obtained
[222] plums by tracking pack rats to their nests and taking the hoarded supply.

Several species of wild grapes (*Vitis spp.*) were available to the

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

Plant remedies played a part in the Comanche treatment of 824
venereal diseases. The root of the thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*) was 278
boiled and the liquid drunk in cases of gonorrhea. Another medicinal 757
drink for gonorrhea was prepared by making an infusion of the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*). Syphilitic sores were treated with the ashes of the stems of little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*).

Two plants were used by the Comanche, in much the same manner, for both toothache and sore throat. For toothache the root of the purple coneflower (*Echinacea sp.*) or the bark of the root of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was held against the tooth to relieve pain. In cases of sore throat the root of the coneflower was boiled in water and the liquid drunk, or the inner bark of the prickly ash was ground and placed in the throat. This similarity may indicate some association of tooth and throat troubles in the minds of the Comanche, but it very likely has no significance, since both plants were general cure-alls among various tribes. The Cheyenne utilized Echinacea for the same purposes, and the methods of application were only slightly different (9, p. 188). Echinacea was an important medicinal plant among the tribes of the Missouri River region, where its use for toothache was identical with that of the Comanche, but no mention is made of it as a cure for sore throat (7, p. 131).

Three plants were prescribed for the treatment of "sore eyes." The root of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) was boiled in water and the decoction used to bathe them; the stems of willow (*Salix sp.*) were burned and the eyes treated with the ashes; and the sap of the prickly poppy (*Argemone intermedia*) was administered to the eyes. [222] It was said that in gathering this latter plant offerings in the form of beads or other objects were made to it.

A tea for "stomach trouble" was prepared from the roots of *Eriogonum longifolium*, and the leaves of mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) were chewed, and the juice swallowed, to relieve acid stomach. A remedy for constipation was a drink made by boiling the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*).

The bark of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was mixed with water and the decoction drunk as a cure for fever. Two other plants were also specified for the treatment of fever. The leaves of one of these (Comanche: *poiya*) were mixed with an herb (unknown

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXIII

599 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ nʌmʌbʌʌ$_3$ tamutʌso?ihunu?betu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soohuuhkaba$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. uku$_1$ bʌi$_2$ kwabihkakʌse?$_3$ surʌʌ$_4$, —soohtuku$_5$ ma?$_6$ bʌewatsi?$_7$ mubipó?roo?katʌ$_8$. taa$_9$ muhyi$_{10}$ nʌʌ?ka$_{11}$ kʌhtaaku$_{12}$ rahtʌmi?inu$_{13}$.— mekʌse?$_{14}$ surʌʌ$_{15}$. 4. —etʌtsa?$_1$ bʌewatsi?$_2$ mubipó?roo?$_3$ taa$_4$ narʌhka?a$_5$ tai$_6$ tʌhkakʌtu?i$_7$,— mekʌ$_8$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pomami?anu$_2$, na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sooko$_4$ bomanu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tuhpokóo?a$_7$. 6. pʌʌ$_1$ pomapʌha$_2$ pibianarʌsokʌ$_3$ rʌbakinu$_4$. 7. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 8. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ$_2$ marii$_3$ bitʌhka$_4$, setʌʌ$_5$ marʌʌ$_6$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_7$, —etʌʌtukutsa?$_8$ bʌewatsi?$_9$ mubipó?roo?$_{10}$ taa$_{11}$ narʌhka?a$_{12}$ sʌmʌrʌhka?i$_{13}$.—

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went to pick$_5$ along Briar Creek$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ camped$_3$ among much timber$_2$.
3. When$_3$ they$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_1$, /those ones$_4$/ those ones$_{15}$ said$_{14}$, —There is$_6$ (are) many$_8$ wild$_7$ pigs$_8$. You all$_{11}$ shut$_{13}$ our$_9$ doors$_{10}$ tightly$_{12}$.— 4. —Those various$_1$ wild$_2$ pigs$_3$ will
[222] eat$_7$ our$_4$ groceries$_5$ for$_7$ us$_6$,— (they) said$_8$. 5. These ones$_1$ went to pick$_2$, (they) picked$_3$ much$_4$ (many) pecans$_5$, also$_6$ a black berry (tree)$_7$. 6. (They) loaded$_4$ their$_1$ pickings$_2$ in big sacks$_3$. 7. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ went$_3$ to$_4$ their$_5$ camp$_4$. 8. When$_4$ they$_3$ came$_4$ to$_2$ their$_1$ camp$_2$ /those various$_3$/ their$_4$ womenfolk$_7$ said$_{14}$ $_{15}$. —Those various$_8$ wild$_9$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXV

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ atabitsinʌʌ$_3$ su?ana$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narʌhka?tsu?manu$_2$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ-
?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 4. urʌʌmatʌkʌse?$_1$,
—tanʌwitsa$_2$ ohʌhi$_3$ ma$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaakʌhi$_5$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_6$
taa$_7$ yʌihtʌhkaru?iha$_8$ ahwemi?anu$_9$.— 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si-
?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ku?wʌhora?a$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, sukʌhu$_6$ ʌmahpaa-
kʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 6. tahkwe?yu?itsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ muhpe?ma?ai$_3$
makʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_8$
ahwénu$_9$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —keta?ka$_3$ mubisi-
tʌʌ$_4$ mahka$_5$ tai$_6$ ahweku$_7$.— me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.
8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ahwepʌha$_4$ narʌsokoko$_5$
noohtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$.
10. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌku$_2$ kohtoo?etʌtsi$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahwe-
pʌha$_6$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_7$. 11. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ tsuhnipʌma?-
aihku$_3$ ma$_4$ karʌkʌnu$_5$. 12. sʌsʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ u$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, other tribe of Indians$_3$ camped$_5$
222 there somewhere$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ fan out of groceries$_2$.
262 3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ set up$_5$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$. 4. One of
them$_1$ (said), —We ought to$_2$ go dig$_9$ water lily roots$_6$ in
that$_3$ /this$_4$/ big lake$_5$ /in/ /what$_8$/ [which] we$_7$ will eat for
supper$_3$.— 5. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_5$ their$_3$ hoes$_4$,
went$_8$ there$_6$ to (the) lake$_7$. 6. Taking off (their) shoes$_1$,
with$_3$ their$_2$ hoes$_3$ went down$_5$ in it$_4$, (and) dug up$_9$ a lot of$_6$
these$_7$ water lily roots$_8$. 7. One$_1$ of them$_2$ said$_{8\ 10}$ to them$_9$,
—Don't$_3$ blow your noses$_4$ as$_7$ we$_6$ dig$_7$ this$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$
at this place$_2$, carrying$_6$ their$_3$ diggings$_4$ in sacks$_5$, went$_7$ to$_8$
539 their$_7$ camp$_8$. 9. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 10. Each one mak-
262 ing a fire$_9$ in$_8$ their$_1$ homes$_2$ (they) cooked$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_5$
252 diggings$_6$. 11. Some$_1$ of them$_2$ boiled$_8$ it$_4$ with bones$_3$.
12. Some$_1$ /themselves$_2$/ fried$_4$ it$_3$ in$_4$ that$_3$ fat$_4$. 13. One$_1$

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

BY J. A. DACUS

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

THE COMANCHES number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former 161
range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, 101
of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of 131
Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and
the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally 101
classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification.
In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the 101
Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a 197
relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are dis- 101
tinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but 233
keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess them- 241
selves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured 224
by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and
some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds 222
of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 462

[p. 333]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1900 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 262 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] [462] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 562 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 562 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni-593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece 583 of silver, or a handful of beads.

562 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh-583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
621 istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
77 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

12: Canonge - L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXII

539 1. su?anakʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_3$ kahníba?i$_4$ 2. surʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ ke$_2$ tsihánabeni?eeyu$_3$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ nana-
wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$, —hina$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ taa$_6$ tʌrʌe?tii$_7$ tʌhkákʌhutu-
?i$_8$? — mekʌ$_9$. 4. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ urʌʌmatʌ$_3$, —tsaati$_4$
nʌ?$_5$ su?ura?i$_6$, — mekʌ$_7$. 5. —tanʌwitsa$_1$ ma$_2$ yʌihka$_3$,
raa$_4$ nanahtenanʌʌma?ai$_5$ okʌho$_6$ huuhkabatu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$ —
6. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —hina$_3$ hanitu?i$_4$ mia$_5$? — mekʌ$_6$.
7. surʌkʌse?$_1$, --ehka$_2$ kuyunii?a$_3$ huuhkabanai$_4$ tahkʌaru?i$_5$, —
mekʌ$_6$. 8. —suni$_1$ urii$_2$ tai$_3$ mʌʌhkase?$_4$ taa$_5$ nanahtena-
nʌʌ$_6$ pʌʌ$_7$ ta?wo?i?a$_8$ himahtsi$_9$, ohto$_{10}$ ma$_{11}$ huuhkʌma?ru$_{12}$
wihnu$_{13}$ robo?ihutu?i$_{14}$. — 9. —soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌʌ$_2$ sunihku$_3$
puhitóo?a$_4$ rʌkʌwasʌ?etʌʌ$_5$. — 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ oyetʌ$_2$ si?a-
netʌ$_3$ hʌʌ$_4$ kahnikutʌ$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ omomʌsʌ$_8$ surʌʌ$_9$
uku$_{10}$ bitʌnu$_{11}$. 11. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_4$
pʌmʌ$_5$ u$_6$ ni?atsi?nihku$_7$, huuhkʌma?ku$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 12. sitʌʌ-

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1. Somewhere$_1$, it is said$_2$, some$_3$ had a camp$_4$. 2. Those
ones$_1$ became hungry$_{2\,3}$. 3. /Those$_1$/ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$
said$_9$, —What$_4$ (are) we$_5$ going to feed$_8$ our$_6$ children$_7$?—
4. /That one$_1$/ one$_2$ /is/ of them$_3$ said$_7$, —I$_5$ thought of$_6$
539 something good$_4$.— 5. —When$_3$ it$_2$ is evenings$_3$, we ought to$_1$
with$_5$ our$_4$ menfolk$_5$ go$_8$ over there$_6$ in among the trees$_7$.—
223 6. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_6$, —What$_3$ will (we) do$_4$, go$_5$?—
7. That one$_1$ said$_4$, —(We) will drive$_5$ those various$_2$ tur-
keys$_3$ from among the trees$_4$.— 8. —As$_4$ we$_3$ do to$_4$ them$_3$
that way$_1$, then$_{13}$ our$_3$ menfolk$_4$, taking$_9$ their$_7$ guns$_8$, will
stand$_{14}$ along there$_{10}$ along /its$_{11}$/ the timber's edge$_{12}$.
9. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ in that way$_3$ killed$_5$ turkeys$_4$ to eat$_5$.—
10. All$_2$ those ones$_1$ at this place$_3$ went$_6$ from$_5$ their$_4$ camp$_5$
on$_8$ their$_7$ feet$_8$ those ones$_9$ arrived$_{11}$ there$_{10}$. 11. These$_1$
men$_2$, in the way$_7$ that$_3$ woman$_4$ /she$_6$/ advised$_7$ them$_5$, went$_9$

12: Cañonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

kʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ huuhkabaiki$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, 539
si?ana$_7$ pʌma$_8$ sehka$_9$ kuyunʃi?a$_{10}$ yʌkwi?ena$_{11}$ piaba?sa-
hpunʃi?tuhka$_{12}$ yʌkwinu$_{13}$. 13. marii$_1$ yʌkwihkakukʌse?$_2$
setʌ$_3$ kuyunʃi?$_4$ sooyorikitʌ$_5$, sima$_6$ pa?sahpunʃi?ma$_7$ yʌ-
kwinu$_8$. 14. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ maa$_2$ yʌkwihkatʌ$_3$, wihnu$_4$ sokoko$_5$
pohbianu$_6$. 15. sitʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ marʌʌmatu$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$.
16. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ kuyunʃi?nʌʌ$_2$ huuhkʌma?ku$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$.
17. huuhkʌma?ku$_1$ ma$_2$ kʌahka$_3$, sitʌʌ$_4$ tenanʌʌ$_5$ tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_6$ mariI$_7$ wasʌ́nu$_8$. 18. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$
wasʌpʌha$_4$ wa?wahku$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, pituʌ$_7$ bʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$
mi?anu$_{10}$. 19. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ$_2$ bʌi$_3$ bitʌhka$_4$, setʌʌ$_5$ mariI$_6$
no?inu$_7$. 20. wihnu$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ maka?-
mukitsi$_5$, kohtoohtsi$_6$, sehka$_7$ kuyunʃi?a$_8$ sooko$_9$ kwasʌ́kʌnu$_{10}$.
21. sitʌʌ$_1$ sukʌhu$_2$ sunihku$_3$ kuyunʃi?a$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ wasʌ?ima$_6$
tsihákwitso?ainu$_7$. 22. subetʌ$_1$.

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to the edge of the timber$_8$. 12. Then$_2$ these$_1$ women$_3$ went$_4$ 539
through$_5$ that$_4$ timber$_5$ here$_7$ (they) sat down$_{13}$ under (a) 223
big oak$_{12}$ on /it$_8$/ [which] those various$_9$ turkeys$_{10}$ perch$_{11}$.
13. As$_2$ they$_1$ were sitting$_2$, many$_5$ (of) those various$_3$ tur-
keys$_4$ came flying$_5$ (and) perched$_8$ on this$_6$ /on/ oak$_7$.
14. These$_1$ (turkeys) are perching$_3$ on it$_2$, then$_4$ jumped$_6$
to the ground$_4$. 15. These$_1$ women$_2$ ran$_4$ on to them$_3$.
16. These$_1$ turkeys$_2$ ran$_4$ to the edge of the timber$_3$. 17. As$_3$
it$_2$ [they] came out$_3$ to the edge of the timber$_1$, these$_4$ men$_5$
killed$_8$ much$_6$ [many] (of) them$_7$. 18. These$_1$ then$_2$, carrying$_6$
two each$_5$ (of) their$_3$ killings$_4$, went$_{10}$ back$_7$ to$_9$ their$_8$ camp$_9$.
19. When$_4$ they$_3$ arrived$_4$ (at) their$_1$ camp /to$_2$/, those var- 539
ious ones$_5$ [the women] picked$_7$ them$_6$ [the turkeys]. [252]
20. Then$_1$ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$ preparing$_5$ it$_4$, making a fire$_6$,
cooked$_{10}$ those$_7$ many$_9$ /various$_7$/ turkeys$_8$. 21. These ones$_1$
there$_2$ in that way$_3$ with$_6$ (the) turkeys$_4$ [which] they$_5$ killed$_6$
[were] saved from hunger$_7$. 22. That is all$_1$.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- 657 er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 871 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 177 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 155 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

●224 The hunt was orderly and cooperative. By custom each person was expected to follow the rules of the game, and no marshals or soldier-police governed the procedure or exercised any administrative control whatever. Just how leadership of the hunt was managed was not uncovered. That there was a leader is certain. Presumably, one of the war leaders with special hunting skill was the man who directed the manoeuvering of the band and supervised the scouts. Whether he was appointed to the directing position or merely assumed it by common consent cannot be said.

First the herd was located by scouts. Then the entire band of hunters stalked it, coming up against the wind. When within striking distance all the men lined up "to get an even start," and then all charged the animals. The main function of the simultaneous charge was to prevent the scattering of the herds by a few individuals, but equally important was the need to kill as many buffalo as quickly as possible so that they would not get overheated in long running. Their meat would then spoil before it could be cured.

Each buffalo was butchered by the women of the man who had slain it and belonged to the man who killed it, identification being made by means of characteristic markings on the arrows.

105 The Comanches cultivated no plants but obtained a certain amount of corn and most of their tobacco in trade with the Mexicans of the Southwest. The tacit non-interference of these same colonial Spaniards in New Mexico made it possible for the Comanche, with the Kiowa, to obtain quantities of these goods and other articles as booty in raids upon the Mexican settlements further south. From the Kiowa and Wichita, also, corn was obtained. Seeds and berries were also utilized.

The material culture of the Comanches was relatively meagre and was of the general Plains type. Families lived in buffalo hide tipis of the twenty-two pole variety laid upon a four-pole foundation, but they were also accustomed to build small brush arbors as wind and sun screens. Somewhat enlarged, these arbors serve as customary summer homes for practically all Comanche families at the present time. Various tools of stone and bone were used in their industries and as weapons of war. The war club, spear and bow and arrow served as offensive armament, while defensive armor for the horse was made of tough raw-hide plates covered with pitch-cemented sand.[15] Many warriors carried the round buffalo-hide medicine shield as well as quivers and bow coverings. Saddles, a modified Spanish type, were made by men for their own use, though in later times Mexican captives

[15] From the traditional Ponca account of the first meeting and early fights with the Comanche from whom the Ponca obtained their first horses. Cf., Fletcher and LaFleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 27, 1906), pp. 79–80.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

224 689 social authority emerged most clearly amongst the Plains tribes. "Indeed," Professor Lowie has written, "disobedience to their (the soldier-constabulary) orders on that occasion and consequent imperilment of the food supply may be regarded as the one crime against society recognized by all the Plains tribes."[3]

The Comanches are the great exception. To prove that it was entirely foreign to his people, White Wolf cited the experience of a Comanche who was living with the Cheyennes. In his ignorance this individual violated the Cheyenne law by seeking out the herd alone. In consequence, he was visited by the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, who began slashing his tipi and blankets and killing his horses. The Comanche vigorously protested the punishment to the leader of the group; he argued that it was no offense to hunt alone among his people; he had not known that the Cheyennes felt differently about it.

The Comanches were not unmindful of the need for limitations of individual action. The spontaneous germ, social recognition of communal danger which lay in individual hunting, was clearly there. Experience had taught them the danger of stampeding a herd. Such measures as they did develop show how naturally the buffalo problem did become a focal point for the excrudescence of criminal law in some originating Plains tribe. Thus it was said that if the chief *thought* a certain man was likely to sneak out alone or to break before all were ready, he told the *people* to keep an eye on that fellow.

Suppose some rugged individualist escaped the "eyeing," however. Slope recalled an occasion when he was on a hunt and one man crept out from the camp before daybreak, disregarding the impropriety of his action. While the others were still dreaming of shooting buffalo by the hundreds, he was out shooting those he could get, not stopping to butcher them, eagerly pushing on while the game was good. The band rose early too. The hunters were soon in the field. It was not long before they stalked upon the carcasses. Indignation was high. They moved to drastic action. The hunters pulled their skinning knives and slashed the hides to shreds. The chiseller would have no robes. Then they vindictively scooped sand and dirt from the ground, rubbing it soundly into the flesh. That fixed the sneaker. He knew what they thought of him. The hunt leader pointed the finger at him and told the people to keep an eye on him thereafter. He suffered no physical chastisement, as he would have among the Cheyennes. But the incident and the reputation it left must have dogged him.

Beyond this, however, the Comanches did not go.

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[3] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 415; affirmed also by Professor Boas, cf. *Anthropology*, (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. I, 1935), p. 89.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections. 422 562

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of private property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride. 422 231

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself. 672 231

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make 574 224

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[721] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

422 The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

422 Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of personal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6 ●
Northern Shoshone NR14

N 224 625

number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers táɔkoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

C N [101] 224 625

It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

C N 181

Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

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[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
554

The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

Dressing the Buffalo Skin

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224 earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492 sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224 it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482] he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462 markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281 this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824] of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825] the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Night Encampment

While crossing one of these little prairies, we espied a 224 bear making his way to the mountain. A part of the Indian's equipage is a *lasso*, tied to his saddle girth, and in the skill and accuracy with which they throw it, they far excel the Mexicans. On this occasion it was brought into use. A couple of them galloped out, one dexterously throwing the noose over Bruin's neck and twitching him on his back, the other as dexterously throwing another over his hind legs, thus subjecting him to a most uncomfortable stretch, as they pulled in opposite directions. A scalping knife soon relieved him of his hide, and a portion of his carcass supplied our evening meal. Bear's flesh is often eaten by them, but is not regarded as equal to buffalo, beef, or venison. They are hunted considerably, however, for their oil, which [281] is used in the preparation of various kinds of skins.

Having descended the western slope of the mountain range, we encamped that night at the extreme point of a narrow valley, which seemed to run up a long distance between the hills. Wearied with a hard day's travel, I hastened 727 to cook my own and Big Wolf's supper—for I was compelled to act towards him in the capacity of a servant— 264 and then lay down to rest. Though I brought his water, and cooked his food, and slept in his tent, and was in fact, his menial and slave, Big Wolf never, in a single instance, placed the horn of water to his lips or put a morsel of flesh into his mouth until I had tasted them. This, also, was the case with the two chiefs to whom I subsequently belonged. Whether it was through fear of poison, or dictated by some singular superstition, is more than I am able to determine.

Setting out again early in the morning, we traveled down 000 the little winding valley until it opened into an extensive plain. Here we struck a narrow but very rapid stream, when

727 first carried away into captivity. This, I supposed, was the extent of the penalty I was doomed to suffer, but a short time taught me I was sorely and painfully mistaken. The Spotted Leopard, drawing down my leggin, with the coolness of the most practised surgeon, drew the edge of his knife across the cartilage or tendon just below the kneepan of my right leg. The muscle was not entirely severed, as was evidently his intention. The object of this surgical operation was to cripple me in such manner as to render escape impossible, even should a favorable opportunity present itself. For two weeks I was kept tied down, the chief frequently, during that time, bending the leg back and forth, each time breaking open the wound afresh. Eventually, however, I was unbound, and the wound permitted to heal, leaving a formidable cicatrice, and rendering the limb extremely stiff, not to such a degree, however, as it was his purpose to make it.

224 In the winter following, some 250 of the warriors, armed
727 with bows and arrows, lances, tomahawks, and knives, set
492 out on their annual grand buffalo hunt. They were mounted on their choice horses, while I, who accompanied the chief as his servant, rode, unarmed, a dilapidated mule.

224 It is only in the cold months that the skin of the buffalo has any value for the purposes of traffic. Then, only, is it covered with wool, being, in the warm summer weather, with the exception of a tuft of mane, entirely bare. During the latter period they are only killed as the necessity of food requires—their skins then being used for the construction of tents.

224 On these annual excursions, they are followed by a large
492 number of mules that not only carry out their buffalo-hunting tents, which simply consist of one or more skins,

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes—but also bring back the hides they may succeed in taking.

On the occasion I now refer to, the party moved west, threading their winding way over the mountains, and across numerous streams and valleys of greater or less width and extent. In the afternoon of the third day we struck a wide, rolling prairie. Dividing it nearly in the center was a high, smooth ridge—its summit reached from both sides by an easy, gradual ascent. As we crossed the prairie and approached this ridge, our scattered cavalcade extended, perhaps, a quarter of a mile, moving forward carelessly, and in no order whatever. I was at the extreme rear, by the side of the Spotted Leopard, and surrounded by the pack mules. As the foremost horsemen reached the height, they halted suddenly, making hurried signs, while two or three of the braves galloped back down the slope, riding eagerly to and fro among their brethren, as if urging them to push forward without delay. The whole band, thereupon, dashed up the hill, except the Spotted Leopard and myself, who remained with the mules in the rear, and on reaching the summit deployed into line. By this time I had heard the cry of "the Apaches, the Apaches," and knew at once there was hot work at hand.

As yet, however, I had seen nothing of an enemy, and only drew the inference there was one present from the cries I had heard, and the general commotion that prevailed. In the course of two or three minutes after our line formed on the ridge, the air was rent with the noise of the war whoop, and up the opposite ascent, at full speed, came the Apaches in solid body, like a black cloud. As they approached, a shower of arrows were discharged from both lines, when they rushed upon each other in a hand-to-hand encounter.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Battle with the Apaches

As soon as they had left the ground, the Apaches again 727
appeared upon the height, and bore away their dead also.
It was a drawn battle.

This encounter was unexpected on both sides. The Apaches, as I learned, were gathered around a spring, cooking their meat, little expecting the approach of an enemy, when the van of our party came upon them. At that time a deadly strife existed between the tribes, and it would have been a scandalous violation of an Indian's idea of manhood to have separated, under such circumstances, without a bloody tilt at arms.

The Comanches lost in this battle seventeen warriors; the Apaches, probably as many more. Had the combatants belonged to a civilized people who keep a record of their wars, it would have furnished a thrilling page of history; but thousands of such sanguinary struggles take place on the lonely prairies of which the world knows not. That same season, however, they buried the tomahawk and danced the pipe dance, and henceforward were at peace.

The close of this eventful day was occupied in burying 727
the slain, which ceremony was performed in their custom- 764
ary manner, except they seemed to chant the death song 775
with more energy and feeling than on ordinary occasions. With them, death, at any time, even the nearest and dearest of their kindred, is not regarded as an event to be deplored, but on the contrary, to be welcomed with rejoicing; but when a warrior dies on the field of battle, their joy and exultation knows no bounds, for their crude theology assures them his departed spirit is, at once, caught up by the Great Spirit, and borne to the region of everlasting and supreme felicity.

We saw no more of the Apaches, and the following day 224
turned our course up the prairie—crossed the mountains

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 On the return, which was by a different route from that
574 we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a
622 friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their
[551] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the
[622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his
727 people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Visit to the Ruins

The battle lasted but a moment, the bright blades, in 578
the meantime, glittering and glimmering in the sun, and the contestants instantly presenting the appearance of men suddenly overtaken by a storm of blood. At length, a mortal thrust by one was followed by a fierce blow from the other, gashing through the side of the neck, from which the purple tide of life spouted up in a high wide arch, when both fell lifeless to the ground.

Had either survived the conflict, according to their code of honor, it would have been the duty of his brother to have put him immediately to death. Throughout the exciting scene not the slightest partiality was exhibited. The faintest shadow of emotion could not be detected upon the countenances of the savage stoics as they gazed upon it. They were stretched side by side on the spot where they had fallen—buried in the customary manner—and left to rest together in peace, at last.

The week succeeding this tragedy, a party of ten or 484
twelve, including the Rolling Thunder and myself, started 224
on a long journey, its object being to ascertain whether the buffalo droves had changed their feeding grounds, before the warriors set out on their annual hunt. In the course of this trip we crossed a valley, the singular appearance of which has very frequently since been the subject of study and reflection.

On the summit of many of the mountains we passed, 172
were broad, level tablelands, destitute of a solitary tree, and covered with rank grass. Upon every one of these elevated plains was to be seen a mound, in most instances in the form of a half-circle, resembling the overgrown ruins of an ancient fortress, and plainly the work of human hands.

Finally we descended into a ravine, walled on either 133
side by rugged cliffs which led us a day's ride to the south-

186 that at some period, more or less remote, this valley had
773 been inhabited by a people skilled in architecture and evidently possessing, in a high degree, a knowledge of mechanism and the arts. Whether the Rolling Thunder's account of their destruction is correct, or his belief that their successors will eventually be disposed of in the same summary manner is orthodox, will admit of argument; nevertheless, there is no doubt that, in common with all the tribes of the Comanches, he entertains this belief, in genuine sincerity. It is this unwavering faith in the future ascendancy of the red man, and the final restoration to him of all the possessions he has lost, which prompts him to perpetual resistance, and which so often led the Rolling Thunder to exclaim, after I had described some marvelous invention—"Wonderful, wonderful are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all."

224 After leaving the volcanic valley and ascertaining the feeding grounds of the bison, we returned to the village, and soon again set forth on the yearly buffalo hunt. It is
[136] a singular fact that on these excursions the hunters are followed by droves of wolves. They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the business in which the party is about to engage. As soon as the skin is stripped from the buffalo they surround the carcass and devour it. To wake
000 in the dead of night, after dreaming, peradventure, of early home and friends, to find yourself under a rude tent, in those far distant wilds, surrounded by a savage tribe, produces sensations, lonely and desolate indeed—but terror mingles with the sense of desolation when, all around, the adjacent solitudes are vocal with the barking and snarling and howling of wolves, gorging themselves at their midnight feasts.

It was at such times as these my soul longed to reach once

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

received at least one horse. Some unimportant people got as many as five or six, and the Cheyenne chiefs many more.[13] 728

The numerous wild herds which roamed the Southern Plains afforded an ever ready supply to any Comanches who could take them—frequently a difficult task. The mustang, which played an important part in Comanche culture, was peculiarly fitted for its role. Small, agile, and tough, it was capable of surprising speed and possessed of great endurance. Its small, pointed, alert ears and quick, wicked eyes often signalled approaching danger before the rider himself was aware of it. The mustang was also a good forager and could obtain his own food even in the winter, when he was forced to live on bark and twigs. His life was in a way as hard and unadorned as that of the Indians. The frugal, wiry little creature became the fitting symbol of the equally frugal cultures of the Plains Indians. 224

The Comanches resorted to several methods of capturing wild mustangs. One necessitated building a corral, usually near or around a water hole, with diverging wings. The unsuspecting animals were driven between the wings until they entered the pen and were trapped. The Kiowas used this method extensively; the Comanches only occasionally. The Spaniards also used the plan, but it was so similar to the old Indian method of impounding antelope that it is probably an Indian adaptation of an old way to a new situation. In 1852 the Comanches were using "corrals into which four hundred or five hundred head could be driven."[14] Fortunately, a good description of such a corral in use before 1836 has survived. The corral was situated in an opening in blackjack timber. It was oval in shape, the opening being at one end. The fence was a stockade formed of blackjack posts set close together on end with brush and limbs of trees piled against the outside of the fence. The wings, made of brush, were heaped up high and wide, so that a horse could neither see through nor jump over them.[15] Once inside the pen, the mustangs were prisoners.

After the introduction of firearms, wild horses were often captured by "creasing"—a delicate task requiring expert marksmanship. To crease a horse was to shoot it through the muscular part of the

[13] G. B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 63–66.

[14] Anon., "Reminiscences of Service among the Comanches," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, June, 1882, 662–63.

[15] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 292.

The Comanches

224 neck above the vertebrae. If the marksman could hit it there and not fracture the spine, the animal dropped to the ground paralyzed for two or three minutes. A neat trick! This gave the hunter time to rope and tie the mustang before it knew what was happening. It would soon recover, however, and when the wound healed, be as good as ever.

Young horses that had been driven from the herds by stallions were often found on the prairie in considerable numbers. When such a herd was discovered in a convenient location, the Indians would drive out a few gentle, old mares as lures. The young horses would mingle with the mares, and after a time some of them could be taken.

Lassoing was a popular Comanche method of capturing wild horses, even though relatively few animals were taken in this manner. It was an art in which the Comanche was often an expert. The skill required and the danger involved in lassoing a wild horse gave young men a real chance to show off and gain prestige while enjoying an exciting sport. It would seem natural that, other things being equal, a horse running free could not be overtaken by one carrying a rider and that the best of the wild horses would get away. The Comanches were wily enough to see to it that other things were not always equal.

In the wintertime or early spring, cold weather and lack of food sometimes made the wild horses thin and weak. At such times a chaser mounted on a fast horse that had received good care could readily overtake the mares that were thin from suckling colts or those that were heavy with foal—and even some of the stallions. In the summer, according to Post Oak Jim, wild horses became so fat that they were sluggish on their feet. Then it was possible to run them down on a good horse that had been kept in trim. In any event, by ganging up on a wild herd, a group of riders spread over a wide area could drive the herd toward a second group of riders hidden in a clump of underbrush or behind a hill. As the herd came near, the concealed Indians would dash suddenly into their midst and do their roping before the wild beasts had recovered from their surprise.

If there was no convenient hiding place, as often there was not on the open plains, the chasers sometimes undertook to surround the herd. In their efforts to break through the circle, the wild horses were forced to pass close enough to some of the riders that they could drop a noose over them.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Horse and the Buffalo

Of all the techniques of taking mustangs, one of the easiest was to ambush them at the water hole. It was the habit of the wild horses to feed as much as ten or more miles out on the prairie from the nearest water. They would munch on the grass until thirsty. Then they would run the whole distance to the nearest hole. Hot and thirsty, they guzzled their bellies full. The Comanche, mounted on a good, rested horse, could dart from his ambush and quickly take a water-logged mustang which he could not even have approached a few minutes earlier.[16] 224

In capturing the hard-to-take stallions, however, the best way was to stalk them with a team of co-operating hunters. Each herd tended to move about within a limited range of territory; when flushed, it was likely to travel in a circle, returning eventually to or near the spot where it was originally found. To accomplish this end, one or more horsemen kept the herd continuously on the move without allowing it either to eat or to drink. This was not too difficult, for the stalkers, by remaining on the inside of the circle, traveled a much shorter distance than the herd. When their own mounts wearied, the riders were replaced by others or were supplied with fresh mounts. This procedure was continued without let-up for two or three days or until the herd became exhausted, when a number of riders on fresh mounts rode in and lassoed their pick of the wild horses.

To catch a wild horse is only half the job—if a man intends to ride him. There is yet the breaking to be done. The mustang was choked into exhaustion, thrown to the ground, and subjected to having the breath of the captor blown into its nostrils. The "wild" hairs were pulled from around its eyes. A headstall or hackamore, a loop of rope about the under jaw brought up and tied about the neck with a knot that would not slip, was put on the animal.[17] The captive was usually tied to a gentle mare in such a way as to keep it from injuring the mare during its first efforts to escape. While the horse was still tied to the mare, the owner handled it enough to make it gentle. After a few days it was set free, and thereafter followed the mare wherever she went. When the time came to ride his wild mustang, 492

[16] Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 187.

[17] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 67; Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Pacific with a United States Government Expedition*, I, 186–87.

brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[82]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available, there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[82] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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migrations. In the fall they moved south from two hundred to four hundred miles to winter in a more favorable climate, drifting north again with the coming of spring. In spring and summer the herds shifted away from the mountains; in winter, toward them. 136

The number of buffalo on the plains before commercial slaughter began reached a figure that staggers the imagination. In Kansas alone, it has been estimated that the bones of thirty-one million head were gathered and sold for fertilizer between 1868 and 1881.[34] A vast herd comprising considerably more than four million animals was seen by competent witnesses in 1871 on the Arkansas River between Fort Zarah and Fort Larned. The main herd was fifty miles deep and twenty-five miles wide—and this was only one of the many herds in existence at the time. On one occasion when the Great Herd moved north, it extended more than one hundred miles in width and was of unknown length, and it was estimated conservatively that the herd contained over one hundred million head.[35] Small wonder that the Comanches forgot to a great extent the starvation fears that beset the poor Shoshones!

Buffalo hunting for the Comanche followed fairly closely a regular pattern. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a co-operative venture. The great communal hunts occurred during the summer months after the seasonal moulting was done and the hides were in their prime, and during November and December when the hides, covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of fur, were best for winter robes. Preparation for the great fall hunt began in October, and the time was determined in democratic assembly at which everyone was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders made the important decisions. 224

Having decided upon an approximate time and location for the hunt, the entire camp became alive with activity. Runners were sent to seek a location for the temporary hunting camp. It must be near water and timber. Scaffolds must be erected for drying the meat. When all was ready, the young and able-bodied men, women, and

[34] Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail*, 203.

[35] Martin S. Garretson, *The American Bison*, 44–64. The estimate was made by General Philip H. Sheridan, Major Henry Inman, and Robert M. Wright who lived for fifty years in the heart of the buffalo country.

224 older children left the main camp for the operating base. Mules and pack horses were used to transport the hunting tents, which consisted simply of one or more undercoated skins thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes. They were also to bring back to the main camp the many hides and quantities of meat that would be taken. Only weapons, tools, and supplies that seemed necessary for the occasion were carried.

224 There was plenty of hard work for all concerned, but it was work spiced by anticipation of the excitement of great feasts and sharpened 535 by gay social activity. This was really the "Harvest Season." On at least one and possibly for several evenings before the hunting party left the main camp, the people gathered for the Hunting Dance at the central meeting place of the village just as lengthening shadows faded into darkness. The hunting party itself often continued to dance for one or more nights after they had left the main camp. There was no spiritual significance attached to the dance; each Comanche informant insists that the people danced because they "were glad they were going on a hunt." Why not? For the dance a fire was built, unless a bright autumn moon provided sufficient light. There [801] were two, four, or more drummers and singers, always an even number. The drummers and singers were men who had good voices, but for such strictly social dances no medicine powers were essential. Men and women lined up facing each other, and when the music began, the women crossed over and selected a partner. The dancers joined at intervals in the singing. They wore their everyday clothes, for no special ceremonial dress was necessary on this occasion. During the dance one man took care of the fire, but the wood was gathered by any of the enthusiastic dancers who wished to help. About midnight the dance ended and the people scattered to their lodges for sleep.[36]

224 The regulation of communal buffalo hunts under the strict surveillance of military police was one of the outstanding features of the cultures of practically all the Plains tribes. But of this the Comanches had nothing. They had, of course, no military fraternities such as those which did the policing for the other tribes, and in spite of their fierce individualism they seem not to have had the need for police

[36] Informants: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; Kills Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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when it came to hunting. Here the unruly Comanche behaved himself very well. Group discipline prevailed, and all worked for the common good. The rules of the game were known and respected. 224

Each hunt had a hunt leader who was the director for the occasion. He was a respected warrior and a man of good judgment, that we know. But whether he was appointed to the position or merely assumed it by common consent cannot be said. He gave general directions for the conduct of the hunt, and his was the power to signal the attack—for all the hunters charged simultaneously.

In the execution of the hunt the exact location of the herd was first determined by scouts. Then the hunters were out before the dawn of day. A narrow valley with many lateral ravines was considered to be very favorable. Moving up into position against the wind in a great semicircle, the band of hunters remained quietly on horseback out of sight of the buffalo. Buffalo have a keen sense of smell, but their wool partially obscures their sight and their sense of hearing is not acute. As they approached the buffalo, the hunters gradually spread until the herd was encircled except on the windward side. Everything ready, the leader gave the signal, the gap was rapidly closed, and the whole circle closed in. The Indians ran their ponies around the herd, forming it into a compact mass. The bulls would force the cows and calves to the center of the pack, and would then run around and around the margin, presenting themselves broadside to the hunters. In the surround, the buffalo often became bewildered and ceased to run. Killing them was then easy. Outer guards were in a position to turn back or kill any animals which escaped the hunters on the inside of the circle, but escaping buffalo were not pursued if other herds were in the vicinity.

At other times, particularly if the topography of the land was unfavorable for making a close surround, the hunters stalked the herd against the wind to get as near as possible without being detected. Then they lined up to get an even start, and at a given signal all charged the animals. The main function of the simultaneous charge was to prevent the scattering of the herd by a few individuals, but equally important was the need to kill as many buffalo as quickly as possible, for the meat would spoil before it could be cured if the animal when slain was overheated from long running.

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224 492 It was necessary to have well-trained horses, for the time of the slaughter was short. The first step in training a horse for buffalo running was to make him rope shy. This was done by twisting one end of a rawhide rope around the lower jaw, allowing the free end to trail. The trainer then mounted another pony and proceeded to prod the horse with whip, lance, or switch. For a short time, the horse, stepping on the halter rope, found it difficult to run. A few falls and hard jerks, however, were usually sufficient, and afterwards the horse very skillfully avoided stepping on any rope. Horses were trained also to run without bridle or rope of any kind, being guided by knee pressure.

224 Buffalo hunting, although hard work and dangerous, was truly exciting. When chasing buffalo, the Comanches, like other Indians, usually discarded all clothing except the breechclout. They rode bareback, although occasionally a small pad was used. Frequently a rope was wound in loose coils around the horse's body, just back of the forelegs; by thrusting his knees under the rope, the rider maintained a firm seat while in action. Each hunter rode upon the buffalo from the rear, coming in close on its right side and shooting at the soft spot between the protruding hip bone and the last rib. This was the only way to reach the vitals. The heart of the animal hung low, and since the rider was slightly behind and above the buffalo, the arrow slanted into the soft spot behind the short rib and ranged forward and downward. Driven with terrific force at such close range, the shaft often completely buried itself or passed all the way through the animal, even on occasion bringing down a second animal running alongside. A hunter sometimes pulled the arrow from the victim while the animal was still running. As soon as he heard the twang of the bow string, a good buffalo-running horse swerved away from its victim in order to be well out of harm's way when the wounded beast turned and charged. Unfortunately, the horse was not always quick enough to prevent being gored, and frequently a mount stepped in a prairie-dog hole, breaking its leg and throwing its rider. Many a hunter received broken limbs as a result of such accidents, and some were killed, but it was a risk taken with joy.[37]

[37] C. C. Rister, "Indians as Buffalo Hunters," *Frontier Times*, Vol. V (April, 1928), 456; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–62.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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When the hunt was over, each dead buffalo was the property of the man who killed it. Public-spirited men of consequence gave some of their kill to old men or widows or to families who had no hunters to provide for them. A hunter had no extreme difficulty in identifying the buffalo which he had killed. He might be able to recall the location of the animals, their appearance, the position of the wounds, and he easily could recognize his own marked arrows. If arrows of different men were found in the same dead buffalo, ownership was determined by the position of the arrows. If each arrow had inflicted a mortal wound, the buffalo might be divided, or more likely it was set aside as a portion of the charity fund. The hunter leader usually made the decision in case of argument. 224

Another and early method of killing the buffalo, and one which remained popular among the Comanches until the last, was with the lance. Josiah Gregg says that the Comanche often charged the buffalo with a long-handled spear or lance, which, if the horse was well trained, was much more effective than the bow and arrow or the American pistol.[38] In using the lance, the rider approached the buffalo from behind and held the lance across his body, the opposite hand from the buffalo being the higher. When the buffalo was slightly ahead of the horse, the hunter, using both hands, thrust his lance downward and forward, aiming for the heart, although some hunters thrust downward for the kidneys, hoping to break down and cripple the animal. When the buffalo felt the prick of the lance, it usually ran faster. When it attempted to turn and charge, the hunter pressed the lance firmly into its side until the buffalo gave way and ran on, or until it fell.

Although relatively few buffalo were taken in modern times by any other than the above methods, other means were occasionally employed. One was to drive the buffalo over a precipice or into a river. Fortunately an excellent description of this method has survived.

> This mode of hunting was to select one of the most active and fleet young men, who, disguised with a buffalo skin fastened about his body, with the horns and ears so secured as to deceive the buffalo, placed himself at a convenient distance between the herd

[38] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 363.

224 of buffalo and some of the river precipices, which sometimes extend for miles. His companions, in the meantime, get in the rear and along the flanks of the herd and, showing themselves at a given signal, advance upon the herd. The herd, thus alarmed, runs from the hunters toward the river. The Indian, who thus acts as a decoy, when the precipice is reached, suddenly secures himself in some crevice of the cliff previously selected, leaving the herd on the brink. It is then impossible for the foremost of the herd to retreat or to turn aside, being pressed on by those behind, and they tumble headlong off the cliff, strewing the shore with their bodies.[39]

The hunters rushed up to take a heavy toll of those failing to make a quick escape. This, of course, was a survival of the favored buffalo drive of prehistoric Indians on the plains.

The individual hunter sometimes employed a still more unique method. He wrapped himself with the hide of a wolf or a buffalo and on "all-fours" crept within shooting distance of the unsuspecting animals. Care had to be taken to approach toward the wind always. It was then possible for the hunter with bow and arrow to kill a number of animals before the unwary herd realized the source of its danger.[40]

252 Among many Plains tribes the women took over as soon as the men had shot the buffalo down. According to Comanche informants[41] the heavy work of skinning and butchering was done by the men. Cows were left lying on their sides, but bulls were heaved over to set on their bellies with all fours spread. They were then ready for butchering. The brisket was first slashed across at the neck and folded back so the forequarters could be removed at the joint. Then the hide was sliced down the middle of the spine in such a way as not to cut the sinews, which were removed intact. After the hide was peeled back toward both sides, the hind quarters were disjointed, leaving the rump with the back. The flank was next cut up toward the stomach and removed in one piece with the brisket—the whole thin

[39] J. A. Allen, "History of the American Bison," United States Geological and Geographical Survey, *Annual Report*, IX (1875), 574–75.

[40] Rister, "Indians as Buffalo Hunters," *loc. cit.*, 456.

[41] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Slope.

chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing. 252

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning. [251]

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter. 224 787

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the 224 825 787

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224 825 787 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusɛtɛmini,* "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a [837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians,* 312.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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IV

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

ALTHOUGH the subsistence activities of the Comanches centered around the buffalo, theirs was not a one-crop economy. Elk were plentiful in the brushy regions bordering the rivers and their tributaries. The black bear, found in the Cross Timbers, was hunted largely for its oil, which was used in the preparation of hides. The Comanches considered bear meat less tasty than either buffalo or deer. Principally within the region of the High Plains, in the heart of the buffalo country, roamed herds of antelope in great numbers. A herd of about two thousand was once seen at Fort Dodge.[1]

Food was usually plentiful enough that the Comanches no longer bothered, as did the horseless Shoshones, to run down antelope until the frightened and exhausted animals dropped. But they did retain from their Shoshonean background the magical antelope surround that was so widely used by the Indians of the Great Basin.

It was used among the Comanches only when the whole camp was out of food. Then the camp leaders would go to a medicine man or a medicine woman who had antelope power. They would smoke and tell him the trouble. According to Slope's account, the medicine man called for an antelope dance lasting several days to work up his power and to draw in the antelope. He selected two men to whom he gave some of his power for what they had to do. When all was

[1] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 64.

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ready, the people arranged themselves in two parallel lines facing east, the antelope medicine man at the center with the two warriors mounted on either side of him. Everyone else was afoot. In his hands the conjurer held his medicine sticks—two antelope hoofs, each on a piece of wood. Crossing his arms halfway below the elbow, a stick in each hand, he "blocked" the antelope. They could not run away. Then, giving one medicine stick to each of the warriors, he bade them ride off. One went northeast; the other southeast. Circling wide, they met and passed each other a mile or so to the east. They were drawing a magical barrier. Against its power the hapless antelope would be helpless. Each rider returned along the path laid by the other; the circle was closed. Now the two files of people—men, women, and children—followed out along the trails of the horsemen until they were standing in a huge circle, all singing antelope songs.

The antelope were now inside the circle, and the people closed in on them, shouting. The animals were in the corral. They dashed wildly about, but they could not cross the line. At last, when they were exhausted, the medicine man pointed one of his hoofs at an antelope who had one horn down. He would fall dead. "The people then pile in and kill them all."

The skeptic may say that it was the circle of shouting beaters who bunched the animals. But not the Comanche. He was convinced that without the medicine charm they would break through the circle and escape. The medicine hunt was not used often, but Comanches say it worked.

There is some disagreement about how fond the Comanches were of horse meat, but when game was not available, it was eaten and relished. Raiding parties normally carried few rations with them, and when the supply was exhausted, they simply killed and cooked a spare horse on the spot. Thomas C. Battey, who was one of the first white teachers among the Comanches, states that buffalo, antelope, or deer were preferred, but if not obtainable, a pony or a mule was the next choice. Modern Comanches agree with him. We have already called the Comanches "pastoralists," but they were not strictly so in that they did not rely to any great extent on their horse herds for food, and they never killed their mares. Around the middle of the nineteenth century they had plenty of horses to eat, yet the values

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spent in gang play. When a new camp was set up, they set out to find a good water hole in the creek where they could play all day. Following and baiting small birds and large insects fascinated them. Hummingbirds were shot with headless arrows having a vertically split foreshaft in which to catch the birds. Boys would spend all day chasing one bird, according to Skinny and Wrinkled, in a kind of concentration that boded well for the future hunter and tracker of men and beasts. Bull bats were shot with arrows having horizontally split foreshafts. Grasshoppers were shot with hummingbird arrows, and their hind legs were eaten for lunch.

The boys had great fun by tying two grasshoppers together with a short thread and then crowding about to watch them "wrestle." They would jump and jerk each other up short. The one that first fell on its back was the loser. They liked to catch "shit rollers," tie a piece of straw to a leg, and watch them fly, running fleetly after them as they followed their courses. They would stick a small straw up the anus of a horsefly and turn the insect loose—which perhaps showed how they felt about horseflies.

Small boys, who had no real arrows, made them of reed shafts with grasshopper legs for points and a ballast daub of mud stuck two inches from the point. They killed night hawks with slings and amused themselves playing with whirrers—two strings attached to a bone and pulled taut to make a whirring noise.

Although boys were by themselves most of the time, the younger ones now and then joined the little girls to play camp. On the sand by the creek they built small windbreaks and arbors. A play group leader was made "chief," and each boy chose a wife or wives. They all swam in the creek, gathered in ponies with the girls, and rode together. Some time was spent by the boys in hunting squirrels to bring into camp for their "wives" to cook, while the girls gathered berries, edible roots, and the eggs of turkeys, ducks, quail, and prairie chickens. All this swag made for good make-believe feasts.

The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. "One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife," said Post Oak Jim.

When younger boys and girls played together (but not when they were playing camp), there were several forms of joint games.

787 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers
796 were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo
224 Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been
796 demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221 dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224 camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251 it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281 The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492 horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In Notes Taken With Marcy, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. Exploration of the Red River, 98.

18. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days, Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 212
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1788, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tome 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224] ●
he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has [462]
to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the publication of it to these poor heathen do them some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed females, could they be brought to bear upon their cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (naſimeàpalet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinſ said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874. 648 [657]

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities. 177 178 [554] [829] [229] [825]

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One 648

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (2 Vols.; Washington, 1904), II, 977 ff. [113]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[Ca. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the
young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an
amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could
transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of
our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would
eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profes-
sion. The squaws from the infancy are too completely
servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse
as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that
controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance
and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the dep-
redations of their numerous biped enemies) to their north-
ern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In
the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision
of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be
compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
[461] in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alter-
natives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their
native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would
probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other
tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are
formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone,
having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which
purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained. 161 101 131 101 101 197

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar. 101

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess themselves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 233 241 224 222 462

[p. 333]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the [462] women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing 562 except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters 562 forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 593 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magnificent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter 583 in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

562 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and [423] in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 Over this vast country, where for centuries our ances-
829 ters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy,
[224] what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawa-
koni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.
[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1495-1496.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[309] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[771] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[22] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [228] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] [251] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 567 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[119] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 595 842

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 555

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. 171 551 881 787

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221 224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the 181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a (186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per- 142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan- 197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes. (194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still 101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands 621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most (115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsotcka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih. 101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 29, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Bo'dik'ïnago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanchs.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., vi, 289, 1886. **Caunoucha.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gelston, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Ciatu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 24, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumancha.**—Doc. of 1729 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumanciaa.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumechas.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Dä'tsi-a°.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Isdá.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p.328-A]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

specialized in this trade. There was no pottery or weaving known to them. 105
Clothes were of finely tanned and smoked hides. The clothing of the men was mostly confined to thigh-length leggings and moccasins, both of which are distinguished for their long fringes, although buckskin shirts were also made for winter use. The women wore typical Plains Indian buckskin dresses.[19]

Decorated raw-hide boxes were used for storing the cured and pounded dried meat (pemmican), which was prepared in large quantities at the time of the fall hunt.[20] A similar box was used for storing ceremonial clothes.

Dogs were numerous in the Comanche camps. Though used as burden 231
bearers in more ancient times, the horse had displaced them in this function, so that they had lost their sole economic excuse for a place in Comanche life. Yet they held a position which mere economic utility would never have granted. Like the horse, the dog was esteemed for non-utilitarian ends. Dogs were protected because of their affinity to Coyote, that lovable and annoying rascal of Comanche folkloristic belief. No Comanche will kill a dog or coyote, because of the fear of misfortune. The thought of eating dog meat is nauseating to them. Dogs, however, were maintained as household pets, taking a very personal place in the family. In childless lodges they were petted and indulged, even to the point of being privileged to ride horse-back when the household was on the move.

The crude economic picture of the Comanches in the last century is one 105
of a tribe with a simple culture adapted to high mobility, which, in a setting of buffalo plenty and prosperity of booty derived from enterprising raiding and trading in the Spanish territories, freed the Comanches from problems of economic want. Much of the Comanche male's energy was directed toward individual aggrandizement in war and coup-counting and the maintenance of prestige within the tribe. The law picture is largely a reflection of this.

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[19] Clark Wissler, *Indians of the Plains* (American Museum of Natural History, Handbook Series, No. 1, 1934), pp. 50–54.

[20] Leslie Spier, *An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 1, 1925), pp. 89–112, for a comprehensive treatment of the rawhide box and its decoration.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 556 The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

x627 231 Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

x627 231 554 The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

x627 684 Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impinging attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

ground. Múβa watched for his chance until he could shoot a wounding arrow into Pepper. 685

"Can't you do better than that?" Pepper cried. So a second arrow was used to kill him. 682

Without attempting to take the dead man's horses, they went back to where the other Comanches waited. "I have killed our friend," Muβa announced. The four who were there then mounted and went out to look for the body. They stayed a long time preparing a grave, wailing and mourning for the dead man. Múβa and his captive spent the time preparing a meal from their dead mule, which Pepper had shot.

When their friends came back from their mortuary undertakings, they ate heartily. In the meanwhile, Pepper's captive drove his master's horses into camp. There was great mourning among his master's relatives. Because Pepper had no father, a war chief named Bakamuts, a brave and respected man among the Those Who Move Often, called for attention. 627x 682 619

"Listen to me, all!" The wailing ceased. "There is a young brave named Múβa. He is of a large household and in it are many brave warriors. It is my mind that we let this matter go; because his friend first did the wrong thing, it was not his fault. Pepper was mean to have started the fight over a horse."

Bakamuts took these steps to close the incident because both he and the Antelope chiefs were afraid that the two bands would exterminate each other. They did not want a senseless fight between their bands. Crazy Bear and another Antelope chief counselled, "Let us forget this thing which has happened. Our children have intermarried; for their sakes, let us forget it."

Thus tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the rationale is on the kinship basis. The Comanche had not yet reached the state of pure polity. As to the materials of the action, the murdered warrior's resentment at the butchering of his horse was rooted in the very personal nature of horses as property. Comanche horses were highly regarded and imbued with a degree of personality. It is not unlikely that the slaying of horses was to the owner close to murder and hence no light thing to compose. Two horses killed for one horse butchered is in one sense a more-than-murder retaliation. The revenge-killing of Pepper roots no less obviously in a pattern that atonement deemed ample, and freely offered, was to be accepted, not to be insultingly refused by shooting horses instead of receiving them. 231● 627x [619]

The extremes to which feelings on a favorite horse could go are also demonstrated in the famed murder of Rocky Thorn by Crowding A Person. 627x 682

Case 15. Killing a Favorite Horse and Murder: Rocky Thorn vs. Crowding A Person
Informant: That's It

"The trouble resulted from a raid on a Comanche camp by enemies. As the raiders were making their get-away, a young boy jumped on the nearest loose horse to

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections. 422 562

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of private property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride. 422 231

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself. 672 231

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make 574 224

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

The Horse and the Buffalo

These forces brought about an immediate and sweeping change in the life of the Comanches that was even more drastic than in the case of most other Indians. Walter Prescott Webb does not exaggerate in his claim that "Steam, electricity, and gasoline have wrought no greater changes in our culture than did horses in the culture of the Plains Indians."[2] With the horse, the Comanche achieved incomparably greater mobility; he mastered the buffalo; he had an exchangeable asset that made him a greater trader; he was transformed from an impotent infantryman into a fierce cavalryman—a dangerous warrior and insatiable raider. As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation, the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. It enabled the hunter to provide plenty of food, clothing, and shelter for his dependents, the raider to take more plunder, and the warrior to take more enemy scalps with less danger to himself. His life became exuberant, his culture efflorescent. 177

The Comanche had not been devoid entirely of a beast of burden for use in transportation previous to the acquisition of the horse. He had used the dog to draw his travois, as we have already seen. But his movable goods when toted by dogs were meager and his household poorly furnished. After obtaining the larger animal, he merely enlarged his dog harness, lengthened the travois poles, and "as an indication of appreciation of the boon which had been conferred upon him, named the horse the God-dog."[3] But the difference in the load that could be moved and the distance that could be covered as a result of the change increased considerably the area from which the Comanche could draw sustenance and the load of household appurtenances he could move about in his wanderings. 177 492 231

The horse had other practical advantages over the dog. It could eat grass and even the bark of trees. In the lush plains of the past it was easier to feed in large numbers than was the dog. Furthermore, its flesh could be eaten in times of food scarcity, while the dog, although nutritious, could not be eaten because of the coyote tabu. The skin of the horse provided shelter, robes, saddles, and rawhide thongs. The mane and tail were converted into ropes and bridles. The Comanche hunter was no longer compelled to stalk his game on foot. 177 231

[2] W. P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Conflict of Civilization*, 13.
[3] *Ibid.*

The Comanches

177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

The Horse and the Buffalo

« « « I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican (a personal name) wanted in claim. 231 681

They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.

I told them I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another horse just as good.

Atsaci answered, "We want that horse or none."

I tried three times to try to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, "All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough." I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaci I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

"What?" he said.

I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my "daughters" (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. "If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take my daughters back from you. You are my son-in-law, and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love." » » »

With that Breaks Something won his point.

Killing another man's favorite horse was akin to murder, and in two Comanche cases people were killed in revenge.[4] Favorite horses were emotional objects, like people. 231 [685]

Just how and when the Comanches first obtained horses is not known, but within a short time after they migrated to the South Plains they possessed them in great numbers, and, henceforth, a considerable portion of the male's working hours were spent astride a horse. The first modern horses on the plains were brought by Coronado and De Soto, but those escaping from these expeditions could not possibly have been the progenitors of all the herds of a later date.[5] The Spaniards of northern Mexico possessed a great many horses,

[4] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–70.

[5] For this point of view, see Francis Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 429–30.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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231 some of which escaped and became truly wild. Others were stolen. Most of the horses to reach the plains at an early date probably came by way of New Mexico.

231 174 Available evidence indicates that the Plains Indians began using horses some time after 1600. None of the tribes could be classed as having a horse culture before 1630, and probably not until after 1650.[6] Once the Indians of the South came to use horses, the spread northward was rapid. By 1659 Indians to the northwest of the Spanish settlements in New Mexico were raiding the ranch stock, and within another five years raiding was common practice. A significant number of horses, no doubt, were captured by the Indians in the revolt of 1680 in New Mexico, and it is likely that many of these fell into the hands of Plains Indians either as a result of trade or of plunder. In 1675 Fernando del Bosque found no trace of horses or horse-using Indians while exploring along the Río Grande from the mouth of the Conchos to the Pecos River and eastward. The Mendoza-López expedition eight years later likewise found the banks of the Río Grande still barren, but as it progressed northeastward, it encountered Indians with a few horses. The Spanish expedition into East Texas in 1690 found a few horses near the mouth of the Colorado River, and in the same year it was reported that about thirty were seen near the Arkansas-Texas boundary and that the Caddo to the west had four or five per lodge.[7]

All the tribes west of the Missouri had horses when first encountered by the French and English. The Pawnees and other tribes along the Missouri had horses as early as 1680. Du Tisne in 1719 reported that two villages of Pawnees in Oklahoma near the Arkansas River had three hundred horses, which were highly valued and not for sale. By 1724 the edge of the horse belt had reached the neighborhood of the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. By 1754 the Blackfeet had horses in general use both for pack and for riding, having obtained their supply from the Shoshones or Comanches. By 1770 the dispersion had reached its northern limit except for a small extension

[6] Francis Haines, "Where Did the Plains Indians Get Their Horses," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 112–17.

[7] Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *loc. cit.*, 429–32.

into the timbered area. The Shoshones of Idaho had obtained their horses by the route west of the continental divide about 1690 to 1700, or approximately twenty years before horses had reached the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. 231 174

Ponca tradition credits the Comanches with having the first horses seen by the people of their tribe. According to it, the Comanches at the time fought on horseback, using the long-handled stone battle-axe as their principal weapon. Furthermore, the Poncas claim that the Comanches had thick covers of overlapping pieces of rawhide to protect the breasts and sides of their animals. The Comanches taught the Poncas how to ride and to use the horse as a beast of burden. Soon afterwards they left the country, and the Poncas knew not where they went.[8]

The Comanches probably acquired horses as early as, or before, the Shoshones. They certainly had them by the time they moved into the South Plains. They were raiding in New Mexico in 1705. The next year, the Apaches in the northeastern part of that province suffered from Comanche horse-raiding expeditions. Comanche raiding in New Mexico apparently became progressively more frequent, for in 1719 the governor of the province sent a punitive expedition against the Comanches in an attempt to check the forays.

How many horses the Comanches accumulated is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Clinton Smith reported that his band had about 6,000 head, about one-half of which were the property of the chief; and that sometimes within a single night horses by the thousands were captured or stolen.[9] Captain Marcy estimated that the most successful warriors owned from fifty to two hundred animals each. By comparison, a Sioux considered himself wealthy if he owned thirty to forty.[10] The Antelope band, with a population of less than two thousand, had about 15,000 horses and 300 to 400 head of mules in 1867. Modern Comanches say that A Big Fall By Tripping owned 1,500 horses at the time of his death, although he was so fat he could not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. 231 174 556 [492]

[8] Alice C. Fletcher and Frances La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," B. A. E. *Bulletin No.* 27, 79–80.

[9] Clinton and Jeff D. Smith, *The Boy Captives*, 50–51.

[10] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of America* (vol. I of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*), 160.

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

192 for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

192 231 Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieka*), a reddish brown (*ɛkakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*tɔsa*), a blue (*epixtuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*ekaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛkasənaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsənato*), or black (*ḍuu:-tsənato*). And finally there were the red (*ɛkanaki*), yellow (*ohanaki*), and black (*ḍuunaki*) ears.

231 492 [552] Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

232 Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 862.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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and they must heed the warning. The enemy was generally found just where the coyote told them.

Eagles possessed power in matters concerning war. Because of this power their feathers were attached to shields, worn tied in the hair, and during the later period they were placed on the war bonnet. Owing to the protective power of the bird, those wearing the feathers believed that they would not be hit by either bullets or arrows.[17] When eagle feathers were attached to the shield, it could not be pierced by either bullets or arrows. The Comanches secured a part of their feathers by taking young eagles from their nests and keeping them in captivity. (Young eagles were easily kept by tethering them by the legs to a pin driven in the ground.) After the eagles had reached full size, they pulled out the tail feathers. War whistles were made from wing bones of eagles.

[231]

The deer had much power which might be used for good or evil. It had the power to cause or cure disease. It could say to its favorite: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground, there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." At times it was a helper in love affairs. Possibly because the elk had great vitality and was hard to kill, it was credited with having great strength which could be transmitted to those whose guardian spirit it happened to be. The bear possessed power to cure wounds. The skunk possessed great power. Doctors used its hide to hold their medicine. Men tied its tail to their horses' tails in war. For a member of a war party to kill and skin a skunk while on the way to attack was likely to nullify some of the most powerful war medicine.[18] The roadrunner had the power to reinvigorate and give speed, since it was a speedy bird. The owl was unpopular, for it brought bad news, but the Comanches never shrank nearly so much with fear and horror at the sound of its hoot as did the Kiowas. The wolf gave power to walk barefoot on the cold snow. Medicine men who had this power painted the flesh between their toes red like that of the wolf. And if a person would howl like a wolf before eating red haws, there was no danger of foundering on them.

In like manner, in an ever lessening degree, practically all animals

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This was the reason attributed by the leader for the failure at Adobe Walls.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's 70] tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely noted in 1705. They were already horse [231] Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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(113) Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram
[175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society
(Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and
[178] E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p. 142-B]

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grased their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
197 relatively barren. It reflects a religious
177 fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Lintou mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[150] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[151] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[152] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
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[150] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[151] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[152] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1896).

[p .252-A]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 595 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nīotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [287] 727 [287]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 892. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 285. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house (tipi). I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1872, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1872, 68.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 273, and 1876, 62.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 225.
22. Day, op. cit.

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive
[642] official authority, is not recognized in their crude system of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their
[492] movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em-
bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the
[593] saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross
727 the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
714

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eyewitnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Maxypenny, March 7, 1858. Ibid.
[113] 21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. 157 Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 [648] At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-Fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, ibid.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Vnforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *sikai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them. 173

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes. 167 177 [231] 721

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken. 167 721 618 [177] [411]

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 177 101

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen 657
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- 595
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the 343
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians 492
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 464
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [299] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [518]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked 643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses 231 on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young 643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on 593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting 584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle, 593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning. 584 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she 177 was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her 643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white 593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.

585 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife
177

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sometimes Mo-cho-rook would butcher a steer and bring at least 432
part of it into town to sell. More properly, I should say to let people 231
buy it. The extreme selling effort he made was to pull the tarpaulin back so that you could see the meat if you walked up. He hauled the meat in the back end of a small hack, or spring wagon, and I assume he took home whatever he failed to sell and dried it.

When you showed him the cut you wanted, he waited until you showed him how much money you had; then he would cut your meat, with an apparently very sharp hunting knife that had about an eight-inch blade. He had no scale to weigh your meat, nor did he have anything to wrap it in. You carried your meat to your home in your hand, unless you had the foresight to bring something to wrap it in. He gave you good value for your money. I recall weighing his meat only once, [435] and it ran about five cents a pound. This was about half what a white butcher would have charged you, had there been a white butcher around.

Fresh meat was hard to get. There was no ice for the first two or 000
three years, and a butcher didn't have much leeway in warm weather. Meat had to be sold the first day. We were entirely dependent on people who would bet that they could sell a beef out before it spoiled. Generally speaking, you only got to buy fresh meat on Saturdays, when there were the most people in town.

I was making every effort to gain a working knowledge of the 122
Comanche language, and whenever I had a friendly Indian in the store I would be writing down the names of things and acquiring useful phrases. Several months passed before I had learned enough so 124
that I could ask some of the old fellows about Mo-cho-rook. The young [122]
men didn't care to discuss him. It could have been that they felt he was Bad Medicine.

One day I braced an old chap who was in a talking humor. We were in a comfortable spot, and we worried the subject for a couple of hours. He knew about as much English as I knew Comanche. Obviously, much of the vocabulary that I had accumulated around the store was useless in this conversation. Later I was to talk to numerous others, and ultimately an old squaw man helped me to edit, or arrange it properly, in my mind.

I asked my friend, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook? He no Comanche." Oshey-him may be translated as "Who is?" "What is?" or "Where is?" according to the way it is used, circumstances, etc. I think the most

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 The incident that made Wer-que-yah stand out as an individual, instead of only another Indian customer, concerned my horse. I bought this horse to replace the little Oregon mare I sold when we came to Oklahoma. I had purchased her for $9.00 from a herd of wild Oregon horses shipped to our Kansas county seat. I bought my Oklahoma horse in the winter, and he hadn't been well cared for. I turned him out on the claim and grained him each night and morning when I fed the little mules. We drove the mules, hitched to a hack, to the claim each night after we closed the store and back to town in the morning.

When the grass came lush and green in the spring, the horse lost interest in his grain and seldom came to the barn. I hadn't seen him close up for some days, when I finally decided to bring him to town. He scarcely resembled the animal I had turned out. He had shed his winter coat, and his bay hair was as shiny as though it had been oiled and polished. A roached mane was all he needed to be ready for a show ring.

And wonder of wonders, the ticks were gone along with the winter coat. There must have been something in the green grass to cause the ticks to drop. The Texas cattle tick was the bane of all livestock. Control by dipping was many years away. I don't believe there was any relief from tick infection at the time. At least, I inquired but learned of none. Cattle brought in from the north and exposed to the ticks often died quickly.

231 422 After bringing my horse to town, I found he carried a brand, which his winter coat had hidden. As brands go, it was dainty. It was small in design, and the burning surface of the branding iron was narrow. I asked a number of people, but none of them knew the brand. One day when Wer-que-yah was buying supplies, I drew the design of the brand on a paper sack and showed it to him.

Becoming quite excited, he struck himself in the chest several times with the inside of his closed fist, exclaiming, "Me. Brother. Me. Brother." I assumed he meant it was his brother's brand. When I told him I had a horse carrying the brand, he lost all interest in buying supplies.

231 The horse was staked about two hundred yards from the store, and we went at once. While some distance from the horse, the Indian appeared to recognize him and began smiling and talking to him. He never bothered to step around where he could see the brand. He put

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

his right arm around the horse's nose and his left arm over its head, 231
pulling the head down. All the time he was standing there hugging the horse's head, he was murmuring what sounded like Comanche baby talk.

After a little while, he took his right arm from around the horse's nose and broke out with a stream of excited talk. Mostly it was Comanche, but some was English when he had the words. Then he took his left arm down and added some sign language.

While this was going on, my horse stood quietly. From the moment the Indian first spoke to him, the horse had directed his attention to him, ignoring me completely. It has always been in my mind that the horse recognized the Indian about as quickly as the Indian recognized the horse.

I doubt if I understood more than 25 percent of what Wer-que- [124]
yah was telling me, and his son, Enoch, wasn't there to interpret. He hadn't seen the horse for five, maybe so six, years. I wondered if he hadn't owned an interest in the horse at one time, or perhaps owned an interest in the brand. The horse had been raced as a two- and three-year-old. Heap fast.

Then the horse ran into a wire fence. The Indian showed me a scar denoting a bad wire cut on the left shoulder, well down toward the leg. This was something else the winter coat had hidden completely, and I hadn't noticed it. Thinking the horse was ruined as a race horse, they had sold it.

The brother lived north of the Wichita Mountains—the sale had been made during reservations days, before the allotment and homesteading. Now here was the horse, well south of the mountains. I am sure my Indian friend thought it little short of a miracle.

I rode the horse to Wer-que-yah's home many times, and to his camp on the reservation when it was Grass Money time. There he would be camped with hundreds of other Indian families for the semi-annual payment. But I don't remember a time he missed petting the horse's head and giving it a bit of Comanche baby talk.

The older Comanches contended that they needed a brand on their 422
horses only as a safeguard from white horse thieves. They claimed to 231
know every horse they owned, whether one or a hundred, and were able to go into a herd and pick out their horses, regardless of how many there were in the herd.

Someway, somehow, this Indian knew a horse he hadn't seen 231

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the
[368] boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

361 There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in in-
443 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
[657] He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated
[452] on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 90 for front view.

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FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 1468.)

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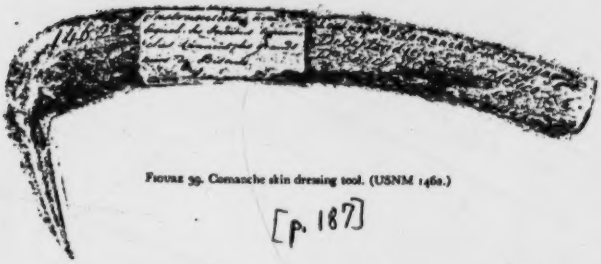

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 1462.)

[p. 187]

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20] A 292 171

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment. 292 291 178

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved. 231

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that 412 [237] 412 284

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 18.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 238.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánches y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005 101

Federal Trust Area 657
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72) 161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

192 for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

192 231 Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieka*), a reddish brown (*ɛkakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*ʈɔsa*), a blue (*epixʈuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*ekaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛkasənaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsənato*), or black (*ḍuu:-tsənato*). And finally there were the red (*ɛkanaki*), yellow (*ohanaki*), and black (*ḍuunaki*) ears.

231 492 [552] Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

232 Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 462.

feet to a post. Two men grabbed the hind legs, and the operator sat between the legs to do his cutting.[24] 232

Comanche horses were not ordinarily shod, but a man's favorite horse, if tenderfooted, was fitted with a rawhide boot soaked in water and tied over the sore hoofs.[25] Other riding horses had their hoofs toughened by walking them slowly back and forth near the heat and smoke of a fire.[26] 492

Among the Comanches, horses were private property. Each member of a family who was large enough to ride had one or more mounts of his own. The young child was usually given an old, gentle mare. The women had their riding mounts as well as mules and gentle horses for packing. Large numbers of mules were frequently found in the Comanche camps around the middle of the nineteenth century. Captives, before they were adopted into the tribe, were also forced to ride mules to lessen the danger of a break for freedom. [422]

Josiah Gregg was of the opinion that the Comanches had a universal custom of marking their animals by a slit in the tip of each ear.[27] Contemporary Comanches deny this, however, saying that any Comanche could distinguish one horse from another by looks just as easily as he could tell one person from another. After all, the Comanches lived with their horses.

Most accounts by early explorers on the plains agree that the Comanches were among the best horsemen the world has produced. Baldwin Möllhausen, a German scientist and traveler who crossed the Southern Plains in 1853, observed that from earliest childhood to the last days of his life the Comanche was continually on horseback. "Indeed, he makes but an awkward figure enough on foot, though he is no sooner mounted than he is transformed; and when with no other aid than that of the rein and heavy whip he makes his horse perform the most incredible feats," which gave him a feeling of independence and superiority.[28] Marcy stated that it was while the Co-

[24] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[25] Informant: Slope.

[26] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races*, I, 518, n.136; Parker, *op cit.*, 203.

[27] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 433.

[28] Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 Each local group, whatever its size, had at least one permanent leader. In the small groups of a few lodges he was an outstanding person of ability and influence to whom lesser relatives and friends looked for guidance. He was the focal point of organization in their lives. The organization of such groups, so far as can be determined, was markedly similar to that which was characteristic for the aboriginal groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact, as summarized by Dr. Julian Steward.[15] In the larger bands the identity of the "extended family group" was submerged in the more embracing organization of the band, but not wholly lost. "Relatives tended to camp together." Whenever the band camp was moved, the same grouping of relatives tended to find its position in the new camp by establishing its location in relation to other "groups of relatives," so that the pattern of spacing within the camp retained a certain regularity. The large bands camped and functioned as units only during the summer season of dances and communal buffalo hunts. For a portion of the year the band was scattered and subdivided. Our data are not absolutely clear on this point, but the implication is that the break-up of the band was into the smaller "groups of relatives," including, of course, the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group. The family headmen, of which there was one for each camp-group, were the *pdsaiβo*, or peace chiefs (to distinguish them from the war leaders) of the band. When the compound band was camping [623] and moving together as a unit it then contained several peace chiefs. On these occasions the peace chiefs appointed one of their number as leader for the season, with the remainder of the chiefs functioning as an advisory council for the group as a whole and at the same time maintaining their positions as family headmen to their own groups of followers.

THE ECONOMIC BASE[16]

● 239 It is usual to speak of the Comanches as a tribe of hunters. Insofar as they depended primarily on game for sustenance, this is true. But it is equally true, and usually overlooked, that they were just as definitely a pastoral people. Great herds of horses were accumulated. The most notable form of [422] wealth was in this form of chattel: horses were individually owned by both men and women.

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case

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[15] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16] The description of the material culture of the Comanches is a subject for separate treatment. This section is intended to serve merely as an orientation to Comanche subsistence methods.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Bentis, op. cit, sec. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

BY J. A. DACUS

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

THE COMANCHES number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar:* "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess themselves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

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The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

[p. 352]
[pp 1- 351 not processed]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd.

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California.

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire.

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 255. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Ibid. Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 60.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 171, and 1876, 52.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

N C 386 824 415 rain or pure river water: the point is stopped, and the water allowed to remain on the ashes for a day and night, and then permitted to drip into the vessel placed to catch the ley.

N C 386 This ley is a little colored, and is clarified by the same process of filtration through clean white sand, or sand that has been used for the same purpose before — when clarified, the ley is used as before stated, and especially to set the colors, which seems to be the principal use of it. It has no caustic quality after filtration, but an astringency peculiar to itself — rather a pungent than burning quality. It is sometimes used to dilute the darker dyes and produce lighter shades.

N C [388 824] The wool to be dyed is washed in warm water until perfectly cleansed of the natural oil — using the root of a plant very abundant in Texas and southern New Mexico, as well as most of the southern states, of a very saponaceous quality, and known as the soap plant. In all their best fabrics — blankets, belts, leggings, etc., made of wool, their finest fleeces are used, and it is not unknown to many of our army officers and others, that the Navajoes ●N C 286 ●236 give great attention to their management of sheep, and often produce fleeces almost or quite equal to the merino in fineness and softness of texture, by their skilful crosses and selections made after long and minute observations and care. A Camanche and Navajoe are as much delighted with the possession of a superior ram and ewe as of a fine horse, to the breeding of which they also give much attention. Von Thaer would not be more so with the possession of his finest buck. All their wool is dyed N C 386 before spinning, and this is done by submerging it in the dye and letting it remain ten or fifteen days, the dye-pot being left covered: but during this soaking the wool is turned over once every day. Sometimes the lighter shades are imparted to the wool by soaking a shorter time — they say this produces a clearer tint. If not dark enough, the same process is repeated with fresh dye. I have been told by my guide, that the Camanches fumigate the wool after dying, over a smoke of the above described wood, to deepen the color, but I never saw it done.

N C 386 824 Their green color is produced from the leaves of several plants, the juice of which is expressed in the same manner as from the flowers, and used in the same manner.

The Comanches

492 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of
525 thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[82]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

224 To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

262 The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

[271] When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available,
237 there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining
415 was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[82] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo 237
burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and [372]
cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep
some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed
with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of
buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fash-
ioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasion-
ally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions.
Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were [286]
made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture cloth-
ing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When prop- [281]
erly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it pro-
vided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it
constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before [286
the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide 415]
provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the In- 773
dians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty 539
years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33]
In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was
Ka:wus, the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

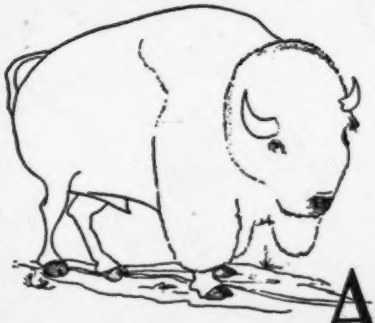
Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

IV

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings



ALTHOUGH the subsistence activities of the Comanches centered around the buffalo, theirs was not a one-crop economy. Elk were plentiful in the brushy regions bordering the rivers and their tributaries. The black bear, found in the Cross Timbers, was hunted largely for its oil, which was used in the preparation of hides. The Comanches considered bear meat less tasty than either buffalo or deer. Principally within the region of the High Plains, in the heart of the buffalo country, roamed herds of antelope in great numbers. A herd of about two thousand was once seen at Fort Dodge.[1]

Food was usually plentiful enough that the Comanches no longer bothered, as did the horseless Shoshones, to run down antelope until the frightened and exhausted animals dropped. But they did retain from their Shoshonean background the magical antelope surround that was so widely used by the Indians of the Great Basin.

It was used among the Comanches only when the whole camp was out of food. Then the camp leaders would go to a medicine man or a medicine woman who had antelope power. They would smoke and tell him the trouble. According to Slope's account, the medicine man called for an antelope dance lasting several days to work up his power and to draw in the antelope. He selected two men to whom he gave some of his power for what they had to do. When all was

[1] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 64.

There has been much speculation about the meaning of the grooves. The most popular theory is that they permitted the blood of the victim to escape so as to weaken him. Another explanation is that the grooves symbolized lightning, which the Indians believed would make the arrows more surely fatal. It seems more probable that they were to prevent the shaft from warping. 411

The flight and accuracy of an arrow depended to a great extent upon the feathers. If the feathers were good and properly arranged, the arrow carried well. Those of the wild turkey seem to have been the most popular, but, when they were not obtainable, owl or buzzard feathers were used. Neither was affected by blood. Feathers of hawks and eagles were not desirable, since they were injured when wet with blood. Each arrow-maker had his own technique of winging the arrows. When the Cheyennes first began to wing their arrows, they used two feathers, but later changed to three. Some tribes used four. The Comanches used both the two- and three-feather winging technique. Some of the best-informed Comanches regard the two-feathered arrow as unsatisfactory, since it will not follow a straight line to the target. The feathers were taken from the wings, the stems split, the tip of the split stems dipped in glue, and the feathers bound in the grooves on either side of the shaft with a thread of sinew.[11] 411 237 411

In the distal end of the arrow shaft a notch was cut, or a cleft made, in which the arrowhead was set. Colonel Dodge believed that the Comanches placed the blade of the hunting arrow in the same plane with the notch for the string so that it would be more likely to pass between the ribs of the animal, which are up and down. For the same reason, the blade of the war arrow was at right angles to the notch, since the ribs of the human enemy were horizontal.[12] The head

informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *loc. cit.*, 141–42; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 179; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 349; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 178–81; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94. [322]

[11] Informant: Kills Something; also, Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 418–19.

The Comanches

778 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[751] ●237 [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakʌt* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, *leaving it in front, the longer* the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 535 535 291

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nǐotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [297] 727 [297]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 754 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.

175 789 They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate [237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and unerring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, 175 751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 595 [585] The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. [68] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. 175 593 462 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and OOO waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encum- 175 726
brance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness [492]
of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Span- [714]
ish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet 175
long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For 411
defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buf- 175
faloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which 714
fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or [237]
circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not [558]
attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Co-
manchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the 175
use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the 411
weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and 175
their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which
enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert 721
Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[Ca. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the
young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an
amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could
transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of
our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would
eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profes-
sion. The squaws from the infancy are too completely
servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse
as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that
controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance
and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the dep-
redations of their numerous biped enemies) to their north-
ern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In
the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision
of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be
compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alter-
[461] natives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their
native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would
probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other
tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are
formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone,
having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which
purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 152
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting
the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an ever-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; does his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

756 Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
755 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [125]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsumbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamumpitz*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamumpitz* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
782
823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824

[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

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steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and colora- 278
tion, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal 824
relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered 755
and used in its dried or green state. 757

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain. Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

Təpinatsu

"rock medicine" 278 824

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on 237
botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally 755
composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks." 757

Təpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

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278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *təpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *təpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *təpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *təpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia [844] also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian [303] perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

754 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle
237 plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 751 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 795 825 827 201

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

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FIGURES 19-20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 443a.)

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FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 62,579.)

[p. 170]

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

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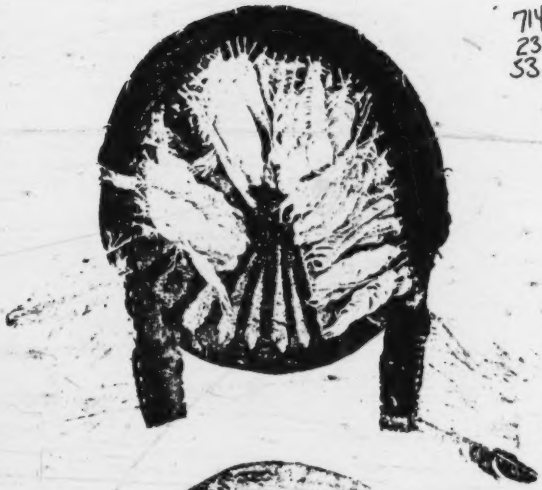

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Figures 22–23. Comanche decorated shield and painted cover. (USNM 443a)

[p. 172]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. 714 531
The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed 532 rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. 172 Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in 531 West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield 531 paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a 714 yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any 789 missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24-25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in 411 Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. 237 wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse 531 or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in 237 length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 237 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they 825 made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, 415 Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa In- 237 dians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in 415 diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 531

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 465. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human 714 figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII).

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1844, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

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FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

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FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn. 415 531

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche. 534 202 714 237 283 171

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature. 000

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of 415 531 162 415 531 415 171 531

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A See p. 180-B—Analyst.

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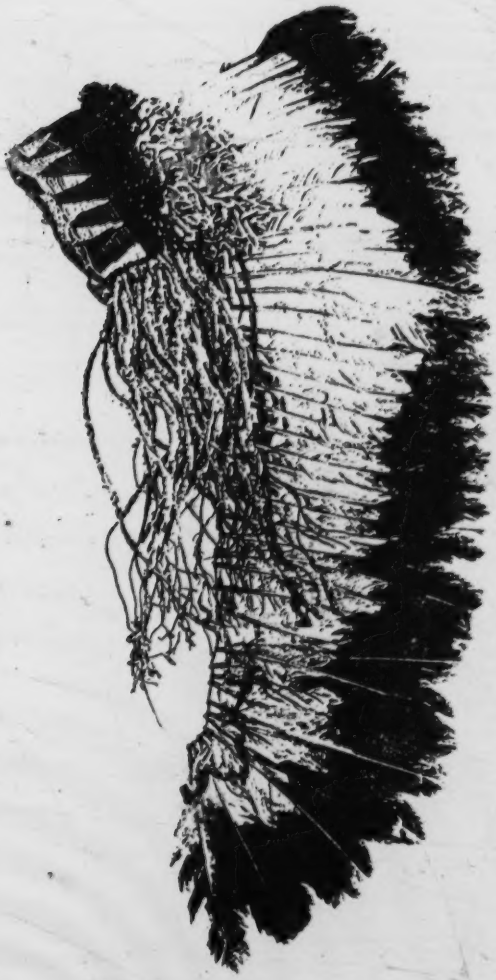

FIGURE 29. Comanche feathered bonnet. (USNM 1475.)

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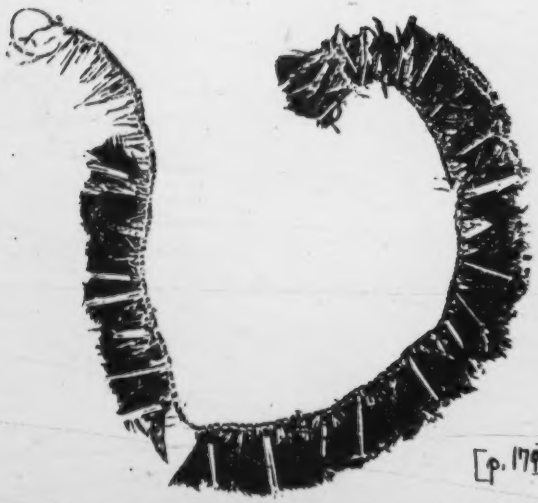

[p. 179]

FIGURES 30–31. Comanche feather ornaments. (USNM 1477 and 1478.)

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. 284

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 237 292 714 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 30-31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 187.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. 171

A [See p. 169—Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files—Analyst.]

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PLATE 22. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 148a.)

[p. 180-D]

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FIGURE 34. Comanche horsehide pouch. (USNM 1469.)

[p. 182]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 301 [237]

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. [237]

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 291

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 171

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 415 [237]

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (109).

415 A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35)
[531] may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width
415 across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie
531 cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously
(281) fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 106 cm.
[237] long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's
292 wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area
531 extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in
292 back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled
292 metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a
531 decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36–37

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

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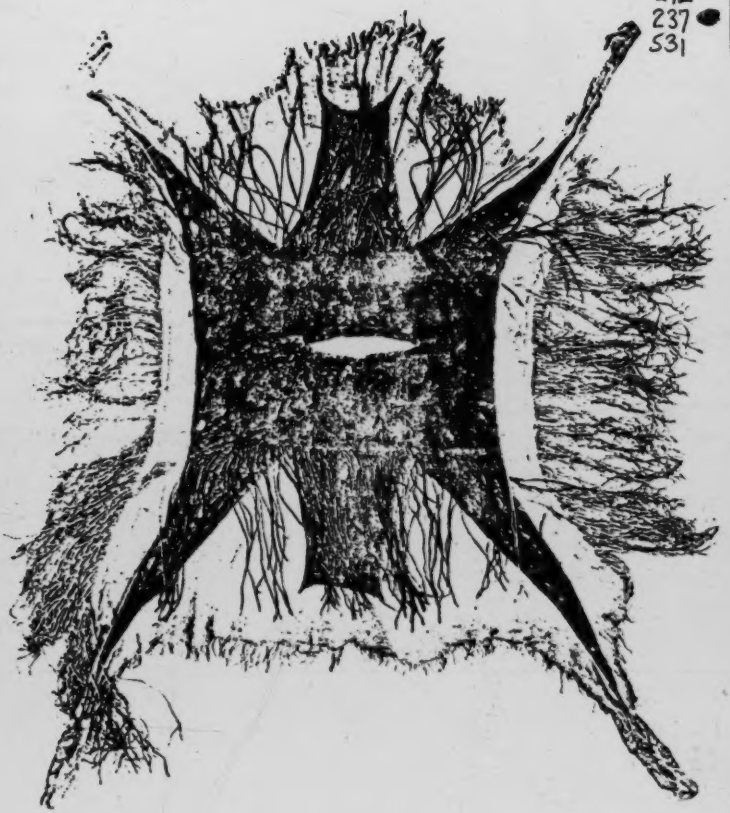

FIGURE 36. Comanche woman's upper garment, spread out, showing pattern of construction from a single deerskin. See also Plate 20 and Figure 37. (USNM 148a.)

[p.186]

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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 20 for front view.

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FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 1468.)

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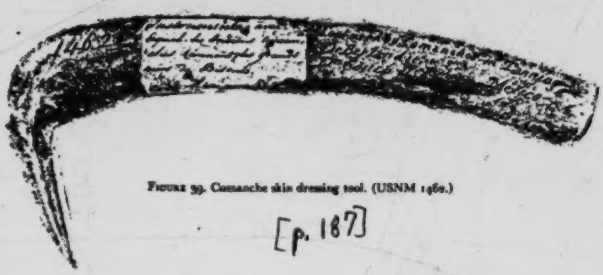

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 1460.)

[p. 187]

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of 171
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20]

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large 237
buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, 412
of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 284
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced
For the Files—Analyst.]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Three Years Among the Comanches

¶27 In time I came to understand that this was the usual summer residence of the tribe, where their corn and beans and tobacco were cultivated—that it, in fact, was their main camping ground, their home, and that the other valley was only resorted to for the purpose of hunting, during those moons when the hair on the buffalo is thick and long. In the suburbs of this village were extensive specimens of Indian agriculture. The Comanche women—for the men have nothing whatever to do with it—would not be likely to receive even a "volume of the Transactions," were they to compete for the prize offered for the best system of farming at one of our state fairs. The expense of drainage and subsoil ploughing is small; nevertheless, they manage to raise respectable crops.

¶27 The confidence I had in the shrewdness and judgment of Aikens, and the encouragement I had received from him in our interview, inspired me with hope, and I resolved to follow his advice to the letter. My fame, evidently, had spread abroad through the new community soon after our arrival, for those I had never seen before came and gazed upon me for a long time, and then turned and walked seriously and thoughtfully away. It was not long before Moko came with a group of the new faces and presented me the watch. My obstinacy was now abandoned, and I fell again, very deep, into the mysterious mood. Winding it up and setting the alarm a minute or two ahead, I bowed my face before it—clasped it affectionately to my bosom—held it out at arm's length before me in my two hands, regarding it with that intensity of expression with which a tragedian on the stage always regards a love letter just received—turning up my eyes adoringly towards the glorious heavens—and let it whiz!

The effect was solemn and satisfactory. I felt that I had

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 805
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

796 of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression
241 came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was
537 able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

796 The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were
241 kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round
[538] [536] they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music ham-
[534] mered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

727 It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I
302 was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

648 and are sanguine in the belief that the time will eventually arrive when they will be enabled, with the assistance of the Great Spirit, to sweep them from existence and reclaim their rightful inheritance. In their ignorance, they compare, favorably for themselves, their feeble strength with the whole power of the United States.

000 It would be cheaper for the government, in the end, instead of maintaining a line of military posts on the frontier—standing merely on the defensive—to send an army through their territories, giving them ocular demonstrations of its power, arresting their turbulent chiefs, and teaching them a lesson too impressive to be forgotten, that the rights of a citizen of the United States shall not be violated with impunity. Hundreds of our people, in the pursuit of their lawful business, are captured yearly, enslaved, and barbarously put to death, without attracting the attention of government, whereas if the hundredth part of the same outrages were committed by any enlightened nation, it would call upon the people to fly to arms. For my own part, I do not see why the arm of authority should not be stretched forth to protect the outraged citizen at the headwaters of the Guadaloupe with the same promptness it is to protect him in Paraguay, or on the Gulf of Mexico.

221 The camp of the Spotted Leopard, as has previously been
●241 seen, was situated at the source of the Boge Lescoha, at the foot of a mountain range. Fifty miles south, at the other extremity of the valley, were his planting grounds, where a small village had been constructed, and where a number of the tribe, principally squaws, usually remained.

727 I had been here several months when a party arrived from the plantation, among whom I observed were three white women, notwithstanding their faces were painted.

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grased their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
● 241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 392. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) · 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[142] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
23 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 355. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chowing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 68.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, 275, and 1878, 82.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1:45) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 325.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4;5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Dustin, op. cit, ann. II, 15-16, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[426] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house
[554] to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency loans and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,000; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch

(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former 161
range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, 101
of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of 131
Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and
the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally 101
classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the 101
Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a 197
relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which 101
signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but 233
keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess them- 241
selves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured
by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and 224
some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds 222
of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 462

[p. 333]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438 439

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel.

621 224 175 721 621 175 221 241 262

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 133

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
241 of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
657 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1854. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. 157 Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 (648) At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-Fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, 1544.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
● 241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the
[582] period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian
moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and
bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding
why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college
rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I
responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend
871 school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort
[186] Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily
[874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocational courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort
657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government
871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm
874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill
242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 210.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Bentin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38] 657 871 874 242

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year. 797 871 [657] [657]

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Penred (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 13, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 153; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 85, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Bustin, op. cit, sec. II, 15-18, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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24. Burtin, op. cit. see. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. R. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS. Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

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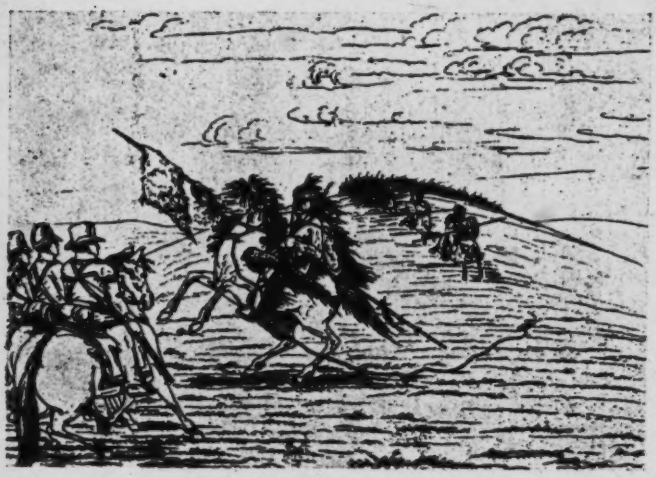
23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1916. [113]
24. Bentin, op. cit., sec. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. R. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 11-12. [113]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



Meeting of the Dragoons and Comanches in 1834
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

[Facing p. 14]

A Comanche camp
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing. 252

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. [251] Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning.

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter. 224 787

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the 224 825 787

meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a 222
background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They
utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of 222
the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing 824
about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have
given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very
good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those
plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild
plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work
of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones.
Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would
seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the
variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today.
Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in [278]
the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement
of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the [262]
only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants
which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, 222
grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, 251
and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also de-
hydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a
pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes
were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were
eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also
grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries
were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in 222
Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled
and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuber-
ous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, re-
member, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

The Comanches

222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatsɨkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (*ɔyɔ:t*), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

251
516
342

Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

342
621

A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 78]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 were preserved for later use. The manner of preparation and storage
262 is of considerable interest.

824 The fruits of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) were eaten
262 fresh or were dried and stored for future comsumption. The per-
251 simmon was commonly used in this manner by various tribes in the southern prairies and in the Southeast, and it is frequently mentioned in early historical accounts. The common method of preparation for storage seems to have been to beat the ripe fruits to a pulp, remove the seeds, and dry the paste. The cakes thus formed were later softened in water and prepared in various ways for eating. The persimmon has achieved little commercial importance, but is still widely used and esteemed by Indians and whites wherever it is available. An informant also described a black persimmon (Comanche: *dunaseika*) obtained in Texas and Mexico. This was doubtless the Mexican persimmon (*Brayodendron texanum*), which occurs from central Texas southwestward into Mexico.

The fruits of the mulberry (*Morus rubra*) were eaten fresh, when ripe, but no attempt was made to store them. This species is the one most generally preferred by Indians, from the Iroquois country to Kansas and Missouri and southward.

The fresh ripe fruits of two hawthorns or "haws" (*Crataegus spp.*) were eaten by the Comanche. According to an informant, one should shout like a wolf before partaking of them, or he will be sure to get stomach-ache and constipation. An indication of the wide use of Crataegus fruits is a list, compiled by Yanovsky (27, pp. 30–31), of eleven species used by various tribes of Indians from the eastern states to California and British Columbia.

The Comanche names for several wild "plums" were recorded, including designations for early plums, late summer plums, and fall plums. It is quite likely that some of the "plums" are wild cherries or chokecherries. Only one was collected, the Chickasaw plum (*Prunus angustifolia*). The fruits of this species were either eaten fresh or stored for winter use. Another kind of plum (Comanche: *su:kui*) was also said to be stored after the seeds had been removed and the fruits dried on a hide in the sun. Later they were boiled in water and eaten. In the winter the Indians sometimes obtained
[222] plums by tracking pack rats to their nests and taking the hoarded supply.

Several species of wild grap[illegible] (*Vitis spp.*) were available to the

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanche and were either eaten fresh or dried in the sun and stored. 824 The dried fruits were dampened, worked into cakes, and baked, 262 fat sometimes being added in the process. Wild currants (*Ribes* 251 *odoratum*) were eaten fresh, but were not preserved, as they were among many tribes. Another fruit (Comanche: *kusi:poko*) was not seen, but was described as being black, and round, like a grape, and was said to be eaten fresh. Children were reported to be very fond of the sour acid fruits of the sumac (*Rhus glabra*), and various species were eaten by Indians wherever sumac was available.

The berries of the juniper or red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) also served as food on occasion, the practice of eating juniper berries of various species being common among the Indians of the Southwest and elsewhere. The Comanche name for the red cedar was given as *ekawa:p*ᵛ, and it was explained that *eka* is the term for "red." No etymology of *wa:p* was obtained. To judge from Chamberlain's discussion (6, pp. 63–64), *wap* seems to be a root word for "cedar" in the Shoshonean languages. If this is the case, then the Comanche term *ekawa:p*ᵛ is an exact equivalent of the colloquial English term "red cedar" for the same plant.

The succulent fruits of prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia sp.*) were eaten fresh and were also dried for winter use. No specimens were collected, but the descriptions by informants leave no doubt as to the identity of the plants. The spines were rubbed from the fruits designed for storage, the seeds removed, and the pears dried in the sun. Another cactus, also, was edible, but an informant stated that before eating its fruit one should take the red juice and paint a cross on his forehead to prevent consequent diarrhea. A third cactus (Comanche: *eka mitsa:*) was said to be obtained in Texas, but the notes do not mention whether or not it was a food plant.

The fruits of the southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) were beaten, pits and all, into a pulp and mixed with fat. This mixture was rolled into balls, which were placed on the ends of sticks and roasted over a fire. The Pawnee had a similar method of preparing hackberries, but added parched corn as well as fat (7, p. 76). Hack- 824 berries were commonly eaten by Indians of the Southeast, the Plains, 262 and the Southwest, the usual practice being to consume pit and all. 251 In this connection it is interesting to note that in chemical analyses 145 of hackberries prepared in the Indian manner Yanovsky *et alii* (29) found not only considerable amounts of carbohydrates and protein

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 but also a high mineral constituent was
262 calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the
251 dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromis-
145 ing-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoff-*
262 *manseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuña*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-
[252] flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *tʔdiekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulbʔ), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221 dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224 camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251 it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281 The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492 horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In Notes Taken With Marcy, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. Exploration of the Red River, 98.

18. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days. Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

192 nakwĪ, *side, direction*]; hanito?I *corn-cob pipe* (*corn pipe*); hanitusupĪ *corn-meal* (*corn ground up*); hanikahnI *corn-crib* (*corn house*); haniwo?ora· *corn-cob* (*corn backbone*); hi?o·kwana? *mentholatum* (*sunflower smell*); *hīki?ai? *umbrella; parasol* (*makes shade*); hu·vA *coffee* (*wood water*); hu·pihná·? *molasses; syrup* [newer word] (*wood sweet*); hu·ko·?i? *saw* (*wood cut up*); *hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); huhcú·rekwa?e·tĪ *parrot* (*bird talks customarily*); hu·cihka?a? *saw* [hu·- *wood* + cih- *with a sharp instrument* + ka?A *separate* + -?]; hu·aive? *draw-knife; plane* (*wood scrape*, arrow, hide); humasiapĪ *orchard* [hu- + ma- *with the hand* + sia *grow* + -pĪ, resultative nominalizer]; hu·masu?ne? *file, rasp* (*wood rub hand back and forth*); hu·hwane? *axe* [Used by older persons. Possibly from hu·- *wood* + hani *to make*].

ma?nī?sari·? *dachshund* (*heavy-bodied dog*); mawicohkO *bracelet* (goes around arm); makUsA *sleeve* (*arm legging*) a tubular legging of buckskin worn from hip to ankle. mahtu·pE *cuff* (*arm mouth*); masia *to plant* [ma- *with the hand* + sia *grow*]; mayake? *piano* (*make cry with the hands*); mo?oricah-kīna? *thimble* (*finger sewer*); mo?oci?nika? *ring* [mo?O *hand* + ci?- + nika *push into* + -?, nominaliser]; *mo?onahrsO *glove, mitten* (*hand sack*); muvico·ni? *lollipop* (*wring out juice with the mouth*) [compare namavico·ni? *mesquite, wring itself out with the hands*]; muvisari·? *greyhound* (*nose dog*); muvo·tohki? *balloon* (*swollen with the mouth*); muhpe? *hoe* (*nose bend over*); *muyake? *musical instrument; phonograph, organ* (*make cry with the mouth*); muyake?e·tĪ *musician*; muyake?etī· *orchestra, band*.

na?a·wO *drawer* (*its cup, container*); na?o·mO *wheel, leg* (*its leg*); na?raivo· *captive, slave; hired hand* [na- + taivo· *White man*]; *na?kīhtava?i? *pecans, nuts* [na?- + *crack with the teeth*]; na?koro·mi? *Ku Klux Klan* (*face covered*); na?kwIsi? *pumpkin* [na?- + kwisI *braid*" + -? nomi-

[25] " It was stated that in the old days pumpkin was cut into strips, dried, and woven into mats for

[p. 225-B]

192 nalizer]; na?ciya·?*see-saw* (*raise one's self with a pointed object*); napĭca?ika? *shoe-horn* (*shoe pull in*); navo·pĭ *writing, print* [na- + po· *draw* + -pĭ]; navo·royaruhku? *tiger* (*striped mountain lion*); navOsa? *chain* [na- + po·sA *string*, as beads, + -?]; navukuwarĭcavo·?*tractor* (*horseless plow*); narahwsanapĭ *boots* (*legging shoes*); nari?iyatĭ/puhiwirekwapĭ *telegraph* (*dangerous or wonderful metal talk*); narĭmĭ· *town, village* [na- + tĭmĭ *buy, sell*]; narĭhka? *groceries* [na- + tĭhka *eat* + -?]; narĭno·? *saddle* [na- + tĭ- + no· *load* + -?]; narĭno·va·pĭ *pommel* (*saddle head*); narĭno?anahotUkO *saddle skirt* (*saddle's flanks*); naro?i? stairs; ladder [na- + to?i *go up* + -?]; *narohtĭma? *tin can, jar; lid, cover* (*close itself with the fist*); *nakarĭ? *chair* [na- + ka·rĭ *sit* + -?]; nakarĭticavo·? *plow* (*horse drawn*) (*chair plow*); nakIsari·? *hound* (*ear dog*); *nakohpo·pĭ *brand* (*cattle*) (*its fire mark*); nakohto·? *stove* [na- + kohto· *build a fire* + -?]; naca?ani?[n] *buggy* [na- + ca?- + ?anĭ *fall, come down* + -?]; nacahkwinU?e? *revolver* (*turns itself with the hand*); nacahwi? *gate, door* (*pushes aside with the hand*); *nacamukwe? *grapes, currants, raisins* (*eat by plucking off with the mouth*); nacahwi? *gate* (*thrown aside*); nacayakatĭtuka? *lantern* [*tuka?- *lamp*, given above]; naci?aikĭ? *wheelbarrow* [na- + ci?- + ?ai *go* + -kĭ benefactive + -?]; *nacihtĭma? *lock, bolt; key* [na- + cih- + tĭma *close* + -?]; nacihto·? *cane* (*brace one's self with a pointed instrument*); naciwekwa? *spurs, rowel* [na- + ci- + wekwa *job* + -?]; nacu?ukahnI *hospital* (medicine house); nasa·wĭ? *screen* [na- + sa·wĭ- *porous*]; nahawari?iphaknI *poor-house* (*person who cannot do for himself house*); nahoikIti? *belt* (*put around one's self*); *namahIa? *baking powder* [na- + mahIA

[251] storage, perhaps following the custom of the Wichita or Mandan.

[n] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1886), gives to wah we pok, tu-werivu kU (*black beard horse*) for buggy. tu-waikin *black back* (black wagon [English]), was collected in 1942.

[p. 226-A]

Comanche Texts

huabokóo?a$_4$ bomanu$_5$, wihnu$_4$ bʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_3$ bituʌ$_9$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 12. u$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ pomapʌha$_4$ uhri$_5$ tʌkʌbʌniku$_4$, uhrʌ$_7$ kumahpʌ?nʌkwʌ$_8$ noohpitʌnu$_9$. 13. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ noopʌha$_3$ tsayumi?inu$_4$. 14. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ puhipʌba?a$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kohtoopʌha$_4$ kʌma?kʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ rahni?inu$_7$. 15. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ bʌi$_2$ saakʌnu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ huba?ainu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ rʌasʌ$_7$ yuhúnohkonu$_8$. 16. ma$_1$ sʌmʌkwasʌhka$_2$, sitʌ$_3$ puhipʌha$_4$ rʌkʌsónanu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, tʌhkánu$_8$. 17. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ tʌhkamaahka$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ awe$_5$ tahni?inu$_6$ 18. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ ta?siwóo?rʌhkapʌka$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$ pʌhʌ$_6$ arʌka?rʌhkapʌka$_7$ yʌkwinu$_8$. 19. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ inanu$_3$. 20. tʌasʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ bʌhʌ$_3$ pomapʌkahti$_4$ tʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 21. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ pihnákamanu$_3$. 22. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ inahpʌni$_3$, nanaarʌmu?ikatʌ$_4$. 23. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nanisuyakeku$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ puhipʌha$_4$ yʌ?yʌkaku$_5$ norʌnánu$_4$. 24. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ inana$_4$ marʌkanu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ hubébinu$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌnu$_9$. 25. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$

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picked$_8$ a bucket$_2$ full$_3$ (of) huckleberries$_4$, then$_6$ went$_{10}$ back$_9$ to$_8$ her$_7$ camp$_5$. 12. When$_2$ she$_1$ arrived$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ are eating much$_4$ (of) their$_3$ pickings$_4$, their$_7$ husbands$_8$ arrived packing$_9$. 13. These two$_1$ took$_4$ their$_2$ load$_3$ down$_4$. 14. These two$_1$ put$_7$ it$_6$ on leaves$_2$ besides$_5$ their$_3$ fire$_4$. 15. These two$_1$ boiled for$_3$ them$_2$, also$_4$ made coffee$_5$, then$_6$ also$_7$ made fry bread$_8$. 16. When$_2$ it$_1$ all was cooked$_2$, these ones$_3$ made a table of$_5$ leaves$_4$, then$_6$ sitting down$_7$, ate$_8$. 17. When$_2$ they$_3$ finished eating$_3$, these two$_1$ put away$_6$ their$_4$ dishes$_5$. 18. These two$_1$ then$_3$ sat down$_2$ at$_4$ their$_3$ buffalo meat$_4$ also$_5$ at$_7$ their$_6$ deer meat$_7$. 19. These two$_1$ jerked$_3$ it$_2$. 20. Also$_1$ these two$_2$ were eating$_5$ from$_4$ their$_3$ pickings$_4$. 21. Those ones$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$ (and) sweet$_3$. 22. These two$_1$ at this place$_4$ jerked much$_3$, (they) are telling stories$_4$. 23. These$_1$ made a bed of$_4$ nice$_2$ soft$_3$ cedar$_3$ limbs$_4$. 24. These two$_1$ then$_3$ finished$_6$ their$_3$ jerking$_4$, also$_6$ made coffee$_7$, also$_8$ cooked on coals$_9$. 25. These two$_1$ fin-

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Obtaining and Preparing Food

50A tʌhkamaahtsi$_2$, pʌhʌ$_2$ inapʌ̲ha$_4$ pʌhʌ$_3$ inawatapa?aiki$_5$ rohtsáni?inu̲$_7$. 26. wihnukʌ̲se?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ̲$_3$ kwabinu̲$_3$, ʌhkóoinu̲$_4$. 27. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌnakiku$_3$ taanu̲$_3$. 28. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ yorihtsi$_2$, kohtoohtsi$_3$, huba?ainu̲$_4$. 29. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌhkánu̲$_3$. 30. surʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kumahpa?nʌkwʌ̲$_3$, —pitu̲sʌ$_4$ tanʌ$_5$ nomiaru?i$_5$. — me$_7$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_8$. 31. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kwʌhanʌkwʌ̲$_3$, —nohi?$_4$ tsaaku$_5$. — me$_6$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_7$. 32 sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ tsakʌ̲huyʌkʌ̲tsi$_4$, urii$_5$ narʌnoo?rʌkitsi$_4$, pʌʌ$_7$ tʌnoowapinii$_8$ tʌnookʌnu̲$_9$. 33. tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_1$, bʌʌ$_2$ tʌnoowapinii$_3$ tsakʌ̲tsi$_4$, pitu̲sʌ$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌkʌ̲hu$_7$ mi?anu̲$_8$. 34. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu̲$_2$. 35. setʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ nah$_3$ noo$_4$ marʌʌkʌ̲hi$_5$ ta?óo?himahkwainu̲$_6$. 36. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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[25A] ished eating$_2$, hung$_7$ their$_3$ jerked meat$_4$ over$_6$ their$_5$ meat poles$_4$. 26. Then$_1$ these two$_2$ lay down$_3$, (and) slept$_4$. 27. This$_1$ was$_3$ (a) quiet$_3$ morning$_3$. 28. These two$_1$ getting up$_2$, making a fire$_3$, made coffee$_4$. 29. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 30. Those ones$_1$ their$_2$ husbands$_3$ said$_7$ $_8$, —We$_5$ will move$_6$ back$_4$.— 31. /These two$_1$/ their$_2$ wives$_3$ said$_4$ $_7$, —Very$_4$ good$_5$.— 32. These ones$_1$ rounding up$_4$ their$_2$ horses$_3$, saddling$_4$ them$_5$ up$_4$, loaded$_7$ their$_7$ pack animals$_8$. 33. Mounting horses$_1$, (and) leading$_4$ their$_2$ pack animals$_3$, (they) went$_5$ back$_5$ to$_7$ their$_6$ relatives$_7$. 34. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 35. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ /just$_3$/ must$_4$ come and go getting pounded meat$_4$ from them$_5$. 36. That is all$_1$.

[p. 114 is blank]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

mekʌ$_{14}$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{15}$. 9. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —mʌʌ$_3$ 539
ta?wo?i?aka$_4$ maka?muki$_5$, urii$_6$ nubipó?roo?nii$_7$
tai$_8$ wasʌru?ika$_9$,— mekʌ$_{10}$. 10. —ke$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ hina$_3$ rʌhka$_4$.—
11. ma$_1$ yʌihkakʌse?$_2$ urʌʌ$_3$ kahnitutʌ$_4$ ta?kwʌba?i$_5$, surʌʌ$_6$
sehka$_7$ mubipó?roo?a$_8$ sooti$_9$ wasʌ́nu$_{10}$. 12. suhka$_1$ mubipó-
?roo?a$_2$ u$_3$ pʌhʌma?aikusʌ$_4$ u$_5$ tsihpomi?itsi$_6$, u$_7$ rohtsʌ́ni-
?inu$_8$. 13. u$_1$ tukanikʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ tomoahupiitʌ$_4$, tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_5$ urii$_6$ ʌmanu$_7$, ʌmarʌsʌ$_8$ taanu$_9$. 14. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahnihkutʌ$_4$ ro?itsi$_5$, hunu?betuti$_6$ buninu$_7$.
15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hakani$_3$ mʌi$_4$ naahkaku$_5$ ma?$_6$
tʌmarʌʌmoʌ́ku$_7$ baro?ikitʌ$_8$. tsaʌku$_9$ mʌnʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ supana?-
itʌʌ$_{12}$ sihka$_{13}$ tamutʌso?ihunu?bihta$_{14}$ atabaro?ina$_{15}$. — mekʌ$_{16}$.
16. —namʌsohiika$_1$. ikʌhu$_2$ ma?$_3$ bʌesʌ$_4$ to?i?$_5$,— mekʌ$_6$.
17. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ oo?ri$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ waikinʌkahtu$_5$ petinu$_6$.
18. u$_1$ noo?matu$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ oo?ri$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, tunehtsʌnu$_7$.
19. marii$_1$ nabitʌbunihkakʌse?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ oo?rʌ$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$
marʌʌ$_6$ kahni$_7$ o?okwenuna$_8$. 20. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$,

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pigs$_{10}$ ate up all$_{13}$ our$_{11}$ groceries$_{12}$.— 9. Those$_1$ men$_2$ said$_{10}$,
—Get ready$_5$ your$_3$ guns$_4$. We$_8$ will kill$_9$ those$_4$ pigs$_7$.
10. We$_2$ (have) not$_1$ (a) thing$_3$ to eat$_4$.— 11. When$_2$ it$_1$ was
evening$_2$, those ones$_4$ were shooting$_5$ about$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$,
(and) killed$_{10}$ /those various$_7$/ many$_9$ pigs$_8$. 12. Cutting$_4$ [251]
/it$_5$/ up$_4$, those$_1$ pigs$_2$ still in$_4$ its$_3$ skin$_4$, (they) hung$_8$ it$_7$
up$_8$. 13. That$_1$ night$_2$ it$_3$ suddenly clouded up$_4$, (and) rained
on$_7$ them$_4$ much$_5$, (and) is still raining$_8$ [when] morning came$_9$.
14. One$_1$ man$_2$, going out$_5$ from$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$, looked$_7$ along
towards creek$_4$. 15. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{16}$, —As$_8$ you all$_4$ were
continuing$_5$, in some way$_3$ it$_4$ [water] is come up$_8$ much$_7$.
You all$_{10}$ know$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ well$_9$, (that) this$_{13}$ Briar Creek$_{14}$ over-
flows easily$_{15}$.— 16. —Hurry up$_1$. It$_3$ already$_4$ came up$_5$
here$_2$,— (he) said$_6$. 17. These ones$_1$ threw$_4$ their$_2$ clothes$_3$
into$_5$ their$_4$ wagon$_5$. 18. These ones$_3$ carrying$_4$ their$_4$ clothes$_5$,
ran$_7$ onto$_3$ that$_1$ hill$_2$. 19. As$_2$ they$_1$ looked behind them-
selves$_2$, their$_3$ clothes$_4$ (and) also$_5$ their$_4$ teepees$_7$ are float-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 238.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal [251]
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they manifest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175 262

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 463 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 567 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then

224 of buffalo and some of the river precipices, which sometimes extend for miles. His companions, in the meantime, get in the rear and along the flanks of the herd and, showing themselves at a given signal, advance upon the herd. The herd, thus alarmed, runs from the hunters toward the river. The Indian, who thus acts as a decoy, when the precipice is reached, suddenly secures himself in some crevice of the cliff previously selected, leaving the herd on the brink. It is then impossible for the foremost of the herd to retreat or to turn aside, being pressed on by those behind, and they tumble headlong off the cliff, strewing the shore with their bodies.[39]

The hunters rushed up to take a heavy toll of those failing to make a quick escape. This, of course, was a survival of the favored buffalo drive of prehistoric Indians on the plains.

The individual hunter sometimes employed a still more unique method. He wrapped himself with the hide of a wolf or a buffalo and on "all-fours" crept within shooting distance of the unsuspecting animals. Care had to be taken to approach toward the wind always. It was then possible for the hunter with bow and arrow to kill a number of animals before the unwary herd realized the source of its danger.[40]

● 252 Among many Plains tribes the women took over as soon as the men had shot the buffalo down. According to Comanche informants[41] the heavy work of skinning and butchering was done by the men. Cows were left lying on their sides, but bulls were heaved over to set on their bellies with all fours spread. They were then ready for butchering. The brisket was first slashed across at the neck and folded back so the forequarters could be removed at the joint. Then the hide was sliced down the middle of the spine in such a way as not to cut the sinews, which were removed intact. After the hide was peeled back toward both sides, the hind quarters were disjointed, leaving the rump with the back. The flank was next cut up toward the stomach and removed in one piece with the brisket—the whole thin

[39] J. A. Allen, "History of the American Bison," United States Geological and Geographical Survey, *Annual Report*, IX (1875), 574–75.

[40] Rister, "Indians as Buffalo Hunters," *loc. cit.*, 456.

[41] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Slope.

chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing. 252

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. [251] Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning.

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter. 224 787

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the 224 825 787

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding it on a stick over a fire. Sometimes it was roasted on hot coals and the burned portion removed before eating. It was served on the flesh side of a dried skin, or sometimes the stick was brought into the tent and the handle end stuck into the ground with a long piece of meat dangling from the other end. The women got copper or iron pots as soon as possible from the traders and thereafter boiled or stewed most of their meat. They had always stewed some meat in the buffalo paunch, heating it by immersing hot stones in the water, since a fire could not be built directly under the paunch. After they obtained metal pots, the large kettle was placed over a fire and all sorts of meats and cuts dumped into it. The contents were stirred at intervals with the broad rib of a buffalo. Hunks of meat were fished from the sloppy stew with the stirring stick, knife, or the hands. The iron pot released women from a lot of labor, but it certainly added nothing to the flavor, sanitation, or dignity of the meal. During the later period a few people dipped their meat into a salt brine as they ate it. Generally, however, no salt was used on the meat, either for curing or when eating.[7] A sauce made from honey, water, and tallow was frequently used over roasted meat. The Comanches were fond of tripe. When it was not consumed raw, the usual method was to clean it and then roast it over hot coals.[8] Terrapins and turtles were collected in sacks and thrown while alive into a crackling fire. Those which sought to escape were thrown back until they roasted, when they were raked from the fire, their shells broken open, and the contents eaten with a horn spoon.[9]

Captain R. G. Carter, whose military life brought him into contact with the Comanches, described their cooking of fish and turkey:

> In cooking fish, they enclose them in clay or mud after they have been "drawn" and cleaned, to a depth of several inches, rolling them over, and the hot coals scraped on top. When cooked the hard baked clay is knocked off with the casing, and the fish eaten with salt.
>
> A wild turkey was bled, dressed or "drawn," a few feathers

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Parker, *op. cit.*, 196.

[9] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 66; Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*, 95, 323; Rister, *Border Captives*, 18–19.

252 plucked out and it was flung into the fire or red coals. When one would suppose that there was nothing left to the bird, the burnt, black mess was raked out, left to partially cool, then with dexterous movement of the knife the skin is peeled or stripped from the neck downwards taking the burned feathers, revealing a white and tempting morsel to a hungry man. It was then cut and torn apart.[10]

252 Even when game was plentiful, the Comanche taste for certain
262 foods would not appeal to us. When a buffalo, beef, deer, antelope, or elk was killed, it was not uncommon for a hunter and his family to gather about, open its veins, and drink the warm blood. Raw brains and the marrow from the leg bones were stirred together on the flesh side of the hide or in a dish made by cutting out a section of the slaughtered animal's ribs, and were consumed without further preparation. The fresh, warm liver covered with the contents of the gall bladder was considered one of the finest delicacies. Children crowded around the butcher and begged for it. Liver cooked on coals and spread with rich marrow also formed a choice dish. Entrails stripped of their contents by drawing them between two fingers, kidneys, paunch, loin tallow, and the tallow around the kidneys were all eaten raw while still warm and without washing. A Comanche would cut into the udder of an animal and, placing his mouth on the gash, suck the warm mixture of milk and blood with the greatest of pleasure. The curdled milk from the stomach of a suckling fawn or calf was a delicacy indeed. Herman Lehmann also refers to their having eaten the heart, but this appears to have been unusual, for it was generally left within the skeleton,[11] probably a ceremonial gesture to propitiate the animal spirit. These appetites may have been indelicate from our point of view, but they provided an effective way to get vitamins and iron in large quantities. The Comanche would have had the hearty approval of the modern dietitian.

222 Although buffalo meat was their dietary mainstay, the Comanches did not suffer the unrelieved monotony of boiled stew and jerked

[10] R. G. Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 279.

[11] Herman Lehmann, *Nine Years among the Indians*, 115, 116; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used. 342 [252]

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist. [531]

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[34] [354]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick- 372

[34] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 but also a high mineral content. The chief mineral constituent was
262 calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the
251 dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromis-
145 ing-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoff-*
262 *manseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuňa*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-
[252] flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *t?diekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulb?), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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County (23, p. 56); it is probably the plant to which the informant had reference. 824 262

The underground portion of a plant (Comanche: *e'kakoni*) described as "growing like a radish and having a root like a radish" was said to be peeled, and eaten raw. The "root" was further described as red and sweet-tasting. Except for the color, the plant might well be the widely used prairie turnip or *pomme blanche* (*Psoralea esculenta*) of the northern Plains. Grinnell (9, p. 178) describes, however, the Cheyenne use of a related species (*Psoralea hypogeae*) the root of which is red and which bears the same Cheyenne name as the *pomme blanche*, with a prefix meaning "red." This latter plant occurs in southwestern Oklahoma and may be the one in question.

A plant (Comanche: *totox'd*) resembling a small tomato bears a "root" (tuber?) about the size and shape of a walnut. This "root" is peeled before being eaten; the flesh is light in color. The description applies well to the wild potatoes (*Solanum Jamesii* and *Solanum Fendleri*) commonly used in the Southwest except that the plants are said to "appear in the spring and not last long." These wild potatoes are not listed in the flora of Oklahoma (23).

Several other plants which produced underground parts useful as food were mentioned by informants, and the Comanche names have been recorded. An herb (Comanche: *taḃaxko*) was collected in the spring, and the roots were cooked with fat to make a soup. A grayish vine (Comanche: *tsuns*) grows deep and produces a root which is roasted after its thin skin has been removed. (This might be some species of Smilax.) A "root" described as "like a sweet potato" (Comanche: *qstanarixka*) was said to grow in sandy places. This "root" is peeled and roasted. Another edible "root" which was compared to a potato has the Comanche name *sehetsitsina*. It was eaten either boiled or roasted. On the basis of its name and its use Hoebel (correspondence, April, 1939) suggests that this is the Indian potato, a plant which, he notes, "Grows in hills, flowers like Sweet William," and has "small white tubers, ripe in spring, [that are] boiled and eaten." Even with this description we are unable to suggest a specific identification. 824 262 252

A plant (Comanche: *paiyap*) was described as having a blossom like that of a sunflower, and edible "roots" prepared by roasting or boiling. This suggests the so-called Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus* 824 262

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[171] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

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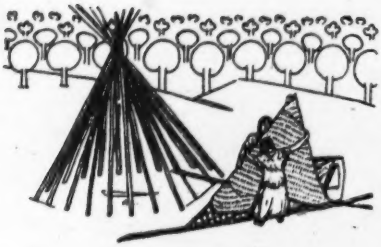

XXIX

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ nʌmʌkahnikʌ$_3$ nʌmʌnaahkatʌʌ$_4$. 2. nʌ$_1$ bia?se?$_2$ pibiapʌhi$_3$ waawatayʌkwi?eeyu$_4$, nʌmʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ pʌmatu$_7$ pʌ$_8$ karʌkʌtu?iha$_9$. 3. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_5$, u$_6$ karʌkʌ?eeyu$_7$, kʌhtaaku$_8$ u$_9$ rawʌni?i?eeyu$_{10}$. 4. ukuhpa$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ ʌmakʌni?aikʌ?eeyu$_3$. 5. surʌse?$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, pahibahku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ wʌhtarʌ́a?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$, pʌpa?a$_8$ nʌmʌ$_9$ ʌhkooitu?iha$_{10}$. 6. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ kutʌhó-rakʌ?eeyu$_4$, bʌkʌku$_5$ bʌ$_6$ tʌkʌhmanitu?iha$_7$. 7. surʌse?$_1$ ukuku$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ saakʌ?etʌ$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ ku?inakʌ?etʌ$_6$, nʌmi$_7$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌ?eeyu$_8$. 8. surʌse?$_1$ pianohko?awobaaitʌ$_2$, ukuku$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ nohkókʌ?eeyu$_5$. 9. sʌsʌ?ana$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ yuhúnohkokʌ?-

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1. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ lived$_4$ in (a) teepee$_3$. 2. My$_1$ mother$_2$ sets up$_4$ long$_3$ cedar poles$_4$ [then] she$_6$ will set up$_9$ ours$_5$ house$_6$ on to it$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ then$_2$ does$_5$ it$_4$ that way$_3$, sets$_7$ it$_6$ up$_7$, (and) tightly$_8$ stakes$_{10}$ it$_9$. 4. Inside it$_1$ (she) makes a rain house for$_3$ us$_2$. 5. That one$_1$ does$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, three separate$_5$ bed steads (she) makes for$_7$ us$_6$, what$_{10}$
539 we$_9$ will sleep$_{10}$ on /it/$_8$. 6. That one$_1$ then$_2$ digs a fire hole
252 for$_4$ us$_3$, where$_5$ she$_6$ will cook$_7$. 7. That one$_1$ in that$_2$
262 [fire hole] boils for$_4$ us$_3$, roasts for$_6$ us$_5$, (and) cooks on coals for$_8$ us$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ has a big biscuit oven$_2$, in it$_3$ (she) bakes biscuits for$_5$ us$_4$. 9. Sometimes$_1$ (she) cooks

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eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. surʌse?$_1$ 539
nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$.
11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$
ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. surʌse?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwasʌkʌ?eku$_4$,
tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. surʌ-
se?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌ-
hpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌnʌse?$_1$ onama?ai$_2$ tʌhkapʌma?aihku$_3$
u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. surʌse?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌnʌse?$_1$
tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?etʌ$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$
sibe?etʌ$_7$, u$_8$ hima?etʌ$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌnʌ-
se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibepʌha$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$
kʌyu?ne?etʌ$_2$, paakʌ$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ kotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. suni-
se?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, tutʌtsaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$
sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. surʌse?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ sana-
hkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ bʌnihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?-
ai?ena$_4$. 22. subetʌ$_1$.

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fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes 539
coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ 252
hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) 262
does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_4$ /that$_5$/ fat$_6$ (she) roasts (it) on
a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$
tastes$_4$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_6$, also$_7$ tastes$_9$ good$_8$ (and) sweet$_9$.
13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it)
in ashes for$_6$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_5$ it$_4$ with salt$_2$ (and) with
meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark 539
of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_5$ sap$_6$. 261
take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_4$
/that$_3$/ our$_4$ shavings$_5$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_6$ it$_5$ in
water$_3$. 19. We$_3$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$
clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing
gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we)
make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$.

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ma$_{13}$ betinu$_{14}$, ma$_{15}$ rʌhpé?kʌanu$_{16}$. 10. mahka$_1$ mahri$_2$ 539
tʌhpe?kʌahkakʌse?$_3$ si?ana$_4$ pimoróo?a$_5$ piakuhma$_6$ tuhubʌ-
hkapʌ$_7$ mahrʌwakatu$_8$ nuhkíkina$_9$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌehpʌ?-
rʌ$_2$, —itʌtsa?$_3$ narʌ?ʌyatʌ$_4$ pimoróo?$_5$ tahʌwakatu$_6$ kimaa-
rʌ$_7$ — mekʌse?$_8$ sitʌ$_9$ yʌkwihtsi$_{10}$, pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikinʌkahtu$_{12}$
pohpínu$_{13}$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kaku?$_3$ pʌnʌsu?a$_4$ makʌ$_5$
tʌhʌ́yaro?inu$_6$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ sihkutʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$
nuraanu$_5$. 14. mahri$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ mahrʌ$_3$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$
sihka$_5$ natsamukwe?a$_6$ tsayumi?inu$_7$. 15. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$
pʌʌ$_3$ pibiarʌsone$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, makʌhu$_6$ ma$_7$ tsahpómi?inu$_8$,
ma$_9$ kotsenu$_{10}$, pʌʌ$_{11}$ huu?awokʌ$_{12}$ ma$_{13}$ rahni?inu$_{14}$.
16. pʌʌ$_1$ tʌrayu?ne?a$_2$ yaahtsi$_3$, uma$_4$ u$_5$ rayu?nenu$_6$.
17. u$_1$ sʌmʌrayu?netsi$_2$, u$_3$ maroponi?inu$_4$. 18. wihnu$_1$
pʌʌ$_2$ hʌkiba?aiki$_3$ pibiawobihta$_4$ tahni?itsi$_5$, sihka$_6$ natsa-
mukwe?a$_7$ pʌʌ$_8$ maroponi?ipʌha$_9$ uba?aiki$_{10}$ pasáhtahni?inu$_{11}$.
19. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, muhpóo?wanapʌha$_4$ uba?aiki$_5$ wʌhpá-
ri?inu$_6$. 20. hayarokwe$_1$ u$_2$ habihka$_3$, sunihku$_4$ narʌni?itʌ$_5$,

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threw$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ into$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$, it$_{15}$ filled up$_{16}$. 10. As$_3$ they$_2$ filled up$_3$ that$_1$, here somewhere$_4$ (a) big bull$_4$ cow$_5$ (an) angry one$_7$ came running$_9$ towards them$_8$. 11. This$_1$ child$_2$ (said), --This$_3$ dangerous$_4$ cow$_5$ is coming$_7$ towards us$_6$.— This one$_9$ saying$_8$ $_{10}$, jumped$_{13}$ into$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$. 12. This$_1$ his$_2$ grandmother$_3$ herself also$_4$ mounted up$_4$ in it$_5$. 13. These two$_1$ from there$_2$ ran$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$ house$_4$.
14. When$_2$ they$_1$ arrived$_2$, their$_3$ relatives$_4$ unloaded$_7$ these$_5$ 539
grapes$_6$. 15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ taking$_3$ their$_3$ big dishpans$_4$, 252
in it$_5$ (they) stripped$_8$ it$_7$, washed$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them], (and) placed$_{16}$ it$_{13}$ [them] in$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wooden bowls$_{12}$. 16. Taking$_3$ their$_1$ pestle$_2$, with it$_4$ (they) pounded$_4$ it$_5$. 17. Completely pounding$_2$ it$_1$, (they) made balls of$_4$ it$_3$. 18. Then$_1$ placing$_5$ big boards$_4$ over$_3$ their$_2$ arbor$_3$, (they) placed$_{11}$ these$_4$ their$_8$ balls$_9$ of grapes$_7$ over it$_{10}$ to dry$_{11}$. 19. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that way$_1$, (they) spread$_4$ mosquito netting$_4$ over it$_5$. 20. As$_3$ it$_2$ lies$_3$ four (days$_1$), (it) stays$_5$ in that way$_4$, /and/ when it is

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Obtaining and Preparing Food

539 u$_4$ rʌbitsibasahka$_7$, pibianarʌ̲sokʌ̲$_8$ u$_9$ rʌbakinu̲u̲$_{10}$. 21. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tomo$_3$ u$_4$ karʌkʌ?etʌ̲$_5$, taaa$_4$ u$_7$ bihnakamaku$_8$, u$_9$ rʌhkǽ?eeyu̲$_{10}$. 22. usʌse?$_1$ pʌnihku$_2$ pʌewatsi?$_3$ natsamukwe?a$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ tʌkʌ?ai?ena̲$_6$. 23. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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539 really dry$_{6\ 7}$, (they) load$_{10}$ it$_9$ in big sacks$_8$. 21. These
252 ones$_1$ then$_2$ in winter$_3$ cook$_5$ it$_4$, as$_8$ it$_7$ tastes$_3$ good$_4$ (and) sweet$_2$, (they) eat$_{10}$ it$_9$. 22. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ they$_5$ fix$_4$ wild$_3$ grapes$_4$ to eat$_6$. 23. That is all$_1$.

[p.118 is blank]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

kʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ huuhkabaiki$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, si?ana$_7$ pʌma$_8$ sehka$_9$ kuyunʌ́?a$_{10}$ yʌkwi?ena$_{11}$ piaba?sahpunʌ́?tuhka$_{12}$ yʌkwinu$_{13}$. 13. marii$_1$ yʌkwihkakukʌse?$_2$ setʌ$_3$ kuyunʌ́?$_4$ sooyorikitʌ$_5$, sima$_6$ pa?sahpunʌ́?ma$_7$ yʌkwinu$_8$. 14. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ maa$_2$ yʌkwihkatʌ$_3$, wihnu$_4$ sokoko$_5$ pohbʌ́anu$_6$. 15. sitʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ marʌʌmatu$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$. 16. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ kuyunʌ́?nʌʌ$_2$ huuhkʌma?ku$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$. 17. huuhkʌma?ku$_1$ ma$_2$ kʌahka$_3$, sitʌʌ$_4$ tenanʌʌ$_5$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_6$ marii$_7$ wasʌ́nu$_8$. 18. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ wasʌpʌha$_4$ wa?wahku$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, pitusʌ$_7$ bʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 19. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ$_2$ bʌi$_3$ bitʌhka$_4$, setʌʌ$_5$ marii$_6$ no?inu$_7$. 20. wihnu$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ maka?mukitsi$_5$, kohtoohtsi$_6$, sehka$_7$ kuyunʌ́?$_8$ sooko$_9$ kwasʌ́kʌnu$_{10}$. 21. sitʌʌ$_1$ sukʌhu$_2$ sunihku$_3$ kuyunʌ́?$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ wasʌ?ima$_6$ tsihʌ́kwitso?ainu$_7$. 22. subetʌ$_1$.

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to the edge of the timber$_8$. 12. Then$_2$ these$_1$ women$_3$ went$_4$ through$_5$ that$_6$ timber$_5$ here$_7$ (they) sat down$_{13}$ under (a) big oak$_{12}$ on /it$_8$/ [which] those various$_9$ turkeys$_{10}$ perch$_{11}$. 13. As$_2$ they$_1$ were sitting$_2$, many$_5$ (of) those various$_3$ turkeys$_4$ came flying$_5$ (and) perched$_8$ on this$_6$ /on/ oak$_7$. 14. These$_1$ (turkeys) are perching$_3$ on it$_2$, then$_4$ jumped$_6$ to the ground$_5$. 15. These$_1$ women$_2$ ran$_4$ on to them$_3$. 16. These$_1$ turkeys$_2$ ran$_4$ to the edge of the timber$_3$. 17. As$_3$ it$_2$ [they] came out$_3$ to the edge of the timber$_1$, these$_4$ men$_5$ killed$_8$ much$_6$ [many] (of) them$_7$. 18. These$_1$ then$_2$, carrying$_4$ two each$_5$ (of) their$_3$ killings$_4$, went$_{10}$ back$_7$ to$_9$ their$_8$ camp$_9$. 19. When$_4$ they$_3$ arrived$_4$ (at) their$_1$ camp /to$_2$/, those various ones$_5$ [the women] picked$_7$ them$_6$ [the turkeys]. 20. Then$_1$ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$ preparing$_5$ it$_4$, making a fire$_6$, cooked$_{10}$ those$_7$ many$_9$ /various$_7$/ turkeys$_8$. 21. These ones$_1$ there$_2$ in that way$_3$ with$_6$ (the) turkeys$_4$ [which] they$_5$ killed$_6$ [were] saved from hunger$_7$. 22. That is all$_1$.

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[252]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ atabitsinʌʌ$_3$ su?ana$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narʌhka?tsu?manu$_2$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ-
?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 4. urʌʌmatʌkʌse?$_1$,
—tanʌwitsa$_2$ ohʌhi$_3$ ma$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaakʌhi$_5$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_6$
taa$_7$ yʌihtʌhkaru?iha$_8$ ahwemi?anu$_9$.— 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si-
?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ku?wʌhora?a$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, sukʌhu$_6$ ʌmahpaa-
kʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 6. tahkwe?yu?itsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ muhpe?ma?ai$_3$
makʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ sihka$_7$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_8$
ahwénu$_9$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —keta?ka$_3$ mubisi-
tʌʌ$_4$ mahka$_5$ tai$_6$ ahweku$_7$.— me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.
8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ahwepʌha$_4$ narʌsokoko$_5$
noohtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$.
10. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌku$_2$ kohtoo?etʌtsi$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahwe-
pʌha$_6$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_7$. 11. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ tsuhnipʌma?-
aihku$_3$ ma$_4$ karʌkʌnu$_5$. 12. sʌsʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ u$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, other tribe of Indians$_3$ camped$_5$
222 there somewhere$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ ran out of groceries$_2$.
3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ set up$_5$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$. 4. One of
262 them$_1$ (said), —We ought to$_2$ go dig$_9$ water lily roots$_6$ in
that$_3$ /this$_4$/ big lake$_5$ /in/ /what$_8$/ [which] we$_7$ will eat for
supper$_8$.— 5. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_3$ their$_3$ hoes$_4$,
went$_8$ there$_6$ to (the) lake$_7$. 6. Taking off (their) shoes$_1$,
with$_3$ their$_2$ hoes$_3$ went down$_5$ in it$_4$, (and) dug up$_9$ a lot of$_4$
these$_7$ water lily roots$_8$. 7. One$_1$ of them$_2$ said$_{8\ 10}$ to them$_9$,
—Don't$_3$ blow your noses$_4$ as$_7$ we$_6$ dig$_7$ this$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$
at this place$_2$, carrying$_4$ their$_3$ diggings$_4$ in sacks$_5$, went$_9$ to$_8$
539 their$_7$ camp$_8$. 9. These ones$_1$ arrived$_3$. 10. Each one mak-
262 ing a fire$_3$ in$_2$ their$_1$ homes$_2$ (they) cooked$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_5$
diggings$_4$. 11. Some$_1$ of them$_2$ boiled$_5$ it$_4$ with bones$_3$.
252 12. Some$_1$ /themselves$_2$/ fried$_4$ it$_3$ in$_4$ that$_3$ fat$_4$. 13. One$_1$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

yuhuk^$_4$ u$_5$ · kwasʌ́kʌnu$_6$. 13. sʌmʌ?k^se?$_1$, —nʌtsa?$_2$ nah$_3$ nʌ$_4$ ahwep^ha$_5$ kusiwʌhpimaru?i$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 14. sitʌʌk^se?$_1$ huba?ainu$_2$. 15. sʌmʌ?oyet^$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ yuhúnohkonu$_3$. 16. marʌʌ$_1$ nanahtenanʌʌk^se?$_2$, —tai$_3$ makaaka$_4$. — me$_5$ urii$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 17. sitʌʌk^se?$_1$ tʌk^son^tsi$_2$, pʌʌ$_3$ tʌkʌhmanip^ha$_4$ tsawʌni?inu$_5$. 18. sitʌʌk^se?$_1$, —nohi?$_2$ tsaaku$_3$ mʌnʌ$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_5$ tai$_6$ tʌkʌ?ahwekʌnu$_7$. 19. tan^se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaaku$_3$ ma$_4$ rʌhkánu$_5$. 20. pʌetsʌku$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ itʌʌmati$_3$ pimoróo?taiboo?nʌʌ$_4$ kuhtsu?k^hi$_5$ tʌbehkaru?inʌʌ$_6$, — mek^se?$_7$ surʌʌ$_8$ tenanʌʌ$_9$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{10}$. 21. surʌʌk^se?$_1$, —ke$_2$ tanʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ tsihakooiwa?itʌʌ$_5$, ihka$_6$ sokokuhpaiki$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ sʌa?eku$_{10}$. — mek^se?$_{11}$ surʌʌ$_{12}$. 22. surʌʌk^se?$_1$ u$_2$ bʌetsʌku$_3$ suhka$_4$ piayuup^ha$_5$ pimoróo?a$_6$ tʌbehkanu$_7$. 23. si?anet^$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ inanu$_4$, ma$_5$ basahka$_6$, nomi?anu$_7$. 24. subet^$_1$.

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said$_7$, —I$_2$ will$_4$ just$_3$ cook$_6$ my$_4$ diggings$_5$ in ashes$_6$.— 14. These ones$_1$ made coffee$_2$. 15. All of them$_1$ made$_3$ lots of$_2$ fry bread$_3$. 16. Their$_1$ menfolk$_2$ said to$_5$ them$_6$, —Feed$_4$ us$_3$.— 17. These ones$_1$ spreading a cloth$_2$, set out$_5$ their$_3$ cooked things$_4$. 18. These ones$_1$ (said), —Very$_2$ good$_3$ [that which] you$_4$ women$_5$ dug for$_7$ us$_6$ to eat$_7$. 19. We$_1$ really$_2$ ate$_5$ it$_4$ good$_3$. 20. Tomorrow$_1$ we$_2$ will kill$_4$ one of these$_3$ coyboys'$_4$ cattle /one of$_5$/,— said$_7$, those men$_8$. 21. Those ones$_1$ (said), —We$_3$ just$_4$ won't$_2$ starve$_5$, as$_{10}$ our$_8$ food$_9$ grows$_{10}$ inside$_7$ this$_6$ earth /about$_7$/,— said$_{11}$ those ones$_{12}$. 22. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ killed$_7$ that$_4$ big fat$_5$ cow$_6$. 23. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ jerked$_4$ it$_3$, (and) when$_4$ it$_5$ dried$_6$, (they) moved away$_7$. 24. That is all$_1$.

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20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 222.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 152
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

261
853
155
181
106
862
863

Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

264 the meat is taken out of the kettle by the fingers of the woman who officiates as cook, and apportioned to each one, and placed before him; bread [this was after the government had set up a reservation and was providing some provisions] is apportioned out, and cups for the coffee furnished to each. The party is some time in partaking of the meal, which is enlivened by much conversation, amusing tales, and laughter, while the meat is torn to pieces by the teeth and fingers, sometimes with the assistance of a knife. . . . After a meal water is always offered to all who have partaken to rinse the mouth and wash the hands. After this the pipe may be in order but not necessarily. If it be introduced, the women withdraw, and some important subject discussed. The pipe is always circulated from one to another, from right toward the left.[15]

261 [185] Perhaps opportunism in the life of the nomadic Comanche is best reflected in his attitude toward subsistence. Seldom were efforts put forth to make provision for the future other than preserving meat or wild fruits and nuts by drying in such quantities as could be carried when the camp moved. He ate sparingly when on a raid or a hunt. Times of hunger were frequent. He could subsist on a surprisingly small amount when game was scarce, or he could demonstrate an amazingly gluttonous appetite when food was plentiful and no danger present. Besides, the food might spoil unless quickly consumed. By practicing self-denial, he developed a quality of hardihood unequaled by other peoples who later came to his country. It was because of his surprising resourcefulness while traveling on the semiarid Staked Plains that he was able to survive where the Anglo-American invader would starve or die of thirst. And when all resources were exhausted, he could go for many hours through trying circumstances without either food or water. Indeed, his self-restraint could be quite as pronounced as his gormandizing. Clinton Smith relates that on a trip across the plains, when water was not found where expected, the most rigid discipline was enforced in the interest of the weaker members of the party. Grim warriors, with blood-shot eyes and swollen tongues, staggered on, threatening with death anyone who might attempt to

[15] Battey, *op. cit.*, 322–23.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

drink the few cupfuls of water carried in buffalo paunches to supply the children.[16] 261

In very early times, if we take what we know of the Shoshones as the measure, the Comanches could not have taken much interest in sartorial splendor. Even in later days their work-a-day garb was simple and crude. They hardly looked like the popular conception of the painted, beaded, and befeathered Indian. For festive occasions, however, they had their fancy dress garb, and young men, especially, liked to think of themselves as dandies. A *tʃuiβltsi* was much to be admired, and if asked what a *tʃuiβltsi* is, any Comanche will answer, "A handsome young man with shiny black hair, all dressed up on a good-looking horse." The *tʃuiβltsi* had his counterpart in the *naiβi:* a good-looking girl with long braids, painted and all dressed up in a good buckskin dress. When there were dances or when the band was moving from one camp site to another, the *naiβi* and *tʃuiβltsi* liked to parade and show off to the admiring glances of the people—and each other. Adult Comanches also liked to dress up, but they were not so self-conscious about it. 291

Boys, until they reached the age or eight or nine, went entirely nude unless the weather was severe. Regular attire generally consisted of breechclout, leggings, and moccasins only. The former was a broad piece of cloth or buckskin drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. The ends, one in front and one behind, formed loose, hanging flaps which extended almost to the knees. The length of the breechclout depended, of course, upon the size and height of the individual, but would probably average six feet for an adult male. Since blue was the favored color for formal or dress-up occasions, some early observers believed it to be the predominant color.[17]

A vestige of the breechclout is still worn by conservative Comanches in the form of a gee-string beneath their Levis. It is nothing more than a braided cord passed between the legs and wrapped about the waist. It cannot be seen, is not decorative, but is magically protective of the male's sex organs. [751]

[16] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 60.

[17] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 184; David G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɜn*, 824
were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and 261
others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), 171
who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɜ'ntnə* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɜ'ngabok*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were 824
stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black 262
walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or 824
greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various bever- 262
ages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a 272
single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. sur^se?$_1$ nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$. 11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$ ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. sur^se?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwasʌkʌ?eku$_4$, tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. sur^se?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌhpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌn^se?$_1$ onama?ai$_2$ tʌhkap^ma?aihku$_3$ u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. sur^se?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌn^se?$_1$ tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?et^$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$ sibe?et^$_7$, u$_8$ hima?et^$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌn^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibep^ha$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$ kʌyu?ne?et^$_2$, paak^$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ kotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. suni-se?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, tut^tsaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$ sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. sur^se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ sanahkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ bʌrihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?-ai?ena$_4$. 22. subet^$_1$. 539

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_6$ /that$_5$/ fat$_6$ (she) roasts (it) on a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$ tastes$_4$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_6$, also$_7$ tastes$_9$ good$_8$ (and) sweet$_9$. 13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it) in ashes for$_6$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_5$ it$_4$ with salt$_2$ (and) with meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_5$ sap$_6$, take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_6$ /that$_3$/ our$_4$ shavings$_5$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_6$ it$_5$ in water$_3$. 19. We$_2$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$ clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we) make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$. 539 252 262 539 261

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned. 657 231 236 [262] [286]

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own. 657 231 [177] [471] [261] [434]

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming. 657 241 [361]

20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 275, and 1876, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [622] [312] [513] [514] [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28] 342 [177] [427] [514]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents. [422] [352] [359] [312] [591]

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 30, 18.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche .06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists alto-
gether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are ex- [252]
ceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ-
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construc- [415]
tion, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride,
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 175
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 261
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic sys-
tem with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies
of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and
gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any
subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then en-
dure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively
trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is ca-
pable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting
the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor
262 alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
175 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible
317 supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful
263 and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[759] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *pubakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

727 of a considerable rivulet. The cords were here unloosed from my wrists; nevertheless, I was pinioned back from the shoulders, leaving my arms so far at liberty, however, that I could raise my hands to my mouth. The drove properly herded, one or two horses were shot, and the meat brought in for supper.

727 I may as well state, in this connection, that horseflesh is
● 262 the favorite food of a Comanche Indian. They do devour great quantities of venison and buffalo meat, but these are universally considered as greatly inferior to the steaks cut from the carcass of a mustang. The woods and prairies are covered with wild fowl, and the streams abound with delicious trout and other fish, yet none of these are ever made use of as an article of diet.

A fire was now kindled, and the warriors gathered round it, the prisoners in the center. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing and speaking to my fellow captives. Martin was silent and dejected, apparently absorbed in his own reflections, and little disposed to converse. Stewart was nervous and frightened, bewailing his hard fate in tears; but Aikens maintained a cheerful spirit, advising us to keep up our courage and look the matter coolly in the face until the last. While conversing, the Indians were engaged boiling their meat, which they ate without any accompaniment
[267 whatever, save water dipped from the spring in buffalo horns; the greensward serving as their table spread, and their fingers as knives and forks. Having satisfied themselves, they now seemed to take into consideration the appetites of their captives.

727 In wandering menageries, the curiosity of civilized assemblages is sometimes excited to see "the animals fed in the presence of the audience." Something of this kind actuated the Comanches on this occasion. At all events, they re-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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culiar doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received 727
it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whir and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and for- [431]
mally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was conducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse [262]
flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and *very* rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like 361
other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica*. The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainɔ*, or *Yampatikɔ*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nɔm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika*. In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni*, it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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dialects, traditions, and customs are largely Antelope.[22] To what extent this is true is impossible to judge, but even a casual student of Comanche culture cannot fail to note that the influence of the Antelope band is strong. These people are reluctant to accept innovations to this day, a few still preferring the tipi and the arbor to the modern house.

174
619

In addition to the above-mentioned major groups, there were a great many bands of less importance. Some of these are difficult to distinguish because of similarity of band names and variations in spelling the same name, and also because some bands had become extinct or had merged with others before becoming known to whites.

The *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), mentioned by James Mooney, were so called because they are reputed to have eaten the liver of their game in its raw state. Although Mooney found only one survivor at the time of his visit, Agent E. L. Clark reported several survivors living with other bands in 1881,[23] and Goldstein was able to identify the band in 1931. The Liver-eaters were neighbors of the Wanderers and with them composed a part of the group known as Middle Comanches.

[262]

A third band which lived in the same region as the Wanderers and the Liver-eaters was the *Tenawa* or *Tenawit* (Down Stream), also noted by Mooney. The *Tenawa* and *Tanima* were frequently confused by the whites, partly because of the similarity of the sound of the names and partly because they inhabited the same geographic region. So confused are the accounts of the two that it is often impossible to determine to which band the name refers.[24] The Down Streams were practically exterminated in a battle with the Mexicans about 1845, and the band did not exist when the Comanches went on the reservation in 1869, or else they had been absorbed by other bands. R. N. Richardson believes that the Yupes or Jupes listed by Governor Anza as one of three major divisions known to the Spaniards in New Mexico in 1786 were the *Tenawa*.[25] The Liver-eaters

[22] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*

[23] Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

[24] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 21, lists the following variations of the two words and states that it is an incomplete list: Te-na-wish, Ta-ne-wa, Te-ne-wah, Te-na-wa, Tan-nee-wish, Ten-en-e-ree, Te-ne-mes, and De-na-vi.

[25] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

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492 525 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[82]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

224 To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

262 The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

[271] 237 415 When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available, there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[82] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

224 ready, the people arranged themselves in two parallel lines facing east, the antelope medicine man at the center with the two warriors mounted on either side of him. Everyone else was afoot. In his hands the conjurer held his medicine sticks—two antelope hoofs, each on a piece of wood. Crossing his arms halfway below the elbow, a stick in each hand, he "blocked" the antelope. They could not run away. Then, giving one medicine stick to each of the warriors, he bade them ride off. One went northeast; the other southeast. Circling wide, they met and passed each other a mile or so to the east. They were drawing a magical barrier. Against its power the hapless antelope would be helpless. Each rider returned along the path laid by the other; the circle was closed. Now the two files of people—men, women, and children—followed out along the trails of the horsemen until they were standing in a huge circle, all singing antelope songs.

The antelope were now inside the circle, and the people closed in on them, shouting. The animals were in the corral. They dashed wildly about, but they could not cross the line. At last, when they were exhausted, the medicine man pointed one of his hoofs at an antelope who had one horn down. He would fall dead. "The people then pile in and kill them all."

The skeptic may say that it was the circle of shouting beaters who bunched the animals. But not the Comanche. He was convinced that without the medicine charm they would break through the circle and escape. The medicine hunt was not used often, but Comanches say it worked.

● 262 There is some disagreement about how fond the Comanches were of horse meat, but when game was not available, it was eaten and relished. Raiding parties normally carried few rations with them, and when the supply was exhausted, they simply killed and cooked a spare horse on the spot. Thomas C. Battey, who was one of the first white teachers among the Comanches, states that buffalo, antelope, or deer were preferred, but if not obtainable, a pony or a mule was the next choice. Modern Comanches agree with him. We have already called the Comanches "pastoralists," but they were not strictly so in that they did not rely to any great extent on their horse herds for food, and they never killed their mares. Around the middle of the nineteenth century they had plenty of horses to eat, yet the values

that had been built up when horses were rare were such that horses remained almost wholely prestige tokens and transport bearers. 262

Great numbers of cattle obtained from raids on Mexican and Texas settlements were also eaten, especially in later years. The majority were butchered and consumed by the raiders wherever they were found, or as soon as the raider felt himself at a distance safe from attack by the whites. The Comanches made no attempt to herd them. Many head of stolen cattle were not butchered, but went to New Mexican traders in return for ornaments, arrows, kettles, and other articles. Although the Comanches thought beef was poor eating when buffalo was to be had, nowadays an old Comanche likes to sink his teeth into mediocre beef with plenty of fat as the nearest thing to the buffalo he loved.

Dog meat was regarded as an almost sacred dish by the Sioux, and to the Cheyennes "A nice fat, boiled puppy is just like a turkey on Thanksgiving to you white people."[2] But the Comanches did not eat dog meat. Medicine Woman says it is because "Once, when the people moved, they left an old, old lady in camp with a dog. Several weeks later when the people returned to the site, they found that the dog had killed the woman and had consumed most of her body. Henceforth the Comanches refused dog meat, since dogs ate human flesh."[3] There is a deeper reason, however. Dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is tabu. He is the Trickster of Comanche and Shoshone mythology—a demi-god. Although coyotes were occasionally hunted for their furs, they were never eaten or wantonly killed. Post Oak Jim shot one for the fun of it once when out on a cattle raid. Came a cyclone, and Jim thought his horse was spinning on its head; it rained all night, and in the morning it was so cold they nearly froze. "That coyote's mother probably made medicine," said Jim. "Coyote has medicine. If we harm one, it will get back on us some way." 262 776 825

The same with dogs. Post Oak Jim killed a dog once, and ever after he thinks he had bad luck with his children. They all got sick and died. In 1933 Howard White Wolf had a dozen curs on his place. He did not dare to kill them himself, but he asked a member of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group to do it for him. White 776 825

[2] E. A. Hoebel, Cheyenne Field Notes (unpublished).
[3] Informant: Medicine Woman.

776 men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing
825 to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten
262 except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

266 The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

266 In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

000 In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding 252
it on a stick over a fire. Sometimes it was roasted on hot coals and the burned portion removed before eating. It was served on the flesh side of a dried skin, or sometimes the stick was brought into the tent and the handle end stuck into the ground with a long piece of meat dangling from the other end. The women got copper or iron pots as soon as possible from the traders and thereafter boiled or stewed most of their meat. They had always stewed some meat in the buffalo paunch, heating it by immersing hot stones in the water, since a fire could not be built directly under the paunch. After they obtained metal pots, the large kettle was placed over a fire and all sorts of meats and cuts dumped into it. The contents were stirred at intervals with the broad rib of a buffalo. Hunks of meat were fished from the sloppy stew with the stirring stick, knife, or the hands. The iron pot released women from a lot of labor, but it certainly added nothing to the flavor, sanitation, or dignity of the meal. During the later period [263]
a few people dipped their meat into a salt brine as they ate it. Generally, however, no salt was used on the meat, either for curing or when eating.[7] A sauce made from honey, water, and tallow was frequently used over roasted meat. The Comanches were fond of tripe. [262]
When it was not consumed raw, the usual method was to clean it and then roast it over hot coals.[8] Terrapins and turtles were collected in sacks and thrown while alive into a crackling fire. Those which sought to escape were thrown back until they roasted, when they were raked from the fire, their shells broken open, and the contents eaten with a horn spoon.[9]

Captain R. G. Carter, whose military life brought him into contact with the Comanches, described their cooking of fish and turkey:

> In cooking fish, they enclose them in clay or mud after they have been "drawn" and cleaned, to a depth of several inches, rolling them over, and the hot coals scraped on top. When cooked the hard baked clay is knocked off with the casing, and the fish eaten with salt.
>
> A wild turkey was bled, dressed or "drawn," a few feathers

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Parker, *op. cit.*, 196.

[9] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 66; Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*, 95, 323; Ristter, *Border Captives*, 18–19.

252 plucked out and it was flung into the fire or red coals. When one would suppose that there was nothing left to the bird, the burnt, black mess was raked out, left to partially cool, then with dexterous movement of the knife the skin is peeled or stripped from the neck downwards taking the burned feathers, revealing a white and tempting morsel to a hungry man. It was then cut and torn apart.[10]

252 Even when game was plentiful, the Comanche taste for certain
262 foods would not appeal to us. When a buffalo, beef, deer, antelope, or elk was killed, it was not uncommon for a hunter and his family to gather about, open its veins, and drink the warm blood. Raw brains and the marrow from the leg bones were stirred together on the flesh side of the hide or in a dish made by cutting out a section of the slaughtered animal's ribs, and were consumed without further preparation. The fresh, warm liver covered with the contents of the gall bladder was considered one of the finest delicacies. Children crowded around the butcher and begged for it. Liver cooked on coals and spread with rich marrow also formed a choice dish. Entrails stripped of their contents by drawing them between two fingers, kidneys, paunch, loin tallow, and the tallow around the kidneys were all eaten raw while still warm and without washing. A Comanche would cut into the udder of an animal and, placing his mouth on the gash, suck the warm mixture of milk and blood with the greatest of pleasure. The curdled milk from the stomach of a suckling fawn or calf was a delicacy indeed. Herman Lehmann also refers to their having eaten the heart, but this appears to have been unusual, for it was generally left within the skeleton,[11] probably a ceremonial gesture to propitiate the animal spirit. These appetites may have been indelicate from our point of view, but they provided an effective way to get vitamins and iron in large quantities. The Comanche would have had the hearty approval of the modern dietitian.

222 Although buffalo meat was their dietary mainstay, the Comanches did not suffer the unrelieved monotony of boiled stew and jerked

[10] R. G. Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 279.

[11] Herman Lehmann, *Nine Years among the Indians*, 115, 116; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a 222
background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They
utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of 222
the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing 824
about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones. Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today. Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in [278] the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the [262] only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, 222
grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, 251
and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also dehydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in 222
Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuberous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, remember, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

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222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [261] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

first foods. All informants hasten to emphasize that it is not an original Comanche rite and that it has seldom been used by them. According to observers, the Comanches did not follow the customary procedure and ritual of their neighbors, but adapted the ceremony to their own fancy and practical situation. The ceremony was sponsored by the village headman, who secured the services of a prominent medicine man for the occasion. Instructions were issued, and at the appointed time all the people of the camp gathered at the accustomed meeting place. During the afternoon, the medicine man mixed his herbs and roots and boiled them until he had a thick broth. When the mixture was ready, he scattered his coals and addressed the people who had seated themselves around him in the customary fashion—the principal men immediately around him, the young warriors just back of them, and the women and children on the outside of the circle. He told them of the benevolence of the Great Spirit who had given them food in season and exhorted his listeners to be thankful for it.

After he had finished speaking, the people joined hands in two circles, one inside the other, and danced and sang to the accompaniment of drum and rattle. After about thirty minutes the headman had them line up and file past the medicine man, who gave each in turn a spoonful of his medicine. Stubborn children were compelled to swallow by holding their chins up until the medicine went down. The medicine was a strong purgative used for cleansing the system before eating the first green corn of the season.

That night or the next evening a number of fires were kindled near the circle, and the women roasted a quantity of green corn, which they piled on buffalo hides. After the roasting was finished, all the people sang and danced. When the dancers wearied, they sat in a circle, and the medicine man again addressed them. At the close of the address, he stood over the piles of corn and with his hands and eyes lifted toward the sky prayed for the Great Spirit to continue to give his people strong power. The people then ate the corn and returned to their lodges.[28]

So it was that the Comanches sought and manipulated power. If religion is the complex of man's interrelations with the supernatural

[28] Lee, *op. cit.*, 155–57; Barnes, *op. cit.*, 66–68, gives a disappointing account of a ceremony witnessed by the Reverend John Melville.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of 114
larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material 128
in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by 824
scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche 104
plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical 119
Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the 824
very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, 262
p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 262 were preserved for later use. The manner of preparation and storage is of considerable interest.

824 262 251 The fruits of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) were eaten fresh or were dried and stored for future comsumption. The persimmon was commonly used in this manner by various tribes in the southern prairies and in the Southeast, and it is frequently mentioned in early historical accounts. The common method of preparation for storage seems to have been to beat the ripe fruits to a pulp, remove the seeds, and dry the paste. The cakes thus formed were later softened in water and prepared in various ways for eating. The persimmon has achieved little commercial importance, but is still widely used and esteemed by Indians and whites wherever it is available. An informant also described a black persimmon (Comanche: *dunaseika*) obtained in Texas and Mexico. This was doubtless the Mexican persimmon (*Brayodendron texanum*), which occurs from central Texas southwestward into Mexico.

The fruits of the mulberry (*Morus rubra*) were eaten fresh, when ripe, but no attempt was made to store them. This species is the one most generally preferred by Indians, from the Iroquois country to Kansas and Missouri and southward.

The fresh ripe fruits of two hawthorns or "haws" (*Crataegus spp.*) were eaten by the Comanche. According to an informant, one should shout like a wolf before partaking of them, or he will be sure to get stomach-ache and constipation. An indication of the wide use of Crataegus fruits is a list, compiled by Yanovsky (27, pp. 30–31), of eleven species used by various tribes of Indians from the eastern states to California and British Columbia.

The Comanche names for several wild "plums" were recorded, including designations for early plums, late summer plums, and fall plums. It is quite likely that some of the "plums" are wild cherries or chokecherries. Only one was collected, the Chickasaw plum (*Prunus angustifolia*). The fruits of this species were either eaten fresh or stored for winter use. Another kind of plum (Comanche: *su:kui*) was also said to be stored after the seeds had been removed and the fruits dried on a hide in the sun. Later they were boiled in water and eaten. In the winter the Indians sometimes obtained [222] plums by tracking pack rats to their nests and taking the hoarded supply.

Several species of wild grapes (*Vitis spp.*) were available to the

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Comanche and were either eaten fresh or dried in the sun and stored. 824 The dried fruits were dampened, worked into cakes, and baked, 262 fat sometimes being added in the process. Wild currants (*Ribes odoratum*) 251 were eaten fresh, but were not preserved, as they were among many tribes. Another fruit (Comanche: *kusi:poko*) was not seen, but was described as being black, and round, like a grape, and was said to be eaten fresh. Children were reported to be very fond of the sour acid fruits of the sumac (*Rhus glabra*), and various species were eaten by Indians wherever sumac was available.

The berries of the juniper or red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) also served as food on occasion, the practice of eating juniper berries of various species being common among the Indians of the Southwest and elsewhere. The Comanche name for the red cedar was given as *ekawa:p*ᵛ, and it was explained that *eka* is the term for "red." No etymology of *wa:p* was obtained. To judge from Chamberlain's discussion (6, pp. 63–64), *wap* seems to be a root word for "cedar" in the Shoshonean languages. If this is the case, then the Comanche term *ekawa:p*ᵛ is an exact equivalent of the colloquial English term "red cedar" for the same plant.

The succulent fruits of prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia sp.*) were eaten fresh and were also dried for winter use. No specimens were collected, but the descriptions by informants leave no doubt as to the identity of the plants. The spines were rubbed from the fruits designed for storage, the seeds removed, and the pears dried in the sun. Another cactus, also, was edible, but an informant stated that before eating its fruit one should take the red juice and paint a cross on his forehead to prevent consequent diarrhea. A third cactus (Comanche: *eka mitsa:*) was said to be obtained in Texas, but the notes do not mention whether or not it was a food plant.

The fruits of the southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) were beaten, pits and all, into a pulp and mixed with fat. This mixture was rolled into balls, which were placed on the ends of sticks and roasted over a fire. The Pawnee had a similar method of preparing hackberries, but added parched corn as well as fat (7, p. 76). Hack- 824 berries were commonly eaten by Indians of the Southeast, the Plains, 262 and the Southwest, the usual practice being to consume pit and all. 251 In this connection it is interesting to note that in chemical analyses 145 of hackberries prepared in the Indian manner Yanovsky *et alii* (29) found not only considerable amounts of carbohydrates and protein

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824 but also a high mineral content. The chief mineral constituent was
262 calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the
251 dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromis-
145 ing-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoff-*
262 *manseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuña*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-
[252] flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *t?diekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulb?), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

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County (23, p. 56); it is probably the plant to which the informant had reference. 824 262

The underground portion of a plant (Comanche: *e'kakoni*) described as "growing like a radish and having a root like a radish" was said to be peeled, and eaten raw. The "root" was further described as red and sweet-tasting. Except for the color, the plant might well be the widely used prairie turnip or *pomme blanche* (*Psoralea esculenta*) of the northern Plains. Grinnell (9, p. 178) describes, however, the Cheyenne use of a related species (*Psoralea hypogeae*) the root of which is red and which bears the same Cheyenne name as the *pomme blanche*, with a prefix meaning "red." This latter plant occurs in southwestern Oklahoma and may be the one in question.

A plant (Comanche: *totox'd*) resembling a small tomato bears a "root" (tuber?) about the size and shape of a walnut. This "root" is peeled before being eaten; the flesh is light in color. The description applies well to the wild potatoes (*Solanum Jamesii* and *Solanum Fendleri*) commonly used in the Southwest except that the plants are said to "appear in the spring and not last long." These wild potatoes are not listed in the flora of Oklahoma (23).

Several other plants which produced underground parts useful as food were mentioned by informants, and the Comanche names have been recorded. An herb (Comanche: *taḃaxko*) was collected in the spring, and the roots were cooked with fat to make a soup. A grayish vine (Comanche: *tsuns*) grows deep and produces a root which is roasted after its thin skin has been removed. (This might be some species of Smilax.) A "root" described as "like a sweet potato" (Comanche: *qɜtanarizka*) was said to grow in sandy places. This "root" is peeled and roasted. Another edible "root" which was compared to a potato has the Comanche name *sehetsitsina*. It was eaten either boiled or roasted. On the basis of its name and its use Hoebel (correspondence, April, 1939) suggests that this is the Indian potato, a plant which, he notes, "Grows in hills, flowers like Sweet William," and has "small white tubers, ripe in spring, [that are] boiled and eaten." Even with this description we are unable to suggest a specific identification. 824 262 252

A plant (Comanche: *paiyap*) was described as having a blossom like that of a sunflower, and edible "roots" prepared by roasting or boiling. This suggests the so-called Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus* 824 262

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[171] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɜn*, 824
were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and 261
others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), 171
who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɜ'ntnə* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɜ'ngabok*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were 824
stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black 262
walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or 824
greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various bever- 262
ages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a 272
single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*") which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were
[844] broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
[841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is [426 783] absent. If the family with whom she stays are under the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when [362] it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [60] retreat four days, during

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

which time she takes no food, except a little broth 841
and some kind of vegetables; but on no account .262
will she taste of meat of any kind until her four
days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and
returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them 515
the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe
at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen
them, both men and women, break the ice for this
purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat with- [264]
out washing. I never knew one of them to rise and
go abroad without washing. They are very par-
ticular in the above respect with regard to their
children; they are also far from being as indifferent
to the kind and preparation of their food, as
one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when 262
they can get nothing else; but their women, as a
general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit
it to come near their dwellings. They subsist
mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game,
which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various
kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat
of the quality, and they have the faculty of
preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with 727
reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred
importance to a captive female, (with gratitude
to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part
realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation 000

192 *mix* + -?]; namocono?i? *tweezers* [na- + mo·cO *whiskers* + no?I *pluck* + -?]; *namocowĭcke? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); namuvIsicĭma? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); nana?atahpunaha? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); narĭmu?irĭvo·pĬ *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); *nani?o·ki? *court* [na- + ni?o·kI *call people together* + -?]; nano·? *harness*, old people's word (*its load*); *nayohkahnI *brothel* [na- + yo·kO *copulate* + kahnI *house*]; *nayokOwa?ihpĭ? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); nĭ·pĭcapĬ *operation* (*cut one open*); nĭ·pohpĭ? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); nĭ·hĭca?wĭ? *fan* [nĭ· + hĭhca?wĬ *cool a person* + -?]; nĭmivó·?e·tĬ *camera* (*customarily draws people*); nĭmimáka?e·tĬ *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); nĭminó?e·tĬ *bus* (*customarily carries people*); nĭmiwĭcIke?e·tĬ *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); *nĭnakarĭkĭ? *medal, badge* [nĭnapĬ *chest* + ka·rĬ *sit* + -kĭ benefactive + -? nominalizer]; nĭnaci?nika? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); nĭnĭyĭ?wi? *alligator* [nĭ-, reduplicated (?) + yi?wi (swallow) + -?]; no?anohkopĬ *pie* (*pregnant bread*, baked); no?sina?camokwe? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); nohihtaivo·? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); nohihknI *theater* (*play house*); nohkopĬ *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); nukIsari·? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); nunurawĭ? *movies* [nunurawĭpĬ *stampeded, ran off*, as buffalo herd].

*wanaramU *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); wanarasé·yu? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot* re pantaloons); *wanako?ce? *soap* (*cloth washer*); *wanacahkĭna? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); *wanaciya·? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); *wananapĬ *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); wanso·nA *cotton* [wanapĬ *cloth* + so·nA *pod*]; wansonamuvĬcapĬ *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with the mouth*) [so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird]; wĭhavi·tĬ *parade* (*stretch along*, as vine, etc.); *wo?arĭhkapĬ *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

[824]

[262]

[p. 226-8]

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔitanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahm-suapĪ *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhciʔ *contrary one* (The [171] [183] Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); taʔsiwó·ʔ *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nīmĭkuhcU]; tatéʔcI[185] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pihīreʔcI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasuʔ *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tĭvahpI *pinon nuts*; tĭkehkwaʔI *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacuʔU *plover* (*back medicine*); kwiʔnai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcuʔ, *big bird*); cihavĭhkaʔI *to be menstruating* (*to* [841] *become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; soʔmeʔ *tanned buffalo hide*; haivī·yĪ *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pī·yī *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hiʔo·wihturuʔA *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[186] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mi· *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpaʔ *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -ʔ, nominalizer); nacóhkweʔ *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; [262] mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·ʔniʔ *mesquite* (*to*

[185] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[186] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĪ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; niep! *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wī·yu? *awl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural tradition. Also, animal names were frequently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

825 551

825

Bear: parua?; wasape?; wīra?;[137] ?ohamulwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarähpanakatĪ *has big soles*; pihīsoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĪ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kīhwria? *drooler*; narīmiwahtĪ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

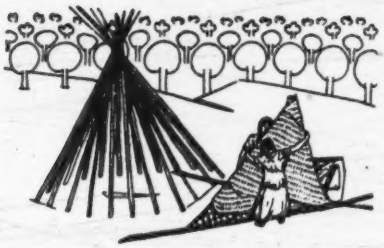
Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivīhī? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?ainó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[137] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

[p. 240-A]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



XXIX

599 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ nʌmʌkahnikʌ̨$_3$ nʌmʌnaahkatʌʌ$_4$. 2. nʌ$_1$ bia?se?$_2$ pibiapʌ̨hi$_3$ waawatayʌkwi?eeyu̱$_4$, nʌmʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ pʌmatu$_7$ pʌ$_8$ karʌkʌtu?iha̱$_9$. 3. surʌ̨se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌ?etʌ̨$_5$, u$_6$ karʌkʌ?eeyu̱$_7$, kʌhtaaku$_8$ u$_9$ rawʌni?i?eeyu̱$_{10}$. 4. ukuhpa$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ ʌmakʌ̨ni?aikʌ?eeyu̱$_3$. 5. surʌ̨se?$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ̨$_4$, pahibahku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ wʌhtarǎa?aikʌ?eeyu̱$_7$, pʌpa?a$_8$ nʌmʌ$_9$ ʌhkooitu?iha̱$_{10}$. 6. surʌ̨se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ kutʌ̨hó-rakʌ?eeyu̱$_4$, hʌkʌ̨ku$_5$ hʌ$_6$ tʌkʌhmanitu?iha̱$_7$. 7. surʌ̨se?$_1$ ukuku̱$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ saakʌ?etʌ̨$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ ku?inakʌ?etʌ̨$_6$, nʌmi$_7$ tʌkwʌ̨sʌ́kʌ?eeyu̱$_8$. 8. surʌ̨se?$_1$ pianohko?awobaaitʌ̨$_2$, ukuku̱$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ nohkókʌ?eeyu̱$_5$. 9. sʌsʌ?ana$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ yuhúnohkokʌ?-

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1. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ lived$_4$ in (a) teepee$_3$. 2. My$_1$ mother$_2$ sets up$_4$ long$_3$ cedar poles$_4$ [then] she$_8$ will set up$_9$ our$_5$ house$_6$ on to it$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ then$_2$ does$_3$ it$_4$ that way$_5$, sets$_7$ it$_6$ up$_7$, (and) tightly$_8$ stakes$_{10}$ it$_9$. 4. Inside it$_1$ (she) makes a rain house for$_3$ us$_2$. 5. That one$_1$ does$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, three separates$_5$ bed steads (she) makes for$_7$ us$_6$, what$_{10}$
599 we$_9$ will sleep$_{10}$ on /it/$_8$. 6. That one$_1$ then$_2$ digs a fire hole
252 for$_4$ us$_3$, where$_5$ she$_6$ will cook$_7$. 7. That one$_1$ in that$_2$
[fire hole] boils for$_4$ us$_3$, roasts for$_4$ us$_5$, (and) cooks on
262 coals for$_8$ us$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ has a big biscuit oven$_2$, in it$_3$ (she) bakes biscuits for$_5$ us$_4$. 9. Sometimes$_1$ (she) cooks

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eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. surʌse?$_1$ 589
nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$.
11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$
ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. surʌse?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwasʌkʌ?eku$_4$,
tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. surʌ-
se?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌ-
hpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌnʌse?$_1$ onama?ai$_2$ tʌhkapʌma?aihku$_3$
u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. surʌse?$_1$ tsza$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌnʌse?$_1$
tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?etʌ$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$
sibe?etʌ$_7$, u$_8$ hima?etʌ$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌnʌ-
se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibepʌha$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$
kʌyu?ne?etʌ$_2$, paakʌ$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ kotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. suni-
se?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, tutʌtɜaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$
sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. surʌse?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ sana-
hkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ bʌnihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?-
ai?ena$_4$. 22. subetʌ$_1$.

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fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes 539
coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ 252
hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) 262
does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_4$ /that$_5$/ fat$_4$ (she) roasts (it) on
a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$
tastes$_4$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_6$, also$_7$ tastes$_9$ good$_8$ (and) sweet$_9$.
13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it)
in ashes for$_5$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_3$ it$_4$ with salt$_2$ (and) with
meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark 539
of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_5$ sap$_6$, 261
take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_6$
/that$_3$/ our$_4$ shavings$_5$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_4$ it$_5$ in
water$_3$. 19. We$_2$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$
clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing
gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we)
make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$.

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XXX

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ Fort Sill-kutʌ$_3$ wahahtʌh$_4$ nʌmʌre-nanʌh$_5$ tʌwoonukwa$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soo$_2$ u$_3$ royabaihku$_4$ nanisuyake$_5$ u$_6$ rʌrʌehbaahunu?baihku$_7$ ukʌhu$_8$ nobitʌnu$_9$. 3. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, —nah$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ ke$_5$ ka-hni?aiwa?itʌʌ$_6$. 4. ihka$_1$ ranʌ$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ toponiwekiku$_4$ robo?iti$_5$ kahnibaitu?i$_6$. — 5 surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌkwʌ$_2$, —tsaatʌ$_3$ ma?$_4$. — me$_5$ niwʌnʌ$_6$. 6. surʌh$_1$ bʌhʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ urii$_4$ narʌnoo?ro?yanu$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ tʌnoopʌha$_7$ tsayumi?inu$_8$. 7. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ norʌnákʌnu$_3$. 8. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tuu-hunii$_2$. 9. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ konoohonii$_2$. 10. sʌmʌ?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?$_3$ toyamatu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihtua$_2$ tʌhpe?ku$_3$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, from Fort Sill$_3$ two$_4$ Indian men$_5$ went hunting$_6$. 2. Those ones$_1$ where$_4$ it$_3$ had$_4$ many$_2$ mountains$_4$, where$_7$ it$_4$ had$_7$ pretty$_5$ little creeks$_7$, there$_8$ (they) camped$_9$. 3. Those two$_1$ women$_2$ (said) —We$_4$ just$_3$ won't$_5$ make a house$_6$. 4. We$_2$ will have a house of$_6$ these$_1$ ce—dars$_3$ standing$_5$ in a circle$_4$.— 5. Those two$_1$ men$_2$ said$_6$ $_4$, —It$_4$ is good$_3$.— 6. Those two$_1$ unsaddled$_6$ their$_2$ horses$_3$ for$_5$ them$_4$, took down$_8$ their$_6$ packs$_7$. 7. Those two$_1$ made beds for$_3$ them$_3$. 8. One$_1$ went to fetch water$_3$. 9. One$_1$ went to fetch firewood$_2$. 10. One$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ went to
[262] pick$_5$ [huckleberries] on /to/ the mountain$_4$. 11. That one$_1$

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huabokóo?$_4$ bomanu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ bʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ bituʌ$_9$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 12. u$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ pomapʌha$_4$ uhri$_5$ tʌkʌbʌniku$_6$, uhrʌ$_7$ kumahpʌ?nʌkwʌ$_8$ noohpitʌnu$_9$. 13. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ noopʌha$_3$ tsayumi?inu$_4$. 14. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ puhipʌba?a$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kohtoopʌha$_4$ kʌma?kʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ rahni?inu$_7$. 15. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ bʌi$_2$ saakʌnu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ huba?ainu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ rʌasʌ$_7$ yuhúnohkonu$_8$. 16. ma$_1$ sʌmʌkwasʌhka$_2$, sitʌ$_3$ puhipʌha$_4$ rʌkʌsónanu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, tʌhkánu$_8$. 17. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ tʌhkamaahka$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ awe$_5$ tahni?inu$_6$ 18. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ ta?siwóo?rʌhkapʌka$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$ pʌhʌ$_6$ arʌka?rʌhkapʌka$_7$ yʌkwinu$_8$. 19. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ inanu$_3$. 20. tʌasʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ bʌhʌ$_3$ pomapʌkahti$_4$ tʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 21. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ pihnákamanu$_3$. 22. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ inahpʌni$_3$, nanaarʌmu?ikatʌ$_4$. 23. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nanisuyakeku$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ puhipʌha$_4$ ya?yʌkaku$_5$ norʌnánu$_6$. 24. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ inana$_4$ marʌkanu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ hubébinu$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌnu$_9$. 25. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ 539

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picked$_5$ a bucket$_2$ full$_3$ (of) huckleberries$_4$, then$_6$ went$_{10}$ back$_9$ to$_8$ her$_7$ camp$_8$. 12. When$_2$ she$_1$ arrived$_2$, as$_4$ they$_5$ are eating much$_4$ (of) their$_3$ pickings$_4$, their$_7$ husbands$_8$ arrived packing$_9$. 13. These two$_1$ took$_4$ their$_2$ load$_3$ down$_4$. 14. These two$_1$ put$_7$ it$_4$ on leaves$_2$ besides$_5$ their$_3$ fire$_4$. 15. These two$_1$ boiled for$_3$ them$_2$, also$_4$ made coffee$_5$, then$_6$ also$_7$ made fry bread$_8$. 16. When$_2$ it$_1$ all was cooked$_2$, these ones$_3$ made a table of$_5$ leaves$_4$, then$_6$ sitting down$_7$, ate$_8$. 17. When$_3$ they$_2$ finished eating$_3$, these two$_1$ put away$_6$ their$_4$ dishes$_5$. 18. These two$_1$ then$_2$ sat down$_3$ at$_4$ their$_3$ buffalo meat$_4$ also$_5$ at$_7$ their$_6$ deer meat$_7$. 19. These two$_1$ jerked$_3$ it$_2$. 20. Also$_1$ these two$_2$ were eating$_3$ from$_4$ their$_3$ pickings$_4$. 21. Those ones$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$ (and) sweet$_3$. 22. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ jerked much$_3$, (they) are telling stories$_4$. 23. These$_1$ made a bed of$_6$ nice$_2$ soft$_3$ cedar$_3$ limbs$_4$. 24. These two$_1$ then$_2$ finished$_3$ their$_3$ jerking$_4$, also$_6$ made coffee$_7$, also$_8$ cooked on coals$_9$. 25. These two$_1$ fin- [262] 539 251

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XXXIV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. urʌʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$, --taa$_3$ kunatsa?$_4$ tsu?ma?i$_5$. --
3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌhi$_3$, --tahi$_4$ nomohkakʌtu?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$.
tahi$_7$ konookwatu?ika$_8$. -- mekʌ$_9$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$
mi?anu$_3$, hunu?betu$_4$. 5. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$,
si?ana$_4$ tobo?ihupiitʌ$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ waikinʌkahtu$_7$ pʌhʌ$_8$ tso?-
mepʌha$_9$ tʌbakimi?a$_{10}$, pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikina$_{12}$ tʌhpé?ʌkʌnu$_{13}$.
6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, --ikʌhi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ma$_6$ pamʌ-
tso?nikʌhi$_7$ punitu?i$_8$, -- mekʌse?$_9$ surʌ$_{10}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{11}$.
ukʌhu$_{12}$ mi?anu$_{13}$. piahuuma$_{14}$ ukʌhi$_{15}$ tsiwainu$_{16}$. 7. si?ana-
kʌse?$_1$ pamʌtso?nikaaba$_2$ parúuku?$_3$ haahpi$_4$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
ma$_2$ wʌhkúpanu$_3$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ yuupʌ$_2$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$, --nohi?$_3$ tsaahtʌkʌhútu?i$_4$ tanʌ$_5$. -- me$_6$ yʌkwii-
yu$_7$. 11. pʌhʌ$_1$ waikinʌkahtu$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ wihínu$_5$. 12. si-
tʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌhu$_5$. 13. si-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, somewhere$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$.
262 2. Their$_1$ father$_2$ (said), --Our$_3$ firewood$_4$ is used up$_5$.--
3. That one$_1$ said to$_2$ his$_3$ wife$_3$, --I$_4$ will hitch up for$_5$ us$_4$.
We two$_7$ will go to get firewood$_8$.-- 4. These two$_1$ at this
place$_2$ went$_3$ towards (the) creek$_4$. 5. These two$_1$ went$_3$ to-
wards (the) creek$_2$, (and) here$_4$ came to a stop$_5$, (they) went
on loading$_{10}$ their$_8$ gatherings$_9$ into$_7$ their$_4$ wagon$_7$, (and)
their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$ filled up$_{13}$. 6. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said),
--I$_5$ will look$_6$ in this$_4$ /this$_4$/ drift /in$_7$/,-- that one$_{10}$ (was)
saying$_{9,11}$, (and he) went$_{13}$ there$_{12}$, (and) poked around$_{14}$ in
this$_{15}$ with (a) big stick$_{14}$. 7. Here$_1$ among the drifts$_2$ (a)
raccoon$_3$ was lying$_4$. 8. This one$_1$ killed$_3$ it$_2$. 9. That one$_1$
was (a) fat one$_2$. 10. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{4,7}$, --We$_5$ are about
to eat$_4$ very$_3$ good$_4$.-- 11. This one$_3$ threw$_5$ it$_4$ into$_2$ their$_1$
wagon$_2$. 12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$ to$_5$ their$_4$ houses$_5$.

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tʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ konoopʌ̲ha$_5$ tsayumi?inu̲$_6$, wihnu$_7$ piakohtoonu̲$_8$, sihka$_9$ parúuku?a$_{10}$ pʌhʌ́tsahkwe?yanu̲$_{11}$. 539
14. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ sukʌ̲hu$_4$ ma$_5$ kohtoopʌ̲ka$_6$ ma$_7$ ku?inanu̲$_8$. 15. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ rʌhkánu̲$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahpʌ?a$_6$ pʌmʌ$_7$ tʌbehkakʌ?i̲ha$_8$ u$_9$ ku?inʌ̲tsi$_{10}$. tsaahtʌhkanu̲$_{11}$.
16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?$_3$, --tʌbitsi$_4$ tsaaku$_5$ tam$_6$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_7$ tʌhka?i̲nʌʌ$_8$.-- me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 17. pʌi$_1$ tʌkʌ̲-kakʌ̲se?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_4$ nohínuraahkwainu̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ tʌhka?i̲ha$_7$ tʌbitsi$_8$ tsaa$_9$ wʌsukaatʌ̲$_{10}$. 18. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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13. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ unloaded$_4$ their$_4$ firewood$_5$, then$_7$ (he) made a big fire$_8$, (and) (they) skinned$_{11}$ this$_9$ raccoon$_{10}$. 539 262
14. /This one$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ roasted$_8$ it$_7$ there$_4$ in$_6$ his$_5$ fire$_6$.
15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ ate$_3$, roasting$_{10}$ /it$_9$/ this$_6$ what$_8$ their$_5$ father$_6$ killed for$_8$ them$_7$. (They) ate good$_{11}$. 16. This$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ said$_{9\,10}$. —Our$_6$ children$_7$ really$_4$ ate$_8$ good$_5$.—
17. When$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, their$_3$ children$_4$ ran around playing$_5$, /and/ really$_8$ felt$_{10}$ good$_9$ about$_{10}$ what$_7$ they$_6$ ate$_7$. 18. That is all$_1$.

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XXXV

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ atabitsinʌʌ$_3$ su?ana$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narʌhka?tsu?manu$_2$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ-
?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 4. urʌʌmatʌkʌse?$_1$,
—tanʌwitsa$_2$ ohʌhi$_3$ ma$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaakʌhi$_5$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_6$
taa$_7$ yʌihtʌhkaru?iha$_8$ ahwemi?anu$_9$.— 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si-
?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ku?wʌhora?a$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, sukʌhu$_6$ ʌmahpaa-
kʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 6. tahkwe?yu?itsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ muhpe?ma?ai$_3$
makʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_8$
ahwénu$_9$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —keta?ka$_3$ mubisi-
tʌʌ$_4$ mahka$_5$ tai$_6$ ahweku$_7$.— me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.
8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ahwepʌha$_4$ narʌsokoko$_5$
noohtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$.
10. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌku$_2$ kohtoo?etʌtsi$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahwe-
pʌha$_6$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_7$. 11. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ tsuhnipʌma?-
aihku$_3$ ma$_4$ karʌkʌnu$_5$. 12. sʌsʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ u$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, other tribe of Indians$_3$ camped$_5$
222 there somewhere$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ ran out of groceries$_2$.
3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ set up$_5$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$. 4. One of
262 them$_1$ (said), —We ought to$_2$ go dig$_9$ water lily roots$_4$ in
that$_3$ /this$_4$/ big lake$_5$ /in/ /what$_8$/ [which] we$_7$ will eat for
supper$_6$.— 5. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_5$ their$_3$ hoes$_4$,
went$_8$ there$_6$ to (the) lake$_7$. 6. Taking off (their) shoes$_1$,
with$_3$ their$_2$ hoes$_3$ went down$_5$ in it$_4$, (and) dug up$_9$ a lot of$_6$
these$_7$ water lily roots$_8$. 7. One$_1$ of them$_3$ said$_{8\ 10}$ to them$_9$,
—Don't$_3$ blow your noses$_4$ as$_7$ we$_6$ dig$_7$ this$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$
at this place$_2$, carrying$_4$ their$_3$ diggings$_4$ in sacks$_5$, went$_9$ to$_8$
539 their$_7$ camp$_6$. 9. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 10. Each one mak-
262 ing a fire$_3$ in$_2$ their$_1$ homes$_2$ (they) cooked$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_5$
diggings$_4$. 11. Some$_1$ of them$_3$ boiled$_5$ it$_4$ with bones$_3$.
252 12. Some$_1$ /themselves$_2$/ fried$_4$ it$_3$ in$_4$ that$_3$ fat$_4$. 13. One$_1$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

yuhuk^4 u5 kwasʌ́kʌnu^4. 13. sʌmʌ?k^se?1, —nʌtsa?2 nah3 539
nʌ4 ahwep^ha5 kusiwʌhpimaru?i^5. — mekʌ7. 14. sitʌʌk^se?1
huba?ainu^2. 15. sʌmʌ?oyet^1 tʌmarʌʌmoaku3 yuhúnohkonu^3.
16. marʌʌ1 nanahtenanʌʌk^se?2. —tai3 makaaka4. — me5
urii4 niikwiiyu^7. 17. sitʌʌk^se?1 tʌk^sonʌtsi2. pʌʌ3
tʌkʌhmanip^ha4 tsawʌni?inu^5. 18. sitʌʌk^se?1. —nohi?2
tsaaku3 mʌnʌ4 wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ5 tai4 tʌkʌ?ahwekʌnu^7.
19. tan^se?1 tʌbitsi2 tsaaku3 ma4 rʌhkánu^5. 20. pʌe-
ts^ku1 tanʌ2 itʌʌmati3 pimoróo?taiboo?nʌʌ4 kuhtsu?k^hi5
tʌbehkaru?inʌʌ4, — mek^se?7 surʌʌ8 tenanʌʌ9 niwʌ-
nʌʌyu^10. 21. surʌʌk^se?1, —ke2 tanʌ3 nah4 tsihakooiwa?i-
tʌʌ5, ihka6 sokokuhpaiki^7 ta8 tʌhka?ena9 sʌa?eku10. —
mek^se?11 surʌʌ12. 22. surʌʌk^se?1 u2 bʌetsʌ^ku3
suhka4 piayuup^ha5 pimoróo?a6 tʌbehkanu^7. 23. si?anet^1
sitʌʌ2 ma3 inanu^4, ma5 basahka6, nomi?anu^7.
24. subet^1.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

said7, —I2 will4 just3 cook4 my4 diggings5 in ashes4.— 539
14. These ones1 made coffee2. 15. All of them1 made3 lots 242
of2 fry bread3. 16. Their1 menfolk2 said to5 7 them6, —Feed4 [252]
us3.— 17. These ones1 spreading a cloth2, set out3 their3
cooked things4. 18. These ones1 (said), --Very2 good3
[that which] you4 women5 dug for7 us4 to eat7. 19. We1
really2 ate5 it4 good3. 20. Tomorrow1 we2 will kill4 one of
these3 coyboys'4 cattle /one of5/,— said7 9 those men8.
21. Those ones1 (said), —We3 just4 won't2 starve5, as10 our8
food9 grows10 inside7 this4 earth /about7/,— said11 those ones12.
22. Those ones1 that2 mornings3 killed7 that4 big fat5 cow4.
23. At this place1 these ones2 jerked4 it3, (and) when6 it5
dried6, (they) moved away7. 24. That is all1.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXVI

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ tʌa$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$. 2. okuse?$_1$ Lawton-a$_2$ kwihne?nakwʌ$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ paraiboo?$_5$ kahníba?i$_6$. 3. sukukuse?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ kahnikʌku$_4$ waha$_5$ u$_6$ kahnitaikʌku$_7$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_8$. 4. surʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$ tʌhimʌrabeni$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nobitʌrʌni?eeyu$_6$. 5. setʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tabeni$_4$ ukʌhu$_5$ sʌmʌnokima?etʌ$_6$, nobitʌ?eeyu$_7$. 6. wihnu$_1$ tʌehbuharabeni$_2$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$, nah$_5$ hina$_6$ oyo?kʌsʌ$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ wanakotse?a$_{11}$. 7. surʌʌse?$_1$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ wanakotse?a$_5$ petihtai?eeyu$_6$. 8. tʌasʌse?$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ wo?arʌhkapʌha$_3$, —wo?abi$_4$ ma?$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌrʌ$_7$, u$_8$ betihta?eeyu$_9$. 9. nʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?se?$_2$ suhka$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ tʌhimana$_5$ urii$_6$ hanikʌ-

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

539 1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_3$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_4$. 2. There
657 to$_1$ (the) north of$_3$ Lawton$_2$ our$_4$ agent$_5$ had a house$_6$.
262 3. There$_1$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_8$ to$_4$ that$_3$ house$_4$ to$_7$ two$_5$ /that$_6$/ rooms$_7$. 4. /That$_1$/ our$_2$ agent$_3$ (on) ration day$_4$ tells$_6$ us$_5$ to camp$_6$. 5. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ that$_3$ day$_4$ all come moving$_6$ there$_5$, (they) camp$_7$. 6. Then$_1$ early$_3$ Saturday$_2$ morning$_3$ (we) get rations$_4$, just$_5$ what$_6$ /all$_7$/ ones$_8$ eats$_9$ also$_{10}$ soap$_{11}$. 7. /Those$_1$/ some$_2$ women$_3$ throw away$_4$ that$_4$ soap$_5$. 8. Also$_1$ those ones$_2$ (are) saying$_{6\ 7}$ (of the) rice$_3$, —It (is)$_8$ worms$_4$,— (and) throw$_9$ it$_8$ away$_9$. 9. My$_1$ father$_2$ /that$_3$/ their$_4$ rations$_5$ fixes for$_7$ them$_4$. 10. Those

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

ʔeeyu$_7$. 10. surʌʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ wihnu$_2$ ʻabetʌkatsi$_3$, pimoróoʔa$_4$ tʌkwʌsʌ́ʔeeyu$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnaahkanʌse$^{ʔ}_2$ sʌmʌʔa$_3$ pimoróoʔa$_4$ naʔnʌbeʔku$_5$ tʌhániʔeeyu$_4$. 12. tʌasʌ-se$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌ$^{ʔ}_3$ suhka$_4$ urii$_5$ hanikʌʔeeyu$_4$. 13. setʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhkaʔruaʔetʌ$_5$, tʌasʌ$_4$ tʌhka-pʌruaʔetʌ$_7$. pʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$ pituʌ$_{10}$ nomiaʔeeyu$_{11}$. 14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimiaʔeeyu$_4$. 15. nʌmʌ$_1$ sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatuwahka$_4$. nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌnu$_6$. 16. subetʌ$_1$.

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ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kill$_5$ cattle$_4$. 11. Four$_1$ families$_2$ butcher$_4$ one$_3$ cow$_4$, dividing (it) evenly$_5$. 12. Also$_1$ my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_4$ that$_4$ for$_6$ them$_5$. 13. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_5$ lots of$_4$ groceries$_5$, also$_6$ (they) get meat$_7$. (then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$ those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_6$ us$_5$. 16. That is all$_1$.

539
657
262
[829]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned. 657 231 236 [262] [286]

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own. 657 231 [177] [471] [261] [434]

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming. 657 241 [361]

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, 272, and 1876, 82.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175 352
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their [237]
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are ex- [252]
ceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [415]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [252]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is [571]
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 152
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca-1818]
262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the [462] women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, 562 except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters 562 forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni- 593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter 583 in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

562 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life. 115 159 756 789

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating. 115 159 756 784 262 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures. 115 159 756

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar,
[789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's
[825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
115 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
159 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
756 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
784 potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by
262 tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia; for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 145

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[262] *bekwinatsu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
756
794

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[263] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- 657 er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 871 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 177 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 155 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
262 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
435 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight
511 pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA 101
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal 657
Trust Area 161
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 199 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding 252
it on a stick over a fire. Sometimes it was roasted on hot coals and the burned portion removed before eating. It was served on the flesh side of a dried skin, or sometimes the stick was brought into the tent and the handle end stuck into the ground with a long piece of meat dangling from the other end. The women got copper or iron pots as soon as possible from the traders and thereafter boiled or stewed most of their meat. They had always stewed some meat in the buffalo paunch, heating it by immersing hot stones in the water, since a fire could not be built directly under the paunch. After they obtained metal pots, the large kettle was placed over a fire and all sorts of meats and cuts dumped into it. The contents were stirred at intervals with the broad rib of a buffalo. Hunks of meat were fished from the sloppy stew with the stirring stick, knife, or the hands. The iron pot released women from a lot of labor, but it certainly added nothing to the flavor, sanitation, or dignity of the meal. During the later period [263] a few people dipped their meat into a salt brine as they ate it. Generally, however, no salt was used on the meat, either for curing or when eating.[7] A sauce made from honey, water, and tallow was frequently used over roasted meat. The Comanches were fond of tripe. [262] When it was not consumed raw, the usual method was to clean it and then roast it over hot coals.[8] Terrapins and turtles were collected in sacks and thrown while alive into a crackling fire. Those which sought to escape were thrown back until they roasted, when they were raked from the fire, their shells broken open, and the contents eaten with a horn spoon.[9]

Captain R. G. Carter, whose military life brought him into contact with the Comanches, described their cooking of fish and turkey:

> In cooking fish, they enclose them in clay or mud after they have been "drawn" and cleaned, to a depth of several inches, rolling them over, and the hot coals scraped on top. When cooked the hard baked clay is knocked off with the casing, and the fish eaten with salt.
>
> A wild turkey was bled, dressed or "drawn," a few feathers

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Parker, *op. cit.*, 196.

[9] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 66; Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*, 95, 323; Rister, *Border Captives*, 18–19.

The Comanches

222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
● 263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor
262 alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful
263 and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] [462] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, 562 except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 562 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni- 593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece 583 of silver, or a handful of beads.

562 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

727 of a considerable rivulet. The cords were here unloosed from my wrists; nevertheless, I was pinioned back from the shoulders, leaving my arms so far at liberty, however, that I could raise my hands to my mouth. The drove properly herded, one or two horses were shot, and the meat brought in for supper.

727 I may as well state, in this connection, that horseflesh is 262 the favorite food of a Comanche Indian. They do devour great quantities of venison and buffalo meat, but these are universally considered as greatly inferior to the steaks cut from the carcass of a mustang. The woods and prairies are covered with wild fowl, and the streams abound with delicious trout and other fish, yet none of these are ever made use of as an article of diet.

A fire was now kindled, and the warriors gathered round it, the prisoners in the center. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing and speaking to my fellow captives. Martin was silent and dejected, apparently absorbed in his own reflections, and little disposed to converse. Stewart was nervous and frightened, bewailing his hard fate in tears; but Aikens maintained a cheerful spirit, advising us to keep up our courage and look the matter coolly in the face until the last. While conversing, the Indians were engaged boiling their meat, which they ate without any accompaniment [263] whatever, save water dipped from the spring in buffalo horns; the greensward serving as their table spread, and their fingers as knives and forks. Having satisfied themselves, they now seemed to take into consideration the appetites of their captives.

727 In wandering menageries, the curiosity of civilized assemblages is sometimes excited to see "the animals fed in the presence of the audience." Something of this kind actuated the Comanches on this occasion. At all events, they re-

264 Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by their appetites, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling their mouths alternately with flesh and vegetable.

727 623 An hour or two subsequently, a party of fifty, perhaps, collected together and held a council, the Big Wolf presiding. It was evident that frequent references were made to me, and that I was spoken of in connection with the watch. In the course of the consultation, Moko, the chief's favorite wife, into whose sacred keeping it had been delivered, was called. Presenting it to me, she made the usual signs, signifying, "Make it go." On this occasion I resolved to risk, for the first time, the result of a refusal. Accordingly I pointed to the heavens, uttering a rigmarole of words without sense or connection, and solemnly shook my head. If I did not impress them with the fact that such an operation, just at that time, would be attended with "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," it was not because of any lack of effort on my part. My success far exceeded my expectations. Instead of exhibiting any manifestations of ill humor, they quietly submitted to the disappointment, and continued their consultation.

727 Immediately after the council had adjourned, I discovered the warriors assembling outside the village at a point distant a quarter of a mile. I was somewhat curious to learn the occasion of it, but I little dreamed it was the prelude to an exhibition horrible beyond measure. At length, I was waited upon by a strong guard and escorted into their midst. On arriving, I found my fellow captives had preceded me, and at once comprehended some terrible scene would ensue. There were Aikens, Martin, and Stewart, stripped entirely naked, and bound as follows: Strong, high

The Night Encampment

While crossing one of these little prairies, we espied a 224
bear making his way to the mountain. A part of the Indian's equipage is a *lasso*, tied to his saddle girth, and in the skill and accuracy with which they throw it, they far excel the Mexicans. On this occasion it was brought into use. A couple of them galloped out, one dexterously throwing the noose over Bruin's neck and twitching him on his back, the other as dexterously throwing another over his hind legs, thus subjecting him to a most uncomfortable stretch, as they pulled in opposite directions. A scalping knife soon relieved him of his hide, and a portion of his carcass supplied our evening meal. Bear's flesh is often eaten by them, but is not regarded as equal to buffalo, beef, or venison. They are hunted considerably, however, for their oil, which [281]
is used in the preparation of various kinds of skins.

Having descended the western slope of the mountain range, we encamped that night at the extreme point of a narrow valley, which seemed to run up a long distance between the hills. Wearied with a hard day's travel, I hastened 727
to cook my own and Big Wolf's supper—for I was compelled to act towards him in the capacity of a servant— 264
and then lay down to rest. Though I brought his water, and cooked his food, and slept in his tent, and was in fact, his menial and slave, Big Wolf never, in a single instance, placed the horn of water to his lips or put a morsel of flesh into his mouth until I had tasted them. This, also, was the case with the two chiefs to whom I subsequently belonged. Whether it was through fear of poison, or dictated by some singular superstition, is more than I am able to determine.

Setting out again early in the morning, we traveled down 000
the little winding valley until it opened into an extensive plain. Here we struck a narrow but very rapid stream, when

The Comanches

222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade 439 from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatsk*ɔ or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

● 264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

night. This belief was strengthened because they prepared and set 264
food before guests as soon as possible after their arrival, whatever the
hour. Eating is a gesture of hospitality not to be postponed. "Meat [5 74]
is free to those who come. A man makes friends of the poor that way.
They never got tired of visitors," says Slope. Nevertheless, it was customary to have a formal meal soon after arising in the morning and a much more important one in the evening. There appears to have been no regular noon meal, both children and adults helping themselves to food, if plentiful, whenever their appetites and convenience dictated. Before eating on public occasions, the chief or leader cut off a morsel and offered it to the Great Spirit by holding it first toward the sky and then burying it. Individuals did the same when eating, in lodge or elsewhere, but like our custom of offering thanks, the practice was not universal. Some interesting descriptions of Comanche meals have been left by early writers. One is that of a breakfast of the less formal type:

> Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horse flesh was attached to the end of a stick some four feet in length by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by the appetite, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling the mouth alternately with flesh and vegetable.[14]

Another account is of a formal meal where visitors were present:

> The company is seated, or squatted, rather, around on the matting that forms the beds at night, their feet gathered under them. Short boards or thick pieces of hide are placed before each one;

[14] Lee, *op. cit.*, 132–33.

264 the meat is taken out of the kettle by the fingers of the woman who officiates as cook, and apportioned to each one, and placed before him; bread [this was after the government had set up a reservation and was providing some provisions] is apportioned out, and cups for the coffee furnished to each. The party is some time in partaking of the meal, which is enlivened by much conversation, amusing tales, and laughter, while the meat is torn to pieces by the teeth and fingers, sometimes with the assistance of a knife. . . . After a meal water is always offered to all who have partaken to rinse the mouth and wash the hands. After this the pipe may be in order but not necessarily. If it be introduced, the women withdraw, and some important subject discussed. The pipe is always circulated from one to another, from right toward the left.[15]

261 Perhaps opportunism in the life of the nomadic Comanche is best reflected in his attitude toward subsistence. Seldom were efforts put [185] forth to make provision for the future other than preserving meat or wild fruits and nuts by drying in such quantities as could be carried when the camp moved. He ate sparingly when on a raid or a hunt. Times of hunger were frequent. He could subsist on a surprisingly small amount when game was scarce, or he could demonstrate an amazingly gluttonous appetite when food was plentiful and no danger present. Besides, the food might spoil unless quickly consumed. By practicing self-denial, he developed a quality of hardihood unequaled by other peoples who later came to his country. It was because of his surprising resourcefulness while traveling on the semiarid Staked Plains that he was able to survive where the Anglo-American invader would starve or die of thirst. And when all resources were exhausted, he could go for many hours through trying circumstances without either food or water. Indeed, his self-restraint could be quite as pronounced as his gormandizing. Clinton Smith relates that on a trip across the plains, when water was not found where expected, the most rigid discipline was enforced in the interest of the weaker members of the party. Grim warriors, with blood-shot eyes and swollen tongues, staggered on, threatening with death anyone who might attempt to

[15] Battey, *op. cit.*, 322–23.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

which time she takes no food, except a little broth 841
and some kind of vegetables; but on no account .262
will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them 515
the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat with- [264]
out washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when 262
they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with 727
reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation 000

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, 115
her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two 159
eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened 756
mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, 789
one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life.

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother 115
to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia 159
was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that 756
rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia 784
to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is 262
eating. 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural 115
abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four 159
stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage 756
marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures.

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
352 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly
264 from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
513 forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers
[342] became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 354
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

was tramped into the sand, he had another layer spread. He charged 000
twenty-five cents a head for cattle to cross his hay-paved crossing; but much of the time the river was tame, and drovers risked the danger of quicksand to save the toll.

Then too, many did not have the necessary funds. Even twenty-five cents a head for two to three thousand head of cattle ran into quite a sum of money, in a just-after-the-war economy. Doan's store was the jumping-off place; it was the last place to buy supplies until a town in Kansas could be reached; the last place mail could be received or sent; the last place owners could meet up with their herd or issue orders to their drovers.

Later, on the same night when my narrator and his boss joined the herd, they heard Quanah and his young men go into camp a short distance down the creek. At daylight they took a quarter of beef 643
down to Quanah's camp and invited him to eat breakfast at the cook 609
wagon.

By the time breakfast was over it began to rain, but they cut [137]
out the seventeen head of big steers promised Quanah, and the Indians started for Quanah's camp. But he left two of his young men to accompany the drive to the Washita River. They were to tell any other Indians who might try to stop the herd that it was paid through to the Washita.

Apparently it was the first time the young Indians had had all the coffee they could drink, and they rode to the chuck wagon soon after it made each stop. Food three times a day was also something [264]
new, and evidently they enjoyed the trip. When the Washita was reached, the boss got the stores out and gave each of the young braves a pair of jeans pants and a calico shirt.

Because of continuous rain, they held the cattle for three days at 000
the camp where they met Quanah. The grass was excellent. As my narrator expressed it, "The grama-grass was belly high to a yearling," and the herd was healthy and putting on weight. The trip on to Wyoming was uneventful, and they were able to save nearly all the calves.

A ready market was found for the cattle, and at a better price than had been expected. Some of the cowboys decided to work a while for the ranchers buying the cattle, but this drive had gone so well that my narrator decided he wanted to try his hand at bossing a drive.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago N P12

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112[A] *University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Eth.*

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Kit	Ka	Ch	Ha	Ar	Ln	Ds	Wa	Ok	Ot	Ko	Ws	Ga	Co	Pa	Tot
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+				+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	••
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	++
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6
Northern Shoshone NR14

Cannibalism arising from starvation was a Bannock Creek Shoshone obsession. Shoshone folklore shudderingly retails the activities of the dʒɔ'aβits, gigantic cannibal ogres who lived in the Saw Tooth mountains. The fear of actual cannibalism had become a folkloristic anxiety. The possibility of cannibalism is not even mentioned by the Comanches, from whose folklore the dʒɔ'aβits had entirely disappeared, though in other respects the mythology of the Shoshone and Comanche are very much alike.

C N 266 773

To the northern Shoshone actual cannibalism was a crime to be punished with death. It was believed that the person who had once tasted human flesh suffered an inordinate craving for more. His skin took on a peculiar hue, so that such persons were altogether dangerous and loathsome. One story is told by the Bannock Creek Shoshone of an occasion when they came upon the deserted camp of another Shoshone group in Utah. Suspiciously, because of the appearance of the camp, they waited before entering the place, until one or two men had scouted it. The scouts found decimated cadavers and human bones in the wickiups, and in the largest they found an emaciated "chief" and his wife gnawing human bodies. These were the sole survivors of a devastating famine. When the scouts reported their gruesome news, there was much excitement amongst the outside Shoshones. They quickly agreed that the pair should be dispatched, and arming themselves with stones, they stormed the grass hut, trampling it down and stoning the hapless cannibals to death.

N 266 682 731

The father of Coyote Droppings became a hermit in his later years, living on the banks of the Snake River below the Raft River junction. The notion developed that he was a cannibal, and people talked and talked about him until they finally worked themselves up to decide, "We had better do away with him. He'll eat us up!" Two men were sent down to assassinate him, which they did. Cannibalism was a quasi-crime.

N 682 626

Combinations of circumstance led the northern Shoshone to consolidation of governmental and legal practices in one field which actually placed them ahead of the Comanches in this respect. They adopted the Plains Indian practice of policing the buffalo hunts in which they engaged. Hazardous invasions of the plains were generally undertaken in the fall of the year after the main seed and nut crops were in. Then the Bannock Creek Shoshones joined with other bands from the vicinity of Ft. Hall, including the Bannocks, to cross the continental divide into the buffalo country (buffalo had become extinct in Idaho about 1840). On occasion, union was joined with the Nez Perce and Flatheads, to increase their defensive power against the Blackfoot or Crow attacks. Military as well as hunting effectiveness was needful for the success of these ventures. To attain this end a small

N 224 625

776 men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing
825 to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten
262 except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

266 The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

266 In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

000 In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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to one of water. Perceiving the difficulty, he leaped from his horse, directing me to hold him by the bridle, threw his Mexican rifle on the ground, and laying down upon it in the grass, thrust his scorched lips into the little stream.

Standing by the horse's side, I observed the hatchet hanging from the pommel of the saddle. The thought flashed through my mind quick as the fierce lightning that the hour of my deliverance had come at last, and snatching it, in that instant, from its place, I leaped towards him, burying the dull edge a broad hand's breadth in his brain. A moment sufficed to draw the rifle from beneath him, jerk the long knife from his girdle, mount his horse, and dash wildly away over an unknown path, towards the land of freedom.

The Comanches

492 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of
525 thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[32]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

224 To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

262 The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

● [27] When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available,
237 there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining
415 was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[32] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ţimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṅ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[710] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɜn*, 824
were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and 261
others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), 171
who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɜ'ntnə* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɜ'ngabɔk*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphaeaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were 824
stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black 262
walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or 824
greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various bever- 262
ages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a 272
single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria, Ilex cassine,* and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*") which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu.* It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were
[344] broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
[841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

the crow, the kingfisher, the prairie hen, and the eagle, so 292
dyed by his ingenious wives as to reflect all the colors of the rainbow. Of all the horses that grazed the wide pastures round about his camp, he was mounted upon the most fleet and spirited—the weapons of war in which he was accoutred were a knife thrust through his belt, a hatchet suspended from the pommel of his saddle, and a Mexican rifle, rare among his tribe, upon the possession of which he prided himself exceedingly.

I bestrode the same old mule that had so often and so 000
far borne me on her back, with nothing hanging from my saddlebow but a huge buffalo horn wherewith to furnish my doughty master with cool draughts from the streams as we journeyed on the way. Saluting the Sleek Otter, who little thought it was the last nod she would ever receive from her long-haired spouse—for, not having seen a razor for three years, I was very far from being "the man all shaven and shorn, who married the maiden all forlorn"—we trotted away from the village, myself in advance, neither of us destined ever to return.

From early morning we traveled leisurely but steadily, 574
and at sunset entered a valley wherein resided a small tribe 439
whose chief was *Nis-ti-u-na,* the Wild Horse. The usual hospitalities were extended—or rather on this occasion they were unusual—inasmuch as a party had just returned from a meeting with the traders, bringing with them a quantity of mescal, a kind of whisky distilled from the fruit of a tree, commonly known in Mexico as the cabbage tree.

An Indian's dignity, whether chief or subject, never rises 574
to that elevated degree which prevents his getting drunk 273
every opportunity that offers, and consequently it followed, as a matter of course, that so distinguished a visitor as the Rolling Thunder, arrived at that peculiar juncture, could

not avoid stretching himself on his buffalo skin that night without a weighty "brick in his hat." In other words, the sedate old fellow became beastly intoxicated,—forgot altogether the decorum that characterized his customary walk and conversation—vainly attempted to be funny—danced out of place—and whooped when there was no occasion for it—in fact, was as boisterous and silly as about half a gallon of bad whiskey could make him.

However, bright and early in the morning, the chief was again on his proper legs, ready to set forward on the journey, intending to lodge that night at another village farther to the north. After a breakfast of mustang steak, which rested ill on his sour stomach, we bade the sore-headed sons of the tribe of the Wild Horse good morning, and pursued our travel. Very soon we passed out of their valley and entered the defiles of the mountains. The last night's debauch had set the old chief on fire, and before the sun had halfway ascended to the zenith, his throat was parched, and he was mad with thirst. But there was no water to be found. On and on we went, threading our way through thick bushes, around the sharp points of overhanging cliffs, across rough and rugged ravines, but nowhere did a spring or running stream greet his longing eyes. We continued to press forward in this manner until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when, reaching the bottom of a deep hollow, we discovered water oozing from the base of a perpendicular precipice and trickling down a little muddy channel through the grass.

He called impetuously upon me to fill the horn at once. Though I attempted to obey his order with all possible celerity, the rill was so extremely shallow that in spite of my best endeavors, every dip I made, the contents of the horn would come up in the proportion of three parts mud

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization 181
made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scru- 577
pulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the
acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nine- 178
teenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to 577
live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians
resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages
had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also,
the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians'
rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible
retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last [276]
days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect 273
they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger
race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination
which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by
an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara
(who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio)
Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to
the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing
Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle
of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and
it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NOo Comanche NO6
Texas

Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818] cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

175 165 887 145 175 165 [273] ooo

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824]

192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643] given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1854, 450; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 434; January 17, 1858, 501; September 14, 1858, 571; October 30, 1858, 841; July, 1859, 882.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I 000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180 pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While we were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure 123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles [981] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility [273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor, [609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for [177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out [797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the [123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when his people needed him.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

139 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[18] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[135] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche
262 bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
435 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
511 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

273 of our store with a recessed double doorway at the front. Old Warrior and his woman would take possession of this setback, spread down the blanket they rode on, sit down and pretend they didn't see anyone passing or hear anyone who spoke to them.

276 Once they were seated comfortably in the setback, they would have a ritualistic smoke. Mrs. Warrior would produce a baking-powder can from the folds of her blanket, take out a dried and trimmed oak leaf, hand it to her husband, then hide the can. After wetting the leaf with his tongue, Old Warrior would rub the moisture into the leaf with his thumb and forefingers.

During the leaf-softening and limbering process, the wife brought out a sack of Bull Durham smoking tobacco. When Old Warrior decided the leaf was properly conditioned, he took the tobacco sack and carefully poured the proper amount into the curved leaf. Care was exercised not to spill a grain of the precious weed.

Rolling tobacco into a cured leaf for a smoke is an art, or at least an accomplishment. There probably never was a white boy in all Comanche land who didn't try it at least once. When the leaf was rolled, it was necessary to hold it in place with thumb and finger to keep it from unrolling again.

By the time Old Warrior finished preparing the smoke, his wife, having caused the Bull Durham sack to disappear, produced a match. This ceremonial consumed even more time than my telling. Everything was done in slow motion. Maybe slow rhythm is a truer description. The ritual continued after the leaf cigarette was lighted; the husband took a few puffs and handed the cigarette to his wife; the wife had her puffs and handed it back. This exchange continued until the cigarette was too short to hold. They made the smoke last a surprisingly long time, but they never smoked a second cigarette, regardless of how late they had to wait for their whiskey.

276 562 I saw the same ritual performed a number of times by other old couples, and I have seen old men smoke by themselves, but I have no recollection of ever seeing a Comanche woman smoke by herself or with other women. We often had as many as a dozen wives sitting in the back of the store, but none of them ever smoked.

276 782 I questioned frontier friends about the old people's smoking. They said the plains Indians never used tobacco like the white man. Tobacco to the older Comanches was never a solace or a dissipation;

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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to them tobacco was a gift from the great spirit. What I had witnessed 276
could be considered in the nature of a prayer or communion—perhaps 782
you could apply the word *sacrament* to it.

I made a number of plans to observe these incidents more thorough- 123
ly, but none materialized. One was to count the number of puffs each took from the cigarette, and another was to find out who furnished Old Warrior his whiskey. The trouble was that I could only watch Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior between the chores which needed to be done around the store. Late customers had to be waited upon; the team of little Spanish driving mules had to be hitched up for our trip to the claim, when we could finally close the store; occasionally there were letters to be mailed, so they would be sure to leave on the early morning mail hack for Lawton. These necessary duties made my watching a hit-and-miss activity.

Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior's ritual extended to the drinking of 273
whiskey. The bottle was always kept out of sight. When Old Warrior had the bottle opened, Mrs. Warrior held up part of her blanket over one arm in front of her husband, hiding him while he had his drink. When it was Mrs. Warrior's turn, he held up his blanket to shield her.

After the bottle passed back and forth a few times, the old couple headed for home. But they never left the bottle, so I assumed they kept some for the road. Their departure would leave me with a number of things to wonder about.

I wondered if they would make it home safely, if the little mare was trained to wait in case they went to sleep and fell off. If the weather was inclement, I worried about the two elderly people catching cold. Also, I wondered what their three Carlisle-educated children, two sons and a daughter, thought of their parents' late hours.

The old people's confidence in the little chubby mare was not misplaced. They survived each trip. I imagine Old Warrior and his wife felt they had been very discreet while in town, and that none of the white people had the slightest idea they had purchased whiskey.

I once heard a story at a Comanche gathering that may explain the
care Old Warrior and his wife exercised when on whiskey trips. An 273
old fellow told of having the record books of the old Deyo Mission. 797
They had been left with his father, Ho-var-ith-kh, for safekeeping.

After telling of the formation of the first congregation, he turned to me and said laughingly, "You knew Old Warrior? Well, once Old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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273 Warrior got drunk and made a scene, and they "churched" him.
797 Brought him up for trial in the church for being drunk. The charge and the minutes are written in the books. They didn't throw him out, though. Old Warrior promised to do better, and they gave him another chance."

Maybe this explains Old Warrior's actions—riding to town and back across the prairies instead of coming and going by the road and coming to town just at dark, knowing that the Indians and most white people would have left town in time to get home before night set in and the near emptiness of the unlighted street would make it easier for the whiskey peddler to slip him the whiskey.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I lit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would
657 have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

657 These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it
452 seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested —just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way
273 439 out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation
657 while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

[452] But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legiti-
525 mate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the
money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late sum-
mer buffalo hunt--the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and
horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for--and the whis-
key peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes--people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior
age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other
and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the
old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with
the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and
most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen
about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the
odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that after-
noon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark.
Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up
camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could
catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the
area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these
tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one
at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 ●276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door. 887 575 782 276

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne. 575 887 521

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The [554]

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and 787
symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could 627x
occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went 755
into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer.

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the 627x
cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature 755
of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of 683
his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse.

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly 796
throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so 276
far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by Mr. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938).

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 22. Sorcery: Post Oak Jim Repels a Curse
755 *Informant: Post Oak Jim*

"I was fire-tender[7] in a peyote meeting. That medicine man was outside. He was in the prime of life; his power was strong. We were inside there singing and praying. Things were going along, when of a sudden I felt a stab in my back. It was as if somebody had shot me there. Oh! I thought I would die. I spit up blood. 'Now I am killed,' I thought. (With much hacking and uncomfortable grimacing Jim showed just how he felt.)

"Stumbling to my feet, I pushed my way through the door to the outside air. I fell flat in the grass; it was heavy with dew. I lay there breathing. So much blood came up that it made a big pool.

"I got up again and entered the tipi. They were all sitting there. I walked around the circle to my place and sat down. They asked me what was the matter. They saw me bleeding there.

" 'Oh,' I said to them, 'I am not feeling so well.'

"The leader gave me some orders. 'Fix up the fire! Now come over here, and sit by me. That medicine man out there is doing things to you.' The leader did some great things then. He picked a live coal from the fire—a red hot one. He put it in his mouth, like that. He came close to me. His mouth met mine. Four times he blew into my mouth. Uh! I felt better.

" 'Now,' he told me, 'you go outside and air your clothes to the four directions. South! West! North! East!'

"When I reentered, they sprinkled holy cedar on the fire. The leader brushed the smoke over me with his eagle feather fan. The blood had stopped. I felt better. I was well.

"The other medicine man died in the fall while he was feeding his horses."

In this particular case there probably was no contractual set-up involved, unless implicitly. The doctor was right at hand; he stepped in as we today expect any medical man to do in an emergency. Whether the peyote leader had any claim on Post Oak Jim for his services or whether Post Oak offered any recompense was unfortunately not determined.

Not always was counter-medicine so immediately successful: It happened more than once that the sorcery was so powerful that no other medicine man could turn it back. Here was a desperate situation. Was the victim to die helplessly? Not among the Comanches. A war-like people, with war-like notions backing up their law, they were not without further means. The treatment of Barking Buttocks reveals what could happen.

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[276] [7] The fire-tender is one of the four ritual offices in a peyote ceremony. The tender sits beside the door so he may easily bring in the wood. The other three sit opposite the door before the altar.

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

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222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 439 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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this frame wet rawhide of deer or buffalo was stretched and sewed with green deer sinew. As the wet rawhide dried, it shrank on the frame snugly, making a tough and durable saddle. A small, soft bear skin or buffalo robe was used as a pad.[8] Women's saddles were deeper than those of the men, and the horns and cantles had longer horizontal projections decorated with fringes and brass-headed tacks and were painted red. 492

The stirrup was usually made of a single piece of green willow wood. On either side of the foot rest the wood was bent up and the ends brought together to form the sides and top of the stirrup. The ends were lashed in place with wet sinew, and then over this wooden frame green buffalo hide was stretched and sewed together with sinew. When riding without saddles, the Comanches sometimes used a pad, usually made of dressed buffalo hide.

Bridles or halters were made of plaited buffalo hair or strips of tanned buffalo hide. The hair bridle seems to have been the most common. No bits were used. A loop was formed just above the horse's nose, and the animal was guided by a pull on the rein or by pressure of the knees.

Pack saddles were constructed of two large, ovaloid pads made of two pieces of rawhide sewed together with a grass stuffing between them. These fitted against the two sides of the horse and were held together by two strips of wood which arched over the horse's back and also served as a base for lashing the load. The two pads came so far down and fitted so snugly against the sides of the beast of burden that no cinch was needed.

The Comanches, like most Indians, enjoyed a good smoke. Post Oak Jim thinks there was no smoking in the old days, and he is probably right. At least, a few centuries ago the Comanches had access to very little tobacco. This was changed after they had contact with Mexican traders. From them they obtained cured tobacco in large leaves, which they themselves cut into long strips and pounded to shreds and then added crushed sumac leaves. They smoked both cigarettes and pipes. Cigarettes were rolled in cottonwood leaves or leaves of catbriar or blackjack oak. Only in more recent times were cornhusks introduced. 276

[8] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 277, 296.

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276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'mɔɔy. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 [462] The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

787 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers
796 were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo
224 Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been
796 demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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276 796 on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

796 The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

[177] The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 apparently, no doubt that the Comanche were in frequent contact
411 with tribes using the sinew-lined bow, and that the tribes most closely related to the Comanche habitually used such bows.

Arrow shafts were made from straight stems of the rough-leaved dogwood (*Cornus asperifolia*). This species was also the preferred arrow material of the tribes of the Missouri River region (7, p. 108). Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the arrows of the Comanche as being "twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular point of iron at one end, and two feathers intersecting each other at right-angles, at the opposite extremity." They do not specify the material used for arrows further than by saying that it was "flexible wood." Arrows for the *aratsi* game were made from the stems of
[624] the soapberry (*Sapindus Drummondii*). Wood for game sticks was obtained from the buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*).

824 The leaves of the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were mixed with
● 276 tobacco. The addition of other plant materials to tobacco was a common practice among many tribes of Indians, the leaves of smooth sumac being widely used in this way. Chamberlain (6, p. 72) notes that this species was smoked by the Gosiute, and Gilmore (7, p. 100) cites its use by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, but neither writer mentions its being mixed with tobacco. McGuire (14, p. 385) gives Marcy and McClellan (16, p. 102) as his authorities for the following: "Captain Marcy refers to the Comanche being extravagantly fond of smoking tobacco, which they call pah-mo, mixed with the leaves of sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)." West (24, p. 107) accepts this without question and repeats it. In neither the 1853 (15) nor the 1854 (16) edition of Marcy and McClellan are we able, however, to find this complete statement. The passage on Comanche smoking in these volumes (15 and 16, p. 102) is as follows: "All of them [the Comanche] are extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they use for smoking, mixed with the dried leaves of the sumac, inhaling the smoke into their lungs and giving it out through the nostrils." Evidently the Comanche term for tobacco and the name of the particular species of sumac were taken by McGuire from some other source and not from Marcy and McClellan, as is implied. It may be true that *Rhus trilobata* was smoked by the Comanche, but *Rhus glabra* was specified by our informants as the species which was smoked, and medicinal uses only were ascribed to the former. We know of only one other reference to *Rhus trilobata* as a smoking material, that by

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Grinnell (9, p. 180) for the Cheyenne, but *Rhus glabra* was commonly 824 used by many tribes of Indians. The latter is the sumac, which 276 Schultes (21, p. 138) mentions as used by the Kiowa.

The leaves of two plants were said to be employed as wrappings 824 for cigarettes. One of these is the greenbrier (*Smilax bona-nox*), and 276 the other the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*). Our notes give 796 no explicit occasions on which the leaves of the blackjack oak were made into cigarette wrappings, but this was doubtless done chiefly at peyote ceremonies based upon the religious use of the cactus. According to Schultes (21, p. 138), this use of blackjack oak leaves (given as *Quercus nigra*) in the peyote ceremony is a common practice. La Barre (12, p. 48) states that cornhusk cigarettes are standard in the Kiowa–Comanche peyote ceremony, but that the Comanche and the Shawnee sometimes employ the leaves of the blackjack oak. Opler (18, p. 28) mentions the rolling of tobacco in oak leaves (species not given) or in cornhusk in the peyote ceremony of the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache.

Mr. Carlson and the other members of the field party engaged in a Comanche peyote ceremony, but as this will be described in a later report and as a rather full account of the Kiowa–Comanche type of ceremony has recently appeared (12, pp. 43–53), we need give little attention to peyote here. Formerly the Comanche doubtless obtained their peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) while they were on expeditions into its native habitat in the Rio Grande region of Texas and southward, but more recently they have acquired it by trade and have even cultivated it. La Barre (12, p. 57) refers to an unpublished manuscript by Hoebel describing an early ritualistic Comanche expedition for peyote. Apparently the Comanche were also familiar with the mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*), which has a native range roughly similar to that of peyote. La Barre (12, pp. 105–109, 126–127) summarizes the data concerning this narcotic plant, which seems at one time to have been the center of a prepeyote narcotic cult and whose use has been retained in connection with magic and ornament, particularly in association with the peyote ceremony. Participants in the peyote ceremony witnessed by our party had red beans, which were probably mescal beans (but may have been Erythrina), on the fringes of their leggings. Skinner (22, p. 261) describes Iowa leggings, ornamented with mescal beans, which he considered might be "of the modified Kiowa–Comanche

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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization 181
made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scru- 577
pulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the
acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nine- 178
teenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to 577
live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also, the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians' rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last [276]
days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect 273
they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara (who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio) Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several in-
72 formants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even
exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration,
[535] called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to
the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony origi-
nated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some
hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy
that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general as-
[216] semblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass
a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general
he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more
than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned war-
[533] rior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied
the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pre-
tended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he
finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drum-
mers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the
tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking
next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several
[796] dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the
bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the
[242] dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would
wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a consid-
erable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted
men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the
group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[621] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the
exclusive property of the Yápaire'ka band. The performers marched
through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed
with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with
tassels. The officers deputised certain men to act as guards during the
procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded
some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance
began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others fol-
lowed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would
stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the
nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the
same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

/page 39 continued/

C consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
K The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
745 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
177 regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
C change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the
K vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.
[787]

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
C and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
K from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
787 old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real
177 it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the
[785] present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual
through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific
situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture,
the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
K the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
823 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
778 raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions
[787] (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace
trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
K since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
823 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
778 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
177 there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
[775] fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
C often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still
K able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.
787

Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
C its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
K
276
745
778
[787]

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[789] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
197 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
771 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
771 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

/page 40 continued/

296 Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same
758 way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger gen-
177 eration could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering
771 down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of
795 disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

795 If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Pey-
771 ote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly
795 from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical
04 points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both
795 within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual
771 Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom,
177 and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison-advisor. This approach ritual payment consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.

465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinatsu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

775 When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
756 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
755 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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273 of our store with a recessed double doorway at the front. Old Warrior and his woman would take possession of this setback, spread down the blanket they rode on, sit down and pretend they didn't see anyone passing or hear anyone who spoke to them.

276 Once they were seated comfortably in the setback, they would have a ritualistic smoke. Mrs. Warrior would produce a baking-powder can from the folds of her blanket, take out a dried and trimmed oak leaf, hand it to her husband, then hide the can. After wetting the leaf with his tongue, Old Warrior would rub the moisture into the leaf with his thumb and forefingers.

During the leaf-softening and limbering process, the wife brought out a sack of Bull Durham smoking tobacco. When Old Warrior decided the leaf was properly conditioned, he took the tobacco sack and carefully poured the proper amount into the curved leaf. Care was exercised not to spill a grain of the precious weed.

Rolling tobacco into a cured leaf for a smoke is an art, or at least an accomplishment. There probably never was a white boy in all Comanche land who didn't try it at least once. When the leaf was rolled, it was necessary to hold it in place with thumb and finger to keep it from unrolling again.

By the time Old Warrior finished preparing the smoke, his wife, having caused the Bull Durham sack to disappear, produced a match. This ceremonial consumed even more time than my telling. Everything was done in slow motion. Maybe slow rhythm is a truer description. The ritual continued after the leaf cigarette was lighted; the husband took a few puffs and handed the cigarette to his wife; the wife had her puffs and handed it back. This exchange continued until the cigarette was too short to hold. They made the smoke last a surprisingly long time, but they never smoked a second cigarette, regardless of how late they had to wait for their whiskey.

276 567 I saw the same ritual performed a number of times by other old couples, and I have seen old men smoke by themselves, but I have no recollection of ever seeing a Comanche woman smoke by herself or with other women. We often had as many as a dozen wives sitting in the back of the store, but none of them ever smoked.

276 782 I questioned frontier friends about the old people's smoking. They said the plains Indians never used tobacco like the white man. Tobacco to the older Comanches was never a solace or a dissipation;

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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to them tobacco was a gift from the great spirit. What I had witnessed 276
could be considered in the nature of a prayer or communion—perhaps 782
you could apply the word *sacrament* to it.

I made a number of plans to observe these incidents more thorough- 123
ly, but none materialized. One was to count the number of puffs each took from the cigarette, and another was to find out who furnished Old Warrior his whiskey. The trouble was that I could only watch Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior between the chores which needed to be done around the store. Late customers had to be waited upon; the team of little Spanish driving mules had to be hitched up for our trip to the claim, when we could finally close the store; occasionally there were letters to be mailed, so they would be sure to leave on the early morning mail hack for Lawton. These necessary duties made my watching a hit-and-miss activity.

Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior's ritual extended to the drinking of 273
whiskey. The bottle was always kept out of sight. When Old Warrior had the bottle opened, Mrs. Warrior held up part of her blanket over one arm in front of her husband, hiding him while he had his drink. When it was Mrs. Warrior's turn, he held up his blanket to shield her.

After the bottle passed back and forth a few times, the old couple headed for home. But they never left the bottle, so I assumed they kept some for the road. Their departure would leave me with a number of things to wonder about.

I wondered if they would make it home safely, if the little mare was trained to wait in case they went to sleep and fell off. If the weather was inclement, I worried about the two elderly people catching cold. Also, I wondered what their three Carlisle-educated children, two sons and a daughter, thought of their parents' late hours.

The old people's confidence in the little chubby mare was not misplaced. They survived each trip. I imagine Old Warrior and his wife felt they had been very discreet while in town, and that none of the white people had the slightest idea they had purchased whiskey.

I once heard a story at a Comanche gathering that may explain the care Old Warrior and his wife exercised when on whiskey trips. An 273
old fellow told of having the record books of the old Deyo Mission. 797
They had been left with his father, Ho-var-ith-kh, for safekeeping.

After telling of the formation of the first congregation, he turned to me and said laughingly, "You knew Old Warrior? Well, once Old

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No 6
Delaware NM7

C
D
171
745
746
[534]
[579]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Ind	Kio	Cheo	Kia	Ar	Dak	Dak	Wis	Ok	Ioi	Ioi	Kia	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Total
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	°+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−		
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	(+)	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	°+	−	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−		
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
43. Star significant	+	+	+			°(+)					°+	°+	+	+	°+	+		
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+		
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		°−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+		
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	−	+	
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
55. Usually by cedarman	+	°−	+	+	+	°−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	°−	−	+	
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−°(+)		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−		
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche NM6 ●

Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ute	Kai	Ute	Cheh	Ute	Ute	Ute	Dak	Wa	Cha	Ch	Ch	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Ute	Tom
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	(+)	+		+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−		
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+		+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+
°65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−		
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−		
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	°+	+		−		
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°−	+	°+	−		+	°−	°−	+	°(+)	°−		
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	°+	+	°	+		+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+		+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	°−	−	−	+	+	°+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−		
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+		+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		°+	°−	−	°+	°−	°−	°+	−	°−		
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	°+	+	−	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+		+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−	°−	+	°−	+	+	+	+		+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		

(*Continued on next page*)

C
D
M
NM6
NM7
●

Comanche ND6 ●
Ctow NQ10
Delaware NM17
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 108[A]

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ut	Ka	Ko	Ch	Ha	Ar	Dd	Ds	Wa	Ok	Io	Co	Ha	Pa	Ow	Wp	Tot.	Co
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		Cr
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+		D
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		W
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+	171
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−		195
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	196
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	[276]
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[783]
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	●
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
132. Smoke blows toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−		
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+		
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+		
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																	
	Lt	K-A	Ess	Cum	Ess	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wm	Xo C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WES	Um	Gos	W-P	Tam
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•	(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Concluded on next page)

[A] C D 171 795 796 [276] [782]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06 ●

Wiinebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																
	HT	K-A	Ko	Cos	Ks	Ab S	Do 1	Do 2	Wn	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WES	Da	Cos	W-P	Tus
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	••	+	
265a. (See note)																	

C
W
171
745
796
[271]
[574]
[276] ●

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a 222
background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They
utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of 222
the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing 824
about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones. Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today. Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in [278] the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the [262] only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, 222
grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, 251
and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also dehydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in 222
Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuberous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, remember, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

At Work and Play

We threw a large flint stone, from two to six feet in circumference, into the fire. After the stone became very hot, small thin pieces would pop off; we selected those pieces which would require the least work to put into shape, and picked these pieces up with a stick split at the end; while these pieces were very hot, we dropped cold water on those places we wished to thin down; the cold water caused the spot touched to chip off, and in this way we made some of the keenest pointed and sharpest arrows that could be fashioned out of stone.[14] 411 324

All efforts of archaeologists to determine a Comanche-type flint arrow point have been in vain. In this connection Professor Mildred Pickle Mayhall says, "There are several mentions of distinctive points and shafts for different tribes but just what those differences were we do not exactly know. Poisoned arrows may have belonged to all the Texas tribes but there is little definite information about this save in reference to the Comanches."[15] The Comanches did poison their arrow points occasionally for use in war, by making an extract from a plant not known to our informants or by sticking them in a dead skunk. [278]

The bow and arrow was exceptionally accurate up to fifty yards or more. The Comanche arrow shot from a good bow could wing a true flight for three hundred yards. It has been maintained on good authority that at a distance of from ten to fifteen yards, an arrow (twenty to thirty inches in length) could be driven completely through the carcass of a buffalo, providing it struck no bone, that an object the size of a doorknob could be hit by an expert marksman an average of four out of five shots, and that an expert Comanche hunter could kill twice the number of buffalo with bow and arrow as an American with a pistol.[16] 411

The superiority of bow and arrow over the old-type musket was recognized by the Comanches. When muskets first became known to them, they were all eager to obtain them. But when the novelty

[14] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 93–94.

[15] Mildred P. Mayhall, "The Indians of Texas: the Atakapa, the Karankawa, the Tonkawa" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas Library), 608–609.

[16] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–63, 233; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 296; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria, Ilex cassine,* and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*ⁿ) which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu.* It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were
[344] broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
[841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

Plant remedies played a part in the Comanche treatment of venereal diseases. The root of the thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*) was boiled and the liquid drunk in cases of gonorrhea. Another medicinal drink for gonorrhea was prepared by making an infusion of the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*). Syphilitic sores were treated with the ashes of the stems of little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*).

Two plants were used by the Comanche, in much the same manner, for both toothache and sore throat. For toothache the root of the purple coneflower (*Echinacea sp.*) or the bark of the root of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was held against the tooth to relieve pain. In cases of sore throat the root of the coneflower was boiled in water and the liquid drunk, or the inner bark of the prickly ash was ground and placed in the throat. This similarity may indicate some association of tooth and throat troubles in the minds of the Comanche, but it very likely has no significance, since both plants were general cure-alls among various tribes. The Cheyenne utilized Echinacea for the same purposes, and the methods of application were only slightly different (9, p. 188). Echinacea was an important medicinal plant among the tribes of the Missouri River region, where its use for toothache was identical with that of the Comanche, but no mention is made of it as a cure for sore throat (7, p. 131).

Three plants were prescribed for the treatment of "sore eyes." The root of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) was boiled in water and the decoction used to bathe them; the stems of willow (*Salix sp.*) were burned and the eyes treated with the ashes; and the sap of the prickly poppy (*Argemone intermedia*) was administered to the eyes. It was said that in gathering this latter plant offerings in the form of beads or other objects were made to it.

A tea for "stomach trouble" was prepared from the roots of *Eriogonum longifolium*, and the leaves of mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) were chewed, and the juice swallowed, to relieve acid stomach. A remedy for constipation was a drink made by boiling the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*).

The bark of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was mixed with water and the decoction drunk as a cure for fever. Two other plants were also specified for the treatment of fever. The leaves of one of these (Comanche: *poiya*) were mixed with an herb (unknown

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
438 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
754] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine
159 plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not
756 native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the
[824] collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into
[278] manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the signifi-
159 cance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through
756 him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be some-
177 what counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

115 Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The
159 Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing
756 it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut*
[761] and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

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3

Medicine Kit

Care of Medicines

SANAPIA KEEPS the various kinds of botanical and nonbotanical medicines which she utilizes in a leather "travel case." This case is kept on a shelf on the west wall of her bedroom. She will also only open her medicine kit on the west end of a room or tent. The medicines in the travel case are kept orderly and fully stocked at all times to facilitate speed in an emergency call on her services. Each medicine is wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is black in almost every instance, though Sanapia states that this is only coincidence. In the inside lid of the case she keeps her Medicine feather—a tail feather of a golden eagle. 756 278

Sanapia is the only one allowed to touch this box or its contents, and she will not open it in the presence of small children or menstruating women. The medicine kit is potentially very dangerous if handled in an incorrect manner or by the wrong person. Sanapia recalls what happened to the niece of an eagle doctor who died several years ago. 756 278 783

> When S——— died, a niece got into her medicine bag. Now don't you know she sure shouldn't done that. But it got her . . . she got that twisted face and nobody fix her . . . couldn't do a thing for her. If she had sense, she would take that bag, don't open it mind you, and throw it in the creek. Then it couldn't hurt nobody.

Running water, because of its desacralizing effect, is Sanapia's only remedy by which the possible harm produced by an individual's inadvertent contamination by supernatural power or Medicine belonging to another can be undone. In a doctoring situation if it is absolutely necessary that another person touch some object connected with her medicine kit, this person must immediately be cedared, or "smoked," upon completion of the task; that is, the dried and rubbed leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals and the rising smoke is drawn over the contaminated person in a ritual cleansing act. After the cedar ritual

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
756 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.
755

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamɜmpitts*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupitts* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.
[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
782
823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

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Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant.

[778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most sur-
[778] rounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824

[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

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[142]
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Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278 824 137 *ekapokowa:pi*

"red berry cedar" *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

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Oklahoma

Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natta"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

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278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
757
[177]

okəpa

[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunəmatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

*bakuma**

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

*bakuma** is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of 278
this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, 755
significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches 757
and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could [177] have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment.

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and [752] spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling.

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which [778] she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar.

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278 824 755 757 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treatment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [782] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

tanawiha

[137] yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" *Guitierrezia dracunculoides* (broomweed)

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes:

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kusiwɔna

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwəna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bə:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *esipobβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for [825] the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

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steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and coloration, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered and used in its dried or green state. 278 824 755 757

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain. Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

təpinatsu

"rock medicine" 278 824

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks." 237 755 757

Təpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

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278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *tɔpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *tɔpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *tɔpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *tɔpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia [844] also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian [303] perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

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third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes. 775 755 756 794

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bekwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands. [278]

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance. 775 755 756 [534]

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

Dressing the Buffalo Skin

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281 ●
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824]
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

The Night Encampment

While crossing one of these little prairies, we espied a 224
bear making his way to the mountain. A part of the Indian's equipage is a *lasso*, tied to his saddle girth, and in the skill and accuracy with which they throw it, they far excel the Mexicans. On this occasion it was brought into use. A couple of them galloped out, one dexterously throwing the noose over Bruin's neck and twitching him on his back, the other as dexterously throwing another over his hind legs, thus subjecting him to a most uncomfortable stretch, as they pulled in opposite directions. A scalping knife soon relieved him of his hide, and a portion of his carcass supplied our evening meal. Bear's flesh is often eaten by them, but is not regarded as equal to buffalo, beef, or venison. They are hunted considerably, however, for their oil, which [281] ●
is used in the preparation of various kinds of skins.

Having descended the western slope of the mountain range, we encamped that night at the extreme point of a narrow valley, which seemed to run up a long distance between the hills. Wearied with a hard day's travel, I hastened 727
to cook my own and Big Wolf's supper—for I was com- 264
pelled to act towards him in the capacity of a servant—and then lay down to rest. Though I brought his water, and cooked his food, and slept in his tent, and was in fact, his menial and slave, Big Wolf never, in a single instance, placed the horn of water to his lips or put a morsel of flesh into his mouth until I had tasted them. This, also, was the case with the two chiefs to whom I subsequently belonged. Whether it was through fear of poison, or dictated by some singular superstition, is more than I am able to determine.

Setting out again early in the morning, we traveled down ooo
the little winding valley until it opened into an extensive plain. Here we struck a narrow but very rapid stream, when

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Meeting of the Dragoons and Comanches in 1834
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

[Facing p. 14]

A Comanche camp
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo 237
burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and [372]
cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep
some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed
with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of
buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fash-
ioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasion-
ally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions.
Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were [286]
made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture cloth-
ing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When prop- [281]
erly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it pro-
vided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it
constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before [286
the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide 415]
provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the In- 773
dians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty
years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33] 539
In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was
Ka:wus, the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

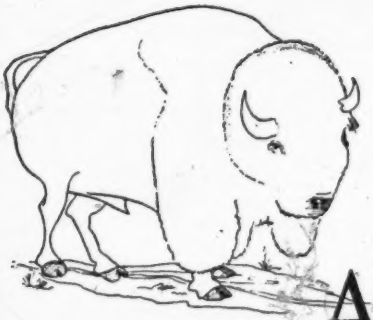
Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

IV

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings



ALTHOUGH the subsistence activities of the Comanches centered around the buffalo, theirs was not a one-crop economy. Elk were plentiful in the brushy regions bordering the rivers and their tributaries. The black bear, found in the Cross Timbers, was hunted largely for its oil, which was used in the preparation of hides. The Comanches considered bear meat less tasty than either buffalo or deer. Principally within the region of the High Plains, in the heart of the buffalo country, roamed herds of antelope in great numbers. A herd of about two thousand was once seen at Fort Dodge.[1]

Food was usually plentiful enough that the Comanches no longer bothered, as did the horseless Shoshones, to run down antelope until the frightened and exhausted animals dropped. But they did retain from their Shoshonean background the magical antelope surround that was so widely used by the Indians of the Great Basin.

It was used among the Comanches only when the whole camp was out of food. Then the camp leaders would go to a medicine man or a medicine woman who had antelope power. They would smoke and tell him the trouble. According to Slope's account, the medicine man called for an antelope dance lasting several days to work up his power and to draw in the antelope. He selected two men to whom he gave some of his power for what they had to do. When all was

[1] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 64.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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of flour or other supplies while the man came out unencumbered. 462
Moreover, in the way of home industry there was indeed little for the men to do. The Comanches did not work at such specifically mascu- 323 285 286
line crafts as metallurgy and wood-carving. Pottery, basketry, and weaving were unknown.

It was the woman's business to prepare the food, clothing, and shelter, and to care for the children. She made the household articles and bags, brought the wood and water, attended to packing and unpacking on moving day, and helped with making the horse equipage. She followed closely behind the hunter with pack animal and knife, skinned the animals, packed the hides to camp, and by slow, tedious processes converted them into clothing, tipi covering, bags, and other articles.

Hides were prepared differently according to whether they were 281
to be worked into leather or made into rawhide bags. Some skins were tanned on one side only, others on both. The process was not identical for buffalo and deer skins, leather might or might not be smoked, and there were variations due to individual technique in workmanship. White influence affected the implements and technique, so that full details concerning the historic process can no longer be recovered. The essentials of tanning, however, are clear enough. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked on the hair side with a mixture of wood ashes and water, which produces lye. Lime, which was obtained from burned rock, was sometimes used in place of ashes. After the hide was sufficiently soaked, the hair side was scraped against the grain. Some women chose to shave off the hair without previously soaking the hide.

There were various kinds of scrapers. A scraper might be an oval, flat flake of flint chipped down so as to have a rather sharp and even edge all around, and it varied in size, some scrapers being large enough to use in both hands. Buffalo bones were often employed, and after the appearance of the white man, metal scrapers became common. Whether or not the hair was removed, a long and tedious process was required to tan the hide. The essential operations were the preparation of the hide, the application of the tanning mixture, and the subsequent working of the hide to make it soft and pliable.

The green hide, according to the whim of the individual worker,

The Comanches

281 was thrown across a limb, laced to upright saplings (called a rack), thrown across a log flattened on top, or more often stretched upon the ground with flesh side up. If stretched upon the ground, it was made fast by means of wooden pins driven into the earth through small cuts in the edge of the hide. To get the best results in tanning, it was important that before the hide dried, it should be evenly fleshed, by which is meant freeing it of every particle of blood, fat, and flesh. This was necessary for rapid drying as well as to reduce the hide to a uniform and proper thickness.

281 413 Fleshing tools varied from a sharp flint flake or buffalo bone to an instrument similar to a drawing knife. Sometimes a wooden hoe made from the fork of a limb of a tree with the cutting part sharpened and finely serrated was employed. The most commonly used instrument was shaped somewhat like an adze. The cutting edge of this tool was bound to a handle of elk horn with strings of rawhide or sinew. It could be used with one hand. With the appearance of the white man the flint cutting edge gave way to metal blades. The rough, abrasive surface of the dried skin of buffalo tongue was preferred in some bands. As the skin clothing and the skin lodges were made by the women, the fleshing implements were very important and were handed down from one generation to another.

281 With the fleshing tool the worker clipped the skin, cutting off a thin shaving with each blow. The skill of this process lay in so directing and tempering the blows as to cut off the skin and yet not hack through it, and in finally obtaining a perfectly smooth inner surface of uniform thickness. Moistened wood ashes were spread on the fatty, greasy surface from time to time and left long enough for the lye to neutralize the fat. This process completed, the hide was usually left to cure and bleach in the sun for several days, although it might be saturated occasionally in water.

The next step was to make the skin soft and pliable, for if given no further treatment, it became hard and inflexible. One satisfactory method was to place it in a hole in the ground, cover it with water and then tramp it for one or two hours. Most women used a tanning mixture composed of brains, liver, grease, basswood bark, soapweed, and water. The basswood bark or soapweed root was pounded fine and thoroughly mixed with the buffalo or deer brains or liver. Grease

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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of any available kind, except swine, might be added. The mixture was then thinned with water to the desired consistency. Brains with nothing added were used frequently. The tanning compound was applied to the hide, on both sides if the hair had been removed, and was thoroughly rubbed in with the hands or with a stone. After it had been worked into the texture, the rawhide was placed in the sun so that the heat might aid in the penetration and distribution of the mixture. The skin was then alternately stretched and rubbed with the hands, or pulled back and forth across a limb of a tree, around a sapling, through a loop of rawhide, trampled, or beaten. The friction developed considerable heat, thereby drying and softening the texture. The hide was then folded and put aside overnight. The next day it was unfolded and laid in the sun to dry. After it was dry, the process was repeated. This procedure was continued day after day until the worker deemed the skin sufficiently soft and pliable.

There was no definite time required for properly preparing a hide. The work was long and laborious, but the women were industrious and time was of little importance to them. A woman worked until she was tired, and then laid her work aside to be resumed at her convenience. The tanning might be completed in about ten days, or it might be extended over many weeks.

A worker could change a skin from its natural white to a yellowish brown on the hair side and to a light yellow or tan on the flesh side by smoking it. To do this, the skin was tied into a chimney shape around a pole or was stretched across a pole and placed over a fire pit filled with rotten wood to produce a smoldering smoke. In either arrangement the skin was placed over the fire in such a way as to prevent the escape of the smoke.[1] Tipi covers were naturally smoked by long exposure, but the women made no special effort to color them. Skins used for shirts, leggings, and moccasins were colored on both sides. According to Catlin, the smoking process kept

[1] This description of the Comanche method of tanning is compiled from the field notes of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group and from statements by H. W. Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *Frontier Times*, Vol. VI (June, 1929), 373–75; E. House (ed.), *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn and Her Two Children with That of Mrs. Harris by the Comanche Indians*, 36; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 357; T. R. Davis, "The Buffalo Range," *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1869, 160; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 284; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 183; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 27.

281 skins soft and flexible no matter how often they were exposed to moisture.

Every woman made the clothing for herself and her family, as was explained in the previous chapter. From the tanned skins the women also made various kinds of soft leather pouches, among them the long fringed ones for the men's smoking utensils. Some of these [531] bags were decorated with beadwork after the arrival of the white traders, but informants insist that porcupine-quill embroidery was unusual among the Comanches.

281 Although every woman learned to make clothing and bags, it seems that there were only a relatively few who became expert at 463 designing and cutting the cover for a tipi. A mother or wife who wanted to make a tipi gathered the poles, stripped them of their bark and pared them down to the desired size, and possibly pointed the butts. She then most likely went to an expert tipi-maker and asked for her help. She might offer her a present then, or it might be given afterwards. A day for the work was agreed upon. Other women would be invited to join the "quilting party," but the expert was in complete charge and gave the instructions. She usually did the most critical cutting and fitting. During the day the hostess provided her guests with a feast. Although the women worked together, there appears to have been no organization of tipi makers.[2]

492 Since the Comanches spent much of their time on horseback, horse equipage was an important item. Although both men and [463] women worked at it, saddle-making tended to be the specialty of men [727] who were no longer active in war. In later times, however, Mexican captives became specialists at the trade. Saddles were mostly of a modified Spanish type. They were generally made of American elm in three pieces: the bars or seat proper, the pommel, and the cantle. Each part was laboriously shaved down into the desired shape and carefully fitted. The pommel and cantle were made high with but slight pitch; the bars or seat were moderate in length so that the saddle was deep and narrow. Holes were drilled with a red hot awl, the joints daubed with glue, and then the parts were laced firmly together by means of green deer sinew. The joints were scraped and rubbed smooth, and the frame was smeared with an ochre paint. Over

[2] Informants: Kills Something; She Invites Her Relatives.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824
fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 343
with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824
Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388
the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302]
nemeʎisas) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824
ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281
and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824
tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412
be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824
the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɜna*, and *itse* or *ṭiməyhə*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221
dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224
camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251
it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281
The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492
horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In Notes Taken With Marcy, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. Exploration of the Red River, 95.

18. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days, Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

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462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] [251] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

415 [531] A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35) may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie 415 531 cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 [281] [237] A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 106 cm. long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's 292 wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area 531 extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in 292 back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled 292 metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a 531 decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36–37

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

[p. 185]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 188]

412 it would shrink as it dried and bind the blade securely to the handle. In
284 using this tool to remove the hair or to chip the inner surface of a buffalo
412 hide to an even thickness, the woman stood on the hide, bent over, and, with
281 the sharp blade nearly perpendicular to the surface of the hide, performed
her painstaking task with vigorous strokes, holding the tool with both hands.
412 Elk horn-handled skin-scraping tools of this kind were widely used among
[171] the Plains Indians, as well as the Shoshoni and their neighbors west of the Rockies, in historic buffalo days.[24] This may be, however, the earliest well-documented example of this useful tool from the Comanche.

24. Wissler (1910, pp. 67-68) pictures four of these adze-like tools equipped with blades and gives the tribal distribution of this type of skin-dressing implement.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 126 386

I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N C 517 822

The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N C 386 824

All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected: all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415

When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
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a thick paste — which has the property of loosening the dye from the fabrics, and facilitating its extraction. A small bag shaped like a money purse, and but little larger, made of new dog skin, deer or wolf skin, tanned by the Indians in a manner peculiar to them, is used to compress the juice from the pulp. This bag, a foot or eighteen inches long and three or four inches wide, is half filled with the pulp. Two small handles of wood are stuck through the ends of the bag, about the length of a corkscrew handle, and used to grasp a firm hold, and as levers by which the bag is twisted until the juice is extracted through the pores of the skin, which are very open.

Whether extracted or not for immediate use, the dye is carefully bottled, in glass if it can be procured, or in small bladders, if glass is not to be had. I say small bladders, because if put away in large quantities, the dye sometimes spoils, they say, and produces dingy colors. When put away for future use the light is carefully excluded by overwrapping with skins, or any thing else, and generally buried in the ground under a shelter in which fire is not used, so as to exclude heat. The dyes, however, are generally used soon as extracted, as during the winter the women prepare their best wool, and have it ready in the spring and summer for the process of dying.

N C 386 824 415

The pulp after compression is put into a small quantity of the same ley above spoken of, and permitted to remain several hours to extract any remaining dye that might be in it, and undergo the same squeezing process until no dye remains.

The ley is made with care of the ashes after burning, of the green wood of a shrub very similar to the *Auralia Spinosa*, if it be not the same of a stunted growth. So careful are they of procuring this ash unadulterated, that they have dry parcels of it laid by with which to ignite the green wood, that the ashes may not be commingled with those of other woods. The ley is usually made in a large gourd, well cleaned and dried, with the butt end cut off, and a small hole bored through the point of the neck to drip from. The gourd is three quarters filled with the ashes considerably compressed in it, and by a bale or handle suspended from a bar containing several of them. Each is then filled with

At Work and Play

Making an excellent bow string was a task for a specialist. The bow string was made of the sinew of the buffalo bull or deer, derived from the tendon which lies along either side of the spine from the shoulder blades to the hip bones. The tendon was shredded or subdivided longitudinally into fine threads of fiber. It has been estimated that each sinew had then ten times the strength of ordinary cotton thread of equal size. These sinews or threads were next soaked in glue water, and, while damp, several were twisted to form a strong, perfectly round cord of the same size and tension from end to end, and the ends knotted. Post Oak Jim said that he preferred bow strings made of horse-tail hair because "they didn't break and were not spoiled by moisture." Still, he thought bear gut was the best material of all.[8] 411 283

Arrows, next to the bow, were the most precious possessions of a Comanche. Much time was devoted to searching for arrows that had been shot. They were too hard to obtain and cost too much effort to be wasted. This was also true of points lost from the arrow shafts. Nevertheless, it is asserted on good authority that Comanches would never retrieve an arrow which had taken a human life, enemy or friend.[9] Great skill, patience, and judgment were required to make a perfect arrow. The old men who made the best arrows were highly respected for their special skill. Although there was a great difference in arrows, the proportions between the shaft, head, and feathers were quite definite. If these proportions were maintained, the arrow performed efficient and effective work in the hands of an expert bowman; otherwise, it was a failure. An arrow too light in the shaft would not fly steadily; one too heavy would not carry its force long enough. When a good, well-balanced arrow struck the mark, the feather end tilted upward. "The Cheyennes, Pawnees, and Pueblos don't know 411 [784]

[8] This description of bow-making is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something and Post Oak Jim; also, R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 348–49; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Fannie M. Hughs, *Legends of Texas Rivers*, 219; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *Frontier Times*, Vol. VIII (December, 1930), 141; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 412; Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 25–27; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 174; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Babb, *op. cit.*, 134; also, oral communication of others to Wallace.

[9] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 46.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[536] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

283 I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
[177] dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1828. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 177]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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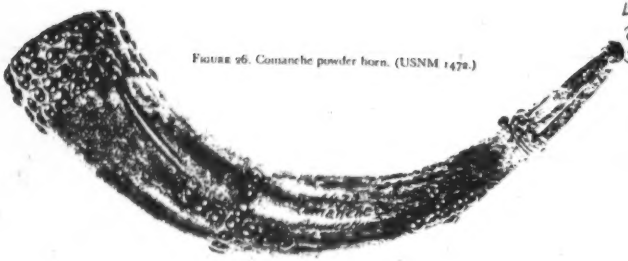

FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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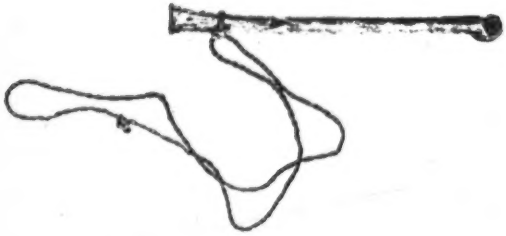

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FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A [See p. 180-B--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

178 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13] 415 171 531

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red. 415 531

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14] 531 439 431

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian. 292 [171]

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top [283] [531]

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. [113]

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C—Analyst.]
B [See p. 169—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

Their brown color is made from the inner bark, roots and nuts of the walnut and of other trees, much in the same manner as our farmer's wives now dye their wool for home-made jeans. N C 386 824

After the dyeing is finished, the wool is dried in the shade, and when well dried, exposed to the sun for a few hours; the dyeing is then complete, and the wool ready for spinning, except sometimes, perhaps, not always, they oil the wool slightly, and diffuse the dampness through it by rubbing and rolling it in the hands. I do not know the precise object of this, but they say it works better. This does not impair the color, for washing restores them to their first brightness. It seems to be the peculiar quality of the *set* that gives the lasting brilliancy of the color. I have seen the Camanche blankets, after being used for months, and abused by being put under the saddle, saturated with sweat, rained upon, slept in upon the naked earth, and when carefully washed, present the colors again, as bright as newly dyed silk. N C ● 283 ● 386

The spinning is what you would call twisting the thread; this is done altogether by the fingers, and somewhat similar to the ancient distaff, though reversing the order of operation. The distaff was used to wrap the raw material upon, and the spool or quill was used not only to wind the thread upon, but as the spindle to twist it. The Camanches reverse this order, and use the raw material for the spindle, and the spool only to wind the thread upon. They use no distaff. N C 283

A CAMANCHE SPINNING.

In spinning, a small portion of wool only is used at a time — a mess, say, of a quarter pound weight, and shaped like an egg, say four or five inches long, and two or three in diameter, is wrapped around with a string sufficiently tight to keep it together, but loose enough at the point to permit the wool to be drawn out for spinning the thread — a small stone, of an ounce or so in weight, is tied on the middle of a stick of about six inches in length C [291]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 83

(see *d*), and inserted in the lower part of the bunch. This is to add weight to it without increasing the size, and is used as dead weight, to increase and continue the velocity when twirled round by the fingers.

The spinning is begun by first twisting a thread of five or six inches in length, which is wound around a stick of ten or so inches long, and half an inch in diameter, which is held in the left hand, and serves for the spool to wind the thread upon. After the thread is commenced, the spinning proper begins, and is then continued, by constantly keeping the bunch of wool swiftly rotating horizontally, by twirling it with the thumb and middle fingers; at the moment the twirl is given, a slight jerk downwards is made, to draw out the wool, and a simultaneous slight yielding of the left hand, to prevent the thread separating from the mass until the twist is given it, and when sufficiently spun, is wound upon the spool. They usually spin three or four or six inches at a time — and wind up every time. The thread is usually twisted hard, and always doubled before weaving. I have seen thread spun altogether by the fingers, and the spinning and weaving is by no means confined to the women; men are often engaged in it, and exhibit much taste and skill in devising the patterns, as well as blending the colors. After small parcels of the wool are well loosened by picking and straightening with the fingers, it is tied loosely together with a string, to prevent the bunch falling apart; or it is often put in a small bag, of four or six inches in diameter, and drawn together at the mouth, leaving portions of the wool protruding from it in a point, to facilitate its being drawn out to form the thread. A weight of an ounce or two — usually a flat stone, is tied in the middle of a stick of six inches in length, and half an inch in diameter, and is enclosed within the wool, or the bag, near the bottom of it, and acts as a dead weight to facilitate the momentum when turning round. The ends of the stick project from the mass of wool like two handles, and are used to twirl it with the fingers.

The thread is usually about the fineness of our good Osnaburg, and spun sufficiently hard to twist readily when doubled, and

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

makes the doubled thread not very hard. After the spinning is finished, and previous to weaving, the thread is measured, by *hanking* it over two pins a certain distance apart. This is only to ascertain the length of the thread required, and is then formed into a ball.

N C 283

N 283 401

NAVAJOES SPINNING.

The Navajoes have another and a more artistic manner of spinning, for which it has been thought they were indebted to white instructors, but which they indignantly deny. Two boards, of two or three feet in length, and three to six inches in width, as may be procured, are pinned on opposite sides of the crotch of a tree of convenient height, or of two posts set in the ground near each other, or two trees growing near together. Two holes are bored in the boards, one opposite the other, and about one and a half inches in diameter. A limb of any kind of tree with a branch diverging at right angles, is procured. The larger limb is cut off about eighteen inches each way from the branch, so as

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N 283 401 to be about three feet long. The branch is trimmed off to fit the holes, and constitutes the spindle. The limb is used as the handle, and as a fly to continue the momentum. The whole apparatus is unique, simple and efficient, and I would say an original one. (See section *S*, where *a*, *a*, is the spindle, *b*, *b*, the boards, and *c*, a pin to keep the spindle in its place.)

The spinning is commenced like the first process, by twisting with the fingers a short thread, then fastening it to the point of the spindle. The spinner has already prepared, by picking with her fingers, a quantity of wool which she has in her basket or bag, tied around her waist, or in a bundle like the one described in the previous process. A person twirls around the handle or fly (see *d*), and the spinner keeps moving backwards, as the thread is formed. The process is much the same as that by which our rope makers spin hemp by hand. A thread of six or eight feet in C N length, is spun before being wound up.

The Indian never spins until he or she has a specific work to 283 perform. The size, plan, configuration, and every other requisite, is first determined. The quantity of thread required for any piece of work, is from long habit, pretty accurately known. I think I have said already, that all their weaving is done with a double and twisted thread. They waste no thread. They usually spin a small quantity and weave, and then spin again, and so on, until the work is completed. The process is the same C N for cotton, wool, grass, etc.

Weaving is the most elaborate of their arts, and they make 286 beautiful work. Their blankets, or I should call them shawls, are often rich, strong and showy. Some have a resemblance to the Persian shawl. They frequently sell in Mexico for three hundred dollars, and I have seen them sell in New Orleans for two hundred dollars. I have one in my possession, taken by Gen. Houston at the battle of San Jacinto, which cost three hundred dollars. They are usually impervious to water, very heavy, and are rather plaited together than woven. The time occupied in making one of these, is from four to six, and sometimes eight months.

[pp 361 - end not processed]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

578 when the whole tribe, save the squaws and papooses, assembled on a level piece of ground a mile from the village. Here they formed a large ring, into which walked the Rolling Thunder and Han-na-nos-ka-a, the prophet. The latter pronounced a long discourse, setting forth, as nearly as my imperfect knowledge of the language enabled me to comprehend, the original cause of the quarrel, a detailed account of its progress, the inability of the council to agree upon a satisfactory arrangement, and that, finally, it had been referred to the just decision of the Great Spirit, into whose presence their implacable brethren were now about to appear.

Having concluded, the brothers of the young warriors conducted them into the ring. One of them was, perhaps, twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, the other four or five years older. The younger was somewhat the largest, though both were remarkably athletic and powerful. When [284] they reached the center of the ring, meeting from opposite directions, their left arms, as far up as the elbow, were firmly lashed together with stout, thick cords of buffalo hide. They were bound so thoroughly that the possibility of breaking away from each other was utterly beyond question.

Into the right hand of each was then placed a hunting [412] knife, having a heavy buckhorn handle and a blade about nine inches long, evidently prepared for the occasion by being brought to a keen edge on both sides. The brothers then withdrew some twenty feet from the combatants, drawing from their belts similar knives, when the signal was given and the fight began. After that there was no call of "time"—no retreating to the "corner"—no planting the left heavily on the "mug"—they "toed the scratch" but once, and ended the combat in a single "round."

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. [284]

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi, in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 237 292 [237] 292 714 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 30-31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 54, 127, 199.

16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.

17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. [171]

A [See p. 169--Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 184]

 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of 171
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20]

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 58

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 58. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 59

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large 237
buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 59) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, 412
of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 284
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 18.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced
A for the Files--Analyst.]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

412 it would shrink as it dried and bind the blade securely to the handle. In 189
284 using this tool to remove the hair or to chip the inner surface of a buffalo
412 hide to an even thickness, the woman stood on the hide, bent over, and, with
281 the sharp blade nearly perpendicular to the surface of the hide, performed
her painstaking task with vigorous strokes, holding the tool with both hands.
412 Elk horn-handled skin-scraping tools of this kind were widely used among
(171) the Plains Indians, as well as the Shoshoni and their neighbors west of the Rockies, in historic buffalo days.[24] This may be, however, the earliest well-documented example of this useful tool from the Comanche.

24. Wissler (1910, pp. 67–68) pictures four of these adze-like tools equipped with blades and gives the tribal distribution of this type of skin-dressing implement.

for use during winter and spring. Other bags contained ornaments, 352
wooden bowls, dishes, small horn spoons, extra clothing, personal belongings, and any odds and ends. In fact, the contents of a parfleche were a perpetual surprise. It might contain anything from a tooth to a gold coin.

No tipi furnishings were complete without a supply of utensils 415
or receptacles. They, too, were adapted to the environment and the mobile habits of the owner. No pottery was made or used, simply because it could not be conveniently handled and because more practical materials were at hand. Receptacles for carrying water during travel where water holes were far apart, as was usually the case in Comanche country, needed to be light and to pack well. The paunch of the buffalo met both requirements; therefore, before the introduction of the kettle it served well. A green paunch was hung from a limb or pole and hot stones held inside until the water boiled. Water vessels were also made from "cased" deer skins, that is, skins removed whole. The legs and necks were tied tightly with sinews. Buckets or cups could be made by tying one end of the skin of a leg and fitting a small rod around the inside of the other end. Drinking cups were made from buffalo horns and terrapin shells. A few wooden [322]
spoons and bowls were used. They were worked into shape by burning, scraping, and polishing. The Comanches, however, were little interested in this type of receptacle since it was more of a burden than an advantage in their way of life. Consequently, the workmanship was primitive. A very few crude baskets, knives of stone and [285]
bone (of metal after contact with the whites), mauls, a digging stick or two, and a few bone needles completed the tipi furnishings.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

of flour or other supplies while the man came out unencumbered. 462
Moreover, in the way of home industry there was indeed little for the men to do. The Comanches did not work at such specifically masculine crafts as metallurgy and wood-carving. Pottery, basketry, and 323 285 286
weaving were unknown.

It was the woman's business to prepare the food, clothing, and shelter, and to care for the children. She made the household articles and bags, brought the wood and water, attended to packing and unpacking on moving day, and helped with making the horse equipage. She followed closely behind the hunter with pack animal and knife, skinned the animals, packed the hides to camp, and by slow, tedious processes converted them into clothing, tipi covering, bags, and other articles.

Hides were prepared differently according to whether they were 281
to be worked into leather or made into rawhide bags. Some skins were tanned on one side only, others on both. The process was not identical for buffalo and deer skins, leather might or might not be smoked, and there were variations due to individual technique in workmanship. White influence affected the implements and technique, so that full details concerning the historic process can no longer be recovered. The essentials of tanning, however, are clear enough. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked on the hair side with a mixture of wood ashes and water, which produces lye. Lime, which was obtained from burned rock, was sometimes used in place of ashes. After the hide was sufficiently soaked, the hair side was scraped against the grain. Some women chose to shave off the hair without previously soaking the hide.

There were various kinds of scrapers. A scraper might be an oval, flat flake of flint chipped down so as to have a rather sharp and even edge all around, and it varied in size, some scrapers being large enough to use in both hands. Buffalo bones were often employed, and after the appearance of the white man, metal scrapers became common. Whether or not the hair was removed, a long and tedious process was required to tan the hide. The essential operations were the preparation of the hide, the application of the tanning mixture, and the subsequent working of the hide to make it soft and pliable.

The green hide, according to the whim of the individual worker,

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fashioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasionally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions. Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture clothing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When properly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it provided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the Indians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33] In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was *Ka:wus,* the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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of flour or other supplies while the man came out unencumbered. 462
Moreover, in the way of home industry there was indeed little for the men to do. The Comanches did not work at such specifically masculine crafts as metallurgy and wood-carving. Pottery, basketry, and weaving were unknown. 323 285 286

It was the woman's business to prepare the food, clothing, and shelter, and to care for the children. She made the household articles and bags, brought the wood and water, attended to packing and unpacking on moving day, and helped with making the horse equipage. She followed closely behind the hunter with pack animal and knife, skinned the animals, packed the hides to camp, and by slow, tedious processes converted them into clothing, tipi covering, bags, and other articles.

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The green hide, according to the whim of the individual worker,

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 273, and 1876, 52.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd. N C 233 721

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California. N 233 C 233

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire. N C 114

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. N C ● 286 ● [526] N C [386]

Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information C N 124 N C 126 386

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 386 824 415

rain or pure river water: the point is stopped, and the water allowed to remain on the ashes for a day and night, and then permitted to drip into the vessel placed to catch the ley.

This ley is a little colored, and is clarified by the same process of filtration through clean white sand, or sand that has been used for the same purpose before — when clarified, the ley is used as before stated, and especially to set the colors, which seems to be the principal use of it. It has no caustic quality after filtration, but an astringency peculiar to itself — rather a pungent than burning quality. It is sometimes used to dilute the darker dyes and produce lighter shades.

N C 386

The wool to be dyed is washed in warm water until perfectly cleansed of the natural oil — using the root of a plant very abundant in Texas and southern New Mexico, as well as most of the southern states, of a very saponaceous quality, and known as the soap plant. In all their best fabrics — blankets, belts, leggings, etc., made of wool, their finest fleeces are used, and it is not unknown to many of our army officers and others, that the Navajoes give great attention to their management of sheep, and often produce fleeces almost or quite equal to the merino in fineness and softness of texture, by their skilful crosses and selections made after long and minute observations and care. A Camanche and Navajoe are as much delighted with the possession of a superior ram and ewe as of a fine horse, to the breeding of which they also give much attention. Von Thaer would not be more so with the possession of his finest buck. All their wool is dyed before spinning, and this is done by submerging it in the dye and letting it remain ten or fifteen days, the dye-pot being left covered: but during this soaking the wool is turned over once every day. Sometimes the lighter shades are imparted to the wool by soaking a shorter time — they say this produces a clearer tint. If not dark enough, the same process is repeated with fresh dye. I have been told by my guide, that the Camanches fumigate the wool after dying, over a smoke of the above described wood, to deepen the color, but I never saw it done.

N C [388 824] N C 286 236 N C 386

N C 386 824

Their green color is produced from the leaves of several plants, the juice of which is expressed in the same manner as from the flowers, and used in the same manner.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N 283 401 to be about three feet long. The branch is trimmed off to fit the holes, and constitutes the spindle. The limb is used as the handle, and as a fly to continue the momentum. The whole apparatus is unique, simple and efficient, and I would say an original one. (See section *S*, where *a*, *a*, is the spindle, *b*, *b*, the boards, and *c*, a pin to keep the spindle in its place.)

The spinning is commenced like the first process, by twisting with the fingers a short thread, then fastening it to the point of the spindle. The spinner has already prepared, by picking with her fingers, a quantity of wool which she has in her basket or bag, tied around her waist, or in a bundle like the one described in the previous process. A person twirls around the handle or fly (see *d*), and the spinner keeps moving backwards, as the thread is formed. The process is much the same as that by which our rope makers spin hemp by hand. A thread of six or eight feet in length, is spun before being wound up.

C N 283 The Indian never spins until he or she has a specific work to perform. The size, plan, configuration, and every other requisite, is first determined. The quantity of thread required for any piece of work, is from long habit, pretty accurately known. I think I have said already, that all their weaving is done with a double and twisted thread. They waste no thread. They usually spin a small quantity and weave, and then spin again, and so on, until the work is completed. The process is the same for cotton, wool, grass, etc.

C N 286 Weaving is the most elaborate of their arts, and they make beautiful work. Their blankets, or I should call them shawls, are often rich, strong and showy. Some have a resemblance to the Persian shawl. They frequently sell in Mexico for three hundred dollars, and I have seen them sell in New Orleans for two hundred dollars. I have one in my possession, taken by Gen. Houston at the battle of San Jacinto, which cost three hundred dollars. They are usually impervious to water, very heavy, and are rather plaited together than woven. The time occupied in making one of these, is from four to six, and sometimes eight months.

[pp 361 - end not processed]

X

The Indian dress—Discovery of the watch—Half-past three—It strikes the alarm—Gathering up the plunder—A heart-rending sight—Probable cause of being unexpectedly attacked—The infernal pantomime—Blindfolded and lashed to a mule—Departure of the caravan—The uncomfortable ride—Performances on the tightrope—Tremendous applause—The night encampment—Favorite food of the Comanches—Appearance of the captives—Amusements at supper—Horseflesh hissing hot—Put to bed and tucked up—The captive's night thoughts—Crossing the river in a buffalo skin—The war whoop—Arrival at an Indian village—The wonderful watch—Original doctrines—The war dance—Description of an Indian village.

727 I soon became aware that the only members of the party who escaped the massacre, which proved to have been bloody as it was sudden, were Thomas Martin, John Stewart, Aikens, and myself. The first two had been secured much in the same manner I was, but Aikens, who was sleeping in a tent, had succeeded in escaping a short distance, and had engaged in a hot scuffle, during which he fired upon his assailants before he was overpowered. The first step taken by the savages, after the confusion had subsided, was to strip us of every particle of apparel, and clothe us in their own fashion of dress, which consisted simply [29] of buckskin leggins, with a hunting shirt of the same material fringed at the bottom, and at the cuffs, and tied in front with strings.

Horseflesh Hissing Hot

solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double 727
purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves
food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of [291]
leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat,
the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was
necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our 727
feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the 522
meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry
and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my persōn, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, [726]
forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some
fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this 727
space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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Three Years Among the Comanches

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

727 among his wives, there was one who treated me with all
622 the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was
[551] *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

727 At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appear-
574 ance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard,
[276] with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it
[152] to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

000 Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins,
[291] and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her
[302] long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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411

His-oo-sán-chees (The Little Spaniard)
From a painting by Catlin
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 15]

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

drink the few cupfuls of water carried in buffalo paunches to supply the children.[16] 261

In very early times, if we take what we know of the Shoshones as the measure, the Comanches could not have taken much interest in sartorial splendor. Even in later days their work-a-day garb was simple and crude. They hardly looked like the popular conception of the painted, beaded, and befeathered Indian. For festive occasions, however, they had their fancy dress garb, and young men, especially, liked to think of themselves as dandies. A *ʈuiβltsi* was much to be admired, and if asked what a *ʈuiβltsi* is, any Comanche will answer, "A handsome young man with shiny black hair, all dressed up on a good-looking horse." The *ʈuiβltsi* had his counterpart in the *naiβi:* a good-looking girl with long braids, painted and all dressed up in a good buckskin dress. When there were dances or when the band was moving from one camp site to another, the *naiβi* and *ʈuiβltsi* liked to parade and show off to the admiring glances of the people—and each other. Adult Comanches also liked to dress up, but they were not so self-conscious about it. 291

Boys, until they reached the age or eight or nine, went entirely nude unless the weather was severe. Regular attire generally consisted of breechclout, leggings, and moccasins only. The former was a broad piece of cloth or buckskin drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. The ends, one in front and one behind, formed loose, hanging flaps which extended almost to the knees. The length of the breechclout depended, of course, upon the size and height of the individual, but would probably average six feet for an adult male. Since blue was the favored color for formal or dress-up occasions, some early observers believed it to be the predominant color.[17]

A vestige of the breechclout is still worn by conservative Comanches in the form of a gee-string beneath their Levis. It is nothing more than a braided cord passed between the legs and wrapped about the waist. It cannot be seen, is not decorative, but is magically protective of the male's sex organs. [751]

[16] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 60.

[17] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 184; David G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

The Comanches

291 Comanche leggings were of buckskin and extended from the foot to the hip. They were close-fitting and were attached to the belt. The border of the material beyond the seam was left loose, presenting a wide margin of flapping buckskin. Those intended for dress occasions were likely to be red or blue.[18] They were distinguished among other Plains Indian leggings particularly by their long fringes. Leggings were sometimes beaded, but the ornamentation was usually attached to the fringe and might consist of bits of silver or other metal, beads, shells, elk's teeth, or anything that appealed to the wearer's fancy.

The moccasins of the Comanches had buckskin uppers with a seam down the heel, with the lower border of the upper sewed to a stiff sole of tanned buffalo hide. Like the leggings, Comanche moccasins could be distinguished by their long fringes. The fringes ran from the lace to the toe and along the seam at the heel. They were relatively short on top of the moccasin, but those on the heel were from six to eight inches in length and might number as many as fifty or more. The tail of a polecat or some other animal was occasionally used instead of the fringe of buckskin strings. In addition to the fringes, moccasins were ornamented with beads and small jinglers. Beads of various colors, including dark blue, light blue, white, and red, were strung, and the string sewed to the moccasin. Strings of beads extended along the seam at the heel and around the opening at the top of the moccasin, and from the lace almost to the tip of the toe. Small pieces of metal were often attached to the ends of the fringes.[19] Although the Abbé Emmanuel Domenech related that the Comanches extracted silver from mines near San Saba from which they manufactured ornaments for themselves and for their horses,[20] there is a lack of evidence to support his statement. Certainly most of what they used was traded from the Mexicans.

For winter foot gear the Comanches made genuine arctic boots of buffalo hide that reached to the knee. The whole boot was made with the wooly hair of the buffalo inside and with the soles folded

[18] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 432.

[19] Direct observation of Comanche women making moccasins by Wallace.

[20] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Journal d'un Missionnaire au Texas et au Mexique*, 125–26.

291 up higher at the sides than for moccasins. Unlike moccasins, they were loose fitted so that cloth could be wrapped around the feet in extreme weather. Under the boots, the buckskin leggings were always worn as well. The soles and feet of the boots were greased to waterproof them, but not the legs.[21] All in all, it must have been a good winter foot covering. Poor people, according to She Invites Her Relatives, "got pretty cold." They had no boots and had to be content with ordinary moccasins and trade cloth wrapped about their legs.

Early plainsmen claimed that they were able to identify the tribe to which a party belonged from the moccasin tracks. To some extent this was true, for the heel fringes, the nature of the soles, and the toe forms left distinguishing marks. The one-piece moccasin was typical among the Northern Plains tribes. Instead of the buckskin heel fringes, the Cheyennes, for example, used two small tails of deer skin, a buffalo tail, or a strip from the beard of the buffalo which trailed behind. The short, stubby foot of the Comanche left a track that provided an additional means of identification.

Shirts worn by the men were made from the skins of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. They were made by sewing two pieces together in such a way that the pattern conformed to the natural contour of the skins. The ornamented shirt was more or less a ceremonial [292] uniform of chiefs and important warriors. On the other hand, the shirt itself, stripped of its ornaments and accessories, seems to have been the precise pattern worn in daily routine in cold weather by the northern Indians. Clark Wissler believes that the shirt was not in early use among the Comanches and other southern Indians.[22] Neither Dodge, Marcy, Burnet, nor Neighbors mentions the shirt as being a part of Comanche attire, but "Dot" Babb and our informants definitely state that it was worn in cold weather prior to the reservation era.[23] The neck of the shirt was cut in a V-shape, and the shirt extended below the top of the leggings, measuring about two and one-half feet from the cut of the neck to the bottom. The garment was generally richly fringed around the collar and sleeves, the buckskin strings often extending twelve inches or more in length. It was also ornamented with beads, metal, and scalps of enemies.

[21] Informants: Holding Her Sunshade; She Invites Her Relatives.
[22] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 47, 48.
[23] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

The Comanches

291 After the acquisition of bandannas, the man wore one around his neck. Instead of tying it in front, he used a button made from buffalo bone through which he pulled the ends of the handkerchief. The older men still wear bandannas in this manner.

294 There was a time when the art of sewing was unknown and when garments were tied together at the seams, but in modern times clothing was neatly sewed with sinew thread, which was very stout and durable. Such thread was made from the sinew lying along either side of the spine of the buffalo or deer. It was taken off in long pieces and dried, and strands of it were split off with the finger nails as needed. The strand of thread was then moistened in the mouth and rolled on the knee with the palm of the hand or between the palms, and one end of the thread pointed. With an awl a hole was made in the material, the fine point of the thread was passed through the hole, and the thread pulled through with the fingers.

294 413 Awls and needles were usually made of bone sharpened to a fine point. Steel substitutes were among the first articles traded by the whites to the Indians, but the methods of sewing remained practically unchanged so long as leather was used for clothing. Sewing implements were carried in a small case made of dressed buffalo cow or calfskin tied to the belt. Such cases usually opened at the top with a flap. The awl was also carried by the men as a part of their everyday outfit, since it was an essential tool in their work. The men carried it in a small leather pouch with a flap covering, attached to the wrist by a buckskin thong. Pouches were ornamented with variously colored beads in simple design and sometimes fringed with metal pendants.

291 294 The buffalo robe was a regular part of the wardrobe. Hides for robes were taken during the fall months of November and December. Some robes were prepared with the hair left on for use in extremely cold weather, while others were prepared with the hair removed for milder weather. Some specimens retained the holes around the edge through which pegs were driven in stretching the hide. Minor alterations in shape were made by cutting off the tail and legs and by tucking the ears through slits from the outer to the under side. The Comanche robe was usually made of two separate pieces sewed together down the center, because the buffalo was skinned by cutting

down the spine. A very narrow (one-quarter to one-half inch) line of red paint down the middle concealed the stitching. Ordinarily a man's robe had no other decoration. Robes ranged in size from about twenty by thirty-six to approximately seventy-five by one hundred inches. 291 294

The robe was one of the warmest and most protective coverings that could be devised against low temperature, for the buffalo in November and December was covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of wool intermixed with hair, which on some of the bulls measured from seventeen to twenty inches in length. Plainsmen and soldiers stationed at the frontier forts claimed that one buffalo robe was warmer than four ordinary blankets. Many overcoats were manufactured by the government from buffalo robes for army men exposed to severe weather during campaigns against the Indians. Lighter robes were also made of bear skin, for which two hides were required, gray wolf, calling for four skins, and coyote, for which eight skins were needed. Rarely, even skunk fur was used. And for babies and children rabbit-skin robes were provided.[24] 291

There seems to have been no difference in the robes of men and women except that those worn by the wives of great warriors and chiefs were painted.

The eight Comanche robes found by J. C. Ewers in American museums in the nineteen thirties all had the so-called "hour glass" figure in the center. This figure is nothing more than a highly stylized, geometric representation of a buffalo. A geometric border runs around the outside of the field in all the women's robes. In its distribution the Comanche "hour glass" and border design is definitely Southern Plains, for it is shared for the most part only by the Wichitas, Kiowas, Apaches, and Río Grande Pueblos (presumably Taos). The feathered sun symbol, popular on robes to the north, was not used at all by the Comanches. Robes worn by the wives of noted warriors often carried markers symbolizing the coup, or war honors, of their husbands.

The preparation of a Comanche painted robe was a serious undertaking. Usually three or four women worked together under the direction of a skilled and experienced leader. Before the painting was done, they took the gelatinous scrapings from the under side of the 294

[24] *Ibid.*

294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and [386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such [428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

The Comanches

302 Black was the
[822] war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both
301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar
[411] materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

●291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

fringe on sleeves and hems and colorfully beaded designs marked the dress of fashion. The dressmaker carefully worked the skins of the deer until they were soft and pliable—sometimes a muted lemon yellow and sometimes a buff color. The skirt was made in two pieces, with the legs of the deer skin making an uneven hemline reaching to the ankles. The skirt was sewed up the sides with buckskin thongs, and heavy fringe finished the hem and extended up the sides above the knees, with lighter fringe up the seams to the waist. The slightly flared skirt was broken above the knee by a narrow band of beading with long pieces of fringe at intervals below the beading. A scalloped band of narrow beading was attached just above the hem. The blouse was made poncho-style from the skin of a single animal. A slit was cut horizontally in the center, creating a high, straight neckline, which was brilliantly banded with beading extending across the shoulders to the elbow-length sleeves. Blouse and skirt were laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, hidden beneath an ornamental skin peplum hanging in deep points to mid-thigh. Geometric medallions were beaded across the peplum in a band, and medallions of varied size and color were sewed across the front and back of the blouse. Just below these brilliant designs and continuing across the blouse were clusters of round beads, from which hung long leather and beaded thongs. A wide butterfly sleeve was formed by the loose ends of the skin. Colorful beads were scattered along the edge of the deep fringe line which finished the sleeves. Additional skin bands hung from the front and back of the sleeves, the fringed ends extending below the long, heavy fringing of the sleeves.[81] 291 ●

The number-one wives of brave warriors wore an additional special decorative device, according to She Invites Her Relatives. A tongue-like appendage hung down from the neck, front and back. In the front it was fringed, while the back tongue, which was unedged, carried a painted symbol ⌋ in dark blue for each war honor of her husband. 291 554

The costume was completed by beautiful beaded moccasins. In winter highly ornamented leggings were worn to the knees, with only a knee-length buckskin dress above. In very cold weather the woman added a buffalo robe for warmth. The dress was comfortable 291

[81] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 342; museum specimens.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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A Comanche woman, the wife of Milky Way, in 1872
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 110]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Buffalo Hump
Courtesy National Archives

[Facing p. 174]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Horse Back (Kiyou)
Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[Facing p. 175]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 238]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker's children, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 239]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Ten Bears, in 1872

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 270]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Mumshukawa

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[facing p. 271]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man (Tenewerka), in 1933, one of the Comanches who stole the horses from the stone corral at Fort Sill in 1878

Photograph by E. A. Hoebel

[Facing p. 334]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Voice of the Sunrise (Tabananika), chief of the Yamparika

[Facing p. 335]

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Albert Atocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 360]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Hair Hanging Down, in 1930
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 351]

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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PLATE 1

Left—Toyo, 62 years old.

Right—Chief Millet, Kwahadi Band, 69 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Wilbur Pewo, 42 years old.

Right—Knox Tokawana, 48 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Mrs. Peecher, Kotsoteka Band, 55 years old.

Right—Petarsy, 49 years old.

[pp 320-end not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

ve 291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes 177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

9. Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

10. North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291

"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than [757]
the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archivo General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 239, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage
wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry
his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224]
he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath
his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she
has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be
the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor
creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the
camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must
go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has
to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, [462]
to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and
bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so
much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or
to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might
please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is
instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the
horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long
night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and
feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the
precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the
publication of it to these poor heathen do them
some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed
females, could they be brought to bear upon their
cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
177 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the
182 Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[592] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[715] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[776] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[715] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapid's maternal grandfather.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 797 177 593 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all 115 159 797 177 291 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photograph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt, starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapid's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 Her dosages of the various botanical[1] medicines follow the mystical number
801 four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions
[171] which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278 *ekapokowa:pi*
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137 "red berry cedar" *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present 391 376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 756 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on 576 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers, [195] [516]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, 177
however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and
the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected 756
by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her 159
role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner 177
in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to 554
react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over 492
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na*.

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO5
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[123] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

439 bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle
643 of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian
439 [142] crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching
[291] six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

643 His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either
[142] side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only
[302] an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

643 This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect
439 English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [158] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned 000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [657] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. [174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. 174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes 131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

142 302 291

ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily 131 southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the n. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Tex-
175 as. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
648 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government,
657 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally
161 settled on it. They were probably never a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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FIGURE 32. Pair of Comanche hard-soled moccasins. (USNM 1471.)

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FIGURE 33. Pair of soft-soled moccasins of Caddoan type. (USNM 1466.)

[p. 181]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 30 [237]

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. [237]

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 29

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 17

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 45 [237]

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and 171
Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of
more abbreviated form.[20] A

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large
buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in 237
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 412
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in 284
place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

N C 386 824

Their brown color is made from the inner bark, roots and nuts of the walnut and of other trees, much in the same manner as our farmer's wives now dye their wool for home-made jeans.

N C 283 386

After the dyeing is finished, the wool is dried in the shade, and when well dried, exposed to the sun for a few hours; the dyeing is then complete, and the wool ready for spinning, except sometimes, perhaps, not always, they oil the wool slightly, and diffuse the dampness through it by rubbing and rolling it in the hands. I do not know the precise object of this, but they say it works better. This does not impair the color, for washing restores them to their first brightness. It seems to be the peculiar quality of the *set* that gives the lasting brilliancy of the color. I have seen the Camanche blankets, after being used for months, and abused by being put under the saddle, saturated with sweat, rained upon, slept in upon the naked earth, and when carefully washed, present the colors again, as bright as newly dyed silk.

N C 283

The spinning is what you would call twisting the thread; this is done altogether by the fingers, and somewhat similar to the ancient distaff, though reversing the order of operation. The distaff was used to wrap the raw material upon, and the spool or quill was used not only to wind the thread upon, but as the spindle to twist it. The Camanches reverse this order, and use the raw material for the spindle, and the spool only to wind the thread upon. They use no distaff.

A CAMANCHE SPINNING.

C [291] ●

In spinning, a small portion of wool only is used at a time — a mess, say, of a quarter pound weight, and shaped like an egg, say four or five inches long, and two or three in diameter, is wrapped around with a string sufficiently tight to keep it together, but loose enough at the point to permit the wool to be drawn out for spinning the thread — a small stone, of an ounce or so in weight, is tied on the middle of a stick of about six inches in length

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

bered by the reader that I have now brought down this narrative to the month of May last, wherefore the object of the journey upon which the Indian chief, at this point, is ready to depart, and which I gathered, both from himself and various other sources, may be regarded in many quarters as exceedingly important.

His destination was a village three days' journey to the north. At this place a general convention had been called, to be composed of all the chiefs of all the different tribes inhabitating the country between the northern bounds of Mexico and the regions of perpetual snow. The object of the convention was to induce the Indian nations, hitherto at variance, to bury the hatchet as between themselves, smoke the peace pipe, and unite in a universal bond of brotherhood, for the purpose of preventing the whites from passing through their territories to the settlements on the Pacific Coast.

It was, as I then understood it, and now believe, to enter into an alliance with the view of waging an exterminating and implacable war upon every train of emigrants or other party moving towards California, Oregon, the Great Salt Lake, or other points in either of those directions. How it terminated, circumstances unanticipated but of a most exciting and stirring character forbid my knowing, yet, that the design was precisely such as I have mentioned is a fact, which I beg all those who contemplate making the overland route to bear seriously in mind.

The Rolling Thunder, before taking his departure, arrayed himself with extraordinary care. A dozen scalps were attached to his war shirt; silver trinkets representing the moon in all its phases were fastened on his breast; his feet were clad in new and cunningly embroidered moccasins, and on his head rested a crown of feathers plucked from

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

the crow, the kingfisher, the prairie hen, and the eagle, so 292
dyed by his ingenious wives as to reflect all the colors of the rainbow. Of all the horses that grazed the wide pastures round about his camp, he was mounted upon the most fleet and spirited—the weapons of war in which he was accoutred were a knife thrust through his belt, a hatchet suspended from the pommel of his saddle, and a Mexican rifle, rare among his tribe, upon the possession of which he prided himself exceedingly.

I bestrode the same old mule that had so often and so 000
far borne me on her back, with nothing hanging from my saddlebow but a huge buffalo horn wherewith to furnish my doughty master with cool draughts from the streams as we journeyed on the way. Saluting the Sleek Otter, who little thought it was the last nod she would ever receive from her long-haired spouse—for, not having seen a razor for three years, I was very far from being "the man all shaven and shorn, who married the maiden all forlorn"—we trotted away from the village, myself in advance, neither of us destined ever to return.

From early morning we traveled leisurely but steadily, 574
and at sunset entered a valley wherein resided a small tribe 439
whose chief was *Nis-ti-u-na,* the Wild Horse. The usual hospitalities were extended—or rather on this occasion they were unusual—inasmuch as a party had just returned from a meeting with the traders, bringing with them a quantity of mescal, a kind of whisky distilled from the fruit of a tree, commonly known in Mexico as the cabbage tree.

An Indian's dignity, whether chief or subject, never rises 574
to that elevated degree which prevents his getting drunk 273
every opportunity that offers, and consequently it followed, as a matter of course, that so distinguished a visitor as the Rolling Thunder, arrived at that peculiar juncture, could

291 up higher at the sides than for moccasins. Unlike moccasins, they were loose fitted so that cloth could be wrapped around the feet in extreme weather. Under the boots, the buckskin leggings were always worn as well. The soles and feet of the boots were greased to waterproof them, but not the legs.[21] All in all, it must have been a good winter foot covering. Poor people, according to She Invites Her Relatives, "got pretty cold." They had no boots and had to be content with ordinary moccasins and trade cloth wrapped about their legs.

Early plainsmen claimed that they were able to identify the tribe to which a party belonged from the moccasin tracks. To some extent this was true, for the heel fringes, the nature of the soles, and the toe forms left distinguishing marks. The one-piece moccasin was typical among the Northern Plains tribes. Instead of the buckskin heel fringes, the Cheyennes, for example, used two small tails of deer skin, a buffalo tail, or a strip from the beard of the buffalo which trailed behind. The short, stubby foot of the Comanche left a track that provided an additional means of identification.

Shirts worn by the men were made from the skins of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep. They were made by sewing two pieces together in such a way that the pattern conformed to the natural contour of the skins. The ornamented shirt was more or less a ceremonial [292] uniform of chiefs and important warriors. On the other hand, the shirt itself, stripped of its ornaments and accessories, seems to have been the precise pattern worn in daily routine in cold weather by the northern Indians. Clark Wissler believes that the shirt was not in early use among the Comanches and other southern Indians.[22] Neither Dodge, Marcy, Burnet, nor Neighbors mentions the shirt as being a part of Comanche attire, but "Dot" Babb and our informants definitely state that it was worn in cold weather prior to the reservation era.[23] The neck of the shirt was cut in a V-shape, and the shirt extended below the top of the leggings, measuring about two and one-half feet from the cut of the neck to the bottom. The garment was generally richly fringed around the collar and sleeves, the buckskin strings often extending twelve inches or more in length. It was also ornamented with beads, metal, and scalps of enemies.

[21] Informants: Holding Her Sunshade; She Invites Her Relatives.
[22] Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 47, 48.
[23] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

● 292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *ʈunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Big Looking Glass (Pianaronit), in 1894
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 111]

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

796 If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several in-
72 formants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even
exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration,
[535] called nā'wapinā`r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to
the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony origi-
nated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some
hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy
[216] that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general as-
semblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā`r, and pass
a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general
he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more
than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned war-
[533] rior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied
the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pre-
tended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he
finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drum-
mers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the
tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking
next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 During the entire period of the nā'wapinā`r it seems that the several
[796] dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the
bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the
[292] dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would
wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a consid-
erable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted
men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the
group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[621] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the
exclusive property of the Yápairē`ka band. The performers marched
through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed
with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with
tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the
procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded
some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance
began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others fol-
lowed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would
stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the
nā'wapinā`r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the
same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the 535
performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of
any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his 535
dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have 231
been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards 535
with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little [292]
Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and [534]
used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses [293]
also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action 726
had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare
for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled,
coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred
the ceremony called nîotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and
sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the [533]
opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned
by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the
master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position.
On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of [287]
the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath
to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified,
and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful 727
raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury.
Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode [287]
ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted
black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party
came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that
the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements 701
of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of
these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long [714]
spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of
eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated
with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (naíímeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any 224 police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinf said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by 302 themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would 301 flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a 534 sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck. [292]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapid's maternal grandfather.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased
829 to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to
292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would
302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore
301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the
292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and 442
boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and [493]
bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt.
I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade 562
like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At
least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't
have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away 292
for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the
men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a
ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I 595
had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the 578
workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the
older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal ar-
rangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—
the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I
never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mis-
treat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation
to either husband or child.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

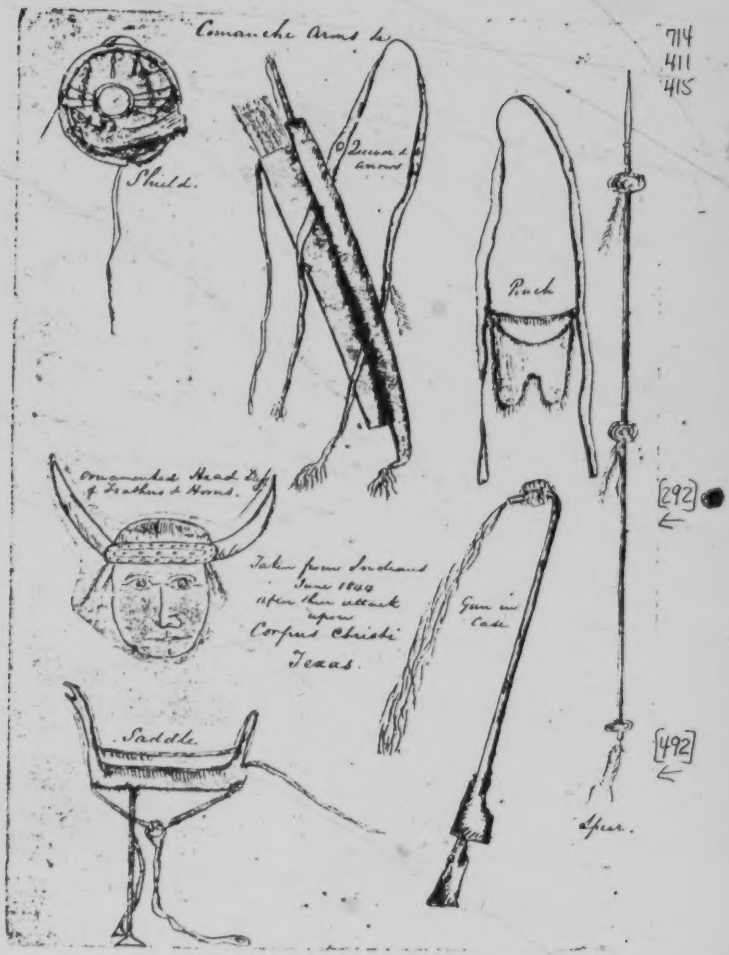

FIGURE 18. Weapons and equipment captured from a Comanche war party that raided Corpus Christi, Texas, in June 1844. Sketch by William Rollaert.

[p.169]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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FIGURE 29. Comanche feathered bonnet. (USNM 1475.)

[p. 177]

 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13] 415 171 531

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red. 415 415 531

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14] 531 439 431

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian. 292 [171]

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top [283] [531]

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. [113]

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. [284]

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapias watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their ancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dres was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, aranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 237 [237] 292 714 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 50-51

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 31, 127, 199.

16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.

17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. [171]

A [See p. 169—Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 181]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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PLATE 20. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 148a.) [p. 180-D]

415 [531] A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35) may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

415 531

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 [281] [237] A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 106 cm. long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

292 531 292 292 531

Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36–37

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

[p. 185]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 188]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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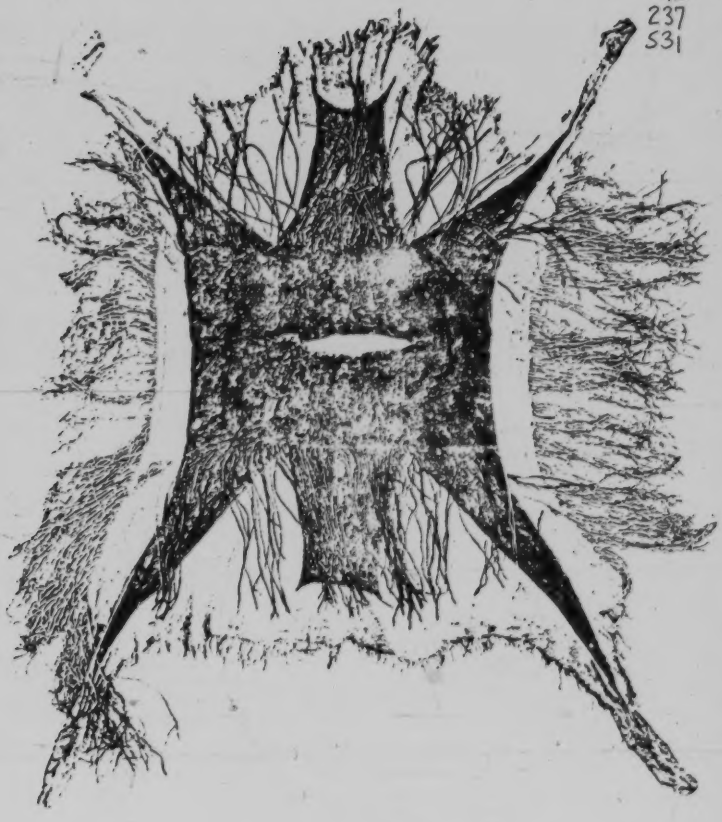

FIGURE 36. Comanche woman's upper garment, spread out, showing pattern of construction from a single deerskin. See also Plate 90 and Figure 37. (USNM 1480.)

[p. 186]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 20 for front view.

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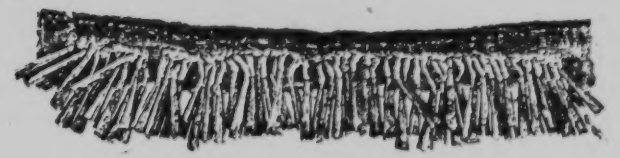

FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 1468.)

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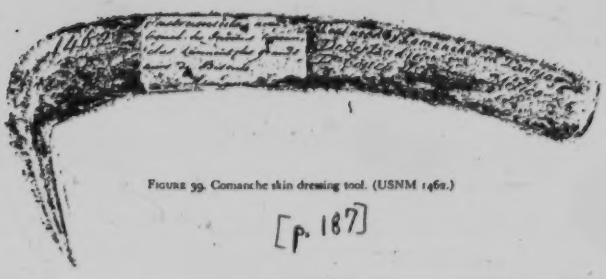

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 1462.)

[p. 187]

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and 171
Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of
more abbreviated form.[20]

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large 237
buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 412
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in 284
place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A (Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced
A for the Files—Analyst.)

The Comanches

174 According to their own accounts, they came around 1700 from the
Rocky Mountain country, north of the headwaters of the Arkansas
619 River, to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas. Previously they had inhabited the country with the Shoshones. Governor Anza in 1786 located them as ranging across present northern Colorado and south to the Arkansas River. The accounts indicate, however, that the Yap-eaters felt at home south of that stream also. During the nineteenth century they camped generally on the south side of the Arkansas River and along the Canadian, the Arkansas being considered the northern boundary of their territory. They raided, however, far north of that stream across Kansas and Nebraska.

Another populous band, although little known until towards the close of the pre-reservation period, is the Antelope or *Kwəharɛnə*. The name of the band is indicative of its life on the open plains where antelope were plentiful. And because they lived and traveled on the
● [293] glaring, treeless plains, these Comanches carried on their backs a square of rawhide that could be held over the head as a sunshade. Hence they were also nicknamed *Kwahihəkɛnə*, "Sunshades on Their Backs." William Clark called them Qua-he-hu-ke, which he said meant "back-shade," because in their treeless country the only way to shade the face was to turn one's back to the sun, but we doubt the correctness of this interpretation.[21] Before the Comanches migrated to the South Plains country, the Antelope band was located just south of the Yap-eaters. The two bands probably drifted south about the same time, and then the Antelopes made the *Llano Estacado* their home and challenged all intruders. Within the wild depths of the Tule and Palo Duro canyons they found protection from the winter blizzards of the uplands and safety from their enemies until Colonel MacKenzie bearded them in their stronghold on September 27, 1874. They harried the frontier of Texas as much, perhaps, as any other Comanche band, and they were the last of the Comanches to submit to the efforts of the United States to bring them under control. For years they scoffed at their beef-eating kinsmen on the reservation, and did not submit until they had been drubbed repeatedly by superior military forces. It has been argued that present-day Comanche

[21] W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 119.

294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and [386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such [428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

nearly so important to the Comanches as they were to some tribes 293
farther north.

The life of a Comanche warrior was rugged, but that did not keep 302
him from spending a great deal of time at his toilet. He was especially proud of his hair, and in the village he might be seen daily combing, greasing, and braiding it. Men parted their hair from the center of the forehead back to the crown, forming a braid on each side, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red along the part. The braids were tied or wrapped with beaver fur or any other available material that appealed to the wearer's fancy. Beaver fur was worn on dress occasions. Bright-colored pieces of cloth, with red the most commonly recurring color, is used at the present time by the older men. Pieces of silver, beads, tin, glass, and single feathers were attached to the side locks as decorations. Each man also wore a scalp lock braided from the hair at the top of his head, and in it he usually wore a single yellow or black feather. Brushes, made from the tails of porcupines, were used for grooming the hair. The most common form was made by stretching the porcupine tail over a stick of wood. Hair brushes were also made by pounding out the fibres of a large yucca stalk. These fibers were gathered up and bound together with a buckskin thong and singed so as to burn off the sharp edges. The men never shaved, but carefully plucked all hair from their face and eyebrows with a pair of tweezers made of bone, leaving the whole face as smooth as a baby's cheek. A piece of door spring was used incessantly by Post Oak Jim through all the long hours of interviews in 1933. Comanche vanity went so far that narcissistic bucks begged for the hair that women cut off in mourning so that they could splice it into their braids to make them look longer. She Invites Her Relatives tells of one *tuiβltsi* who was showing off at a dance. "He threw his side [522]
lock over his shoulder—and the attached end came off. Everybody hooted with laughter; he picked it up and went home."

Paint was an indispensable article of ornamentation for both sexes. Both men and women, when circumstances permitted, painted their faces before meeting strangers and for all special occasions. The Comanches always carried paint with them. Vermilion was much sought [386]
after, but when it could not be obtained from the white trader, paint was made from clays and from weed and berry juices. Black was the

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Big Looking Glass (Pianaronit), in 1894
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 111]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Captives were bound and placed in the center of the circle, possibly tied to the scalp pole. Frequently one of the dancers left his position and in pantomime killed and scalped the captive. Sometimes captives were tortured by the dancers, even to death. When the dance began, the singing was low and the dancers moved in a slow to moderate pace, but as it continued, the pace was accelerated and the singing grew louder. The dance continued from two hours to two or more days, but normally terminated before the light of day.[27]

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The contemporary Comanche Brush Dance still retains some of the features of the old Scalp Dance.

In 1933, at a Brush Dance put on by *Mʌmsɜkə*, the men and women danced back and forth in the old way before a tall pole on which Old Glory flew.

"That used to be a pole for scalps. At sunset we will bring down the flag," they said. "The man who brings down the flag has to be a good warrior. He has to tell about a coup first."

In each Comanche band there was a dance whip-holder. His whip was a wood blade with a serrated edge, and upon it were carved scalp symbols for the owner's victims. At the end of the whip were two short otter-skin lashes. In the old days there were one or two of these, owned by the bravest men in the band.

[293]

At any dance, the owner of the whip, which is called *pianɜ'ɜpai'i* (big whip), may stop the dance and recite a coup, ending his recital with a sun curse upon himself in testimony of its truth. He is a kind of master of ceremonies at the dance. He can dance up to any lounging spectator and point his whip. That person has to jump right in and dance—or be whipped.

Sometimes a warrior who could not dance for certain reasons wished to be excused; nevertheless, when the whip was pointed, he had to get up and dance. Then he could recite his strongest deed. The whip wielder next countered with his. If his deed was as good as the warrior's, the brave had to dance the rest of the time; if not,

[27] This account of the return of a successful party is compiled from statements by informants Yellowfish, Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old, and See How Deep the Water Is; also, Nystel, "Three Months among the Indians," *loc. cit.*, 38; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 359–60; Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 27–28.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man (Tenewerka), in 1933, one of the Comanches who stole the horses from the stone corral at Fort Sill in 1878

Photograph by E. A. Hoebel

[Facing p. 334]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Albert Atocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 350]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Hair Hanging Down, in 1930
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 351]

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place [534] in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791]
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he [793]
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [792]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 535 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nä'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nïotsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [297] 727 [297]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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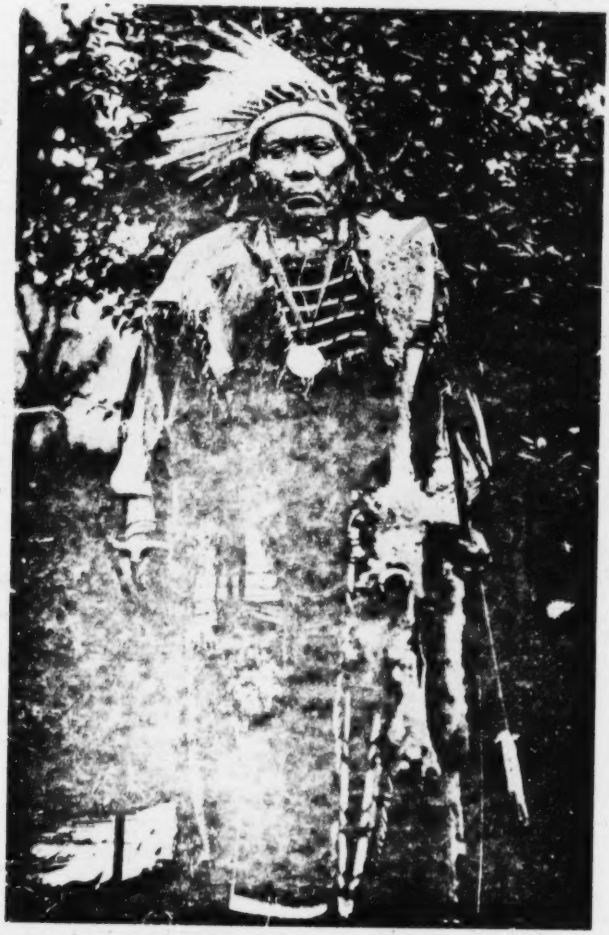

Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapia's maternal grandfather.

The Comanches

291 After the acquisition of bandannas, the man wore one around his neck. Instead of tying it in front, he used a button made from buffalo bone through which he pulled the ends of the handkerchief. The older men still wear bandannas in this manner.

294 There was a time when the art of sewing was unknown and when garments were tied together at the seams, but in modern times clothing was neatly sewed with sinew thread, which was very stout and durable. Such thread was made from the sinew lying along either side of the spine of the buffalo or deer. It was taken off in long pieces and dried, and strands of it were split off with the finger nails as needed. The strand of thread was then moistened in the mouth and rolled on the knee with the palm of the hand or between the palms, and one end of the thread pointed. With an awl a hole was made in the material, the fine point of the thread was passed through the hole, and the thread pulled through with the fingers.

294 413 Awls and needles were usually made of bone sharpened to a fine point. Steel substitutes were among the first articles traded by the whites to the Indians, but the methods of sewing remained practically unchanged so long as leather was used for clothing. Sewing implements were carried in a small case made of dressed buffalo cow or calfskin tied to the belt. Such cases usually opened at the top with a flap. The awl was also carried by the men as a part of their everyday outfit, since it was an essential tool in their work. The men carried it in a small leather pouch with a flap covering, attached to the wrist by a buckskin thong. Pouches were ornamented with variously colored beads in simple design and sometimes fringed with metal pendants.

291 294 The buffalo robe was a regular part of the wardrobe. Hides for robes were taken during the fall months of November and December. Some robes were prepared with the hair left on for use in extremely cold weather, while others were prepared with the hair removed for milder weather. Some specimens retained the holes around the edge through which pegs were driven in stretching the hide. Minor alterations in shape were made by cutting off the tail and legs and by tucking the ears through slits from the outer to the under side. The Comanche robe was usually made of two separate pieces sewed together down the center, because the buffalo was skinned by cutting

down the spine. A very narrow (one-quarter to one-half inch) line of red paint down the middle concealed the stitching. Ordinarily a man's robe had no other decoration. Robes ranged in size from about twenty by thirty-six to approximately seventy-five by one hundred inches. 291 294

The robe was one of the warmest and most protective coverings that could be devised against low temperature, for the buffalo in November and December was covered with a dark, seal-brown coat of wool intermixed with hair, which on some of the bulls measured from seventeen to twenty inches in length. Plainsmen and soldiers stationed at the frontier forts claimed that one buffalo robe was warmer than four ordinary blankets. Many overcoats were manufactured by the government from buffalo robes for army men exposed to severe weather during campaigns against the Indians. Lighter robes were also made of bear skin, for which two hides were required, gray wolf, calling for four skins, and coyote, for which eight skins were needed. Rarely, even skunk fur was used. And for babies and children rabbit-skin robes were provided.[24] 291

There seems to have been no difference in the robes of men and women except that those worn by the wives of great warriors and chiefs were painted.

The eight Comanche robes found by J. C. Ewers in American museums in the nineteen thirties all had the so-called "hour glass" figure in the center. This figure is nothing more than a highly stylized, geometric representation of a buffalo. A geometric border runs around the outside of the field in all the women's robes. In its distribution the Comanche "hour glass" and border design is definitely Southern Plains, for it is shared for the most part only by the Wichitas, Kiowas, Apaches, and Río Grande Pueblos (presumably Taos). The feathered sun symbol, popular on robes to the north, was not used at all by the Comanches. Robes worn by the wives of noted warriors often carried markers symbolizing the coup, or war honors, of their husbands.

The preparation of a Comanche painted robe was a serious undertaking. Usually three or four women worked together under the direction of a skilled and experienced leader. Before the painting was done, they took the gelatinous scrapings from the under side of the 294

[24] *Ibid.*

294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and [386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such [428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening
[657] and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have sup-
[251] plied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with
[342] the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs
[353] screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and
[251] shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutri-
[252] tion clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during
[251] the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food,
[294] made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

657 Schools for the education of the Indian children of the
871 Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: govern-
[874] ment boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has
[797] become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

[648] The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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[113] 29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
[113] 30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 226.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 567 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was [296] about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bot- [124] tom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 604 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw

516 [352] their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raid- 726
ing and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations.

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The 721
main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the 556
killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have 555
seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber).

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club 727
than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus 555
striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in [301]
the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields.

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately 128
pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 28. Adultery: Bone vs. Cómatsit
Informant: Visits Her Relatives (niece to Bone) 627x 684

"Bone and his younger brother were living together with Bone's wife. She was called Little. One day Little was out collecting sticks for the fire; it took her a long, long time, until Bone began to suspect things. He called on his little ten year old sister to go see what his wife was up to. The little girl went looking about. Finally she found the pile of wood near a tipi, so she went over and looked in. There she saw her grown-up sister-in-law lying in bed with a man.

" 'What are you doing there, auntie?' the little girl asked. 'My brother wants you to come home right away. You'd better hurry up.'

" 'Oh,' Little tried to reassure her. 'I just came in here for a smoke. You run along now.'

"The little sister did just that. She ran home as fast as she could to tell her brother she had seen his wife lying in bed in a certain tipi: how she had seen her there with Cómatsit (a Mexican name). Soon after, Little came home. 'Now we are going hunting,' announced Bone. 'Come, brother, we are going after game. We shall not stop to eat. You are coming, too,' he told his wife. Then they started out, but as soon as they were out of slight of the camp, Bone stopped the procession. He ripped the clothes from Little and violently threw her upon the ground. 'Now tell me,' he thundered, 'what were you doing in that tipi?'

" 'Oh, my husband,' Little wept, 'I did nothing there. Your little sister has told you an untruth. She does not know what she says.'

" 'We'll see,' muttered Bone. So saying, he placed his hands firmly on her throat. 'Now tell me,' he commanded. Then he choked her and choked her and choked her.

"At last she gasped, 'Yes, I did it.'

"Then he let go of her. With his freed hands he drew his knife and deftly cut off half her nose. 'Come, brother,' he said. So the brother picked up their wife's clothes, and away they went, leaving poor Little lying on the ground where they had mutilated her. When they got back to the camp, Bone sent his little sister out again. 'Go to our wife's grandmother and tell her to go get her.' So the old grandmother went and found Little and took her home.

"Next Bone and his brother went to Cómatsit to sue for damages because of the offense he had committed. They got most of that man's fine clothes and six horses from him besides."

Another case shows how the third degree instituted on purely circumstantial evidence brought a confession and led to a damage suit which was settled by the defendant giving up three horses. Carrying A Sunshade told how Yellow Bear found a red bead under his bed one time when they were getting ready to move camp. How did that bead get there? It was not his own! And it was of the kind worn only by men. So he called on his *haits*[1] to accompany him with his wife to a lonely spot. Once there they started to "question" her. She denied everything at first, but after they had put [301]

[1] [i.e., his formal friend — Analyst]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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His-oo-sán-chees (The Little Spaniard)
From a painting by Catlin
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 15]

The Comanches

302 Black was the
[822] war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly
301 used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar
[411] materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*. II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. ●[301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɔna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or ɔyɔ:*t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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A Comanche woman, the wife of Milky Way, in 1872
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 110]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Big Looking Glass (Pianaronit), in 1894
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 111]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Buffalo Hump
Courtesy National Archives

[Facing p. 174]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Horse Back (Kiyou)

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[Facing p. 175]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 238]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Quanah Parker's children, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 239]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Ten Bears, in 1872
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 270]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Mumshukawa

Bureau of American Ethnology photograph
Courtesy Denver Art Museum

[Facing p. 271]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man (Tenewerka), in 1933, one of the Comanches who stole the horses from the stone corral at Fort Sill in 1878

Photograph by E. A. Hoebel

[Facing p. 334]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Voice of the Sunrise (Tabananika), chief of the Yamparika

[Facing p. 335]

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Albert Atocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 350]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Hair Hanging Down, in 1930
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 351]

824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
● [301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (naíimeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any 224 police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 575 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinî said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [301] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a 534 sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck. [292]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapia's maternal grandfather.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased
829 to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to
292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would
302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore
301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the
292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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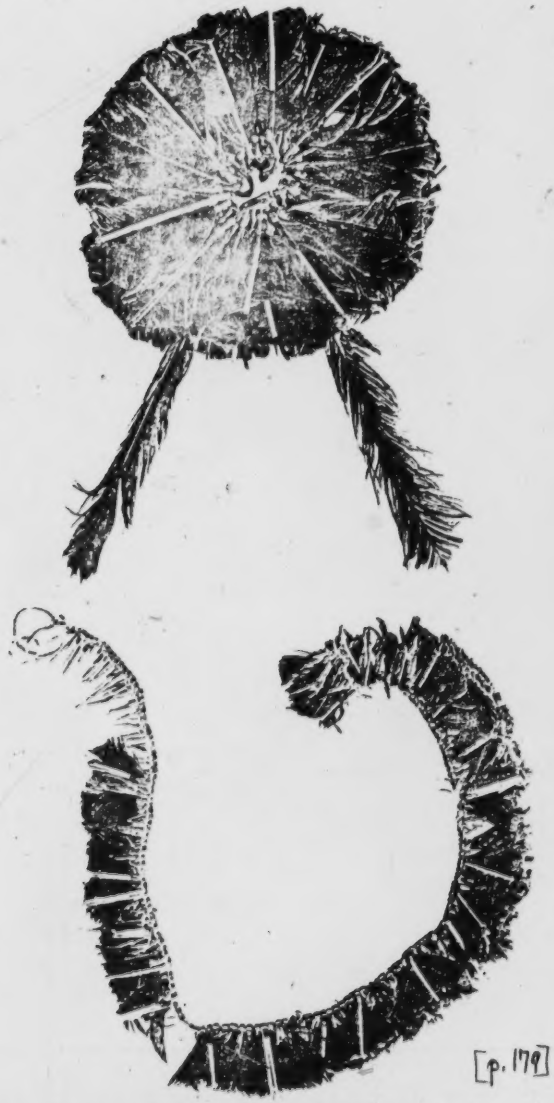

[p. 179]

FIGURES 30–31. Comanche feather ornaments. (USNM 1477 and 1478.)

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. [284]

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 [237] 292 714 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 30–31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82–83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. [171]

A [See p. 169—Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 184]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 301 [237]

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. [237]

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 291

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 23 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 171

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 415 [237]

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow*," keeping time to rude specimens of music hammered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

composed chiefly of a peculiar kind of clay—so that it would 727
be difficult for a stranger to distinguish me from one of their 302
own number. As I became more and more acquainted with those who inhabited the little village we had joined, I observed four girls, the youngest twelve, and the oldest, perhaps, eighteen, whose appearance attracted my attention. They had the copper-colored complexion, but not the high cheek bones and the course black hair and the peculiar expression of countenance that always distinguish the aborigines. On the other hand, they possessed the Anglo-Saxon face—their gait was different from that of the other women of the tribe—and what was the most extraordinary, they had fine light hair, inclined to auburn, and upon one of them it curled. They were a mystery to me, until one day I saw the women coming from the river where they had gone to bathe, and walking among them were these four, perfectly white. The paint had been washed from their faces in the water, revealing to me their race. I made assiduous inquiries of Big Wolf and others, and of themselves, but could obtain no satisfactory information. They knew no other than the language of the Comanches, and in all respects conformed to their manners and customs. It was, therefore, evident to me they had been captured in early childhood and remembered no other life than that they were then leading.

More or less of the tribe were almost constantly absent 721
on the war path. Sometimes they would sally forth of their own motion; at others, a number of them would join a party from a different village happening to pass that way. Even- 727
tually they returned, and the manner of their approach indicated whether they had been successful, or the reverse. On one occasion, during the summer, they brought in a captive, blindfolded as I had been, and had a rousing war-

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 302
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude. She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sorrowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrapping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation, they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode [576]
away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village, continually thinking of escape. This subject was never out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun, I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

584 posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new [302] moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily [291] embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, [551] the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space 476 of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws 585 generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter 593 made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

leggins and hunting shirt in shreds, torn in a thousand places by thorns and brambles. I still retained the deerskin band which bound my head and fastened on the forehead with a clasp, preventing the hair from falling over my eyes, but the little painted feathers with which the Sleek Otter had ambitiously adorned it, were long since blown to the winds of heaven.

My employments during the twelve days I halted in this solitary place were various. The most laborious portion of each day was spent in ascending one or the other of the adjacent peaks, and taking an observation of the surrounding region, in order to ascertain if an enemy was approaching. With much difficulty I cleared a small space in the center of the densest thicket, cutting out and pulling up the roots, whereon I erected a fireplace of stone, the object of taking so much pains being to kindle the fire where the thick shrubbery about it would, in a great measure, conceal the light. Here I went assiduously at work to provide for "a rainy day," in the matter of provisions, and to replenish my wardrobe. I shot four or five deer at different times, drying as much of the flesh as I deemed it convenient to carry, and manufacturing the skins into necessary articles of wearing apparel. The only tool I possessed was a knife, but with this managed to accomplish all I undertook. The moccasins were made of the hide while in its green state, applied to the foot with the hair inside, fastened with stout whangs of the same material inserted through holes made with the point of the knife and tied, and left in that condition to dry. I was familiar with the Indian mode of dressing buckskin with the brains of the deer itself, and had no difficulty in preparing new leggins and hunting coat. Perhaps the fit was not exactly admirable, nor the suit, taken as a whole, such as would be commended by a fashionable

The Comanches

142 are medium in stature. Goldstein reported an average height of five feet, six inches for Comanche men and five feet for women.[4] This [141] makes them slightly taller than their Ute and Shoshone relatives. The men are robust and well proportioned, but the idle and well-fed among them are inclined to be fat and paunchy. Their chests are wide and fairly deep, and they carry themselves erect and with unassuming [145] dignity. Possibly because of their hard life, the women age somewhat prematurely.

The skin color of the Comanche varies from light brown to a reddish brown or copper, depending to some degree on the amount of exposure to weather and sunlight. The females tend toward somewhat lighter pigmentation than do the males. Like that of any Indians, the hair of a Comanche is black and straight and medium in texture. Among the females there is a greater tendency toward coarse- [145] ness. It is a rare Comanche who has cause to worry over baldness or graying in old age. Such facial hair as a Comanche naturally grows is [302] sparse and light, but until recently even this feeble growth had little chance, for it was the style to pluck it out, roots and all—eyebrows included.

On their heavy bodies the average Comanches carry relatively [141] large, round heads with a cephalic index of eighty-three. This gives them a somewhat greater relative head breadth than neighboring Plains tribes and the Shoshones, too. The shift from the Shoshone norm may quite possibly be the result of extensive admixture with Mexican Indian captives. The forehead is broad, and the supraorbital ridges vary from slight among the females to moderate in the cases of males.

Eye color varies from medium brown to black like that of all Mongoloids. The eyes of the children are a much clearer, richer brown than those of adults. The sclera of adults is commonly bloodshot, and, contrary to popular notions about sharp-eyed Indians, the vision ap-

[4] Marcus S. Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XIX, (1934–35), 289–313. Goldstein's study is the best account of the physical appearance of the Comanches. It was made in 1931 and comprised thirty-five "unmixed" males, twenty-five "unmixed" females, and twenty-five hybrid individuals representing every surviving important band. The numerical figures and comparisons used in this description are taken from Goldstein's study. Otherwise, the description is based on field notes taken by Ernest Wallace in 1945.

nearly so important to the Comanches as they were to some tribes 293
farther north.

The life of a Comanche warrior was rugged, but that did not keep 302
him from spending a great deal of time at his toilet. He was especially proud of his hair, and in the village he might be seen daily combing, greasing, and braiding it. Men parted their hair from the center of the forehead back to the crown, forming a braid on each side, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red along the part. The braids were tied or wrapped with beaver fur or any other available material that appealed to the wearer's fancy. Beaver fur was worn on dress occasions. Bright-colored pieces of cloth, with red the most commonly recurring color, is used at the present time by the older men. Pieces of silver, beads, tin, glass, and single feathers were attached to the side locks as decorations. Each man also wore a scalp lock braided from the hair at the top of his head, and in it he usually wore a single yellow or black feather. Brushes, made from the tails of porcupines, were used for grooming the hair. The most common form was made by stretching the porcupine tail over a stick of wood. Hair brushes were also made by pounding out the fibres of a large yucca stalk. These fibers were gathered up and bound together with a buckskin thong and singed so as to burn off the sharp edges. The men never shaved, but carefully plucked all hair from their face and eyebrows with a pair of tweezers made of bone, leaving the whole face as smooth as a baby's cheek. A piece of door spring was used incessantly by Post Oak Jim through all the long hours of interviews in 1933. Comanche vanity went so far that narcissistic bucks begged for the hair that women cut off in mourning so that they could splice it into their braids to make them look longer. She Invites Her Relatives tells of one *tuiβltsi* who was showing off at a dance. "He threw his side [522]
lock over his shoulder—and the attached end came off. Everybody hooted with laughter; he picked it up and went home."

Paint was an indispensable article of ornamentation for both sexes. Both men and women, when circumstances permitted, painted their faces before meeting strangers and for all special occasions. The Comanches always carried paint with them. Vermilion was much sought [386]
after, but when it could not be obtained from the white trader, paint was made from clays and from weed and berry juices. Black was the

The Comanches

302 Black was the war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and [822] blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both 301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar [411] materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was en- 415 velope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or ɜyɔ:*t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *ʈunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Grayness. No gray hair was noted in any full- or probable /42 full-blood below 40 years of age. Among the males, the /45 youngest full-blood showing some gray hairs was 45, probable full-blood, 40; females, full-blood, 40, probable full-blood, 50. Almost 57 per cent of the individuals between 40 and 55, inclusive, had no gray hair at all; this condition is close to the 50 per cent among the Sioux.[12] Many subjects above 55, even at the ages of 70 and 80, showed but few gray hairs, although several cases did occur of approximately two-thirds of the hair gray, as well as one instance of a blind man with practically an entire head of yellowish-gray hair.

The pattern of graying among the Indians, to the writer's knowledge, has not been commented upon. Among whites, even negroes, as recently pointed out by Boas and N. Michelson ('32, p. 215), graying of the hair commonly begins and is most extensive at the temporal regions and around the lower occiput. The writer was struck by the rarity of this gray-hair pattern in the full- and probable full-blood Comanches. Almost invariably the graying in the latter was 'general,' i.e., a condition where more or less widely separated strands of hair, apparently originating around the forehead, had become iron- or yellowish-gray. On the other hand, several instances of compact, temporal graying were noted among the mixed bloods. The 'general' type of graying seemed a distinctly full-blood Indian characteristic.

Loss of hair. No full-blood under 60, and none under 50 among the probable full-bloods, had any loss of hair whatever. Several of the older men had slight to moderate loss over the forehead; three old women likewise showed a slight loss over the forehead.

Moustache and beard. No moustache or beard whatever /42 was noted in either full- or probable full-blood.

Eyebrows. The men often plucked out their eyebrows. [302] ● Where present, in male or female, the amount of hair in the brow was usually thin, never over medium. A trace of concurrency occurred in 39 per cent of individuals with eyebrows not plucked.

[12] Hrdlička, A. Loc. cit., 132.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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PLATE 1

Left—Toyo, 62 years old.

Right—Chief Millet, Kwahadi Band, 69 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Wilbur Pewo, 42 years old.

Right—Knox Tokawana, 48 years old.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Left—Mrs. Peecher, Kotsoteka Band, 55 years old.

Right—Petarsy, 49 years old.

[pp 320-end not processed]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824
fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 343
with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824
Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388
the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302] *nemeʔisas*) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824
ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281
and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824
tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412
be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824
the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɔna*, and *itse* or *ṭimɔyhɔ*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place [534] in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

● 302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

291 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes 177 produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

8. Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

9. Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

10. North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rẽ'kap ẽ'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 575 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinf said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolcg-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

21: Burnet 1 5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eyewitnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
237 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585 If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595 The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 159 797 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches, 115 159 797 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society. Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her 177 593 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

[illegible] 18]

142 159 115 302

Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that
159 been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When
797 he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he
177 said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just
593 laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday morn-
ings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo-
159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one
000 trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

142
302

Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapid's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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[142]
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[302]
[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number
801 four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions
[171] which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278 *ekapokowa:pi*
824
137 "red berry cedar" *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, 177
however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and
the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected 756
by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her 159
role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner 177
in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to 554
react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [412]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 829 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to 292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would 302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore 301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the 292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land

648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
423 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white

186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

439 bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle 643 of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian 439 crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than [141] anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching [291] six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

643 His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either [142] side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only [302] an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

643 This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect 439 English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [657] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains. [174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication. 174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes 131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

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ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily 131 southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the s. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Tex-
175 as. For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made their first treaty with the Government,
657 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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PLATE 20. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 1480.) [p. 180-D]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *təpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *təpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *təpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *təpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

The Comanches

302 Black was the
[822] war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

●304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both
301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar
[H11] materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets ●304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was en- 415 velope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

place was not readily accessible. In the elevated burial the body was extended at full length, hands to the sides, and placed on robes or blankets, which were then folded closely over it, and the bundle bound with ropes or thongs of rawhide passed many times about the whole. In a few cases war parties buried their dead comrades in a water hole. Buffalo bones or skulls, stones, or something of an identifying nature were sometimes used to mark the spot of burial.[27] 764

When an old person died, or one whose services were no longer useful, there was little mourning and that for only a short time. On the other hand, when a young man of established fame and prestige as a warrior and hunter was killed, the mourning was intense and prolonged. The name of the dead was not mentioned. To do so was a mark of disrespect, for it revived memories and made relatives and friends prolong their mourning. For a like reason, friends and relatives avoided passing in sight of the grave, and if the band ever came back to an old camping place where a relative had died, his kinsmen began mourning all over again, but "the second mourning was not so severe; the dead can't see them so well." Female relatives testified to their grief by wailing, moaning, and howling. They tore off or removed their customary apparel and wore rags or skin aprons only. They gashed themselves across the face, arms, legs, and breast with a knife, glass, or flint until they sometimes fainted from loss of blood, and then kept the wound raw and irritated for months. Often they cut off their hair, an ear, or a finger. The present explanations for such self-imposed torture is that the pain diverted their thoughts from their grief, but among the Shoshones and Comanches there was a time when women were killed on their husbands' graves, and self-torture may have been accepted as a satisfactory self-immolation. Black paint supplanted the customary red and yellow smeared upon their copper-colored faces. 765 [304]

Sometimes they built a fire and held a funeral dance by marching

[27] This description of Comanche burial is compiled from statements by a number of informants; also, Parker, *op. cit.*, 137; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 53, 132, 162, 170; H. C. Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," B. A. E. *First Annual Report*, 99–100; Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 42; Lee, *op. cit.*, 152; Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 56; Babb, *op. cit.*, 142, 144; Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*, 74; James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West*, 33.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

(ca. 1818)

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eyewitnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their 584
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 178 624 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

175 178 324 [789] 621 222 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 178 [897] 727 562 593 [304] The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

175 178 771 [776] 715 775 795 578 721 796 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 171 [621] 575 796 291 [342] The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 [224] By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

191 after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

763 158 My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been [304] in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left [147] hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory con- [165] tent in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

[147] Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

000 I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA 101
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal Trust Area 657 161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 199 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 58, 18.

excellent protection from the winter blizzards that frequently sweep across the open plains, and horses could always forage on cottonwood bark. 133

Growing in the sandy soil along the larger streams were extensive thickets of plum bushes and grapevines; and in much of the eastern portion, pecans, walnuts, haws, and persimmons contributed to the food supply of the Comanches. The mesquite, the tree most commonly found, provided wood for fires and its beans were valuable food for both people and horses. The rocky hills and sides of canyons were covered with scrubby cedar. Other trees found here and there were the ash, elm, redbud, oak, willow, bois d'arc, hackberry, chinaberry, cottonwood, and chaparral. 137 [313]

During the hot, dry summers, the area appeared to be a desert, but shortly after a spring or summer rain, its wide expanse became a sea of nutritious grass. Its warm, salubrious climate, the abundance of edible plant products, and the millions of wild animals which provided food, clothing, and shelter made the area a paradise for nomads who lived by hunting. The Comanche was well off and rarely haunted by the spectre of starvation. 511

To the west were the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of New Mexico, within striking distance of a Comanche raiding party, or near enough for trade, but sufficiently removed to leave the raider safe from any punitive force that might attempt to pursue him through the adjacent mountainous terrain and across the wide, level expanse of the intervening *Llano Estacado*. The watering places and landmarks were so few as to make any expedition into the region extremely hazardous except for those thoroughly acquainted with the routes. 133

To the south lay a great expanse of wild waste in the Big Bend country; through this ran a network of Indian trails, by way of water holes, from the central homeland of the Comanches into northern Mexico. Beyond the Río Grande the settlements of northern Mexico were isolated and poorly defended. Striking across this wasteland, the Comanches raided settlements far south of the river, returning with many captives and thousands of horses. The great desert expanse prevented pursuit by forces sufficiently formidable either to punish the marauders or to recapture the plunder, and the Comanches prospered as plunderers.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [348]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 348
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor
262 alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible
317 supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[c.a. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the *Taboayazes* [*Tacvayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Comatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

At Work and Play

The modern bows were approximately three feet in length, most of them made of wood, although there were a few sinew-backed or compound ones made of buffalo, elk, or mountain-sheep horn. The latter were highly finished and required more time to make. They were worth from six to twenty ponies each.[6] 411 321 [435]

Not all men made bows in the same way, each workman following the method he thought best. The Comanche country stretched over a wide area, and the best bow materials found in one section might not be available in another. Methods varied with time also. Yet, in general, the process was much the same from the Pecos to the Arkansas and from the Cross Timbers to New Mexico. In making the horn or compound bow, the horns were first thrown into warm water and allowed to remain until they became flexible. They were then straightened and strips of suitable width were cut or sawed. After the strips were filed, shaved, scraped, or rubbed down until the flat sides fitted nicely, the desired length was obtained by overlapping and gluing the ends of from two to four slices. Another piece of horn was then laid on the center at the grasp, where it was glued fast. The whole was then filed or scraped down until it was well proportioned. All the joints were firmly bound with sinew to give resiliency to the bow. Several weeks were required for a skilled workman to make a good, ornamented bow of this type.

Bows were sometimes, though rarely, made of a single piece of horn. A long piece, as nearly straight as possible, was whittled, scraped, and rubbed until it was quite thin. After being made pliable by heating, greasing, and working, it was lashed to a straight stick and left until dry and straight. It was then firmly wrapped with sinew, which was secured in place with glue. Bows of buffalo ribs were sometimes made by the same process. Such bows, however, were of little practical use.

The wooden bow was the common bow of the Comanches. It was made principally from the Osage orange, or bois d'arc. Some Indian tribes called the tree "smooth bow"; the Omahas referred to it as yellowwood, but the French gave it the name *bois d'arc,* by which it is best known. It was plentiful along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and in the eastern fringe of the Comanche country southward 322 411

[6] Garretson, *op. cit.,* 178.

for use during winter and spring. Other bags contained ornaments, 352
wooden bowls, dishes, small horn spoons, extra clothing, personal belongings, and any odds and ends. In fact, the contents of a parfleche were a perpetual surprise. It might contain anything from a tooth to a gold coin.

No tipi furnishings were complete without a supply of utensils 415
or receptacles. They, too, were adapted to the environment and the mobile habits of the owner. No pottery was made or used, simply because it could not be conveniently handled and because more practical materials were at hand. Receptacles for carrying water during travel where water holes were far apart, as was usually the case in Comanche country, needed to be light and to pack well. The paunch of the buffalo met both requirements; therefore, before the introduction of the kettle it served well. A green paunch was hung from a limb or pole and hot stones held inside until the water boiled. Water vessels were also made from "cased" deer skins, that is, skins removed whole. The legs and necks were tied tightly with sinews. Buckets or cups could be made by tying one end of the skin of a leg and fitting a small rod around the inside of the other end. Drinking cups were made from buffalo horns and terrapin shells. A few wooden [322]
spoons and bowls were used. They were worked into shape by burning, scraping, and polishing. The Comanches, however, were little interested in this type of receptacle since it was more of a burden than an advantage in their way of life. Consequently, the workmanship was primitive. A very few crude baskets, knives of stone and [285]
bone (of metal after contact with the whites), mauls, a digging stick or two, and a few bone needles completed the tipi furnishings.

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[6] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 178.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

322 411 [824] into Texas. Bois d'arc is commonly recognized as one of the hardest, finest, and most durable of timbers. If it was not accessible, ash, white elm, ironwood, mulberry, or hickory were used, hickory being a highly esteemed bow wood.

When selecting bow wood, the Comanche chose a small upright sapling or a piece of timber with perfectly straight grain from a large tree. The heart of the tree was never used. The timber had to be straight and as free as possible from knots. It had to be seasoned or dried and not allowed to warp in the process. It was generally worked down to approximately the desired size while still green, since green wood worked more easily. Then followed the seasoning process, requiring weeks or months for completion. With fair use a properly made bow would last for many years, but since it might be accidentally broken at any time, timber in various stages of preparation was kept on hand. After the bow wood had seasoned, it was scraped and shaped to proper dimensions and rubbed with fat or brains to make it pliable. Then the stick was put aside, preferably in a warm place, to be worked again in a few days or weeks.[7] When worked to the proper finish, it was rubbed until it acquired a polish. Glue was spread over the bow, and fresh or wet sinew from the back of a buffalo bull or deer was applied. After the sinew had been wrapped, another coat of glue was applied and smoothed down by thorough rubbing. The bow was then laid aside until perfectly dry. In drying, the fresh sinew would shrink tightly to the wood and, with the glue, made the whole very strong and tough. A common wooden bow could be made in three days, but a week to a month was usually required to finish a fancy one.

411 381 Glue for bows and arrows was made from chippings from the rawhide of the neck of a buffalo bull, from the shavings cut from a buffalo bull hide in the process of thinning it down, or from horns and hoofs. These were boiled with water to make a strong glue. It was lobbed upon a smoothly whittled stick of mulberry or other wood and allowed to cool. The glue stick was carried in the bow case with the arrows for ready and frequent use. By softening in hot water it was ready as an instant mender for almost anything.

[7] This method is still used in East Texas for making handles for hammers, axes, shovels, and the like.

The Comanches

411 how to make arrows" is the opinion of Post Oak Jim. "Comanches and Wichitas make good ones."

411 322 Wood for the arrow shafts was selected and handled with the same care and patience as for the bow. Any hard, tough, straight-grained wood was used. Young shoots of the dogwood were preferred because of their straightness and freedom from knots. The second choice, but not nearly so good as dogwood, was mature ash. The young ash sapling was too pithy and soft. When neither of these was available, wild cherry, hackberry, or mulberry was used, although the hackberry required much straightening. Shafts were cut the desired length and roughly shaped, then tied in a bunch and hung near the fire place or in a dry spot to season.

When the arrow shafts had seasoned, a process which required ten days to two weeks if they were kept near a fire but much longer otherwise, they were examined by the arrow-maker for crooked places. Shafts not perfectly straight were made so. Crooked spots were greased and warmed so that the grease would penetrate readily, then quickly straightened with the hands or an implement devised for that purpose. The arrow straightener was made by drilling a hole slightly larger than that of the shaft in a buffalo bone or horn. The arrow was passed back and forth through the hole and bent until perfectly straight. Some men placed their arrows between their teeth to bend them into shape. Next, the shaft was scraped to proper size and taper, and made perfectly round. This was sometimes done by means of two grooved sandstone slabs with flat meeting faces. The arrow was placed in one groove, the other groove fitted over it. Then, holding the two stones together with one hand, the worker pulled the shaft back and forth. Most of the better arrows were grooved from the end of the feathers to the head of the arrow point. The Lipans had four straight grooves, but the Comanches usually made two straight black grooves on one side and two red spiral ones on the other. These grooves were cut with bone containing a circular hole into which extended a little projection from the margin of the hole, or with a flint with a semicircular notch and a projection. The shaft was then polished by rubbing and sometimes decorated with paintings or markings.[10]

[10] This description of Comanche arrow-making is compiled from statements by

At Work and Play

There has been much speculation about the meaning of the grooves. The most popular theory is that they permitted the blood of the victim to escape so as to weaken him. Another explanation is that the grooves symbolized lightning, which the Indians believed would make the arrows more surely fatal. It seems more probable that they were to prevent the shaft from warping. 411

The flight and accuracy of an arrow depended to a great extent upon the feathers. If the feathers were good and properly arranged, the arrow carried well. Those of the wild turkey seem to have been the most popular, but, when they were not obtainable, owl or buzzard feathers were used. Neither was affected by blood. Feathers of hawks and eagles were not desirable, since they were injured when wet with blood. Each arrow-maker had his own technique of winging the arrows. When the Cheyennes first began to wing their arrows, they used two feathers, but later changed to three. Some tribes used four. The Comanches used both the two- and three-feather winging technique. Some of the best-informed Comanches regard the two-feathered arrow as unsatisfactory, since it will not follow a straight line to the target. The feathers were taken from the wings, the stems split, the tip of the split stems dipped in glue, and the feathers bound in the grooves on either side of the shaft with a thread of sinew.[11] 411 237 411

In the distal end of the arrow shaft a notch was cut, or a cleft made, in which the arrowhead was set. Colonel Dodge believed that the Comanches placed the blade of the hunting arrow in the same plane with the notch for the string so that it would be more likely to pass between the ribs of the animal, which are up and down. For the same reason, the blade of the war arrow was at right angles to the notch, since the ribs of the human enemy were horizontal.[12] The head

informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *loc. cit.*, 141–42; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 179; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 349; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 178–81; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94. [322]

[11] Informant: Kills Something; also, Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 418–19.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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of flour or other supplies while the man came out unencumbered. 462
Moreover, in the way of home industry there was indeed little for the men to do. The Comanches did not work at such specifically masculine crafts as metallurgy and wood-carving. Pottery, basketry, and 323 285 286 weaving were unknown.

It was the woman's business to prepare the food, clothing, and shelter, and to care for the children. She made the household articles and bags, brought the wood and water, attended to packing and unpacking on moving day, and helped with making the horse equipage. She followed closely behind the hunter with pack animal and knife, skinned the animals, packed the hides to camp, and by slow, tedious processes converted them into clothing, tipi covering, bags, and other articles.

Hides were prepared differently according to whether they were 281
to be worked into leather or made into rawhide bags. Some skins were tanned on one side only, others on both. The process was not identical for buffalo and deer skins, leather might or might not be smoked, and there were variations due to individual technique in workmanship. White influence affected the implements and technique, so that full details concerning the historic process can no longer be recovered. The essentials of tanning, however, are clear enough. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked on the hair side with a mixture of wood ashes and water, which produces lye. Lime, which was obtained from burned rock, was sometimes used in place of ashes. After the hide was sufficiently soaked, the hair side was scraped against the grain. Some women chose to shave off the hair without previously soaking the hide.

There were various kinds of scrapers. A scraper might be an oval, flat flake of flint chipped down so as to have a rather sharp and even edge all around, and it varied in size, some scrapers being large enough to use in both hands. Buffalo bones were often employed, and after the appearance of the white man, metal scrapers became common. Whether or not the hair was removed, a long and tedious process was required to tan the hide. The essential operations were the preparation of the hide, the application of the tanning mixture, and the subsequent working of the hide to make it soft and pliable.

The green hide, according to the whim of the individual worker,

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'*mɔɹɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white 324 soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the [462] hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

The Comanches

411 was held in place with glue and firmly wrapped with wet sinew, which in turn was glued and rubbed to a smooth finish.

411 The Comanches relied almost entirely on metal for arrow points
325 after they came in contact with the whites. Barrel hoops, bindings for boxes, even frying pans and similar pieces of metal furnished excellent material. The piece of metal was sharpened on one end and on both sides. After the point was sharpened, it was hardened by heating it in a fire and then dropping it while red hot into cold water. The Mexican traders not only supplied iron for the points but files with which to fashion and sharpen the arrowheads. Metal arrowheads became an important item of trade among most American Indian tribes.

> Hundreds of thousands were manufactured yearly by eastern traders to be exchanged for furs. They were put in packages of one dozen each, cost the trader six cents a package and were the means for obtaining enormous profits. Usually one package was exchanged for a buffalo robe.[13]

There were two general types of metal arrowheads, one for game and one for war. The game point had no barb and was easily extracted, while the war point was barbed and loosely attached to the shaft. Some war points had but one barb, which, when shot into a body and the shaft pulled, caught in the flesh, and the point turned crosswise in the wound, making it impossible to extract it without tearing or cutting.

411 Before the acquisition of metal, arrows were made of stone, bone,
324 or horn. Flint appears to have been the most popular, and some preferred it even after the introduction of metal. It has been claimed that wounds made by flint arrow points were more likely to be fatal than those of metal. The Comanches apparently did little grinding or polishing of flint. Indeed, the nature of much of the flint of the Comanche country rendered such treatment unnecessary. Lehmann has left an account of one method of making stone arrowheads, but whether it was Apache or Comanche is uncertain, the implication being that the method was common among both tribes.

[13] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 180.

At Work and Play

We threw a large flint stone, from two to six feet in circumference, into the fire. After the stone became very hot, small thin pieces would pop off; we selected those pieces which would require the least work to put into shape, and picked these pieces up with a stick split at the end; while these pieces were very hot, we dropped cold water on those places we wished to thin down; the cold water caused the spot touched to chip off, and in this way we made some of the keenest pointed and sharpest arrows that could be fashioned out of stone.[14] 411 324

All efforts of archaeologists to determine a Comanche-type flint arrow point have been in vain. In this connection Professor Mildred Pickle Mayhall says, "There are several mentions of distinctive points and shafts for different tribes but just what those differences were we do not exactly know. Poisoned arrows may have belonged to all the Texas tribes but there is little definite information about this save in reference to the Comanches."[15] The Comanches did poison their arrow points occasionally for use in war, by making an extract from a plant not known to our informants or by sticking them in a dead skunk. [278]

The bow and arrow was exceptionally accurate up to fifty yards or more. The Comanche arrow shot from a good bow could wing a true flight for three hundred yards. It has been maintained on good authority that at a distance of from ten to fifteen yards, an arrow (twenty to thirty inches in length) could be driven completely through the carcass of a buffalo, providing it struck no bone, that an object the size of a doorknob could be hit by an expert marksman an average of four out of five shots, and that an expert Comanche hunter could kill twice the number of buffalo with bow and arrow as an American with a pistol.[16] 411

The superiority of bow and arrow over the old-type musket was recognized by the Comanches. When muskets first became known to them, they were all eager to obtain them. But when the novelty

[14] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 93–94.

[15] Mildred P. Mayhall, "The Indians of Texas: the Atakapa, the Karankawa, the Tonkawa" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas Library), 608–609.

[16] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–63, 233; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 296; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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[13] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 180.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

It was the middle of the afternoon before I could saddle my horse 000
and leave for the Martny camp. Jim's family allotments, about six 351
miles down Cache Creek, were the last individual Indian land. When the creek left his land it entered the Big Pasture Reserve, the ranch country. His allotments adjoined the reserve on both their south and east sides. There were two roads into Jim's camp, and both dead-ended. One, the road I used to reach the camp, came from the west and north; the other ran north from the camp to a gate into the reserve. The latter road was the one Jim used when going directly to Lawton or to the subagency at Fort Sill. A concept of the camp's isolation will help the reader to have a clearer understanding of subsequent events. As I have said, the evidence is mostly circumstantial.

I found Albert conscious, lying on his platform bed under the family's large brush arbor. As I remember it, their arbor was the largest family arbor I saw during the time I was in the Comanche 34
country, probably thirty by thirty-six feet. It had a clearance of a full six feet at the edge or eaves and probably eight feet at the center. It was large enough for platform beds for all, besides a sizable living space. I saw larger arbors constructed for camp meetings, but not for family use.

Albert's mother left us boys to our talk, and I took over the job 758
of switching the flies away with a leafy twig. Of course Albert knew nothing of the happenings, after the first few jumps made by the excited horse, until he regained consciousness, completely trussed up in splints. Beyond question, he was the worst broken-up human, to be 758
living. I ever saw. 164

His right arm and leg, splinted, were lying in troughs made from pieces of wood from goods boxes. At that time all canned goods and food sold in cartons, like oatmeal and crackers, were shipped in wooden boxes. I imagine the Martny wives had saved the pieces to start the campfire.

The breaks in this arm and leg were compound fractures. That is 164
to say, one or both bones from each break protruded from the flesh. The breaks in the left arm and leg, which were simple fractures, were held in place with splints from the same material, but were not in troughs. The splints were wrapped and padded with faded calico rags.

Here and there on the limbs and along the side of the body pieces of flesh were gouged out where the horse had stepped on the flesh. His racing shoes must have been new, for they made clean cuts.

361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of [554] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

● 342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard, [354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

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Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

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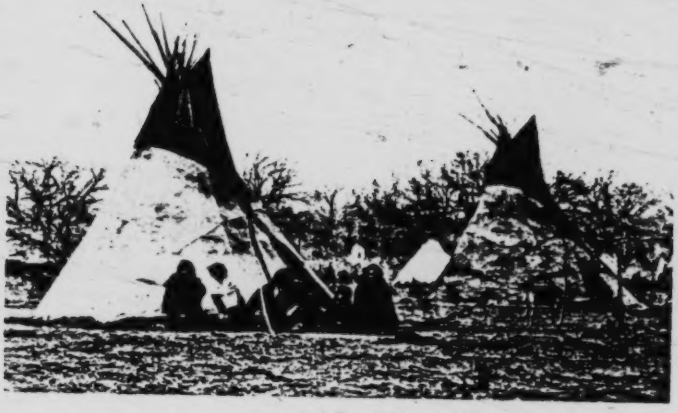

A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 78]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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A dugout in the Comanche country in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology.

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291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *naʼsakɜna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

The poles were long, straight, and slender, usually of pine or cedar, peeled, seasoned, and pared down to a suitable diameter. They were sometimes pointed at the butt to prevent slipping on the ground. They varied in length from ten to twenty feet, depending on the size tipi desired. Robert G. Carter observed that hundreds of Antelope band poles were of cedar, approximately fourteen feet in length.[32] 342 [824]

Like the Blackfeet, Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Hidastas, Omahas, and others, the Comanches used four poles as a foundation. Many tribes, including the Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Arapahos, Pawnees, and Kiowas, on the other hand, used a three-pole foundation. The projecting tops of the poles of a tipi erected on a three-pole foundation have a spiral appearance, while the four-pole base tends to group them on the sides. It seems evident from the fact that the Comanches used a four-pole foundation like the Shoshones, Utes, and other northern tribes, instead of the three-pole foundation of the Kiowas, Pawnees, and other southern neighbors, that they first adopted the tipi while still in their northern environment. [71]

In erecting the tipi, the four poles were first tied together near the top and set upright. The butt ends of the poles were then pulled out and evenly spaced in a circle. Against this foundation were stacked the remaining poles, all tied together near the top with thongs of buffalo hide. They were set diagonally into the ground, as deep as two or more feet for a permanent dwelling, and three to four feet apart in a circle. Greater security was sometimes obtained by means of short stakes set at an angle across the lodge poles a few inches above the ground. A tipi thus set would withstand most of the strong winds that swept frequently across the High Plains.

The poles served as rafters. Buffalo hides, carefully fitted and firmly sewed together with sinew, were hoisted with a single pole from inside the framework. Women standing on each other's shoulders fastened the covering at the top. The covering was pinned up the front with wooden skewers the size of a lead pencil. From ten to seventeen buffalo hides were required to make a covering for the usual lodge, and rarely was a tipi larger than twenty skins, even if as many as twenty people were sheltered within. This number compares with an estimated average of fourteen and a maximum of

[32] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 197; Lee, *op. cit.*, 128.

342 eighteen to twenty for the Crow tipi.[33] For the purpose of lodge-making, the hides of old buffalo cows, just shedding the winter coat in April or May, were preferred. These hides were supposed to be the easiest to tan, possibly, it is said, because the old cows were then thin in flesh and their hides thicker and hence more easily worked. The average tipi was twelve to fifteen feet in diameter across the floor. The height from the center of the floor to the peak was approximately the same as the diameter of the floor.

The tipi was tilted slightly backwards. The smoke-hole near the top, above the entrance, was made by folding the skins back or attaching flaps in such a way as to give the appearance of the lapels on a man's coat. Each flap was adjusted by means of an attached outside pole. By moving one or both of the poles, the prevailing wind could be shut out, and at most times a draft of air could be created to carry off the smoke from the fire directly beneath. Thus the smoke-
[354] hole and flaps served somewhat like a chimney.

The door, which always faced the rising sun, was simply an opening three or four feet high, covered by an extra pelt, tanned stiff. It was fastened either on the windward side or at the top, with a weight attached to the bottom. Either method provided a self-closing door.

The covering was staked down, but in warm weather it was not completely drawn to the ground, an air space of several inches being left all around. This space, together with the opening at the top, provided perfect ventilation. In cold weather the covering could be drawn completely to the ground. To keep the continual draft blowing in all around the bottom of the tent from striking those inside, a buffalo skin lining, in later times called a "dew cloth," was fastened to the lodge poles from four to six feet above the ground. The lining hung down inside the poles and was tucked under the edge of the bed. Consequently the air coming in under the outer covering was deflected upward by the lining and never struck the occupants directly. The lining also prevented rain entering the smoke-hole from falling on the bed and provided insulation against the penetrating summer heat. A very small fire was all that was necessary to provide warmth even in extremely cold weather. A narrow ditch around the outside kept the floor dry.

[33] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, 87.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used. 342 [252]

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist. [531]

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[84] [354]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick- 372

[84] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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●342

Quanah Parker and one of his wives, in 1892
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 238]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,800; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1942); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 58, 14.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 220.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[Co. 1818]

157 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its con-
175 temptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental noth-
ingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the
young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an
amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could
transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of
our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would
eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profes-
sion. The squaws from the infancy are too completely
servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments
175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and
142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse
as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them-
175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will
186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that
controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance
and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist
224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend
into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage,
136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the dep-
redations of their numerous biped enemies) to their north-
ern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buf-
faloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co-
000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In
the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision
of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be
compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly
in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alter-
[461] natives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their
native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would
probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other
tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad-
vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are
342 formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency,
[237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone,
having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which
purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construc- [415]
tion, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal [251]
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times [571]
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride,
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 175
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 261
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting
the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
621 istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
562 war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[592] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
715 Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[776] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[715] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
578 Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
796 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound-meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[241] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen 657
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- 595
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the 343
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he 464
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value. 643 609 [342] [177] [427]

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles. 643 351

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded. 133 [137]

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache. 000

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert. [133]

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges. 133

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

643 595 177 342

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
552 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for
177 word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824
fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 343 with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824
Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388
the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302]
nemeʎisas) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824
ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281
and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824
tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412
be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824
the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɔna*, and *itse* or *ṭimɔyhɔ*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen 657
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- 595
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the 343
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians 492
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 464
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

enemies. Young men strove for war and honor; old men for peace 887
and tranquility. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it 888
better to be killed in action than to adjust themselves to the status ascribed for old age and to eventual death on the sick bed. When waning physical powers forced them to assume a new role, many did so grudgingly, and those who were able to keep strong medicine attempted to hold the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their career, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The old men could and did kill young men by malevolent magic. "It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old."[25]

Old men who were no longer able to go on the warpath had a 887
special tipi, called the Smoke Lodge, wherein they gathered at the [345]
end of the day to smoke and talk. No boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members, and apparently no invitations were sent to prospective members. When one became old enough to be interested primarily in the past, he merely started going to the meetings. The men were free to come and go as they liked. If the camp was not permanently located, the men merely gathered at a convenient place and sat in a circle smoking and talking like a bunch of old gaffers about the cracker barrel. In permanent camps they had a lodge.

Each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of the leader. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, no word could be uttered. Absolute silence prevailed. The leader sat opposite the door. The firetender, a captive, sat next to the door, to the right as one entered. The leader lighted the pipe, and then offered invocation. He held the pipe up and prayed to the sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground as an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of the process the silence was broken, it was necessary to start anew. When the pipe was prepared, the firetender crossed directly to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the men could

[25] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 118-21.

The Comanches

x648 795 threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

[181 771]

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

346 x648 795 The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

x648 795 The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—*i.e.*, "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [631]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 [534] After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 [293] While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value. 643 609 [342] [177] [427]

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles. 643 351

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded. 133 [137]

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache. 000

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert. [133]

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges. 133

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

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It was the middle of the afternoon before I could saddle my horse 000
and leave for the Martny camp. Jim's family allotments, about six 351
miles down Cache Creek, were the last individual Indian land. When
the creek left his land it entered the Big Pasture Reserve, the ranch
country. His allotments adjoined the reserve on both their south and
east sides. There were two roads into Jim's camp, and both dead-
ended. One, the road I used to reach the camp, came from the west
and north; the other ran north from the camp to a gate into the
reserve. The latter road was the one Jim used when going directly to
Lawton or to the subagency at Fort Sill. A concept of the camp's
isolation will help the reader to have a clearer understanding of sub-
sequent events. As I have said, the evidence is mostly circumstantial.

I found Albert conscious, lying on his platform bed under the
family's large brush arbor. As I remember it, their arbor was the
largest family arbor I saw during the time I was in the Comanche 34
country, probably thirty by thirty-six feet. It had a clearance of a full
six feet at the edge or eaves and probably eight feet at the center. It
was large enough for platform beds for all, besides a sizable living
space. I saw larger arbors constructed for camp meetings, but not for
family use.

Albert's mother left us boys to our talk, and I took over the job 758
of switching the flies away with a leafy twig. Of course Albert knew
nothing of the happenings, after the first few jumps made by the
excited horse, until he regained consciousness, completely trussed up
in splints. Beyond question, he was the worst broken-up human, to be 758
living. I ever saw. 164

His right arm and leg, splinted, were lying in troughs made from
pieces of wood from goods boxes. At that time all canned goods and
food sold in cartons, like oatmeal and crackers, were shipped in
wooden boxes. I imagine the Martny wives had saved the pieces to
start the campfire.

The breaks in this arm and leg were compound fractures. That is 164
to say, one or both bones from each break protruded from the flesh.
The breaks in the left arm and leg, which were simple fractures, were
held in place with splints from the same material, but were not in
troughs. The splints were wrapped and padded with faded calico rags.

Here and there on the limbs and along the side of the body pieces
of flesh were gouged out where the horse had stepped on the flesh.
His racing shoes must have been new, for they made clean cuts.

372 ly and easily by placing a rag around the point of friction and sprinkling gun powder on the rag. And if rags and gun powder were plentiful, they would load an old gun and shoot it against a tree. The rags would light and could be used to start a fire. This method was especially good in wet weather.

When needed, a low fire was kept fed by wood or buffalo chips gathered by the women and children. Buffalo chips were more desirable, since they burned more slowly and the fire did not die out so readily. Their surface remained year after year, unaffected by the weather, except annually they became a little harder until at last it was almost impossible to cut them with a knife. The under side, not being exposed to the sun, retained a certain amount of moisture longer and was never quite so hard. During cold weather the same fire provided heat both for comfort and for cooking food.

352 513 The bed of the lodge owner was placed at the back of the tipi, that is, directly opposite the entrance in the place of honor. Other beds were placed on one or both sides according to need. In the permanent camp, beds were elevated above the ground from four to six inches by means of pole or rawhide slats supported by a couple of poles. Robes were spread on top to form bedding and cover. In the temporary camp the mattress was spread on the ground. Members of the family simply crawled beneath the skins needed for cover, leaving the remainder for a mattress, and, according to informants, slept with their heads to the west. Buffalo-skin partitions were frequently stretched between beds to give a degree of privacy. Pillows were made from skins of smaller animals and stuffed with grass or straw. Although such beds were soft and fairly comfortable, they were also desirable abodes for both dogs and innumerable vermin.

352 Mattresses served as chairs or for lounging as well as for beds. The master of the lodge always occupied the position directly facing the door. On his left was the place of honor for guests. Lodges of well-to-do persons were provided in modern times with back rests at the head and foot of the mattress.

Ample storage space was available between and underneath the beds and toward the front of the tipi. Extra food, clothing, and small articles were stored principally in parfleche bags. When many buffalo were killed, much dried meat was stored away in parfleches

for use during winter and spring. Other bags contained ornaments, 352
wooden bowls, dishes, small horn spoons, extra clothing, personal belongings, and any odds and ends. In fact, the contents of a parfleche were a perpetual surprise. It might contain anything from a tooth to a gold coin.

No tipi furnishings were complete without a supply of utensils 415
or receptacles. They, too, were adapted to the environment and the mobile habits of the owner. No pottery was made or used, simply because it could not be conveniently handled and because more practical materials were at hand. Receptacles for carrying water during travel where water holes were far apart, as was usually the case in Comanche country, needed to be light and to pack well. The paunch of the buffalo met both requirements; therefore, before the introduction of the kettle it served well. A green paunch was hung from a limb or pole and hot stones held inside until the water boiled. Water vessels were also made from "cased" deer skins, that is, skins removed whole. The legs and necks were tied tightly with sinews. Buckets or cups could be made by tying one end of the skin of a leg and fitting a small rod around the inside of the other end. Drinking cups were made from buffalo horns and terrapin shells. A few wooden [322]
spoons and bowls were used. They were worked into shape by burning, scraping, and polishing. The Comanches, however, were little interested in this type of receptacle since it was more of a burden than an advantage in their way of life. Consequently, the workmanship was primitive. A very few crude baskets, knives of stone and [285]
bone (of metal after contact with the whites), mauls, a digging stick or two, and a few bone needles completed the tipi furnishings.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 30, 18.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists alto-
175 gether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe
352 robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their
[237] beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little
175 upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are ex-
[252] ceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ-
[415] omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construc-
tion, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being
[252] easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
175 it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer
261 intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality
[251] in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
[224] or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common,
[571] and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times
175 of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride,
261 to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and
152 to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani-
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic sys-
tem with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies
of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and
gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any
subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then en-
dure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively
trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is ca-
175 pable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus-
224 tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they
262 seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months,
175 from November to March. They reserve but little from the
251 winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting
the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
175 until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may
262

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
244 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

516 [352]

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening
[657] and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have sup-
[251] plied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with
[342] the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs
[353] screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and
[251] shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutri-
[252] tion clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during
[251] the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food,
[294] made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

657 Schools for the education of the Indian children of the
871 Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: govern-
[874] ment boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has
[797] become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

[648] The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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[113] 29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
[113] 30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 250.

361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of [354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard, [354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

342 eighteen to twenty for the Crow tipi.[33] For the purpose of lodge-making, the hides of old buffalo cows, just shedding the winter coat in April or May, were preferred. These hides were supposed to be the easiest to tan, possibly, it is said, because the old cows were then thin in flesh and their hides thicker and hence more easily worked. The average tipi was twelve to fifteen feet in diameter across the floor. The height from the center of the floor to the peak was approximately the same as the diameter of the floor.

The tipi was tilted slightly backwards. The smoke-hole near the top, above the entrance, was made by folding the skins back or attaching flaps in such a way as to give the appearance of the lapels on a man's coat. Each flap was adjusted by means of an attached outside pole. By moving one or both of the poles, the prevailing wind could be shut out, and at most times a draft of air could be created to carry off the smoke from the fire directly beneath. Thus the smoke-
● [354] hole and flaps served somewhat like a chimney.

The door, which always faced the rising sun, was simply an opening three or four feet high, covered by an extra pelt, tanned stiff. It was fastened either on the windward side or at the top, with a weight attached to the bottom. Either method provided a self-closing door.

The covering was staked down, but in warm weather it was not completely drawn to the ground, an air space of several inches being left all around. This space, together with the opening at the top, provided perfect ventilation. In cold weather the covering could be drawn completely to the ground. To keep the continual draft blowing in all around the bottom of the tent from striking those inside, a buffalo skin lining, in later times called a "dew cloth," was fastened to the lodge poles from four to six feet above the ground. The lining hung down inside the poles and was tucked under the edge of the bed. Consequently the air coming in under the outer covering was deflected upward by the lining and never struck the occupants directly. The lining also prevented rain entering the smoke-hole from falling on the bed and provided insulation against the penetrating summer heat. A very small fire was all that was necessary to provide warmth even in extremely cold weather. A narrow ditch around the outside kept the floor dry.

[33] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, 87.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used. 342 [252]

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist. [531]

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[34] [354]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick- 372

[34] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [222] [312] [513] [514] [261]

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The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., ann. II, 50, 51.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

culiar doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received 727
it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whir and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and for- [431]
mally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was con-
ducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse- [262]
flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and *very* rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like 361 ●
other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

•361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of [354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard, [354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

north winds in the wintry season, and in hot and sultry 361 weather shade them from the sun.

I had remained in the chief's tent but a short time when 727 I was again conducted to the square. There I found Aikens, 535 Martin, and Stewart. It was soon revealed we were to "cut a conspicuous figure" in a war dance. We have among us frequent ideal representations of savage customs which are horrible enough, but the mind labors and struggles in vain to select from the wide range of our language the exact words that will properly describe an Indian war dance round a *real* captive. They came forth bedizened in their traps and feathers, their tomahawks and scalping knives in their uplifted hands, great daubs of red paint above and below their eyes, circling round and round us on a spasmodic trot, uttering their hoarse guttural songs, which seemed to flow up through their savage throats over sharp rifts of phlegm. As they proceeded, their pace, such as it was, accelerated, and their songs grew loud and louder, rising gradually from a monotonous grunt into a hideous and indescribable howl. Very often, some one of them, deserting his place, would dart towards us with his drawn hatchet threatening to brain us, while another would seize us by the hair and go through the pantomime of scalping. Thus, for two hours, they continued to sing and dance, and whoop and yell, flourishing their tomahawks and knives over us, until, at last they were compelled to stop from mere exhaustion. The captives were then separated, myself being 727 led back to the chief's tent, where I was tied down to stakes in the manner before described. Four days had now passed without repose, but weary nature, at length, demanded rest, and I sank into a troubled sleep.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

XII

The Valley of Mannasaw—Indian agriculture—The watch again—Chemakacho, the good white man—The bloody covenant—Life in a Comanche camp—Hawakakeno, the wide river—Comanche horsemanship—Dressing the buffalo skin—Indian apparel—Supreme nastiness—Marriage—The mode of burial—The accursed white man—Comanche prophets—Religion of the savages—Manner of communicating intelligence—Festival of the roasted dog—Sahonkeno, the Fox—The green corn dance—The white women—Painting the face—Return of the war party—Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw.

On our arrival, which was welcomed with no demonstra- 361
tions whatever, the squaws unpacked the mules, and imme- 727
diately engaged in erecting the tents, with the same assiduity they exhibited in taking them down. In a few days, though an hundred miles distant, we were, to all appearances, occupying the same village, having the same square, and the same streets—which in fact we were, save that it was located on a different spot, and contained a population numbering about two hundred more.

The valley, also, was a "counterfeit presentment" of the one we had left behind, except the stream whereon we had encamped was wider, and the mountains round about seemed to have fallen back. It was called *Mannasaw*, laying a heavy accent on the last syllable, the meaning whereof I do not know.

turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

127 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded 535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

XIV

Another bargain and sale—Arrival at the village of Rolling Thunder—Uniformity of Indian villages—Euphonious names of Rolling Thunder's wives—Renewal of the covenant of the square stick—The wisest of the wise—Married to To-ma-no-a-ku-no, the Sleek Otter—The Indian duel—Visit to the ruins—Volcanic eruptions—Ancient architecture—The Indian legend—Mounds on the tablelands—Departure for the Grand Council—Incidents by the way—The tragical death of Rolling Thunder.

727 The Rolling Thunder was a frequent visitor at our camp, subsequent to the time when he and his tribe accompanied us home from the buffalo hunt. He exhibited a regard for me, and would often fall into a profound revery, when Kianceta, the Weasel, had presented me the watch, and I had caused it to communicate intelligence from the Great Spirit in the usual, rattling offhand manner in which it was accustomed to converse. His interviews with the Spotted Leopard became so long, and, to all appearances, of such vast importance that I had no doubt I was to be subjected to another sale and assignment.

My surmises proved to be entirely correct. Just previous to the time when preparations are made for the annual [361 484] buffalo hunt, the Spotted Leopard and some of his distinguished warriors, Kianceta, and his other wives, with myself and a considerable drove of pack mules, set off over the mountains in all respect similar to those I had pre-

Arrival at Rolling Thunder's Village

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

The Comanches

133 The streams which led southeastward became highways for Comanche parties raiding the scattered and undefended Anglo-American settlements of Texas. The hills and breaks made it easy for them to strike and to escape with little danger of being apprehended from this quarter.

The Cross Timbers provided a sort of natural boundary on the east which the Comanches seldom passed. Along the margin, numerous weak, semi-sedentary groups of Indians for a time formed a barrier of sorts against white encroachment on the Comanche hunting grounds. From these tribes the Comanches obtained some vegetable products. North of the Red River the Five Civilized Tribes stood between the Comanches and the whites.

The Cheyennes and the Arapahos ranged the country north of the Arkansas River, making Comanchería fairly safe against white aggression from that direction. Moreover, white expansion was generally westward, not southward.

Such was Comanchería—a land ideally suited for a nomadic warrior people. And the Comanches were true warrior nomads. To them a sedentary existence was intolerable. Although a band normally confined its headquarters within a general area, within this area it was always on the move, and its principal encampment might be many miles from its location during the previous or the following year.

● 361 Before moving from one area to another, the camp or band headman (or war leader, if a raiding party) usually selected a familiar location which scouts had reported satisfactory. They understood how to select a site well-suited to their needs. The choice of a camp ground, even for a night, involved many factors. Primarily there were five considerations: food, shelter, safety, convenience, and forage for the horses. Colonel Richard I. Dodge relates that he once followed a Comanche raiding party for thirty days before he found a single camp site which he could have approached without discovery.[19]

361 171 Among the Plains Indians there is evidence of some tribal differences in preferences for camp sites. The Sioux, who had a mortal dread of ambuscade, preferred to camp near water but away from all timber; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, on the open prairie but near timber; the Osages, Omahas, and Shawnees, in a dense thicket. The

[19] Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 239.

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took [198] place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nəmənə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands. The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each ●361 centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

[p. 144-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, 273, and 1876, 52.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these

175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[101] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621]
[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[122]
[113]

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

[113]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104-6-23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

/page 31 continued/

K 361 542 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison. C 361 This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal. K [361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects C K that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations 484 are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered 601 by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This 602 mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep [493] up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually [491] impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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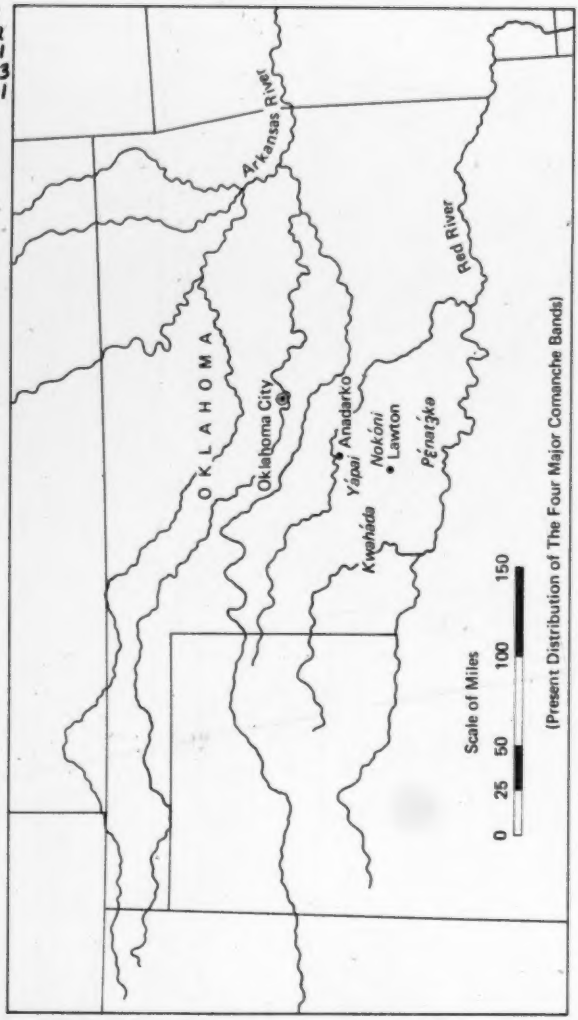

[p. iv]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche cul-
561 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were
at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
551 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-
reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
561 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
556 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
578 prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a
561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
844 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
578 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
571 the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment
[368] area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

361 There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in in-
443 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
[657] He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated
[452] on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA 101
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal
Trust Area 657 161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 195 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined 727
for mercy, like their own vile curs.

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415] which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522] that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irksome—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgusting camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection. [515 364]

32: Gilles

NO6 Comanche NO6

366

[For information on a general store owned by Whites in Comanche territory, see Categories 439 or 443.]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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443 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
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32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

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N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo 237
burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and [372]
cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep
some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed
with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of
buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fash-
ioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasion-
ally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions.
Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were [286]
made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture cloth-
ing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When prop- [281]
erly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it pro-
vided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it
constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before [286
the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide 415]
provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the In- 773
dians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty 539
years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33]
In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was
Ka:wus, the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used. 342 [252]

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist. [531]

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[84] [354]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick- 372

[84] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

The Comanches

372 ly and easily by placing a rag around the point of friction and sprinkling gun powder on the rag. And if rags and gun powder were plentiful, they would load an old gun and shoot it against a tree. The rags would light and could be used to start a fire. This method was especially good in wet weather.

When needed, a low fire was kept fed by wood or buffalo chips gathered by the women and children. Buffalo chips were more desirable, since they burned more slowly and the fire did not die out so readily. Their surface remained year after year, unaffected by the weather, except annually they became a little harder until at last it was almost impossible to cut them with a knife. The under side, not being exposed to the sun, retained a certain amount of moisture longer and was never quite so hard. During cold weather the same fire provided heat both for comfort and for cooking food.

352 513 The bed of the lodge owner was placed at the back of the tipi, that is, directly opposite the entrance in the place of honor. Other beds were placed on one or both sides according to need. In the permanent camp, beds were elevated above the ground from four to six inches by means of pole or rawhide slats supported by a couple of poles. Robes were spread on top to form bedding and cover. In the temporary camp the mattress was spread on the ground. Members of the family simply crawled beneath the skins needed for cover, leaving the remainder for a mattress, and, according to informants, slept with their heads to the west. Buffalo-skin partitions were frequently stretched between beds to give a degree of privacy. Pillows were made from skins of smaller animals and stuffed with grass or straw. Although such beds were soft and fairly comfortable, they were also desirable abodes for both dogs and innumerable vermin.

352 Mattresses served as chairs or for lounging as well as for beds. The master of the lodge always occupied the position directly facing the door. On his left was the place of honor for guests. Lodges of well-to-do persons were provided in modern times with back rests at the head and foot of the mattress.

Ample storage space was available between and underneath the beds and toward the front of the tipi. Extra food, clothing, and small articles were stored principally in parfleche bags. When many buffalo were killed, much dried meat was stored away in parfleches

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [348]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

The Comanches

322 411 [824] into Texas. Bois d'arc is commonly recognized as one of the hardest, finest, and most durable of timbers. If it was not accessible, ash, white elm, ironwood, mulberry, or hickory were used, hickory being a highly esteemed bow wood.

When selecting bow wood, the Comanche chose a small upright sapling or a piece of timber with perfectly straight grain from a large tree. The heart of the tree was never used. The timber had to be straight and as free as possible from knots. It had to be seasoned or dried and not allowed to warp in the process. It was generally worked down to approximately the desired size while still green, since green wood worked more easily. Then followed the seasoning process, requiring weeks or months for completion. With fair use a properly made bow would last for many years, but since it might be accidentally broken at any time, timber in various stages of preparation was kept on hand. After the bow wood had seasoned, it was scraped and shaped to proper dimensions and rubbed with fat or brains to make it pliable. Then the stick was put aside, preferably in a warm place, to be worked again in a few days or weeks.[7] When worked to the proper finish, it was rubbed until it acquired a polish. Glue was spread over the bow, and fresh or wet sinew from the back of a buffalo bull or deer was applied. After the sinew had been wrapped, another coat of glue was applied and smoothed down by thorough rubbing. The bow was then laid aside until perfectly dry. In drying, the fresh sinew would shrink tightly to the wood and, with the glue, made the whole very strong and tough. A common wooden bow could be made in three days, but a week to a month was usually required to finish a fancy one.

411 ●381 Glue for bows and arrows was made from chippings from the rawhide of the neck of a buffalo bull, from the shavings cut from a buffalo bull hide in the process of thinning it down, or from horns and hoofs. These were boiled with water to make a strong glue. It was lobbed upon a smoothly whittled stick of mulberry or other wood and allowed to cool. The glue stick was carried in the bow case with the arrows for ready and frequent use. By softening in hot water it was ready as an instant mender for almost anything.

[7] This method is still used in East Texas for making handles for hammers, axes, shovels, and the like.

294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and [386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such [428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

nearly so important to the Comanches as they were to some tribes 293
farther north.

The life of a Comanche warrior was rugged, but that did not keep
him from spending a great deal of time at his toilet. He was especially 302
proud of his hair, and in the village he might be seen daily combing, greasing, and braiding it. Men parted their hair from the center of the forehead back to the crown, forming a braid on each side, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red along the part. The braids were tied or wrapped with beaver fur or any other available material that appealed to the wearer's fancy. Beaver fur was worn on dress occasions. Bright-colored pieces of cloth, with red the most commonly recurring color, is used at the present time by the older men. Pieces of silver, beads, tin, glass, and single feathers were attached to the side locks as decorations. Each man also wore a scalp lock braided from the hair at the top of his head, and in it he usually wore a single yellow or black feather. Brushes, made from the tails of porcupines, were used for grooming the hair. The most common form was made by stretching the porcupine tail over a stick of wood. Hair brushes were also made by pounding out the fibres of a large yucca stalk. These fibers were gathered up and bound together with a buckskin thong and singed so as to burn off the sharp edges. The men never shaved, but carefully plucked all hair from their face and eyebrows with a pair of tweezers made of bone, leaving the whole face as smooth as a baby's cheek. A piece of door spring was used incessantly by Post Oak Jim through all the long hours of interviews in 1933. Comanche vanity went so far that narcissistic bucks begged for the hair that women cut off in mourning so that they could splice it into their braids to make them look longer. She Invites Her Relatives tells
of one *tuiβltsi* who was showing off at a dance. "He threw his side [522]
lock over his shoulder—and the attached end came off. Everybody hooted with laughter; he picked it up and went home."

Paint was an indispensable article of ornamentation for both sexes. Both men and women, when circumstances permitted, painted their faces before meeting strangers and for all special occasions. The Co-
manches always carried paint with them. Vermilion was much sought [386]
after, but when it could not be obtained from the white trader, paint was made from clays and from weed and berry juices. Black was the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
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> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

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The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

[p. 352]
[pp 1-351 not processed]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 126 386

I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N C 517 822

The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N C 386 824

All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected: all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415

When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6●

 N C● 386● 281 415

a thick paste — which has the property of loosening the dye from the fabrics, and facilitating its extraction. A small bag shaped like a money purse, and but little larger, made of new dog skin, deer or wolf skin, tanned by the Indians in a manner peculiar to them, is used to compress the juice from the pulp. This bag, a foot or eighteen inches long and three or four inches wide, is half filled with the pulp. Two small handles of wood are stuck through the ends of the bag, about the length of a corkscrew handle, and used to grasp a firm hold, and as levers by which the bag is twisted until the juice is extracted through the pores of the skin, which are very open.

Whether extracted or not for immediate use, the dye is carefully bottled, in glass if it can be procured, or in small bladders, if glass is not to be had. I say small bladders, because if put away in large quantities, the dye sometimes spoils, they say, and produces dingy colors. When put away for future use the light is carefully excluded by overwrapping with skins, or any thing else, and generally buried in the ground under a shelter in which fire is not used, so as to exclude heat. The dyes, however, are generally used soon as extracted, as during the winter the women prepare their best wool, and have it ready in the spring and summer for the process of dying.

The pulp after compression is put into a small quantity of the same ley above spoken of, and permitted to remain several hours to extract any remaining dye that might be in it, and undergo the same squeezing process until no dye remains. N C 386 824 415

The ley is made with care of the ashes after burning, of the green wood of a shrub very similar to the *Auralia Spinosa*, if it be not the same of a stunted growth. So careful are they of procuring this ash unadulterated, that they have dry parcels of it laid by with which to ignite the green wood, that the ashes may not be commingled with those of other woods. The ley is usually made in a large gourd, well cleaned and dried, with the butt end cut off, and a small hole bored through the point of the neck to drip from. The gourd is three quarters filled with the ashes considerably compressed in it, and by a bale or handle suspended from a bar containing several of them. Each is then filled with

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 386 824 415

rain or pure river water: the point is stopped, and the water allowed to remain on the ashes for a day and night, and then permitted to drip into the vessel placed to catch the ley.

This ley is a little colored, and is clarified by the same process of filtration through clean white sand, or sand that has been used for the same purpose before — when clarified, the ley is used as before stated, and especially to set the colors, which seems to be the principal use of it. It has no caustic quality after filtration, but an astringency peculiar to itself — rather a pungent than burning quality. It is sometimes used to dilute the darker dyes and produce lighter shades.

N C 386

The wool to be dyed is washed in warm water until perfectly cleansed of the natural oil — using the root of a plant very abundant in Texas and southern New Mexico, as well as most of the southern states, of a very saponaceous quality, and known as the soap plant. In all their best fabrics — blankets, belts, leggings, etc., made of wool, their finest fleeces are used, and it is not unknown to many of our army officers and others, that the Navajoes give great attention to their management of sheep, and often produce fleeces almost or quite equal to the merino in fineness and softness of texture, by their skilful crosses and selections made after long and minute observations and care. A Camanche and Navajoe are as much delighted with the possession of a superior ram and ewe as of a fine horse, to the breeding of which they also give much attention. Von Thaer would not be more so with the possession of his finest buck. All their wool is dyed before spinning, and this is done by submerging it in the dye and letting it remain ten or fifteen days, the dye-pot being left covered: but during this soaking the wool is turned over once every day. Sometimes the lighter shades are imparted to the wool by soaking a shorter time — they say this produces a clearer tint. If not dark enough, the same process is repeated with fresh dye. I have been told by my guide, that the Camanches fumigate the wool after dying, over a smoke of the above described wood, to deepen the color, but I never saw it done.

N C 388 824 N C 286 236 N C 386 N C 386 824

Their green color is produced from the leaves of several plants, the juice of which is expressed in the same manner as from the flowers, and used in the same manner.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6●

Their brown color is made from the inner bark, roots and nuts of the walnut and of other trees, much in the same manner as our farmer's wives now dye their wool for home-made jeans. N C● 386● 824

After the dyeing is finished, the wool is dried in the shade, and when well dried, exposed to the sun for a few hours; the dyeing is then complete, and the wool ready for spinning, except sometimes, perhaps, not always, they oil the wool slightly, and diffuse the dampness through it by rubbing and rolling it in the hands. I do not know the precise object of this, but they say it works better. This does not impair the color, for washing restores them to their first brightness. It seems to be the peculiar quality of the *set* that gives the lasting brilliancy of the color. I have seen the Camanche blankets, after being used for months, and abused by being put under the saddle, saturated with sweat, rained upon, slept in upon the naked earth, and when carefully washed, present the colors again, as bright as newly dyed silk. N C 283 386

The spinning is what you would call twisting the thread; this is done altogether by the fingers, and somewhat similar to the ancient distaff, though reversing the order of operation. The distaff was used to wrap the raw material upon, and the spool or quill was used not only to wind the thread upon, but as the spindle to twist it. The Camanches reverse this order, and use the raw material for the spindle, and the spool only to wind the thread upon. They use no distaff. N C 283

A CAMANCHE SPINNING.

In spinning, a small portion of wool only is used at a time — a mess, say, of a quarter pound weight, and shaped like an egg, say four or five inches long, and two or three in diameter, is wrapped around with a string sufficiently tight to keep it together, but loose enough at the point to permit the wool to be drawn out for spinning the thread — a small stone, of an ounce or so in weight, is tied on the middle of a stick of about six inches in length C [291]

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

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fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 343
with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824
Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388
the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302]
nemeʎisas) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824
ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281
and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824
tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412
be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824
the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɔna*, and *itse* or *ṭimɔyhɔ*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 386 824 415

rain or pure river water: the point is stopped, and the water allowed to remain on the ashes for a day and night, and then permitted to drip into the vessel placed to catch the ley.

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N C 386

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N C [388 824] N C 286 236 N C 386 N C 386 824

Their green color is produced from the leaves of several plants, the juice of which is expressed in the same manner as from the flowers, and used in the same manner.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
572 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

posts, had been driven in the ground about three feet apart. 727
Standing between them, their arms had been drawn up as far as they could reach, the right hand tied to the stake on the right side and the left hand to the stake opposite. Their feet, likewise, were tied to the posts near the ground. Martin and Stewart were thus strung up side by side. Directly in front of them, and within ten feet, was Aikens, in the same situation. A short time sufficed to divest me of my scanty Indian apparel and place me by the side of the latter, and in like condition. Thus we stood, or rather hung. Aikens and myself facing Stewart and Martin, all awaiting in tormenting suspense to learn what diabolical rite was now to be performed.

The Big Wolf and a number of his old men stationed themselves near us, when the war chief, at the head of the warriors, of whom there were probably two hundred, moved forward slowly, silently, and in single file. Their pace was peculiar and difficult to describe, half walk, half shuffle, a spasmodic, nervous motion, like the artificial motion of figures in a puppet show. Each carried in one hand his [411] knife or tomahawk, in the other a flint stone, three inches or more in length and fashioned into the shape of a sharp pointed arrow. The head of the procession as it circled a long way round, first approached Stewart and Martin. As it passed them, two of the youngest warriors broke from the line, seized them by the hair, and scalped them, then resumed their places and moved on. This operation consists of cutting off only a portion of the skin which covers the skull, of the dimensions of a dollar, and does not necessarily destroy life, as is very generally supposed; on the contrary, I have seen men, resident on the borders of Texas, who had been scalped and yet were alive and well. In this instance, the wounds inflicted were by no means mortal; neverthe-

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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His-oo-sán-chees (The Little Spaniard)
From a painting by Catlin
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 15]

The Comanches

302 Black was the war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and [822] blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both 301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands [H11] of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*. II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'mɔɔy. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the [462] hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

At Work and Play

The modern bows were approximately three feet in length, most of them made of wood, although there were a few sinew-backed or compound ones made of buffalo, elk, or mountain-sheep horn. The latter were highly finished and required more time to make. They were worth from six to twenty ponies each.[6] 411 321 [435]

Not all men made bows in the same way, each workman following the method he thought best. The Comanche country stretched over a wide area, and the best bow materials found in one section might not be available in another. Methods varied with time also. Yet, in general, the process was much the same from the Pecos to the Arkansas and from the Cross Timbers to New Mexico. In making the horn or compound bow, the horns were first thrown into warm water and allowed to remain until they became flexible. They were then straightened and strips of suitable width were cut or sawed. After the strips were filed, shaved, scraped, or rubbed down until the flat sides fitted nicely, the desired length was obtained by overlapping and gluing the ends of from two to four slices. Another piece of horn was then laid on the center at the grasp, where it was glued fast. The whole was then filed or scraped down until it was well proportioned. All the joints were firmly bound with sinew to give resiliency to the bow. Several weeks were required for a skilled workman to make a good, ornamented bow of this type.

Bows were sometimes, though rarely, made of a single piece of horn. A long piece, as nearly straight as possible, was whittled, scraped, and rubbed until it was quite thin. After being made pliable by heating, greasing, and working, it was lashed to a straight stick and left until dry and straight. It was then firmly wrapped with sinew, which was secured in place with glue. Bows of buffalo ribs were sometimes made by the same process. Such bows, however, were of little practical use.

The wooden bow was the common bow of the Comanches. It was made principally from the Osage orange, or bois d'arc. Some Indian tribes called the tree "smooth bow"; the Omahas referred to it as yellowwood, but the French gave it the name *bois d'arc,* by which it is best known. It was plentiful along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and in the eastern fringe of the Comanche country southward 322 411

[6] Garretson, *op. cit.,* 178.

322 411 [824] into Texas. Bois d'arc is commonly recognized as one of the hardest, finest, and most durable of timbers. If it was not accessible, ash, white elm, ironwood, mulberry, or hickory were used, hickory being a highly esteemed bow wood.

When selecting bow wood, the Comanche chose a small upright sapling or a piece of timber with perfectly straight grain from a large tree. The heart of the tree was never used. The timber had to be straight and as free as possible from knots. It had to be seasoned or dried and not allowed to warp in the process. It was generally worked down to approximately the desired size while still green, since green wood worked more easily. Then followed the seasoning process, requiring weeks or months for completion. With fair use a properly made bow would last for many years, but since it might be accidentally broken at any time, timber in various stages of preparation was kept on hand. After the bow wood had seasoned, it was scraped and shaped to proper dimensions and rubbed with fat or brains to make it pliable. Then the stick was put aside, preferably in a warm place, to be worked again in a few days or weeks.[7] When worked to the proper finish, it was rubbed until it acquired a polish. Glue was spread over the bow, and fresh or wet sinew from the back of a buffalo bull or deer was applied. After the sinew had been wrapped, another coat of glue was applied and smoothed down by thorough rubbing. The bow was then laid aside until perfectly dry. In drying, the fresh sinew would shrink tightly to the wood and, with the glue, made the whole very strong and tough. A common wooden bow could be made in three days, but a week to a month was usually required to finish a fancy one.

411 381 Glue for bows and arrows was made from chippings from the rawhide of the neck of a buffalo bull, from the shavings cut from a buffalo bull hide in the process of thinning it down, or from horns and hoofs. These were boiled with water to make a strong glue. It was lobbed upon a smoothly whittled stick of mulberry or other wood and allowed to cool. The glue stick was carried in the bow case with the arrows for ready and frequent use. By softening in hot water it was ready as an instant mender for almost anything.

[7] This method is still used in East Texas for making handles for hammers, axes, shovels, and the like.

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Making an excellent bow string was a task for a specialist. The bow string was made of the sinew of the buffalo bull or deer, derived from the tendon which lies along either side of the spine from the shoulder blades to the hip bones. The tendon was shredded or subdivided longitudinally into fine threads of fiber. It has been estimated that each sinew had then ten times the strength of ordinary cotton thread of equal size. These sinews or threads were next soaked in glue water, and, while damp, several were twisted to form a strong, perfectly round cord of the same size and tension from end to end, and the ends knotted. Post Oak Jim said that he preferred bow strings made of horse-tail hair because "they didn't break and were not spoiled by moisture." Still, he thought bear gut was the best material of all.[8] 411 283

Arrows, next to the bow, were the most precious possessions of a Comanche. Much time was devoted to searching for arrows that had been shot. They were too hard to obtain and cost too much effort to be wasted. This was also true of points lost from the arrow shafts. Nevertheless, it is asserted on good authority that Comanches would never retrieve an arrow which had taken a human life, enemy or friend.[9] Great skill, patience, and judgment were required to make a perfect arrow. The old men who made the best arrows were highly respected for their special skill. Although there was a great difference in arrows, the proportions between the shaft, head, and feathers were quite definite. If these proportions were maintained, the arrow performed efficient and effective work in the hands of an expert bowman; otherwise, it was a failure. An arrow too light in the shaft would not fly steadily; one too heavy would not carry its force long enough. When a good, well-balanced arrow struck the mark, the feather end tilted upward. "The Cheyennes, Pawnees, and Pueblos don't know 411 [784]

[8] This description of bow-making is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something and Post Oak Jim; also, R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 348–49; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Fannie M. Hughs, *Legends of Texas Rivers*, 219; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *Frontier Times*, Vol. VIII (December, 1930), 141; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 412; Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 25–27; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 174; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Babb, *op. cit.*, 134; also, oral communication of others to Wallace.

[9] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 46.

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411 how to make arrows" is the opinion of Post Oak Jim. "Comanches and Wichitas make good ones."

411 322 Wood for the arrow shafts was selected and handled with the same care and patience as for the bow. Any hard, tough, straight-grained wood was used. Young shoots of the dogwood were preferred because of their straightness and freedom from knots. The second choice, but not nearly so good as dogwood, was mature ash. The young ash sapling was too pithy and soft. When neither of these was available, wild cherry, hackberry, or mulberry was used, although the hackberry required much straightening. Shafts were cut the desired length and roughly shaped, then tied in a bunch and hung near the fire place or in a dry spot to season.

When the arrow shafts had seasoned, a process which required ten days to two weeks if they were kept near a fire but much longer otherwise, they were examined by the arrow-maker for crooked places. Shafts not perfectly straight were made so. Crooked spots were greased and warmed so that the grease would penetrate readily, then quickly straightened with the hands or an implement devised for that purpose. The arrow straightener was made by drilling a hole slightly larger than that of the shaft in a buffalo bone or horn. The arrow was passed back and forth through the hole and bent until perfectly straight. Some men placed their arrows between their teeth to bend them into shape. Next, the shaft was scraped to proper size and taper, and made perfectly round. This was sometimes done by means of two grooved sandstone slabs with flat meeting faces. The arrow was placed in one groove, the other groove fitted over it. Then, holding the two stones together with one hand, the worker pulled the shaft back and forth. Most of the better arrows were grooved from the end of the feathers to the head of the arrow point. The Lipans had four straight grooves, but the Comanches usually made two straight black grooves on one side and two red spiral ones on the other. These grooves were cut with bone containing a circular hole into which extended a little projection from the margin of the hole, or with a flint with a semicircular notch and a projection. The shaft was then polished by rubbing and sometimes decorated with paintings or markings.[10]

[10] This description of Comanche arrow-making is compiled from statements by

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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There has been much speculation about the meaning of the grooves. The most popular theory is that they permitted the blood of the victim to escape so as to weaken him. Another explanation is that the grooves symbolized lightning, which the Ind , believed would make the arrows more surely fatal. It seems more probable that they were to prevent the shaft from warping. 411

The flight and accuracy of an arrow depended to a great extent upon the feathers. If the feathers were good and properly arranged, the arrow carried well. Those of the wild turkey seem to have been the most popular, but, when they were not obtainable, owl or buzzard feathers were used. Neither was affected by blood. Feathers of hawks and eagles were not desirable, since they were injured when wet with blood. Each arrow-maker had his own technique of winging the arrows. When the Cheyennes first began to wing their arrows, they used two feathers, but later changed to three. Some tribes used four. The Comanches used both the two- and three-feather winging technique. Some of the best-informed Comanches regard the two-feathered arrow as unsatisfactory, since it will not follow a straight line to the target. The feathers were taken from the wings, the stems split, the tip of the split stems dipped in glue, and the feathers bound in the grooves on either side of the shaft with a thread of sinew.[11] 411 237 411

In the distal end of the arrow shaft a notch was cut, or a cleft made, in which the arrowhead was set. Colonel Dodge believed that the Comanches placed the blade of the hunting arrow in the same plane with the notch for the string so that it would be more likely to pass between the ribs of the animal, which are up and down. For the same reason, the blade of the war arrow was at right angles to the notch, since the ribs of the human enemy were horizontal.[12] The head

informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *loc. cit.*, 141–42; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 179; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 349; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 178–81; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94. [322]

[11] Informant: Kills Something; also, Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 270; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 418–19.

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411 was held in place with glue and firmly wrapped with wet sinew, which in turn was glued and rubbed to a smooth finish.

411 The Comanches relied almost entirely on metal for arrow points
325 after they came in contact with the whites. Barrel hoops, bindings for boxes, even frying pans and similar pieces of metal furnished excellent material. The piece of metal was sharpened on one end and on both sides. After the point was sharpened, it was hardened by heating it in a fire and then dropping it while red hot into cold water. The Mexican traders not only supplied iron for the points but files with which to fashion and sharpen the arrowheads. Metal arrowheads became an important item of trade among most American Indian tribes.

> Hundreds of thousands were manufactured yearly by eastern traders to be exchanged for furs. They were put in packages of one dozen each, cost the trader six cents a package and were the means for obtaining enormous profits. Usually one package was exchanged for a buffalo robe.[13]

There were two general types of metal arrowheads, one for game and one for war. The game point had no barb and was easily extracted, while the war point was barbed and loosely attached to the shaft. Some war points had but one barb, which, when shot into a body and the shaft pulled, caught in the flesh, and the point turned crosswise in the wound, making it impossible to extract it without tearing or cutting.

411 Before the acquisition of metal, arrows were made of stone, bone,
324 or horn. Flint appears to have been the most popular, and some preferred it even after the introduction of metal. It has been claimed that wounds made by flint arrow points were more likely to be fatal than those of metal. The Comanches apparently did little grinding or polishing of flint. Indeed, the nature of much of the flint of the Comanche country rendered such treatment unnecessary. Lehmann has left an account of one method of making stone arrowheads, but whether it was Apache or Comanche is uncertain, the implication being that the method was common among both tribes.

[13] Garretson, *op. cit.*, 180.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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We threw a large flint stone, from two to six feet in circumference, into the fire. After the stone became very hot, small thin pieces would pop off; we selected those pieces which would require the least work to put into shape, and picked these pieces up with a stick split at the end; while these pieces were very hot, we dropped cold water on those places we wished to thin down; the cold water caused the spot touched to chip off, and in this way we made some of the keenest pointed and sharpest arrows that could be fashioned out of stone.[14]

All efforts of archaeologists to determine a Comanche-type flint arrow point have been in vain. In this connection Professor Mildred Pickle Mayhall says, "There are several mentions of distinctive points and shafts for different tribes but just what those differences were we do not exactly know. Poisoned arrows may have belonged to all the Texas tribes but there is little definite information about this save in reference to the Comanches."[15] The Comanches did poison their arrow points occasionally for use in war, by making an extract from a plant not known to our informants or by sticking them in a dead skunk.

The bow and arrow was exceptionally accurate up to fifty yards or more. The Comanche arrow shot from a good bow could wing a true flight for three hundred yards. It has been maintained on good authority that at a distance of from ten to fifteen yards, an arrow (twenty to thirty inches in length) could be driven completely through the carcass of a buffalo, providing it struck no bone, that an object the size of a doorknob could be hit by an expert marksman an average of four out of five shots, and that an expert Comanche hunter could kill twice the number of buffalo with bow and arrow as an American with a pistol.[16]

The superiority of bow and arrow over the old-type musket was recognized by the Comanches. When muskets first became known to them, they were all eager to obtain them. But when the novelty

[14] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 93–94.

[15] Mildred P. Mayhall, "The Indians of Texas: the Atakapa, the Karankawa, the Tonkawa" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas Library), 608–609.

[16] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–63, 233; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 296; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160.

4/11 of the weapon had worn off, they realized that it was inferior to the bow and arrow both in hunting and in war. The muskets had a greater range but a much slower rate of fire, they were difficult to load on horseback, and ammunition could be obtained only infrequently. As a result the Comanches were reverting to the bow and arrow when the introduction of repeating firearms turned the tide again.[17]

A buckskin band was worn on the wrist of the left arm to protect it from the bruising twang of the bowstring. The bow and arrows were carried in a skin case by a band over the right shoulder, and in wet weather the string was kept under the armpit to keep it dry. When crossing a wide stream in flood, the Comanche shot his arrows across before swimming his horse over.

The shield, next to the bow and arrow, was the Comanche warrior's most important weapon, and it was valued above all other things. Several days were required to make a shield. There were individual differences in its structure, but the basic pattern was always the same. It was made from the shoulder hide of an old buffalo bull, since that was the toughest portion. The green hide was heated over a fire or steamed over hot water and, while still hot, was rubbed on a rough rock in order to flesh it. Scrapers were used to finish the fleshing. Heating and steaming contracted and thickened the hide, and this process was repeated as many times as necessary in order to make the hide as thick as possible. A smooth stone was then used to rub and pound the hide to efface all wrinkles and make it smooth and pliable. One or more layers of circular pieces cut from it were then stretched flesh side out over each side of a circular wooden hoop, two feet or more in diameter, and sewed together around the edge of the hoop with rawhide thongs passed through eyelets punched around the edges of the layers of hide. The space between the layers, usually about one inch thick, was packed with feathers, hair, or paper to stop the force of arrows, bullets, or blows from other weapons. Charles Goodnight relates that one shield which he captured from a Comanche warrior contained a complete history of Rome.[18] Before discover-

[17] Ralph Linton, "Acculturation and Process of Culture Change," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, 474.

[18] J. E. Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *Plains-Panhandle Historical Review*, Vol. I (1928), 20.

ing that paper was used for padding inside the shields, Anglo-American pioneers were quite puzzled at the Comanche interest in books. 411

The surface of the shield was stretched into a convex or saucer shape with the convex surface to the outside. A convex surface would readily deflect a blow. The shield was then hung up to dry. Sometimes the shield-maker would unlace the shield and remove the wooden frame, adding, of course, additional packing. This increased the safety of the shield, since a bullet could penetrate the wooden frame more easily than the packing.

A buckskin cover was usually fitted over the flint-like shield, much as a cover is drawn over a spare automobile tire. It was drawn in on the under side by means of a buckskin thong laced through eyelet holes around the edges. Through the hide itself were bored two pairs of holes, and through each pair was passed a loop or band of rawhide or buckskin. By means of these two bands the shield was fastened to the left arm near the elbow in such a manner as not to interfere with the free use of the hand.

After the shield had thoroughly dried and cured, it was treated by setting it up as a target, and if a bullet or an arrow pierced it when fired from a distance of about fifty yards, it found a place in the debris of the camp. In times of action the Indian manipulated his arm so as to make any blow strike the shield at an angle. Very few bullets fired from old-fashioned rifles would penetrate a well-constructed shield unless the bullet struck the surface perpendicularly, a near impossibility when the shield was in the hands of one expert in the art of using it.

The Anglo-American pioneers and soldiers who knew the Comanches well relate that their shields were usually adorned with three kinds of insignia. Bear teeth worn or painted on a shield indicated that the owner was a great hunter or had the toughness of the bear; scalps attached to or painted on the shield indicated its owner to be a mighty warrior, and horse or mule tails that he was an accomplished raider. The materials were attached by means of buckskin strings to the under side of the shield. Around the rim of the outside cover feathers were attached and held in place with sinew. Comanche informants maintained that there should have been an even number, usually four but possibly six or more. The arrangement made it pos- 411 531 [801]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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411 531 sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

411 778 Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physical but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the [841] event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

At Work and Play

The father of Rhoda Greyfoot, who was a famous medicine man, had a shield, but Rhoda never saw it. "They were very precious about them," she said. 411● 778

Painted shields usually had power, and the designs symbolized that power. If a young man wanted a new shield endowed with power and was willing to encumber himself with all the burdens and limitations that power imposed, he had three choices for obtaining it. He could ask a man who had a medicine shield for a share of his power, he could go on a vision quest himself to get instructions for the design from a spirit source, or he could ask a medicine man to procure a design for him.

In the first case, the young man would visit the owner of a medicine shield and smoke with him. Not until the pipe had been smoked would he make his request, for, having smoked with him, the shield owner must grant the favor he asked. The donor gave him some power, but he still retained his own power, too. The young man then had his shield painted by the donor as an exact duplicate of his own. If, however, the young man received instructions for the design from a spirit source, he would ask a "good artist" to paint his shield according to the vision. As for the third possibility—asking a medicine man to procure a design for him—Post Oak Jim gave the following account:

411 539 778

« « « A boy brought his shield to a peyote meeting and asked the leader for advice. He smoked and asked assistance. He was told to leave the shield by the door at the side of the fire tender.

After the midnight water ceremony the leader took the shield, put cedar on the fire, held the shield over it, and shook it. He gave it to the boy, who was sitting on the south side. He took the shield and made a circle. The leader said he would have directions for him in the morning, and the boy thanked him. [The leader can give directions at a meeting or afterwards.]

In the morning he told the boy to bring an artist and he would dictate the design to him. "The design will be all right," he said, "so don't be afraid. If you want to know about it, go to a lonely place some night, and the shield will tell you all about it."[20] » » »

[20] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

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411 A shield with power not only gave its owner the general protec-
778 tive influence due to its sacred character, but also endowed him with those qualities attributed to heavenly bodies, birds, mammals, and other living creatures from whom the design-giving vision came. It also might afford protection from the elements, for some shields were sacred to thunder and lightning.

411 The lance was another favorite weapon of certain Comanches. The use of the war lance has been associated with the horse, but it is evident that the tribes who came to occupy the plains in historic times were acquainted with the stone-headed lance as a hunting implement before they entered the plains. Two types of lances were used by the Comanches. One was a hooked lance, so called because the shaft was bent somewhat in the shape of the conventional shepherd's crook. The other was the ordinary lance, six to seven feet in length. It had a wooden shaft of bois d'arc armed in modern times with an iron or steel point in any shape which was convenient and easily made from the material at hand. Some lance heads were as much as thirty inches long by one inch wide, tapering to a point at the end away from the shaft. Previous to the acquisition of metal, the lance head was of chipped stone, often leaf-shaped. In either case, the head was bound to the shaft with sinew of rawhide thongs and glue in much the same way that the arrow point was bound to the shaft. The shafts of old-time spears were decorated only by a feather or a bunch of feathers attached near the butt end. Beaded shafts like the one on Quanah Parker's spear were a late fashion. Sheaths, which might or might not be decorated, were sometimes made for lances.

411 The battle spear was not a weapon for any ordinary man to carry.
554 It was never hurled javelin-wise but was always thrust from under the arm. If thrust overarm, it might hit a bone and break the point or frighten the rider's horse, according to Breaks Something. Only a brave man carried a spear, because it meant hand-to-hand combat. More than this, a spear carrier could never retreat and live to face his fellow warriors. There was no alternative for him but victory or death. In Breaks Something's opinion, the war lance ranked higher as a symbol of a war chief than any headdress, and warriors who carried the spear went without a war bonnet. His own brother, after the Battle of Adobe Walls, gave up his spear, and all his family was glad.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office. 411 554 [727 778]

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wəpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon. 411

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were 517

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

The Comanches

857 spent in gang play. When a new camp was set up, they set out to find a good water hole in the creek where they could play all day. Following and baiting small birds and large insects fascinated them. [411 224] Hummingbirds were shot with headless arrows having a vertically split foreshaft in which to catch the birds. Boys would spend all day chasing one bird, according to Skinny and Wrinkled, in a kind of concentration that boded well for the future hunter and tracker of men and beasts. Bull bats were shot with arrows having horizontally split foreshafts. Grasshoppers were shot with hummingbird arrows, and their hind legs were eaten for lunch.

The boys had great fun by tying two grasshoppers together with a short thread and then crowding about to watch them "wrestle." They would jump and jerk each other up short. The one that first fell on its back was the loser. They liked to catch "shit rollers," tie a piece of straw to a leg, and watch them fly, running fleetly after them as they followed their courses. They would stick a small straw up the anus of a horsefly and turn the insect loose—which perhaps showed how they felt about horseflies.

Small boys, who had no real arrows, made them of reed shafts with grasshopper legs for points and a ballast daub of mud stuck two inches from the point. They killed night hawks with slings and amused themselves playing with whirrers—two strings attached to a bone and pulled taut to make a whirring noise.

Although boys were by themselves most of the time, the younger ones now and then joined the little girls to play camp. On the sand by the creek they built small windbreaks and arbors. A play group leader was made "chief," and each boy chose a wife or wives. They all swam in the creek, gathered in ponies with the girls, and rode together. Some time was spent by the boys in hunting squirrels to bring into camp for their "wives" to cook, while the girls gathered berries, edible roots, and the eggs of turkeys, ducks, quail, and prairie chickens. All this swag made for good make-believe feasts.

[836] The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. "One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife," said Post Oak Jim.

857 526 When younger boys and girls played together (but not when they were playing camp), there were several forms of joint games.

The Comanches

778 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[75] 237 [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakʌt* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Voice of the Sunrise (Tabananika), chief of the Yamparika

[Facing p. 335]

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
439 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825 [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these
752] are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

They manufacture it into bows, which become articles of commerce, and 824
are sometimes exchanged for peltries, etc. I knew a Sioux to give his horse for 411
a single one; and among the upper tribes they frequently bring three or four 439
beaver skins each. The tree is so highly valued, that they never destroy it, except when wanted for use, or in the territories of their enemies; in the latter case, they make its destruction as particular an object, as they do that of their game.

Since the Comanche were more or less in control of at least a part of the area in which the Osage orange grew they were doubtless in a position to profit through trading it to other tribes. The Tewa tribes of the Rio Grande valley specified the Comanche particularly as a source of their Osage orange bowwood (20, p. 68).

Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the bows of the Co- 824
manche as being made of the tough and elastic wood of the Osage 411
orange, "strengthened and reinforced with the sinews of the deer wrapped firmly around them." This brief and incomplete description suggests the sinew-backed bow which is classified by Mason (17, p. 638) as the "seized bow" and which had sinew "wrapped about" it, but Mason seems nowhere to describe this bow in detail, has no illustrations of it, and gives no distribution of it among American Indians. The description might also apply to the sinew-lined type of sinew-backed bow except that it does not mention the lining of sinew, often inconspicuous, which was usually bound on by transverse bands of sinew. The "Shoshonean or narrow" type of sinew-lined bow (17, pp. 638, 643, and Plates 61 and 79) may be indicated. This bow had its distribution among the Shoshonean tribes of the Great Basin and among the Apache, the Navajo, and the Pueblos, but, according to Mason, did not occur east of the Rocky Mountains (17, pp. 640, 643). Wissler (25, pp. 159–160), however, examined bows in the American Museum of Natural History from various Plains tribes and noted sinew-lined ones from some of the northern Plains tribes. He considered these intrusive from the sinew-backed bow area to the immediate west, supplementary to the self bow, and of exceptional occurrence. The Comanche bows which Wissler mentioned appear to have been of the simple, unbacked type. It does not seem likely that the Comanche bows mentioned by Marcy and McClellan were such, for Mason nowhere describes or illustrates self bows bound with sinew. Whether or not the bows seen by Marcy and McClellan were sinew-backed, and, if so, whether or not they were typical Comanche bows remain open questions. There is,

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 apparently, no doubt that the Comanche were in frequent contact
411 with tribes using the sinew-lined bow, and that the tribes most closely related to the Comanche habitually used such bows.

Arrow shafts were made from straight stems of the rough-leaved dogwood (*Cornus asperifolia*). This species was also the preferred arrow material of the tribes of the Missouri River region (7, p. 108). Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the arrows of the Comanche as being "twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular point of iron at one end, and two feathers intersecting each other at right-angles, at the opposite extremity." They do not specify the material used for arrows further than by saying that it was "flexible wood." Arrows for the *aratsi* game were made from the stems of
[524] the soapberry (*Sapindus Drummondii*). Wood for game sticks was obtained from the buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*).

824 The leaves of the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were mixed with
276 tobacco. The addition of other plant materials to tobacco was a common practice among many tribes of Indians, the leaves of smooth sumac being widely used in this way. Chamberlain (6, p. 72) notes that this species was smoked by the Gosiute, and Gilmore (7, p. 100) cites its use by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, but neither writer mentions its being mixed with tobacco. McGuire (14, p. 385) gives Marcy and McClellan (16, p. 102) as his authorities for the following: "Captain Marcy refers to the Comanche being extravagantly fond of smoking tobacco, which they call pah-mo, mixed with the leaves of sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)." West (24, p. 107) accepts this without question and repeats it. In neither the 1853 (15) nor the 1854 (16) edition of Marcy and McClellan are we able, however, to find this complete statement. The passage on Comanche smoking in these volumes (15 and 16, p. 102) is as follows: "All of them [the Comanche] are extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they use for smoking, mixed with the dried leaves of the sumac, inhaling the smoke into their lungs and giving it out through the nostrils." Evidently the Comanche term for tobacco and the name of the particular species of sumac were taken by McGuire from some other source and not from Marcy and McClellan, as is implied. It may be true that *Rhus trilobata* was smoked by the Comanche, but *Rhus glabra* was specified by our informants as the species which was smoked, and medicinal uses only were ascribed to the former. We know of only one other reference to *Rhus trilobata* as a smoking material, that by

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group 796
returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the tri- 541
umph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling [203]
on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front 796
of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the 701
lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his [411]
war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct 796
approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all 535
finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

border was still inviting and there the braves could find horses to 721
steal and ranches to plunder; if there must be peace with Texas, 648
there was at least one happy war ground, which according to Comanche ethics, was always a legitimate field of operation. That was Mexico. And hither the young braves would go, notwithstanding the more or less perfunctory efforts of the governments of the United States and Texas to stop them.

War with the Comanches might call forth united tribal effort 721
or it might concern but a small party of warriors, depending on the circumstances. The chief or head man who wished to lead off a war party paraded through the camp, carrying in some cases a long pole with a red flag tipped with eagle's feathers, chanting a war song. If he was a popular leader and the bands was in a war mood, or if he could convince the young braves that his enterprise promised large returns by way of scalps, prisoners and booty, he would soon collect about him many warriors. War dances would be held, the leading men would make talks, runners would be sent to other bands and the expedition would take on large proportions. No warrior was obliged to join, but the young man who always [626]
stayed at camp would obviously soon become the object of much ridicule. However, the tribe was not entirely at the mercy of these young hot-spurs. If the expedition was likely to result in the flagrant violation of a popular treaty or if it was calculated to bring down upon the tribe the wrath of a powerful enemy, a more conservative sentiment would prevail and the movement would be nipped in the bud.

In this connection some description of Comanche weapons should 411
be given. Although they acquired a few guns from white traders at a very early date, primitive weapons were all that a great majority of the tribesmen had as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Their bows were of bois d'arc, rather short for long bows, being ordinarily not more than three feet in length. Sometimes they were wrapped with the sinew of the deer, and the bow string was of the same material. Their arrows were about twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular spike, or point, of iron. Two feathers intersecting each other at right angles were bound to the other extremity of the arrow and served to guide it. They frequently carried lances, one of which is described as "a piece of

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

●411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form,
411 about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches.
776 Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a
[782] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
701 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encumbrance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Spanish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buffaloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 262 [263] [462] The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 562 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magnificent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

562 593

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

593 583

562 583 593 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daughter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave,

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkaɨ*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them. 173

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes. 167 177 [231] 721

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken. 167 721 648 [177] [411]

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 177 101

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[14] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
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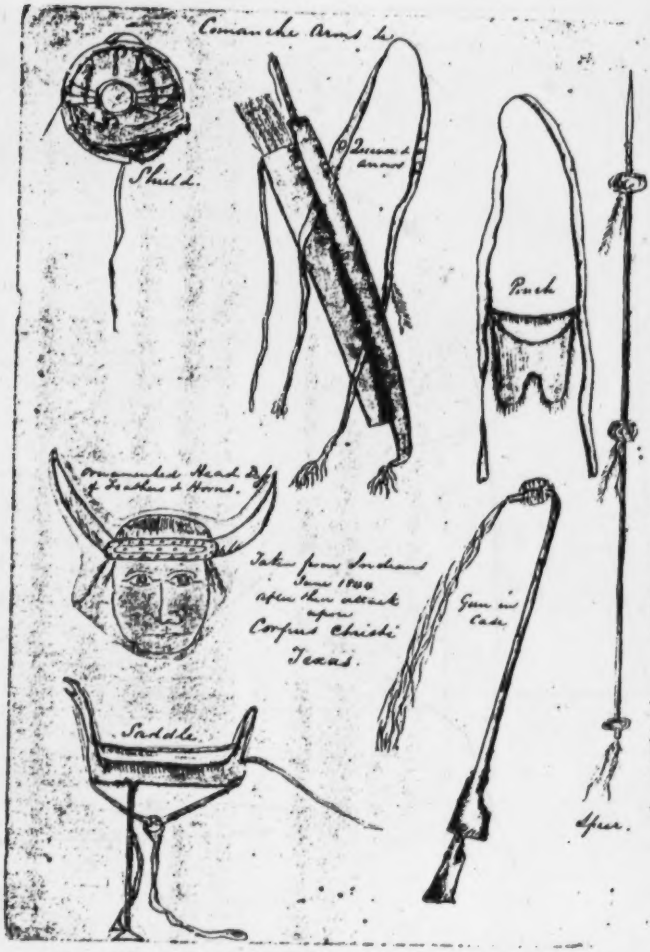
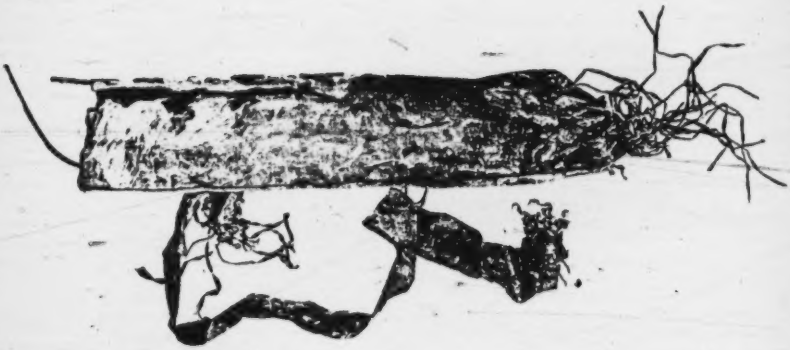


[292]
[492]

FIGURE 18. Weapons and equipment captured from a Comanche war party that raided Corpus Christi, Texas, in June 1844. Sketch by William Bollaert.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

411



FIGURES 24–25. Comanche quivers. (USNM 1474 and 4433.)

[p. 173]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. 714 531
The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this 532
Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed 172
rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. 531
Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield 531
paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a 714
yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any 789
missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24-25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in 411
Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and
decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. 237
wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse 531
or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in 237
length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted
with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending
out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 237
18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they 825
made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred
for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatural powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, 415
Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa In- 237
dians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to
the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in 415
diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has
been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in
the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 531

6. Jackson, 1958, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII-CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). 714

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1844, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1-6, 11, 14, and 15.

578 when the whole tribe, save the squaws and papooses, assembled on a level piece of ground a mile from the village. Here they formed a large ring, into which walked the Rolling Thunder and Han-na-nos-ka-a, the prophet. The latter pronounced a long discourse, setting forth, as nearly as my imperfect knowledge of the language enabled me to comprehend, the original cause of the quarrel, a detailed account of its progress, the inability of the council to agree upon a satisfactory arrangement, and that, finally, it had been referred to the just decision of the Great Spirit, into whose presence their implacable brethren were now about to appear.

Having concluded, the brothers of the young warriors conducted them into the ring. One of them was, perhaps, twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, the other four or five years older. The younger was somewhat the largest, though both were remarkably athletic and powerful. When they reached the center of the ring, meeting from opposite [234] directions, their left arms, as far up as the elbow, were firmly lashed together with stout, thick cords of buffalo hide. They were bound so thoroughly that the possibility of breaking away from each other was utterly beyond question.

Into the right hand of each was then placed a hunting [412] knife, having a heavy buckhorn handle and a blade about nine inches long, evidently prepared for the occasion by being brought to a keen edge on both sides. The brothers then withdrew some twenty feet from the combatants, drawing from their belts similar knives, when the signal was given and the fight began. After that there was no call of "time"—no retreating to the "corner"—no planting the left heavily on the "mug"—they "toed the scratch" but once, and ended the combat in a single "round."

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824
fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 343
with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824
Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388
the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302]
nemeʎisas) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824
ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281
and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824
tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412
be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824
the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɔna*, and *itse* or *ṭimɔyhɔ*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 231 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers [493] for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 20 for front view.

231

FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 146B.)

412

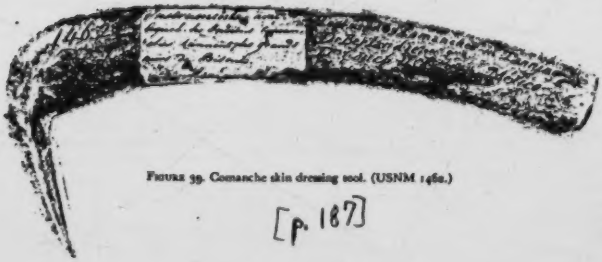

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 146a.)

[p. 187]

188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this 292
loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of
several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and 171
Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of
more abbreviated form.[20] A

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like 292
upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with 291
buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our 178
earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a 231
backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in 412
translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in [237]
length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner 412
surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in 284
place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 18.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 83) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A [Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

412 it would shrink as it dried and bind the blade securely to the handle. In 189
284 using this tool to remove the hair or to chip the inner surface of a buffalo
412 hide to an even thickness, the woman stood on the hide, bent over, and, with
281 the sharp blade nearly perpendicular to the surface of the hide, performed
her painstaking task with vigorous strokes, holding the tool with both hands.
412 Elk horn-handled skin-scraping tools of this kind were widely used among
(171) the Plains Indians, as well as the Shoshoni and their neighbors west of the
Rockies, in historic buffalo days.[24] This may be, however, the earliest well-documented example of this useful tool from the Comanche.

24. Wissler (1910, pp. 67–68) pictures four of these adze-like tools equipped with blades and gives the tribal distribution of this type of skin-dressing implement.

The Comanches

291 After the acquisition of bandannas, the man wore one around his neck. Instead of tying it in front, he used a button made from buffalo bone through which he pulled the ends of the handkerchief. The older men still wear bandannas in this manner.

294 There was a time when the art of sewing was unknown and when garments were tied together at the seams, but in modern times clothing was neatly sewed with sinew thread, which was very stout and durable. Such thread was made from the sinew lying along either side of the spine of the buffalo or deer. It was taken off in long pieces and dried, and strands of it were split off with the finger nails as needed. The strand of thread was then moistened in the mouth and rolled on the knee with the palm of the hand or between the palms, and one end of the thread pointed. With an awl a hole was made in the material, the fine point of the thread was passed through the hole, and the thread pulled through with the fingers.

294 Awls and needles were usually made of bone sharpened to a fine point. Steel substitutes were among the first articles traded by the
● 413 whites to the Indians, but the methods of sewing remained practically unchanged so long as leather was used for clothing. Sewing implements were carried in a small case made of dressed buffalo cow or calfskin tied to the belt. Such cases usually opened at the top with a flap. The awl was also carried by the men as a part of their everyday outfit, since it was an essential tool in their work. The men carried it in a small leather pouch with a flap covering, attached to the wrist by a buckskin thong. Pouches were ornamented with variously colored beads in simple design and sometimes fringed with metal pendants.

291 The buffalo robe was a regular part of the wardrobe. Hides for
294 robes were taken during the fall months of November and December. Some robes were prepared with the hair left on for use in extremely cold weather, while others were prepared with the hair removed for milder weather. Some specimens retained the holes around the edge through which pegs were driven in stretching the hide. Minor alterations in shape were made by cutting off the tail and legs and by tucking the ears through slits from the outer to the under side. The Comanche robe was usually made of two separate pieces sewed together down the center, because the buffalo was skinned by cutting

The Comanches

281 was thrown across a limb, laced to upright saplings (called a rack), thrown across a log flattened on top, or more often stretched upon the ground with flesh side up. If stretched upon the ground, it was made fast by means of wooden pins driven into the earth through small cuts in the edge of the hide. To get the best results in tanning, it was important that before the hide dried, it should be evenly fleshed, by which is meant freeing it of every particle of blood, fat, and flesh. This was necessary for rapid drying as well as to reduce the hide to a uniform and proper thickness.

281 Fleshing tools varied from a sharp flint flake or buffalo bone to an instrument similar to a drawing knife. Sometimes a wooden hoe
113 made from the fork of a limb of a tree with the cutting part sharpened and finely serrated was employed. The most commonly used instrument was shaped somewhat like an adze. The cutting edge of this tool was bound to a handle of elk horn with strings of rawhide or sinew. It could be used with one hand. With the appearance of the white man the flint cutting edge gave way to metal blades. The rough, abrasive surface of the dried skin of buffalo tongue was preferred in some bands. As the skin clothing and the skin lodges were made by the women, the fleshing implements were very important and were handed down from one generation to another.

281 With the fleshing tool the worker clipped the skin, cutting off a thin shaving with each blow. The skill of this process lay in so directing and tempering the blows as to cut off the skin and yet not hack through it, and in finally obtaining a perfectly smooth inner surface of uniform thickness. Moistened wood ashes were spread on the fatty, greasy surface from time to time and left long enough for the lye to neutralize the fat. This process completed, the hide was usually left to cure and bleach in the sun for several days, although it might be saturated occasionally in water.

The next step was to make the skin soft and pliable, for if given no further treatment, it became hard and inflexible. One satisfactory method was to place it in a hole in the ground, cover it with water and then tramp it for one or two hours. Most women used a tanning mixture composed of brains, liver, grease, basswood bark, soapweed, and water. The basswood bark or soapweed root was pounded fine and thoroughly mixed with the buffalo or deer brains or liver. Grease

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He [551]
had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-
red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

Obstinacy

ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined 727
for mercy, like their own vile curs.

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415] which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522] that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irksome—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgusting camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection. [515 364]

covered and undisturbed where I had left him. Accordingly, I gathered a pile of sticks, and withdrawing the charge from the rifle, ignited a priming of powder which presently resulted in a ruddy, and under other circumstances, a cheerful blaze. The mule meat was then broiled, and satisfying present appetite upon a portion, the remainder was carefully laid aside for future necessity. Thus provided with provisions for several days to come, it occurred to me that I might suffer for the lack of water on those thirsty mountains. The buffalo horn, though convenient at a stream or spring, could not be used in carrying away their contents. Some kind of vessel was indispensable, and in order to be furnished with such an article, I cut the bladder from the mule, blew it up, dried it by the fire, filled it from a sluggish pool at hand, tying the mouth with a strong buffalo string.

These labors performed, with the reloaded rifle in my hands, I sat down on the buffalo skin at the foot of a cedar tree and leaned against its trunk. Here, a new terror awaited me I had not anticipated. The mule's blood had been scented by wild beasts, wolves and panthers, which began to scream. Nearer and nearer they approached until the horse snuffed and snorted, and I could hear their teeth snap, and the dry sticks crackle beneath their feet. A dozen times I was on the point of ascending the tree, momentarily expecting to be attacked. With such a crash would they break through the thicket that many times I bounded to my feet, thinking the Indians were upon me. It was a fearful night, and the most fearful sound that has ever fallen on my ears is the scream of the panther, so like is it to the plaintive, agonizing shriek of a human being. The fortunate resolution I had taken to build a fire undoubtedly kept them off, and the absence of Indians beyond the sound of their unearthly confusion was the sole cause of my hiding

492 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of
525 thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[32]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

224 To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

262 The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

[271] When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available,
237 there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining
415 was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[32] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stove-boiled soup.

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fashioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasionally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions. Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture clothing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When properly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it provided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the Indians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33] In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was *Ka:wus,* the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was en- ●415 velope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

for use during winter and spring. Other bags contained ornaments, 352
wooden bowls, dishes, small horn spoons, extra clothing, personal belongings, and any odds and ends. In fact, the contents of a parfleche were a perpetual surprise. It might contain anything from a tooth to a gold coin.

No tipi furnishings were complete without a supply of utensils 415
or receptacles. They, too, were adapted to the environment and the mobile habits of the owner. No pottery was made or used, simply because it could not be conveniently handled and because more practical materials were at hand. Receptacles for carrying water during travel where water holes were far apart, as was usually the case in Comanche country, needed to be light and to pack well. The paunch of the buffalo met both requirements; therefore, before the introduction of the kettle it served well. A green paunch was hung from a limb or pole and hot stones held inside until the water boiled. Water vessels were also made from "cased" deer skins, that is, skins removed whole. The legs and necks were tied tightly with sinews. Buckets or cups could be made by tying one end of the skin of a leg and fitting a small rod around the inside of the other end. Drinking cups were made from buffalo horns and terrapin shells. A few wooden [322]
spoons and bowls were used. They were worked into shape by burning, scraping, and polishing. The Comanches, however, were little interested in this type of receptacle since it was more of a burden than an advantage in their way of life. Consequently, the workmanship was primitive. A very few crude baskets, knives of stone and [285]
bone (of metal after contact with the whites), mauls, a digging stick or two, and a few bone needles completed the tipi furnishings.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṅ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
● [415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their 352
beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast
it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal [251]
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times [571]
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride,
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 175
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 261
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost 152
lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175
262

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her 115
mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby 159
towns and act as interpreter. 177
593
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Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father 115
put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told 159
us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them 177
with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother 593
told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman.

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most 115
elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the 159
children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this 603
grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remem- 177
bering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life.

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south [342]
of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a 115
small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to 159
be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She 603
said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got 855
a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep [252]
and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound- [115]
meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the exter- 177
mination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. 178
Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Co- 114
manche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de
Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander 648
of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the 178
bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn)[1]
and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3,
1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier 127
artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the 114
ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and con- 531
tainers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal 177
hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–25 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle 714
defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made 237
from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was 415
furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention 789
of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan 113
Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 118.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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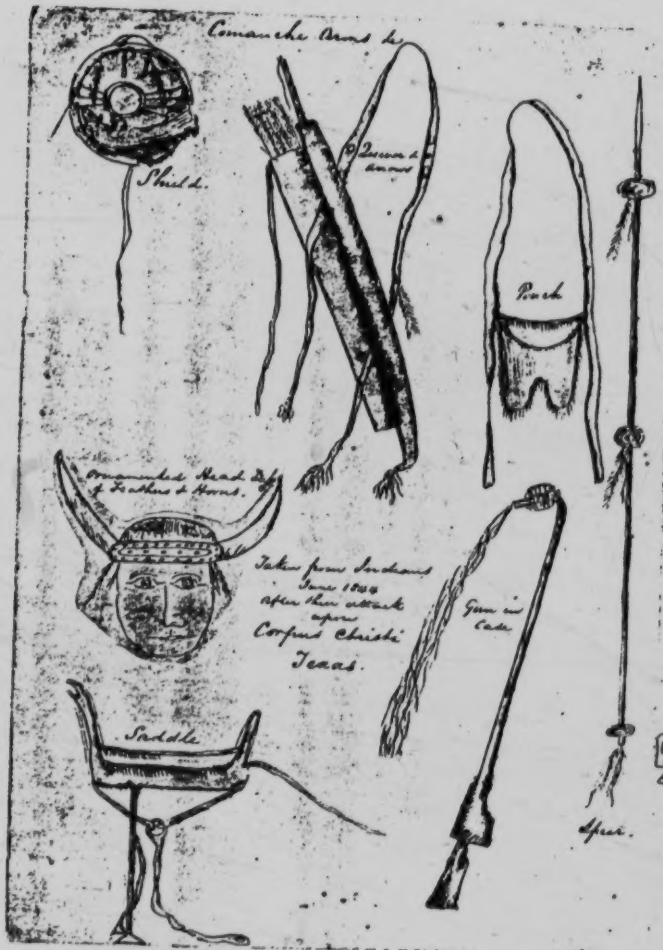

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FIGURE 18. Weapons and equipment captured from a Comanche war party that raided Corpus Christi, Texas, in June 1844. Sketch by William Billaert.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6
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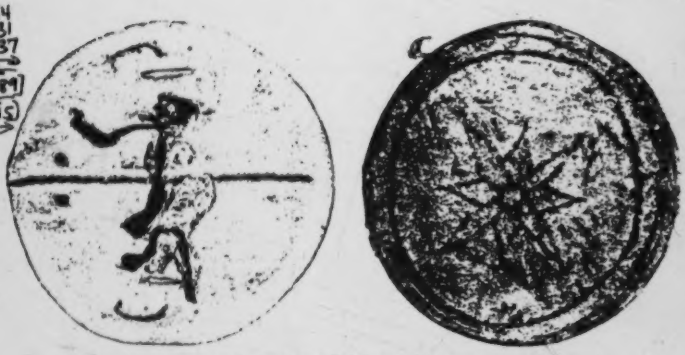

FIGURES 19–20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 443[illegible].)

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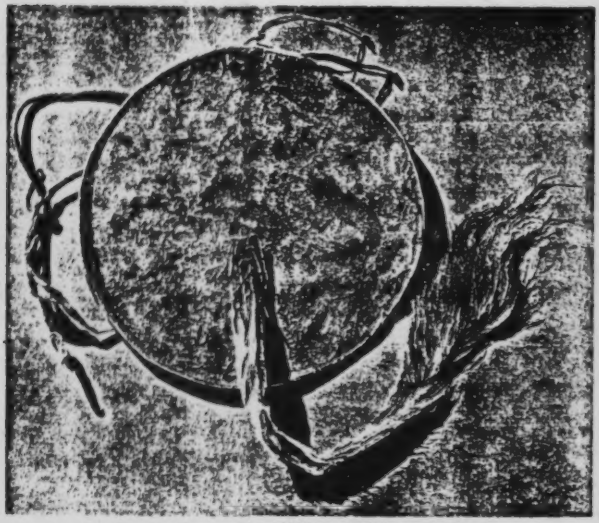

FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 6[illegible].579.)

[p. 170]

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.[A] The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62379. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 179]

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FIGURES 22–23. Comanche decorated shield and painted cover. (USNM 4430.)

[p. 172]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet. 714 531

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions. 532 172 531

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs. 531 714 789

Comanche Quivers Figures 24–25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8] 411 237 531 237 237 825

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa Indians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1850s. This piece measures 8 cm. in diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 415 237 415 531

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). 714

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1843, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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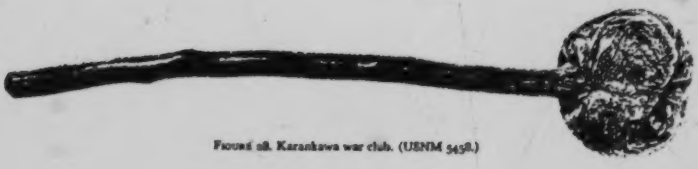

FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 56 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A See p. 180-B—Analyst.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

178 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13] 415 171 531

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red. 415 415 531

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14] 531 439 431

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian. 292 171

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top 283 531

13. Winter (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. 113

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermillion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

415
531

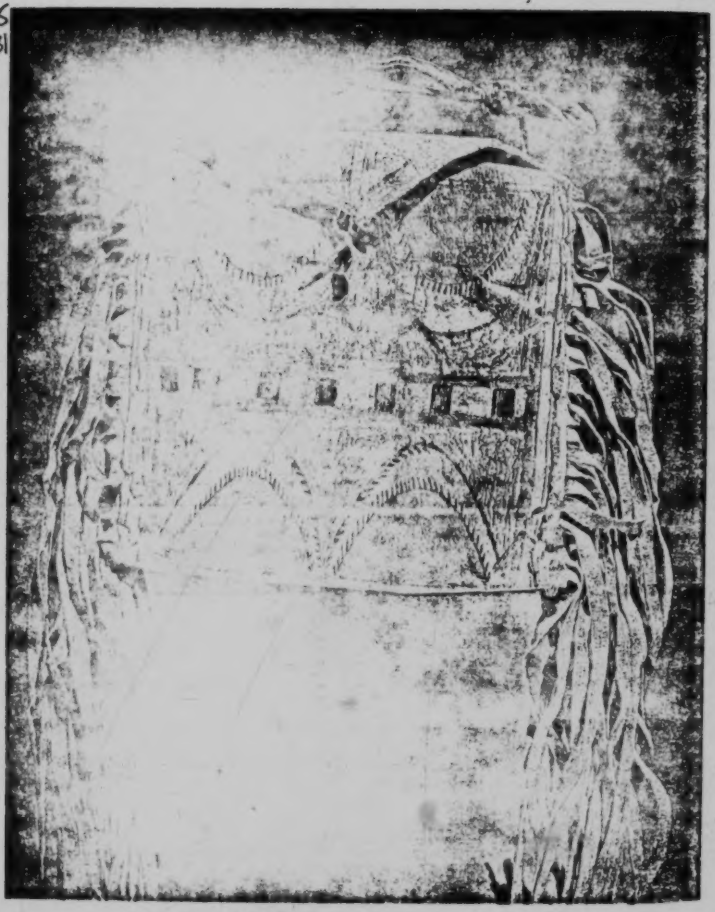

PLATE 18. Comanche painted rawhide case. (Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., E 3780.)

[p. 180-B]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

415
531

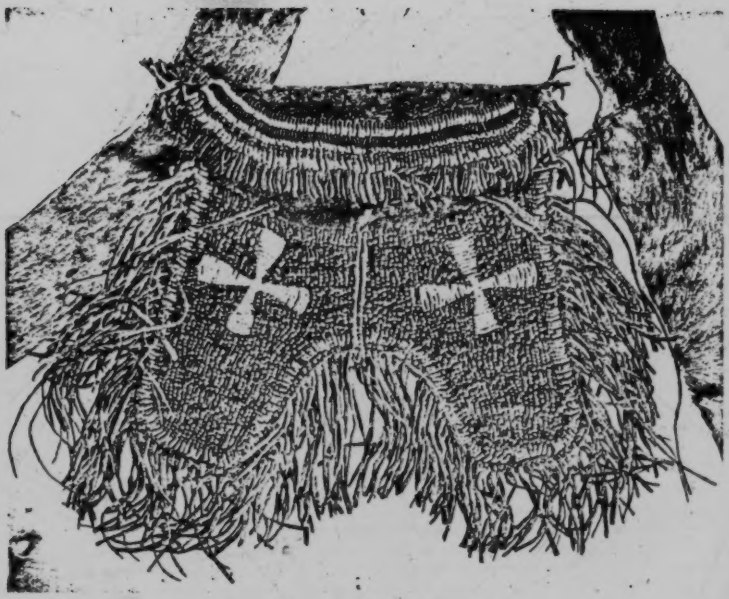

PLATE 19. Comanche beaded pouch. (USNM 1473.)

[p. 180-C]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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FIGURE 34. Comanche horsehide pouch. (USNM 1469.)

[p. 182]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

415
S31

FIGURE 35. Comanche small beaded pouch. (USNM 1467.)

[p. 183]

184 Two longer, complete feathers from a smaller bird are tied to the cord in a similar fashion. Probably this ornament was worn by a Comanche man at the back of the head, with the two longer feathers in an upright position, either as a war medicine or as a dance ornament. The circular ring is 17 cm. in outer diameter; the longest of the two complete feathers is 19 cm. in length. 30| [237]

Another Comanche feather ornament is composed of clipped turkey vulture feathers tied in line to a buckskin cord. (see Figure 31.) The length of this feathered band must originally have been 54 cm., although some feathers toward one end are now fragmentary. There are two buckskin tiestrings at one end, and one at the other. The length of this ornament suggests that it may have been worn as a headband or a neckband. [237]

Comanche Moccasins Figure 32

Although moccasins are probably the most common objects in Plains Indian collections, the pair illustrated in Figure 32 is especially noteworthy as probably the earliest documented example of Comanche footgear, and one of the earliest examples of the hard-soled moccasin from the Great Plains. Each moccasin consists of two pieces, a rawhide hard sole sewn to a soft-skin upper. The upper is a single piece of skin so cut as to furnish the narrow tongue and upturned ankle flap as well as the foot covering. The maximum sole length is 27 cm., and the highest portion of the ankle flap, measuring along the vertical seam at the back, is 10 cm. Each moccasin also has a buckskin tiestring which passes through holes in the upper just forward of the ankle opening, one at each side and one at the center of the back. 29|

Caddoan (?) Moccasins Figure 33

Berlandier does not claim that the moccasins illustrated in Figure 33 are of Comanche origin. They differ basically from the moccasins in Figure 32, each being formed of a single piece of soft dressed skin which provides the sole and covering for the foot as well as the relatively high-topped ankle flaps. These moccasins have no tongues. They are sewn in only two places, up the center back of the heel, and along the midline of the instep from toes to ankle opening, the front portion gathered and puckered over the toes. Each moccasin is 25 cm. long on the bottom of the foot and 17 cm. high at the vertical heel seam. Soft-soled moccasins of this general type had a wide distribution among the Woodland Indian tribes. Dr. Edward Palmer collected a pair of moccasins of this pattern among the Caddo in 1868.[18] The Berlandier specimen may also be of Caddoan origin. 17|

Comanche Horsehide Pouch Figure 34

A Comanche pouch of undetermined use was ingeniously fashioned from the neck and mane of a horse. The mane serves as a decorative pendant to a pouch, roughly 12 cm. square, formed by sewing portions of two sides of the neck together at the sides with sinew. The pouch was carried by a rawhide cord of uneven width, which passed over the user's shoulder and was sewn to the top of each side of the pouch. 45 [237]

18. See Swanton, 1942, plate 13 (top).

415 [531] A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35) may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

415 531

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 [28] [23] A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 106 cm. long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

292 292 531 292 292 531

Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36–37

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

[p. 185]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 186]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 126 386

I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N C 517 822

The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N C 386 824

All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected; all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415

When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

 N C 386 281 415

a thick paste — which has the property of loosening the dye from the fabrics, and facilitating its extraction. A small bag shaped like a money purse, and but little larger, made of new dog skin, deer or wolf skin, tanned by the Indians in a manner peculiar to them, is used to compress the juice from the pulp. This bag, a foot or eighteen inches long and three or four inches wide, is half filled with the pulp. Two small handles of wood are stuck through the ends of the bag, about the length of a corkscrew handle, and used to grasp a firm hold, and as levers by which the bag is twisted until the juice is extracted through the pores of the skin, which are very open.

Whether extracted or not for immediate use, the dye is carefully bottled, in glass if it can be procured, or in small bladders, if glass is not to be had. I say small bladders, because if put away in large quantities, the dye sometimes spoils, they say, and produces dingy colors. When put away for future use the light is carefully excluded by overwrapping with skins, or any thing else, and generally buried in the ground under a shelter in which fire is not used, so as to exclude heat. The dyes, however, are generally used soon as extracted, as during the winter the women prepare their best wool, and have it ready in the spring and summer for the process of dying.

N C 386 824 415

The pulp after compression is put into a small quantity of the same ley above spoken of, and permitted to remain several hours to extract any remaining dye that might be in it, and undergo the same squeezing process until no dye remains.

The ley is made with care of the ashes after burning, of the green wood of a shrub very similar to the *Auralia Spinosa*, if it be not the same of a stunted growth. So careful are they of procuring this ash unadulterated, that they have dry parcels of it laid by with which to ignite the green wood, that the ashes may not be commingled with those of other woods. The ley is usually made in a large gourd, well cleaned and dried, with the butt end cut off, and a small hole bored through the point of the neck to drip from. The gourd is three quarters filled with the ashes considerably compressed in it, and by a bale or handle suspended from a bar containing several of them. Each is then filled with

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 386 824 415

rain or pure river water: the point is stopped, and the water allowed to remain on the ashes for a day and night, and then permitted to drip into the vessel placed to catch the ley.

This ley is a little colored, and is clarified by the same process of filtration through clean white sand, or sand that has been used for the same purpose before — when clarified, the ley is used as before stated, and especially to set the colors, which seems to be the principal use of it. It has no caustic quality after filtration, but an astringency peculiar to itself — rather a pungent than burning quality. It is sometimes used to dilute the darker dyes and produce lighter shades.

N C 386

The wool to be dyed is washed in warm water until perfectly cleansed of the natural oil — using the root of a plant very abundant in Texas and southern New Mexico, as well as most of the southern states, of a very saponaceous quality, and known as the soap plant. In all their best fabrics — blankets, belts, leggings, etc., made of wool, their finest fleeces are used, and it is not unknown to many of our army officers and others, that the Navajoes give great attention to their management of sheep, and often produce fleeces almost or quite equal to the merino in fineness and softness of texture, by their skilful crosses and selections made after long and minute observations and care. A Camanche and Navajoe are as much delighted with the possession of a superior ram and ewe as of a fine horse, to the breeding of which they also give much attention. Von Thaer would not be more so with the possession of his finest buck. All their wool is dyed before spinning, and this is done by submerging it in the dye and letting it remain ten or fifteen days, the dye-pot being left covered: but during this soaking the wool is turned over once every day. Sometimes the lighter shades are imparted to the wool by soaking a shorter time — they say this produces a clearer tint. If not dark enough, the same process is repeated with fresh dye. I have been told by my guide, that the Camanches fumigate the wool after dying, over a smoke of the above described wood, to deepen the color, but I never saw it done.

N C [388 824] N C 286 236 N C 386

N C 386 824

Their green color is produced from the leaves of several plants, the juice of which is expressed in the same manner as from the flowers, and used in the same manner.

726 horses that fell behind were abandoned. No time was lost hunting for food. If necessary, old horses were killed and consumed. Captives who retarded the speed of the retreat might be abandoned or killed. To avoid surprise, they stopped to rest for only an hour or two and then moved on again, making three or four such stops within a day. To discourage pursuit, they would take a route on which they knew there was no water. When they became very thirsty, they killed horses and drank the blood. The meager supply of water carried in buffalo paunches was rationed, well guarded, and conserved for the children and women when they were along, or for wounded warriors. Clinton Smith declares that on one occasion the warriors did without water until their throats became too swollen for them to swallow readily.[21]

After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war-bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear-guard actions. The leader designated two men to remain on fast horses some distance behind, yet close enough to signal, in order to watch the back trail. They sometimes set fire to the grass to blot out their trail against both men and dogs, or they emptied pouches of skunk musk on the trail to prevent dogs from following in pursuit. After the advent of the white trader, the rear-guard scouts carried field glasses.[22]

[177 416]

727 When raiders had put two or three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. They needed rest and the wounded required attention. In most cases there were spoils to be divided, and the division was made as soon as convenient. The leader's eyes had been open to industry, willingness, and bravery. He noted or was soon told of the actions of his followers while in battle. Unless previously agreed otherwise, to the man who had excelled he allowed first choice of the horses to be divided. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his services as determined by the chief, the cook usually having high priority. The leader took his pick of what remained. The succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Liberality was

[21] *Ibid.* 60.

[22] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 34, 39, 40.

[23] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 142–43.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

142
291
301
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Ten Bears, in 1872

Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[facing p. 270]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

657 At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

PROPERTY, INHERITANCE AND CONTRACT

●421 Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics the institutions of land tenure, disposition and inheritance, the treatment of chattels and the obligations of contract make up the better half of the material about which law centers. Or, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown writes, "With us one of the most important aspects of succession is the transmission of property by inheritance." But the study of Comanche practice offers little of note on this phase of the subject. For as Radcliffe-Brown continues, "Yet in some of the simplest societies this is a matter of almost no significance at all. In an Australian tribe, for example, a man possesses a few weapons, tools, utensils, and personal ornaments, things of little value or permanence. On his death some of them may be destroyed, others may be distributed among his relatives and friends. But their disposal is of so little importance, unless in relation to ritual, that it is often difficult to find any rules of customary procedure."[1]

If this statement had been written for the Comanches, it could scarcely have been more apt.

LAND TENURE

423 The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly nor communally. One may merely speak of land as having been communally occupied. The possibility of dividing hunting grounds or seed patches by families as was donè among the northeastern Algonkians[2] was not considered, for as Schoolcraft wrote of the Comanches, "No dispute ever arises between the tribes (bands) with regard to their hunting grounds, the whole being held in common."[3] Within the tribe, therefore, land tenure was infer-
[648] tile soil for legal conflict. Trespass by persons of enemy tribes meant death, unless it was a woman whom they cared to take as a captive, or unless the warrior escaped by display of cunning or bravery. "Friendlies" could visit with impunity and partake of Comanche game without danger.

CHATTELS

422 Wealth for the Comanche centered largely in horses. The economics of horse ownership has been discussed above (pp. 14–15).

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[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession* (Iowa Law Review, Vol. XX), pp. 286 ff.

[2] F. G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories* (Canadian Geological Survey, Memoir 70, 1915).

[3] Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes, etc.*, Vol. 2, p. 131.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them
[421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for
648 an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com-
723 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres,
and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to
white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed
in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of
white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the
"Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and
in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown
open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had
been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres
648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain
statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally
proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine
Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has
been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money
from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was
enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to
permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for
[427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of
three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal
lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of indi-
vidual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt,
177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves
427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reserva-
tion. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over
the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds
of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets.
The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-
Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western
Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid an- [421]
nually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 204. [113]
8. Ibid.
9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 Each local group, whatever its size, had at least one permanent leader. In the small groups of a few lodges he was an outstanding person of ability and influence to whom lesser relatives and friends looked for guidance. He was the focal point of organization in their lives. The organization of such groups, so far as can be determined, was markedly similar to that which was characteristic for the aboriginal groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact, as summarized by Dr. Julian Steward.[15] In the larger bands the identity of the "extended family group" was submerged in the more embracing organization of the band, but not wholly lost. "Relatives tended to camp together." Whenever the band camp was moved, the same grouping of relatives tended to find its position in the new camp by establishing its location in relation to other "groups of relatives," so that the pattern of spacing within the camp retained a certain regularity. The large bands camped and functioned as units only during the summer season of dances and communal buffalo hunts. For a portion of the year the band was scattered and subdivided. Our data are not absolutely clear on this point, but the implication is that the break-up of the band was into the smaller "groups of relatives," including, of course, the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group. The family headmen, of which there was one for each camp-group, were the *pásaiβo*, or peace chiefs (to distinguish them from the war leaders) of the band. When the compound band was camping [623] and moving together as a unit it then contained several peace chiefs. On these occasions the peace chiefs appointed one of their number as leader for the season, with the remainder of the chiefs functioning as an advisory council for the group as a whole and at the same time maintaining their positions as family headmen to their own groups of followers.

THE ECONOMIC BASE[16]

238 It is usual to speak of the Comanches as a tribe of hunters. Insofar as they depended primarily on game for sustenance, this is true. But it is equally true, and usually overlooked, that they were just as definitely a pastoral people. Great herds of horses were accumulated. The most notable form of [422] wealth was in this form of chattel: horses were individually owned by both men and women.

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case

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[15] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16] The description of the material culture of the Comanches is a subject for separate treatment. This section is intended to serve merely as an orientation to Comanche subsistence methods.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

PROPERTY, INHERITANCE AND CONTRACT

421 Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics the institutions of land tenure, disposition and inheritance, the treatment of chattels and the obligations of contract make up the better half of the material about which law centers. Or, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown writes, "With us one of the most important aspects of succession is the transmission of property by inheritance." But the study of Comanche practice offers little of note on this phase of the subject. For as Radcliffe-Brown continues, "Yet in some of the simplest societies this is a matter of almost no significance at all. In an Australian tribe, for example, a man possesses a few weapons, tools, utensils, and personal ornaments, things of little value or permanence. On his death some of them may be destroyed, others may be distributed among his relatives and friends. But their disposal is of so little importance, unless in relation to ritual, that it is often difficult to find any rules of customary procedure."[1]

If this statement had been written for the Comanches, it could scarcely have been more apt.

LAND TENURE

423 The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly nor communally. One may merely speak of land as having been communally occupied. The possibility of dividing hunting grounds or seed patches by families as was done among the northeastern Algonkians[2] was not considered, for as Schoolcraft wrote of the Comanches, "No dispute ever arises between the tribes (bands) with regard to their hunting grounds, the whole being held in common."[3] Within the tribe, therefore, land tenure was infertile soil for legal conflict. Trespass by persons of enemy tribes meant death, unless it was a woman whom they cared to take as a captive, or unless the warrior escaped by display of cunning or bravery. "Friendlies" could visit with impunity and partake of Comanche game without danger.

[648]

CHATTELS

● 422 Wealth for the Comanche centered largely in horses. The economics of horse ownership has been discussed above (pp. 14–15).

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[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession* (Iowa Law Review, Vol. XX), pp. 286 ff.

[2] F. G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories* (Canadian Geological Survey, Memoir 70, 1915).

[3] Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes, etc.*, Vol. 2, p. 131.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections. 422 562

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of private property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride. 422 231

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself. 672 231

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make 574 224

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[721] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
422 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the
586 husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

feet to a post. Two men grabbed the hind legs, and the operator sat between the legs to do his cutting.[24] 232

Comanche horses were not ordinarily shod, but a man's favorite horse, if tenderfooted, was fitted with a rawhide boot soaked in water and tied over the sore hoofs.[25] Other riding horses had their hoofs toughened by walking them slowly back and forth near the heat and smoke of a fire.[26] 492

Among the Comanches, horses were private property. Each member of a family who was large enough to ride had one or more mounts of his own. The young child was usually given an old, gentle mare. The women had their riding mounts as well as mules and gentle horses for packing. Large numbers of mules were frequently found in the Comanche camps around the middle of the nineteenth century. Captives, before they were adopted into the tribe, were also forced to ride mules to lessen the danger of a break for freedom. [422]

Josiah Gregg was of the opinion that the Comanches had a universal custom of marking their animals by a slit in the tip of each ear.[27] Contemporary Comanches deny this, however, saying that any Comanche could distinguish one horse from another by looks just as easily as he could tell one person from another. After all, the Comanches lived with their horses.

Most accounts by early explorers on the plains agree that the Comanches were among the best horsemen the world has produced. Baldwin Möllhausen, a German scientist and traveler who crossed the Southern Plains in 1853, observed that from earliest childhood to the last days of his life the Comanche was continually on horseback. "Indeed, he makes but an awkward figure enough on foot, though he is no sooner mounted than he is transformed; and when with no other aid than that of the rein and heavy whip he makes his horse perform the most incredible feats," which gave him a feeling of independence and superiority.[28] Marcy stated that it was while the Co-

[24] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[25] Informant: Slope.

[26] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races*, I, 518, n.136; Parker, *op cit.*, 203.

[27] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 433.

[28] Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184.

Government and Law

Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics, the institution of land tenure, the disposition and inheritance of property, the treatment of chattels, and the obligations of contract form the most important aspects of civil law. Yet among the Comanches these had almost no significance. The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly, nor communally. One may speak of their country as being merely communally occupied. There are no records of any disputes between the bands over hunting grounds. The external boundaries of the Comanchería were not firmly fixed, but vaguely felt. Allies and friends were welcome to hunt and visit, but other outsiders entered on peril of their lives. 423 674

Wealth for the Comanches centered largely in horses, as has already been shown; horses were individually owned by both men and women. They were acceptable as a medium of exchange and could be used as payment of obligations in damage suits. Women, too, might be listed in the category of chattel property—first of father and brother and later of husband. Dogs must also be included under the heading of private property. They abounded, but after the acquisition of the horse had little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and sentries. The idea of liability for the acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite; nor could damages be collected for injuries received from a kicking horse. 674 422 [672]

The Comanches owned a number of captives who were chattel property until adopted as brothers by their owners if they were boys or married by their captors if they were girls. There were a few personal slaves held by blood covenant by individual warriors. They were generally captives, Mexicans forming the bulk of the number. A blood ceremony, according to Josiah Gregg, was performed with blood taken from a vein on the back of the captive's hand or arm. The ceremony was repeated whenever ownership of the slave changed. The slave had the right of life, food, and protection, since no one dared molest the property of another, and the owner could sell or transfer him at any time to whomever he chose.[25] There are indications that the Comanches captured and sold slaves merely as articles 422 567 [675]

[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

The Comanches

567 of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to
[422] their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even
641 respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn
[727] ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test
422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made,
424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation,
428 their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 325.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Bustin, op. cit. sec. II, 18-19, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [622] [312] [513] [514] [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28] 342 [177] [427] [514]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents. [422] [352] [354] [312] [591]

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., ms. II, 50, 15.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches [422] left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches [425] took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

[113] 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 665-671.

[113] 43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

[113] 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 604 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw

516 [352] their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 The incident that made Wer-que-yah stand out as an individual, instead of only another Indian customer, concerned my horse. I bought this horse to replace the little Oregon mare I sold when we came to Oklahoma. I had purchased her for $9.00 from a herd of wild Oregon horses shipped to our Kansas county seat. I bought my Oklahoma horse in the winter, and he hadn't been well cared for. I turned him out on the claim and grained him each night and morning when I fed the little mules. We drove the mules, hitched to a hack, to the claim each night after we closed the store and back to town in the morning.

When the grass came lush and green in the spring, the horse lost interest in his grain and seldom came to the barn. I hadn't seen him close up for some days, when I finally decided to bring him to town. He scarcely resembled the animal I had turned out. He had shed his winter coat, and his bay hair was as shiny as though it had been oiled and polished. A roached mane was all he needed to be ready for a show ring.

And wonder of wonders, the ticks were gone along with the winter coat. There must have been something in the green grass to cause the ticks to drop. The Texas cattle tick was the bane of all livestock. Control by dipping was many years away. I don't believe there was any relief from tick infection at the time. At least, I inquired but learned of none. Cattle brought in from the north and exposed to the ticks often died quickly.

231 After bringing my horse to town, I found he carried a brand,
422 which his winter coat had hidden. As brands go, it was dainty. It was small in design, and the burning surface of the branding iron was narrow. I asked a number of people, but none of them knew the brand. One day when Wer-que-yah was buying supplies, I drew the design of the brand on a paper sack and showed it to him.

Becoming quite excited, he struck himself in the chest several times with the inside of his closed fist, exclaiming, "Me. Brother. Me. Brother." I assumed he meant it was his brother's brand. When I told him I had a horse carrying the brand, he lost all interest in buying supplies.

231 The horse was staked about two hundred yards from the store, and we went at once. While some distance from the horse, the Indian appeared to recognize him and began smiling and talking to him. He never bothered to step around where he could see the brand. He put

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

his right arm around the horse's nose and his left arm over its head, 231
pulling the head down. All the time he was standing there hugging the horse's head, he was murmuring what sounded like Comanche baby talk.

After a little while, he took his right arm from around the horse's nose and broke out with a stream of excited talk. Mostly it was Comanche, but some was English when he had the words. Then he took his left arm down and added some sign language.

While this was going on, my horse stood quietly. From the moment the Indian first spoke to him, the horse had directed his attention to him, ignoring me completely. It has always been in my mind that the horse recognized the Indian about as quickly as the Indian recognized the horse.

I doubt if I understood more than 25 percent of what Wer-que- [124]
yah was telling me, and his son, Enoch, wasn't there to interpret. He hadn't seen the horse for five, maybe so six, years. I wondered if he hadn't owned an interest in the horse at one time, or perhaps owned an interest in the brand. The horse had been raced as a two- and three-year-old. Heap fast.

Then the horse ran into a wire fence. The Indian showed me a scar denoting a bad wire cut on the left shoulder, well down toward the leg. This was something else the winter coat had hidden completely, and I hadn't noticed it. Thinking the horse was ruined as a race horse, they had sold it.

The brother lived north of the Wichita Mountains—the sale had been made during reservations days, before the allotment and homesteading. Now here was the horse, well south of the mountains. I am sure my Indian friend thought it little short of a miracle.

I rode the horse to Wer-que-yah's home many times, and to his camp on the reservation when it was Grass Money time. There he would be camped with hundreds of other Indian families for the semi-annual payment. But I don't remember a time he missed petting the horse's head and giving it a bit of Comanche baby talk.

The older Comanches contended that they needed a brand on their 422
horses only as a safeguard from white horse thieves. They claimed to 231
know every horse they owned, whether one or a hundred, and were able to go into a herd and pick out their horses, regardless of how many there were in the herd.

Someway, somehow, this Indian knew a horse he hadn't seen 231

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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If this statement had been written for the Comanches, it could scarcely have been more apt.

LAND TENURE

●423 The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly nor communally. One may merely speak of land as having been communally occupied. The possibility of dividing hunting grounds or seed patches by families as was done among the northeastern Algonkians[2] was not considered, for as Schoolcraft wrote of the Comanches, "No dispute ever arises between the tribes (bands) with regard to their hunting grounds, the whole being held in common."[3] Within the tribe, therefore, land tenure was infertile soil for legal conflict. Trespass by persons of enemy tribes meant death, unless it was a woman whom they cared to take as a captive, or unless the warrior escaped by display of cunning or bravery. "Friendlies" could visit with impunity and partake of Comanche game without danger.

[648]

CHATTELS

422 Wealth for the Comanche centered largely in horses. The economics of horse ownership has been discussed above (pp. 14–15).

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[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession* (Iowa Law Review, Vol. XX), pp. 286 ff.

[2] F. G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories* (Canadian Geological Survey, Memoir 70, 1915).

[3] Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes, etc.*, Vol. 2, p. 131.

Government and Law

Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics, the institution of land tenure, the disposition and inheritance of property, the treatment of chattels, and the obligations of contract form the most important aspects of civil law. Yet among the Comanches these had almost no significance. The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly, nor communally. One may speak of their country as being merely communally occupied. There are no records of any disputes between the bands over hunting grounds. The external boundaries of the Comanchería were not firmly fixed, but vaguely felt. Allies and friends were welcome to hunt and visit, but other outsiders entered on peril of their lives. 423 674

Wealth for the Comanches centered largely in horses, as has already been shown; horses were individually owned by both men and women. They were acceptable as a medium of exchange and could be used as payment of obligations in damage suits. Women, too, might be listed in the category of chattel property—first of father and brother and later of husband. Dogs must also be included under the heading of private property. They abounded, but after the acquisition of the horse had little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and sentries. The idea of liability for the acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite; nor could damages be collected for injuries received from a kicking horse. 674 422 [672]

The Comanches owned a number of captives who were chattel property until adopted as brothers by their owners if they were boys or married by their captors if they were girls. There were a few personal slaves held by blood covenant by individual warriors. They were generally captives, Mexicans forming the bulk of the number. A blood ceremony, according to Josiah Gregg, was performed with blood taken from a vein on the back of the captive's hand or arm. The ceremony was repeated whenever ownership of the slave changed. The slave had the right of life, food, and protection, since no one dared molest the property of another, and the owner could sell or transfer him at any time to whomever he chose.[25] There are indications that the Comanches captured and sold slaves merely as articles 422 567 [675]

[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx[6]
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
their claims to the land formerly known as
● 423 Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[32] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[113] [32] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65–165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379–425; Part II, AA 17.98–120, 306–28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443–88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

[p. 145-A]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them
[421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for
648 an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com-
723 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres
648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for
[427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt,
177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves
427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[119] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 648
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 423
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance 657
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid an- [434]
nually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important
factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until
September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 290. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1940 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1940.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 28 pp., memo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

20: Wallace II-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise. 427 423 177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

427 423 423 657

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

427 434

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-318.

[113]

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers. [423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy,
829 what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is
[224] killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1495-1496.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land
648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
723 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white
186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the
money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late sum-
mer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and
horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whis-
key peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior
age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other
and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the
old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with
the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and
most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen
about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the
odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that after-
noon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark.
Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up
camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could
catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the
area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these
tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one
at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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423 principal agent was at Anadarko, but for a time sub-agents were
657 maintained at both Fort Sill and Cache. One of Quanah Parker's daughters, Laura Neda, married A. C. Birdsong, an agent at Cache. The actual Comanche Reservation period ended in 1901, when the members of the tribe took individual allotments.

123 In 1907 I quit working at the store and went away to school. I visited my parents from time to time and often saw some of my Indian friends in town during these visits. But I never saw Wer-que-yah again until late in the fall of 1919. He farmed some of his Post Oak Creek bottomland and had grain for his beloved horses in the winter. The day I saw him, he was selling a wagonload of husked yellow corn. The Record Book shows that he died the following September. Peet-So survived him by twenty years.

123 Some years after his death, my mother told me of a visit he and
609 Peet-So made to her and Dad's home. He had heard of my marriage and that we had a boy baby. He was able to make Mother understand that they wanted to see a picture of my baby.

Mother invited them in. Wer-que-yah and Peet-so sat together, and Mother said they oohed and ahed as though it had been a picture of one of their own grandsons whom they had never seen. It was shortly after the noon hour, and, learning that they hadn't eaten, Mother prepared them a meal. After they left, she was unable to find the photo. Apparently they considered it a gift. They may even have asked for it.

609 About ten years ago I was told yet another story. Glenn Hagar, a druggist at Chattanooga, was the teller of the tale. His father's farm was near the Wer-que-yah home. On days when they were not needed on the farm, he and his older brother often went to the Indian's home and played with his younger sons.

There were trees to climb, Post Oak Creek to wade and swim in, fish to be caught, and cool, clear spring water to drink. There were none of these things on their father's prairie farm.

Mr. Hagar's father's people lived just west of the present town of Faxon. His father's half-sister became seriously ill with typhoid fever. There were serious doubts as to whether she would recover. One morning, while the parents were waiting for the doctor to arrive, Wer-que-yah drove into their yard.

Tying his team, he came to the house and asked about the little

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ancestors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to congratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist. He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient. "Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanksgiving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the overcurious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
657 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
● 423 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead
177 of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
*NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

professed to feel it was all government land, of which the Indians were given the first pick. [77] [157] [423]

The meager description of the Bone-setter, compared to the detailed description of the horse he was riding, fed the flames of those who resented Indians and everything concerning them. They promptly accused Jim of laying a false scent. In number, sorrel horses are in the minority compared to other colors. The dissenters contended that while officers were hunting for a fugitive mounted on a tired sorrel horse, the hunted, on a fresh horse of a different color furnished by Jim, would escape.

Of course, there never was anything to indicate positively that the Bone-setter was a fugitive, nor did any representative of the law ever appear, hunting a mysterious cowboy. The fugitive idea was a product of minds wishing to believe the worst of anyone who gratuitously aided an Indian.

Some insisted that the mysterious Bone-setter hadn't left, but was being harbored by Jim. They wished to form a posse and make a search along West Cache Creek, on Jim's allotments, for the secretive cowboy's camp.

The wildest theory brought forward was the idea of the good Samaritan's having been done away with by one of Jim's squaws. This presumed that Albert regained partial consciousness about the time the Bone-setter finished his job and cried out in a delirium of pain. A nearby squaw used her butcher knife, the theory went, before Jim could rescue their benefactor.

To some, this explained the disappearance of the Bone-setter and the exactness of the description of the sorrel horse. The body could be disposed of in either of two ways. Stripped of its clothing, it could be weighted down in one of the deep holes along Cache Creek. There the garfish would soon dispose of the flesh, while an unbranded horse turned into Jim's herd would go unnoticed. Another suggestion had Jim stripping the body, tying it on a horse, and making a night trip into the Pasture Reserve. There the body could be left for the coyotes and buzzards to dispose of. (When the Pasture Reserve was opened in 1906 with a family on practically every quarter-section, a number of skeletons were found, one only about four miles from Chattanooga. A man named Richardson found it on his homestead. The writer went out the next morning, with the sheriff and county attorney, and helped gather up the bones.)

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005 101

Federal
Trust Area 657
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72) 161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE
The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 197 195 131 173 231 198 361 311 181 703 262
For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 195 648
Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[727] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
● 424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
422 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the
586 husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
428 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) person-*
768 *al usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

The Comanches

567 [422] of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even 641 [727] respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test 422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made, ●424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation, 428 their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

The Comanches

554 A coup was regarded as a type of incorporeal property, which
●424 could be transferred by the owner to a comrade in public ceremony. The practice may have emerged only since the advent of the reservation, when the restrictions upon fighting imposed by the whites made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanches devised the transfer technique. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be present. After the dance had continued for a time, the host, walking to the center of the ring, called a halt. There, in the presence of all the people, he narrated the details of a coup, swearing to the powers that the deed was his, and concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ———." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness that it is mine." The drum was struck a resounding blow. If those present gave their assent, the transfer of the coup was complete. The coup was bestowed only upon brave men; it could be neither sold nor inherited.[5]

721 The prosecution of warfare was a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war or raiding party, for there was no legal authority to restrain him. Although a vision was not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, it was in many cases the effective stimulus. Should a man inexperienced in warfare and without an established reputation attempt to organize and lead a party, he would be unlikely to secure a following. A young warrior was usually content to serve under others until he had gained experience. He must know when and how to attack and how to retreat without loss of men when the fighting went against him. On the other hand, a man whose qualities of bravery and leadership had been demonstrated in combat seldom found any difficulty in mustering a following when he announced his intention to go on the warpath. Nobody would risk leading a party without power. He may have received it through a vision or a dream. When a man declared that he knew how, he certainly felt that he did, else he would be afraid to say so. It was for each individual to determine for himself whether his own and the leader's power was working for success.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Post Oak Jim described the details of the process as he remembered it in his band, the Antelope, in slightly different terms. The novice collected his own feathers—one for each coup claimed and one for each successful raid participated in. After his first four notable deeds had drawn the attention of the ţékniwap class, he was nominated for ceremonial distinction. The special tipi was raised and the warriors sat as before. The candidate was invited to come to the meeting by the announcer. He sat beside the chief and was told the duties and dangers of a war leader. Then he smoked before the chief gave him four feathers from the tail of the eagle. "From that point on his rank is raised." But he did not yet wear his feathers; they were carefully hoarded until by forty-eight coups he had stripped the tails of four eagles. The feathers were then made into a war bonnet. In a second and more important ceremony it was conferred upon the fighter. He was thereafter considered ţékniwap, a true war chief. 624 554

Friends could help a comrade along by transferring to him war honors which were theirs by right. Nothing could more clearly attest both the legal and the property aspects of accorded honor-claims. The gracious act was not unusual. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be there. At the end of a dance the host called for a halt. Then he walked to the center of the dance ring. There, in the presence of all people, he swore before the Sun and the Earth, who had witnessed the killing of the enemy, that the deed was his. He concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ————————." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness ye that it is mine. *I* killed this man." The drum was struck a resounding blow. Turning to the people, he then called upon them to recognize his coup, and the transfer was complete. 624 425

But the transfer of war honors had a wise limitation. They could be neither sold nor inherited. They might be bestowed only as a gift, in the above manner. They were given only to brave men to help them towards the war leader status, or to a peace chief who had no war honors.[10]

Even in bands in which formal installation was established, there was also a much less official alternative open for attaining a war bonnet, though of a lower order. This was the buffalo scalp hat, which could be worn by a 624 554

[10] Professor Ralph Linton suggests that this practice may have emerged only since the advent of reservation days, when the restrictions upon fighting, imposed by the whites, made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanche devised the technique here described. We are unable to pass upon the question of the specific antiquity of the custom.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

the horse, but he didn't do anything. Apparently he did not believe he had an established right to his horse, or we should have seen a more typical Comanche reaction to the killing. 675 756

Nevertheless, when no fee had been indicated in advance, Comanche doctors were happy to receive gifts. But the true professional spirit prevailed, for it is said that if people were too poor to give gifts, it was of little concern to the medicine man. "He was glad to help out." But who knows perfection? Some medicine men hid when they thought they were going to be called upon for charity. However, if a female relative of a sick pauper asked the wife of a desired medicine man where the doctor might be, she she was "custom-bound" to tell.

While women were a nuisance in this way, medicine men had another way with others of them. A doctor could dream that if a certain woman came to ask for his help, the sick person would surely get well, providing the woman did his bidding during the cure. This is reputed to have been a not uncommon practice. Some of the more unscrupulous practitioners used it as a ruse to seduce reluctant women of their fancy, we were told. But whether a woman *had* to aid, or what she received for it, could not be determined.

On the other end of the contract, what happened when the promised fee was not given after the cure had been made? The Comanche practitioners were without legal means of restitution.

A Comanche of mean disposition would in native opinion have had recourse to sorcery, "but the honorable medicine man would forget it." Persons who failed to pay explicit fees, however, were the ones the doctors dodged, while the creditor medicine man never again took a case for the defaulters. The result was a normal, but guild-manifestation, of Malinowski's principle of withdrawal of reciprocal services in reprisal for deficiency of conduct.

The sale and transfer of supernatural powers among the Comanches was a form of contract in incorporeal property rights. As between close friends and relatives the offer and acceptance was informal and direct. It was when an ambitious youth yearned to purchase power of a strong medicine man with whom he had no close kinship that more formal steps were taken. First steps were taken by the neophyte's mother. She approached the head wife of the shaman. The woman thought it over. Then she learned from her husband what gifts would be required to satisfy him. These she described in detail to the mother at a later time. Anything within reason could be asked for, for "no matter what it costs them, they are going to have that medicine." 675 756 425

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

675 756 425 When the proper gifts had been collected, the boy's father loaded them upon a horse; he led it to the medicine man's lodge and tethered it a short way east of the tipi. Walking about the tipi counterclockwise in ceremonial custom, he passed through the door to be recieved by the shaman. Sitting by the medicine man at the west side of the lodge, the father offered smoke and stated the purpose of his visit. If the medicine man took the smoke it was an acceptance and the deal was closed.

The "sale" of power, it should be added, was not an alienation of the right of the original owner to use it himself. Our closest analogy is the revelation of a trade secret, use of which requires special talent. What the "seller" did was to prepare the neophyte in such a way that the guardian spirit of the medicine man would provide a vision visitation in which the power itself would be bestowed. No mortal could give supernatural power. He could merely lend his influence to lead to a cut-in.

The purchase of medicine was only a start on the road to success for young men. The most potent powers were never shared. Indeed, it was only when a shaman had more than one medicine that he was willing to sell an access to one of them. Then it was always his poorer. The presumable motivation is that prestige rests in rarity.

understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 without any damage, very much to my relief. 635

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727 of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574 This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727 collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425 pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727 Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622 there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches [422] left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches [425] took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

[113] 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 465-471.

[113] 43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 643.

[113] 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is absent. If the family with whom she stays are under the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [60] retreat four days, during

426 783 262

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and
[127] House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 422 458 434

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 246 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910. 113
24. Buntin, op. cit. see. II, 15-16, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1936 (MS. Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. 113

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a new home may have camped in the yard and used the house
342 to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,800; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,280; wages, $907,158 (1942); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them [421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com- 648 723 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres 648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of [427] three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt, 177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves 427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3] 434 177 427 [657]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained. 177 427 [657] [657]

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into 177 427 657

3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 14, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 346. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee
[113] Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 249.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 224. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10] 427 177 434 [796] [657]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11] 427 434 [177]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the 427 423 427 423 177

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1930 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1930. [113]

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 22 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise. 427 423 177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

427 423 423 657

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

427 434

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-310. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken
427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians
434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with
465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income.
464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut
465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the
434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Coman he NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McGown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,800; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,158 (1942); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [622] [312] [513] [514] [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28] 342 [177] [427] [514]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents. [422] [352] [354] [312] [591]

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 10, 11.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle. 152

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners. 464 609

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading. 427 [177] [657]

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Anadarko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross." 551 177 [115]

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- 492 [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen per- 643
suaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like 609
the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah [342]
had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender [177]
to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder [427]
why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think
that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from
him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon 643
after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles 351
northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would
not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor
from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of
forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, 133
an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to
the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except
for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched [137]
the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began
where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money pay- 000
ments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used.
These payments were often made at the reservation located just west
of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same
bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the
west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same
prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita
Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles [133]
of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would
have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have
required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming 133
the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie
proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as
hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles
of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The wounded were cared for by an army doctor. and the pris- 726
oners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better 657
than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, 726
and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we 439
opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as 427
Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian [435]
Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal 137
grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass 657
and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was dis- 427
tributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them 434
that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they [435]
had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

(b) to delegate the scouts, (c) to determine the camping places and periods of rest, (d) to appoint the cook and water carriers, (e) to lay the general strategy of attack, (f) to divide the booty, (g) to make a truce with the enemies, and (h) to order turning back of the expedition. 701 624

In battle, though the leader set an example of courage and daring, each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his medicine and his personal inclinations. After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear guard actions.

When raiders had put two to three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. Rest was needed. There were spoils to divide. The leader's eyes had been open to industry and willingness. He had noted or been told of the actions of his followers while in engagement. To the man who excelled, he allowed first choice of the horses. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his service as determined by the chief. The leader took his pick *of what remained*. Then the succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. If there was an acute shortage of horses, the cook was always taken care of. A nice adjustment, this: the cook had been burdened with the meat supply. If there were too few horses, only the bravest got any return. The leader, no matter what his deeds, got nothing at all if there were not enough horses to go around; in this, as in civil prosecutions, reputation and prestige-obligation counted for more than their visible badge: horses. (It is interesting to speculate on whether this would have persisted, had a *large* herd of horses had a productive economic use as well as a prestige value.) 727

A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Some men say that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, did not do this; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses himself. Their fathers refused to go on raids with him. 624

If a man on a raid was killed before the horses were divided, he was counted out. This is in curious contrast to the strong revenge feeling and the treatment of the cook. There can be no question of any principle akin to "out of sight, out of mind." And there would normally be heirs at home. However, if the horses had already been divided and he had claimed some as his own, then, were he killed, those horses went to his heirs.[7] 727 428

[7] The generalized principles included in the preceding paragraphs were not only given as statements by informants but were confirmed by the text of the war histories collected from the Comanches.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 224 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[721] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
422 586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

● 428 768 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

been done away with from intercourse with the more civilized Indians. . . .".[4] 428 Further, even the tipi in which the dead person, man or woman, lived was 768 totally destroyed; also for a child, but not for a baby. Articles of intimate personal usage were buried with the corpse. Other less important articles were burned. Possessions with medicine powers were either destroyed by throwing them into the river, or by placing them in an unfrequented tree where they could rot.

Claimants for any surplus property were the relatives, close friends 428 of the deceased and fellow tribesmen who came to mourn—especially those who mourned with enthusiasm. Superficially there seems to be no consistency in the Comanche rules of disposal—as to whether goods went to wife, to children, to brothers, or were given to non-relatives. The key is in the recognition of a plurality of levels of legal and customary claims.

First, the surplus property by "law" (presumably law, but its reliability could not be tested to determine enforcement) went to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. Thus Itoβits said that a wife would "probably" inherit the property, and if her mother-in-law still lived, she might divide with her. Where the marriage had been polygamous, Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man stated, "Only those wives who had had children by the deceased husband may inherit from him; the first wife administers the distribution." That's It offered that a wife could not keep all the property for herself. "If she tried to, her husband's friends would make trouble."

The first outside claim could be that of the deceased husbands' best friend. He was privileged to ask for the favorite horse: refusal reputedly never occurred. But this was not a cut-in on the widow's property, because if the horse was not given to the intimate friend as a keep-sake, it was invariably slaughtered at the grave. In no event did it enure to the widow. By pre-death testament a man occasionally expressed the desire that his [763] horse be given to a specified friend, rather than be slaughtered.

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could estab- 428 lish an obligatory claim in two ways. By providing a suit of clothes or add- 626 ing property of their own to the goods buried with the person, they imposed upon the survivors an obligation to share the estate. Visitors mourned and mourned until they were given sufficient gifts to stop them. This was an irresistible pressure from without.

Within the group of heirs, after the wife, surplus horses went to the 428 "father, mother, brothers, and all other relatives according to the degree of

[4] Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes, etc.*, vol. 2, p. 133.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

428 relationship." The maternal uncle had prior claim over the paternal.

However, the right to inherit must have meant very little when balanced against it were the exacting requirements of customary mourning. Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of a dead man gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that from the estate. The [762] burial of a suicide-mother in the Yep Eaters band was in this pattern. The mother hanged herself because her son called her a bitch for not doing for him what his wife should have done. When the body was brought in by her 428 elder sister and father, they laid out a large buffalo rug over a thong. Then, 764 "on this they put all the pretty, fine things the *family* owned. They dressed the dead woman in all her finery, painted her face, combed and plaited her hair, painting the scalp red up the part. They covered her arms from wrist to elbow with silver bracelets. They put on her finest moccasins with silver dollar trimmings. She wore two beautiful belts with handsomely trimmed possible pouches, and so forth. The women dressed her body. (A man dressed a man's.) Her father sat at her head, calling on all her relatives and friends to take their last look. There was a big crowd gathered outside. 'We are going to throw her away. She is going to live in the ground,' he cried. After the people had seen her, they folded the blankets over her, folding in all the fine, pretty things; then they wound the thong about it.

"During this time the women wailed. They tore their dresses off, leaving only skin aprons to cover their mid-region. They hacked at their arms and legs and face. Some cut off an ear. The men cut their flesh, too. This was done by her immediate kin and close friends.

"They brought her horse then with its own saddle. Across it, they threw her body. They put their finest silver-mounted bridle on the horse. They all mounted their horses, and the sister led the funeral horse to a natural cave in the mountains. They put her in it with her saddle. Then they killed her mount.

"When they came back—there was her tipi where she had lived with her father. Back of it was her son's tipi. They put all their belongings inside and burned them. They had *nothing* left."[5]

When people so made themselves destitute, they were on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went afoot on a raid to get horses and start life anew.

428 In situations where the family did not spontaneously go as far as did this 626 last one, the public pressure of mourners *forced* them to further giving. 765

[5] The quotations are from Talker, recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. " . . . in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

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428 183 *Case 40a. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping*
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man

"Before his death, A Big Fall By Tripping had made an announcement stating his desire that his best horses were to be slain with the arrows which he had in his three quivers. There were one hundred arrows in each. (Indeed, a wealthy man.) The remaining horses were to be divided up among the tribesmen. This order was executed by the tribe's best marksmen under the direction of a peace chief. Three hundred of the best were slain."

Case 40b. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: That's It

"A Big Fall By Tripping made no announcement whatever of testamentary desire. After his death the chief decided that the herd was too large for a woman to handle, so he set the warriors to slaying the horses. They worked at this until all the ammunition ran out. Still there were five hundred horses left. The chief thought it over then and decided that the woman could handle one hundred head without trouble. They picked out the gentler ones for her. Then the dead man's best friend took one hundred too. The chief asked the widow what she would like to have done with the rest, advising that it was good to give them to the husband's best friends. It was done in this way, with the mother and the grandfather of the most intimate friend of the old man coming in for a share too. The horse which had been used to carry the man's travois was buried in the grave with him."

Case 40c. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: She Invites Her Relatives

"The dead man's nephew rounded up the horses and started killing them. He was engaged in this when four disinterested men came to him and told him not to kill all of them. They told him to give the remaining horses to his own children and his friends. He decided to do as they suggested."

Case 40d. Inheritance: Estate of A Big Fall By Tripping
Informant: Talker

"There was an only child, a favorite daughter. Three nephews, Echo Of A Wolf's Howl, Little Crow and Old Weathered Tree, also survived him. They hated their 'sister' out of jealousy for her favored position during the fat man's lifetime. Because these men were her 'elder brothers,' they could control the disposition of the estate. They each selected forty or fifty good horses and shot the rest so that there would be none left for her. They killed so many that they lay in the meadow like so many shocks of wheat. They used their superior status to get even with her and she had no redress. If they had not been mean to her, they would have asked her to take some of the horses because her father would not have wanted her to be poor."

When confronted with such a situation as this the only sound interpretation the investigator can make is that inheritance rules were so uncertain

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that there was no commonly accepted formula to which retailers of the story could hold fast. Without this unconscious prompter of memory, the truth was soon dissipated and the event is described according to individual notions. 428 183

CONTRACT

Rounding out the survey of situations of possible legal significance, attention must be given to the phenomenon of contract wherein a party or parties assumed a definite, but limited, obligation by virtue of agreement. These obligations are not to be confused with such status-obligations as sharing food with one's father-in-law. These latter may be entered upon by acts of agreement such as marriage, but once entered upon they were social and legal duties inherent in the new relations and carried on indefinitely. Standing economic obligations of a reciprocal nature are not "contractual" in nature. Contract is a specific obligation undertaken at a specific time; the contractual arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. 675

In addition to the transfer of medicine powers and the payment of goods to settle a grievance there were other contract situations involving the rendering of personal services. Of these the most usual was curing; the next most important was the undertaking of responsibility to lead a revenge war party. A third was occult prophecy, or seer-seeing. And a fourth was sorcery for hire, or putting the enemy of another person on the spot through evil use of medicine powers. The last is not substantiated by any case material, but was attested by informants. Saddle and arrow making, if done on order, would also come under this heading.

In seeking a medicine man to perform a cure, there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The proposal and acceptance followed an institutionalized pattern which marked the occasion ceremonially as one of significance. In the first place, it was well to use a "political lawyer" to get the thing done, especially so, if the practitioner sought was a well known medicine man. A friend of the medicine man was known throughout the band as the best person to send to the doctor. The doctor would listen to him with willing ears. The petitioner was also familiar with the ways in which the medicine man liked to have the smoke handed to him and could make the petition smooth in many ways. Such intermediaries received their compensation not from the sick person, but from the doctor, as a share in the gifts received by him.[8] 675 756

[8] The use of a pipe lighting assistant is of limited Shoshonean distribution. Cf. W. S. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Chicago, 1938), p. 127.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
●428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

294 hide and boiled them down in water until the concoction made a glue-like sizing. It was spread over the surface to be decorated and [386] served as a fixer for the paint. The paints, which were mineral pigments in water, were pressed into the hide with the edge of a patella. After the design was completed, the hide was sized once again. Such [428] robes, although they could be buried with the owner at her funeral, were usually inherited by a younger sister.[25]

291 293 Both men and women normally went bareheaded, except in bad weather when the robe was pulled up to form a kind of temporary hood, but in later years many Comanches wore fur caps made of buffalo calf or coyote skins. Warriors sometimes wore a coiffure of buffalo horns or a hood made of the scalp of the buffalo with the horns attached in proper position as a part of their ceremonial attire. For special state or ceremonial occasions, feathers were worn as plumes or woven into a hood or war bonnet. The Indians of the East wore a narrow head band into which feathers were stuck upright, but the Comanches and other Plains Indians wore a kind of cap around which the feathers were placed so as to droop and spread backward, and not infrequently the cap supported a streamer.

293 Clark Wissler believes the war bonnet was not regularly worn prior to the reservation period by the Plains Indians, although by 1834 feathers were worn on the head as a badge of distinguished service throughout a wide area of the Plains.[26] His conclusion regarding the use of feathers by Plains Indians in general is fairly well substantiated by evidence regarding the Comanches. Had the war bonnet been worn, some of the early visitors would certainly have noted it. It was too conspicuous to have been overlooked. David G. Burnet mentioned the buffalo-horn headdress but not the war bonnet. Several accounts relate that feathers, particularly those of the eagle, were worn in the hair by warriors. Captain R. G. Carter, who was with Colonel MacKenzie in the campaigns against the Comanches in the eighteen seventies, was one of the first to mention feathered war bonnets of the "most unique and fantastical designs" as though they were regular and proper dress on special occasions.[27] They certainly never became

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Clark Wissler, *The Relations of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America*, 52–61.

[27] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 283.

The Comanches

567 [422] of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

641 [727] Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test 422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made, 424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

●428 At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation, their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

herd at the death of the owner was prejudicial to tribal interest, for, since the animals were freely lent, several people might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts, and they would be seriously handicapped in hunting and in war if the animals were killed. Also, in case of food shortage, horses were food. By 1870 it had become customary to kill only the deceased's favorite mount and to distribute the remainder of his horses among the surviving relatives and friends. No absolute rule governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was often hard feeling among the heirs. The culture apparently was moving toward a settlement of the problem through bequests and recognition that certain relatives and close friends had the right to take their choice of the property, but the lines were not yet clear.[26] 428

Although there seems to have been no absolute consistency in rules of disposal, property appears to have passed to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. She could not retain all the property herself. The first outside claim could be that of the deceased's best friend. He was entitled to the favorite horse, if it was not slaughtered at the grave. During the later period, a man often expressed the desire that his horse be given to a specified friend rather than slaughtered. Surplus horses went to the wife, father, mother, brothers, and other relatives according to the degree of relationship. Outsiders who had no personal claim to share in the estate could establish an obligatory claim either by providing property of their own to be buried with the person or by being helpers in mourning who "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop."[27] If death occurred in battle, the amount of wailing and the value of goods demanded in payment might be increased.

Contract occurs when a party assumes a definite and limited obligation by virtue of agreement. The contractural arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. Included among Comanche contractural agreements were the transfer of medicine powers, curing, the obligation to lead a revenge war party, occult prophecy, sorcery for hire, and hiring a specialist to help in the making of material objects such as arrows, saddles, and tipis. In the making of most con- 675

[26] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 297.
[27] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 133–34.

/page 34 continued/

C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 C K 608 [582] C K [178] C K [428] The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C K 177 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

OVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting. [492]

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance. 431 422

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors. [554]

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty-stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic factor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male. 233 556 [567]

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons. 224

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with
554 a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestow-
431 al. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ṭékniwʌp. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen; so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ṭékniwʌp. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimud-
701 ya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

culiar doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received 727
it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whir and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and for- [431]
mally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was con-
ducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse [262]
flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and *very* rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like 361
other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

The Comanches

177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
● 431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

● 431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

the several Comanche bands which resided on the 175 648 728
the eastern limits of New Mexico.

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including 175 648 the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were 728 probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the 101 Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during 175 the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band).

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate 175 hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion 728 of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, 648 Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief [643] with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, [431]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Six

REPORT ON COMANCHE AFFAIRS BY THE Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, Santa Fe, November 20, 1805, to the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces.

I AM NOTIFYING Your Excellency that three captains of the Yamparika Comanches who formerly lived to the north but now are found along the Rio Colorado [Canadian River], have presented themselves before me, requesting four favors, the nature of which are here explained; First that I should name as generals one of their captains called Somiquaso, and another from among the Cuchanticas called Quegue so that they would have leaders.

Second, that I should clothe them and present them gifts;

Third, that citizens from this Province should go and build them houses of wood forming a plaza along the aforementioned Rio Colorado near that of the Conchas. They agree to maintain the laborers and repay them with goods for their work;

And fourth, that I should set free certain prisoners and criminals.

I agreed to appoint the general whom they had requested and he took the name Carlos. I gave them

175
648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
439 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.

[643] On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
177 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the
182 Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing. 115 159 756

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine. 115 159 756 465 [431]

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping 756 773

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13]

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red.

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14]

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian.

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History.

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Boston, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C--Analyst.]
B [See p. 169--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over 412
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn 413
about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start.

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait 122
on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words 124
had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him.* This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs.

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. 432
When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches [436]
was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying 432
in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were 595
satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group.

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only [855]
variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made [858]
their own purchases.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

● 432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased
829 to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to
292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would
302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore
301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the
292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, 609 and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping 432 in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could 609 point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, 432 each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article 595 as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother began having trouble.

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. [198] As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of [124] their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

32:-Gilles O.K-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Finally, apparently losing her temper, the one-eyed squaw started 609
mouthing, ran to the south end of the counter, rounded the end, and 432
started back north toward where Mother was standing. Mother, realizing the squaw's intentions, began mimicking her mouthings, picked up her skirts slightly with either hand, as I had seen her do a thousand times when shooing chickens or helping with the livestock around the farm, charged directly toward the little Indian woman.

Mother's mouthing was just as loud and just as unintelligible as was the squaw's, and for an instant it looked as though the irrisistible force was about to collide with the immovable object. Then suddenly Number Three braked to a stop and began running backward. Mother gave her no time to turn around.

Abruptly, the trail ended for the back-peddling intruder—she reached the little window deck where Mother's flowers sat. It was as I have said, knee-high, and the cactus sat on the squaw's side. There was nothing left for the frightened Indian woman to do but sit down, and she sat with all her accumulated momentum directly upon Mother's cactus.

I never decided which arose first, the homely little squaw or her shrieks of pain. At the first shriek, the other wives ran to her rescue. A counter-top showcase hid Mother and the shrieking Indian woman. For all they knew, Mother might be murdering their companion.

When the other wives saw what had happened, they began 609
screaming also, but theirs were screams of laughter. Close behind 432
the wives came the other Comanche women who were sitting around 522
the stove, and their peals of laughter added to the bedlam. 152

From time to time I have read stories having to do with the stoicism 152
of the American Indians and their ability to repress emotions—re- 522
maining indifferent to either pleasure or pain. But I assure you, this repression doesn't include an already excited squaw, clad in a calico *pit-sa-quina*, who unexpectedly sits on a cactus. Neither did it extend to the several Comanche women present in the store when she had her mishap. The little one-eyed Indian woman's shrieks of anguish were what you would expect to hear, even from a sedate white woman, under similar circumstances. And the gales of merriment loosed by the other Comanche women present equaled what you would expect from a group of white women laughing at a companion involved in a like predicament.

Certainly, the victim's face registered a mixture of fear and pain 152

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Sometimes Mo-cho-rook would butcher a steer and bring at least 432 part of it into town to sell. More properly, I should say to let people 231 buy it. The extreme selling effort he made was to pull the tarpaulin back so that you could see the meat if you walked up. He hauled the meat in the back end of a small hack, or spring wagon, and I assume he took home whatever he failed to sell and dried it.

When you showed him the cut you wanted, he waited until you showed him how much money you had; then he would cut your meat, with an apparently very sharp hunting knife that had about an eight-inch blade. He had no scale to weigh your meat, nor did he have anything to wrap it in. You carried your meat to your home in your hand, unless you had the foresight to bring something to wrap it in. He gave you good value for your money. I recall weighing his meat only once, [435] and it ran about five cents a pound. This was about half what a white butcher would have charged you, had there been a white butcher around.

Fresh meat was hard to get. There was no ice for the first two or 000 three years, and a butcher didn't have much leeway in warm weather. Meat had to be sold the first day. We were entirely dependent on people who would bet that they could sell a beef out before it spoiled. Generally speaking, you only got to buy fresh meat on Saturdays, when there were the most people in town.

I was making every effort to gain a working knowledge of the 122 Comanche language, and whenever I had a friendly Indian in the store I would be writing down the names of things and acquiring useful phrases. Several months passed before I had learned enough so 124 that I could ask some of the old fellows about Mo-cho-rook. The young [122] men didn't care to discuss him. It could have been that they felt he was Bad Medicine.

One day I braced an old chap who was in a talking humor. We were in a comfortable spot, and we worried the subject for a couple of hours. He knew about as much English as I knew Comanche. Obviously, much of the vocabulary that I had accumulated around the store was useless in this conversation. Later I was to talk to numerous others, and ultimately an old squaw man helped me to edit, or arrange it properly, in my mind.

I asked my friend, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook? He no Comanche." Oshey-him may be translated as "Who is?" "What is?" or "Where is?" according to the way it is used, circumstances, etc. I think the most

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 326.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 15-18, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
[434] money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[113] [145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[p. 244-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them
[421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for
648 an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com-
723 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres
648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for
[427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt,
177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves
427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

:0: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO(Comanche NO6

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 14, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1888, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 346.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 298. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1949 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1950.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1946 (MS, 28 pp., memo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1946.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more 427
readily than they would have otherwise. 423
177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided 427
revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, produc- 423
tion and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields 423
were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the chan- 423
nel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the de- 657
cision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in 427
dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and 434
the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

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12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-310. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken
427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians
434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with
465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income.
464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut
465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the
434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 102. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, 273, and 1878, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1916. [113]
24. Bentin, op. cit, sec. II, 15-16, 18, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $330,000; social security assistance, $22,444; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,158 (1942); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
648 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could
657 prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 524.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

tesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded. In due 000
time some of the Indians wanted credit until Grass Money payment 657
time. The government paid fifty dollars twice a year to each man, 452
woman, and child. This represented interest on tribal funds the gov- 434
ernment was holding in trust.

Carrying the Indians' accounts until Grass Money time brought 527
on an unlooked-for complication. We had naturally supposed that when they received their pay, the Indians would return to their allotments. But the campout on the reservation of hundreds of families was too much like the old tribal life for them to return readily to their lonesome allotment camp.

They could feast, visit, gamble, and hold horse races, and those that drank were supplied by the whiskey peddlers. Then too there were many visitors from other tribes, as they knew food, beef, and whiskey would be plentiful.

To get our money we had to go to the reservation and collect 452
while they still had it. They were pleased to see us, and they paid readily. They wanted to keep their credit good, but putting aside the necessary amount so as to pay up on their return was too much planning for them. That was especially true of the drinkers.

My first collection trip was successful and uneventful, and from then on it was my regular chore, and an interesting one. I would be gone from one to two days if the payment was held near the town of Cache, and longer when it was held near Ft. Sill at what was called "The Stone Store."

When death struck our little community, we were poorly pre- 000
pared. Two women and one baby died in a single night. All the needs for a funeral were lacking--no undertaker, no caskets, no cemetery, and no preacher.

Early the next morning caskets were put together from yellow pine and brought to our store and set on sawhorses. There the townswomen covered, padded, and lined them. Black calico was used for the covering of the adult caskets, and white muslin for the baby's. Quilting cotton was used for the padding and pillow, and bleached muslin for the lining.

Handles intended for toolboxes were screwed on the sides of the adult caskets by Dad after the women had tacked the black calico in place. Permission to bury the bodies on the claim adjoining the town on the north was granted by an old German homesteader.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the rempant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the pris- 726
oners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better 657
than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, 726
and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we 439
opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as 427
Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian [435]
Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal 137
grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass 657
and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was dis- 427
tributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them 434
that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they [435]
had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 635
without any damage, very much to my relief.

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727
of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574
This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727
collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425
pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] ●
carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727
Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622
there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'*mɔtɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 [462] The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

The modern bows were approximately three feet in length, most of them made of wood, although there were a few sinew-backed or compound ones made of buffalo, elk, or mountain-sheep horn. The latter were highly finished and required more time to make. They were worth from six to twenty ponies each.[6] 411 321 [435]

Not all men made bows in the same way, each workman following the method he thought best. The Comanche country stretched over a wide area, and the best bow materials found in one section might not be available in another. Methods varied with time also. Yet, in general, the process was much the same from the Pecos to the Arkansas and from the Cross Timbers to New Mexico. In making the horn or compound bow, the horns were first thrown into warm water and allowed to remain until they became flexible. They were then straightened and strips of suitable width were cut or sawed. After the strips were filed, shaved, scraped, or rubbed down until the flat sides fitted nicely, the desired length was obtained by overlapping and gluing the ends of from two to four slices. Another piece of horn was then laid on the center at the grasp, where it was glued fast. The whole was then filed or scraped down until it was well proportioned. All the joints were firmly bound with sinew to give resiliency to the bow. Several weeks were required for a skilled workman to make a good, ornamented bow of this type.

Bows were sometimes, though rarely, made of a single piece of horn. A long piece, as nearly straight as possible, was whittled, scraped, and rubbed until it was quite thin. After being made pliable by heating, greasing, and working, it was lashed to a straight stick and left until dry and straight. It was then firmly wrapped with sinew, which was secured in place with glue. Bows of buffalo ribs were sometimes made by the same process. Such bows, however, were of little practical use.

The wooden bow was the common bow of the Comanches. It was made principally from the Osage orange, or bois d'arc. Some Indian tribes called the tree "smooth bow"; the Omahas referred to it as yellowwood, but the French gave it the name *bois d'arc,* by which it is best known. It was plentiful along the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and in the eastern fringe of the Comanche country southward 322 411

[6] Garretson, *op. cit.,* 178.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation. [435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6] [426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] [113] [127] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid an-
nually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left with-
out any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important
factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until
September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agri-
cultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land
for agricultural purposes were required to make certain im-
provements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five
years were required to place on each allotment a three-room
house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees
were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs.
All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease
expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 234. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sometimes Mo-cho-rook would butcher a steer and bring at least 432
part of it into town to sell. More properly, I should say to let people 231
buy it. The extreme selling effort he made was to pull the tarpaulin back so that you could see the meat if you walked up. He hauled the meat in the back end of a small hack, or spring wagon, and I assume he took home whatever he failed to sell and dried it.

When you showed him the cut you wanted, he waited until you showed him how much money you had; then he would cut your meat, with an apparently very sharp hunting knife that had about an eight-inch blade. He had no scale to weigh your meat, nor did he have anything to wrap it in. You carried your meat to your home in your hand, unless you had the foresight to bring something to wrap it in. He gave you good value for your money. I recall weighing his meat only once, [435] and it ran about five cents a pound. This was about half what a white butcher would have charged you, had there been a white butcher around.

Fresh meat was hard to get. There was no ice for the first two or 000
three years, and a butcher didn't have much leeway in warm weather. Meat had to be sold the first day. We were entirely dependent on people who would bet that they could sell a beef out before it spoiled. Generally speaking, you only got to buy fresh meat on Saturdays, when there were the most people in town.

I was making every effort to gain a working knowledge of the 122
Comanche language, and whenever I had a friendly Indian in the store I would be writing down the names of things and acquiring useful phrases. Several months passed before I had learned enough so 124
that I could ask some of the old fellows about Mo-cho-rook. The young [122]
men didn't care to discuss him. It could have been that they felt he was Bad Medicine.

One day I braced an old chap who was in a talking humor. We were in a comfortable spot, and we worried the subject for a couple of hours. He knew about as much English as I knew Comanche. Obviously, much of the vocabulary that I had accumulated around the store was useless in this conversation. Later I was to talk to numerous others, and ultimately an old squaw man helped me to edit, or arrange it properly, in my mind.

I asked my friend, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook? He no Comanche." Oshey-him may be translated as "Who is?" "What is?" or "Where is?" according to the way it is used, circumstances, etc. I think the most

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche
262 bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
435 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
511 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435 for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 511 525 compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273] The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273 amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492 mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868] learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273 little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609 rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273 They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the pris- 726
oners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better 657
than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, 726
and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we 439
opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as 427
Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian [435]
Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal 137
grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass 657
and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was dis- 427
tributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them 434
that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they [435]
had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

The Comanches

177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
●436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buf-
492 falo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have
[224] two sets of trained horses--one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and
462 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-
721 month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the
[492] camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually
[231] one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred
[224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat,
[251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After
462 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything
28. [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither
[283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone
[412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers
[493] for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bare babies, nursed them, and raised them to be
[436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized
567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The
727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur-
[582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives.
[702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start. 413

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs. 122 124

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group. 432 [436] 432 595

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases. [855] [858]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"STRANGER HE COME"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
437

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

643 along the west side of Comanche land, skirt the west end of the
437 Wichita Mountains (near where the town of Snyder, Oklahoma, is located), and on north to the Washita River and the Cheyenne-Arapaho country.

000 Moving a herd of stock cattle is much slower than trailing steers. Most of the cows were heavy with calf, and they began dropping their calves before the Red River was reached. This called for a calf wagon to haul the calves the first few days of their lives, until they were strong enough to keep up with the drive.

Reaching the river early one afternoon, they put the herd across and made camp on the north bank. The crossing was made just south of the present town of Davidson, Oklahoma. As usual, the cook wagon was stopped with the tongue pointed north, so if it was a cloudy morning they would know how to point the herd. The drover left at daybreak, taking my narrator with him, to find Quanah Parker.

Before leaving, he told his straw boss to drive due north until he sighted the mountains. Then he was to veer east enough to just skirt the west end of the main range. He said there was a sizable creek of clear sweet water flowing due west from the end of the range. It was about thirty to thirty-five miles to the mountains. The straw boss was to hold the herd there and await the arrival of the boss drover.

It was about sixty miles to Fort Sill from the place where they left the herd. Learning at the fort the location of Quanah's camp, they rode there and arranged with Quanah to rendezvous with the herd.

I was told what year this drive was made, but I no longer remember. Harry Drago, in his book *Great American Cattle Trails*, says a herd was put across the river at approximately the same spot in 1877. When a man by the name of Doan, an Indian trader at Fort Sill, learned of cattle being put across there and driven due north, he decided to put in a store on the south side of the river. From then till the end of the cattle drives in the middle eighties, this crossing was known as Doan's Crossing.

The Doans operated their store about seven years—perhaps until 1885. It is estimated that over the seven years several million longhorns were put across the river in the general vicinity of the store. Doan hired men to cut the coarse wild grass along the river and spread the hay on the sand to make a better crossing. As one layer

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

was tramped into the sand, he had another layer spread. He charged 000
twenty-five cents a head for cattle to cross his hay-paved crossing; but much of the time the river was tame, and drovers risked the danger of quicksand to save the toll.

Then too, many did not have the necessary funds. Even twenty-five cents a head for two to three thousand head of cattle ran into quite a sum of money, in a just-after-the-war economy. Doan's store was the jumping-off place; it was the last place to buy supplies until a town in Kansas could be reached; the last place mail could be received or sent; the last place owners could meet up with their herd or issue orders to their drovers.

Later, on the same night when my narrator and his boss joined the herd, they heard Quanah and his young men go into camp a short distance down the creek. At daylight they took a quarter of beef 643
down to Quanah's camp and invited him to eat breakfast at the cook 609
wagon.

By the time breakfast was over it began to rain, but they cut [437]
out the seventeen head of big steers promised Quanah, and the Indians started for Quanah's camp. But he left two of his young men to accompany the drive to the Washita River. They were to tell any other Indians who might try to stop the herd that it was paid through to the Washita.

Apparently it was the first time the young Indians had had all the coffee they could drink, and they rode to the chuck wagon soon after it made each stop. Food three times a day was also something [264]
new, and evidently they enjoyed the trip. When the Washita was reached, the boss got the stores out and gave each of the young braves a pair of jeans pants and a calico shirt.

Because of continuous rain, they held the cattle for three days at 000
the camp where they met Quanah. The grass was excellent. As my narrator expressed it, "The grama-grass was belly high to a yearling," and the herd was healthy and putting on weight. The trip on to Wyoming was uneventful, and they were able to save nearly all the calves.

A ready market was found for the cattle, and at a better price than had been expected. Some of the cowboys decided to work a while for the ranchers buying the cattle, but this drive had gone so well that my narrator decided he wanted to try his hand at bossing a drive.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 224 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[72] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

422 The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

422 Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of personal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438 439

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel.

621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

the crow, the kingfisher, the prairie hen, and the eagle, so 292
dyed by his ingenious wives as to reflect all the colors of the rainbow. Of all the horses that grazed the wide pastures round about his camp, he was mounted upon the most fleet and spirited—the weapons of war in which he was accoutred were a knife thrust through his belt, a hatchet suspended from the pommel of his saddle, and a Mexican rifle, rare among his tribe, upon the possession of which he prided himself exceedingly.

I bestrode the same old mule that had so often and so 000
far borne me on her back, with nothing hanging from my saddlebow but a huge buffalo horn wherewith to furnish my doughty master with cool draughts from the streams as we journeyed on the way. Saluting the Sleek Otter, who little thought it was the last nod she would ever receive from her long-haired spouse—for, not having seen a razor for three years, I was very far from being "the man all shaven and shorn, who married the maiden all forlorn"—we trotted away from the village, myself in advance, neither of us destined ever to return.

From early morning we traveled leisurely but steadily, 574
and at sunset entered a valley wherein resided a small tribe 439
whose chief was *Nis-ti-u-na,* the Wild Horse. The usual hospitalities were extended—or rather on this occasion they were unusual—inasmuch as a party had just returned from a meeting with the traders, bringing with them a quantity of mescal, a kind of whisky distilled from the fruit of a tree, commonly known in Mexico as the cabbage tree.

An Indian's dignity, whether chief or subject, never rises 574
to that elevated degree which prevents his getting drunk 273
every opportunity that offers, and consequently it followed, as a matter of course, that so distinguished a visitor as the Rolling Thunder, arrived at that peculiar juncture, could

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

000 still remain among the Indians. My own observation, together with the knowledge obtained from the chiefs and warriors of the tribes to which I was so long attached, places the matter beyond dispute, that a large number of white prisoners, principally women, are held by them.

Their situation, above all others, is eminently one deserving the consideration of humane and philanthropic persons. The barbarity and degradation to which they are doomed, render them, truly, especial objects of pity and compassion, and whoever engages to accomplish their deliverance will enter on a work of Christian charity.

If the proper effort were made in the right direction, beyond question, many of them could be rescued. It would not require an armed invasion of the Indian territory; such an invasion, however salutary it might prove in other respects, would in all probability result disastrously to the captive. There is a peaceful and far more economical mode by which their liberation can be effected, and this is through the instrumentality of the traders.

727
439

These compose a privileged class among the savages; are protected rather than injured by them. They are relied upon for their annual supply of knives, hatchets, calico, and trinkets. Arrangements could therefore be made with the traders to purchase the white men and women belonging to the several tribes with which they have intercourse—purchases easily to be negotiated if supplied with the necessary means. In most instances they are without friends, the survivors of emigrant families, attacked and overcome while journeying to the distant West. Bearing always in remembrance the awful scenes of agony and torture it has been my lot to witness, I can never cease to plead with my countrymen to interest themselves in behalf of those who are still in

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

bonds, and subject to the same cruelties; ready, myself, 727
though prematurely old, to devote the remainder of my 439
days, without reward, to the accomplishment of their
ransom.

The Comanches

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

The Comanches

222 like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made [262] of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

262 Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade 439 from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

[276] Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

263 Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

251 The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (ɔyɔ:t), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

264 It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

one of the surest forms of insurance against ill fortune, for where one had given he could legitimately expect a return. 727

In theory the leader could retain as much of the loot for himself as he wished.[23] Actually, leaders rarely kept more than a small share for themselves and often gave all the loot to their followers. Success in war, with its attendant spoils, was believed to be due to the leader's medicine, that is, his supernatural powers. Such power came and went capriciously, and its presence was revealed to a man by a subjective reaction which he could immediately recognize. If the leader kept the bulk of the spoils, that act was tantamount to a confession that he felt his power was waning. He was keeping what he could, because he knew that he might not be able to get more. The selfish leader was likely to lose prestige and have difficulty in recruiting his next war party. If he gave freely, it showed that he knew his medicine was strong. It is said that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, was not always liberal toward his followers; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses for himself. Some of the warriors refused to go on raids with him for this reason.[24] If a man on a raid was killed before the spoils were divided, his heirs were not included in the division, but if he had personally taken any horses singlehanded, they were supposed to be turned over to his family.

About the time of the Civil War, when the cattlemen were pushing westward beyond the line of settlements across Texas into the Comanche country, Texas cattle became an important article of plunder. Stolen cattle were exchanged for goods with the *Comancheros,* or traders from New Mexico. Cattle constituted a commodity easily procured and transported, and they could be obtained in almost unlimited numbers. The Comanches felt that if only the raiders could succeed in driving off enough of the intruders' cattle, it would discourage further encroachment into their country. There were regular meeting places where traders with their cart-loads of commodities met the Comanches to trade for horses and cattle. So abundant was the trade that it was reported in 1867 that the territory of New Mexico was "filled with Texas cattle."[25] In exhange for these cattle the Co- 727 439

[24] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Whitewolf.

[25] A. B. Norton (superintendent Indian Affairs, New Mexico) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1867, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1867, 194–95.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

727 manches received ammunition, knives, calico, coffee, arrow points, tobacco, whiskey, and gewgaws. An idea of the enormous extent of this trade may be gained from the fact that in 1867 Charles Goodnight found six hundred head of his cattle, which had been stolen sometime before from his range near old Fort Belknap, on Gallinas Creek in New Mexico. He was firmly convinced that at least three hundred thousand head of Texas cattle had been stolen and sold or traded to New Mexicans during the Civil War. A later and more conservative estimate by another Texas ranchman set the loss for the two decades preceding 1873 at one hundred thousand head.[26] Most of these cattle were driven to New Mexcio by the Comanches and their Kiowa allies. The most active band of Comanches engaged in plundering cattle was the Antelope of the *Llano Estacado.*

727 If a returning war or raiding party had been unsuccessful, it was customary to bury those who died on the road. They laid the deceased in a crevice or shallow grave and piled rocks over it to prevent the corpse's being disturbed by predatory animals. The warriors separated upon approaching the main camp and, with their faces painted black and the tails of their horses shaved, dropped into it one by one quietly and without fanfare. If several warriors had been lost, the entire camp broke forth in a pandemonium of wailing; recent captives were in danger of being abused, tortured, or slain; violence and frenzy reigned supreme. The female relatives of slain Indians were expected to evidence their grief by shrill lamentations and self-torture, continuing the demonstrations for weeks, months, and even years. They cut their legs and arms and cut off finger tips and hair, painted their faces black, and piled ashes on their heads. Usually they tore down the tipis of the dead warriors and destroyed or gave away their property. "A war leader will always comfort the survivors of a casualty on his party," said Post Oak Jim, "and will sometimes give them a horse or other gift."

A successful returning party timed its arrival so as to enter the village during the morning hours; they halted on an elevation a short distance from the village and sent a messenger ahead to inform the

[26] J. E. Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas*, 26: C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, 82, n.73.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
434 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔɔβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

They manufacture it into bows, which become articles of commerce, and 824
are sometimes exchanged for peltries, etc. I knew a Sioux to give his horse for 411
a single one; and among the upper tribes they frequently bring three or four 439
beaver skins each. The tree is so highly valued, that they never destroy it, except when wanted for use, or in the territories of their enemies; in the latter case, they make its destruction as particular an object, as they do that of their game.

Since the Comanche were more or less in control of at least a part of the area in which the Osage orange grew they were doubtless in a position to profit through trading it to other tribes. The Tewa tribes of the Rio Grande valley specified the Comanche particularly as a source of their Osage orange bowwood (20, p. 68).

Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the bows of the Co- 824
manche as being made of the tough and elastic wood of the Osage 411
orange, "strengthened and reinforced with the sinews of the deer wrapped firmly around them." This brief and incomplete description suggests the sinew-backed bow which is classified by Mason (17, p. 638) as the "seized bow" and which had sinew "wrapped about" it, but Mason seems nowhere to describe this bow in detail, has no illustrations of it, and gives no distribution of it among American Indians. The description might also apply to the sinew-lined type of sinew-backed bow except that it does not mention the lining of sinew, often inconspicuous, which was usually bound on by transverse bands of sinew. The "Shoshonean or narrow" type of sinew-lined bow (17, pp. 638, 643, and Plates 61 and 79) may be indicated. This bow had its distribution among the Shoshonean tribes of the Great Basin and among the Apache, the Navajo, and the Pueblos, but, according to Mason, did not occur east of the Rocky Mountains (17, pp. 640, 643). Wissler (25, pp. 159–160), however, examined bows in the American Museum of Natural History from various Plains tribes and noted sinew-lined ones from some of the northern Plains tribes. He considered these intrusive from the sinew-backed bow area to the immediate west, supplementary to the self bow, and of exceptional occurrence. The Comanche bows which Wissler mentioned appear to have been of the simple, unbacked type. It does not seem likely that the Comanche bows mentioned by Marcy and McClellan were such, for Mason nowhere describes or illustrates self bows bound with sinew. Whether or not the bows seen by Marcy and McClellan were sinew-backed, and, if so, whether or not they were typical Comanche bows remain open questions. There is,

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they 181
are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439]
who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on 771
earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776]
idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789]
storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 648 This dark picture of conflict is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the [439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38:157–76 (1935).

[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

[p. 143 A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 products. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with firearms, also incited them to attack the
[721] Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

[p. 143-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

> 21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
657 as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

[p. 144-A]

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175
648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I
439 offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.

[643] On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5*a*) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5*b*) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5*d*), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button face or rosette (Fig. 5*c*). Identical rivets were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig. 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered

172 172 171

172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle. Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

[127] [439]

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substan-
764 tiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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[p.324-B]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca-1818]

175 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor
262 alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others 439
is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not 621
possible to ascertain the number of people that compose 224
them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they 175
keep their strength gathered with the caution with which 721
they always live; they never situate themselves in a place 621
that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wander- 175
ing from one place to another without maintaining them- 221
selves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no [241]
crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of [262]
buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel.

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who, because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Escuracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 578 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- 657 tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties [162] of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- 648 withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy. Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 862.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

actly how a store should be run proved a decided advantage for dad. 000 His problems were different from those facing the owner of a country store in a Kansas farming community. He had to supply the wants of people from many entirely different communities. In addition, I don't [439] recall that we even considered that we might have Indian customers as well as white; yet we accumulated an Indian business that for probably three years actually overshadowed our white homesteader trade. [443]

An example of the diversity of tastes, though an extreme one, is tobacco. My guess at this time is that at least eight out of ten men chewed, and many both chewed and smoked. There were five popular brands of chewing tobacco, led by Star and Horseshoe. We also carried at least ten lesser brands. Our sales of chewing tobacco, in due time, were well over one hundred pounds a week. Because we tried to satisfy everyone's taste, many people gave us their business in preference to trading at a store that carried only two or three brands, expecting their customers to take what they could get.

Duke's Mixture and Bull Durham took care of most of the cigarette smokers' needs, and about four other brands took care of the rest of the smokers. The ladies' snuff wants were not so diversified. Honest, Garrett's, and Tube Rose, each in five, ten, and twenty-five cent sizes, cared for their needs.

For the first year or so, as there was no drugstore closer than Lawton, a stock of standard drugs was a must. Generally speaking, Indian country is malaria country. Though the Indian had built up a resistance or immunity to the disease, his mosquito friends played havoc [164] with white people coming from a nonmalarial area.

Calomel, quinine, castor oil, Grove's Chill Tonic, Black Draught, and Epsom salts were musts. Castoria and Chamberlain's were mostly for the little folks. Then of course there was need of spirits and oil of turpentine for antiseptics, camphor and oil of cloves for aching teeth, and Sloan's liniment for those who developed rheumatism. Sick horses had to have spirits of niter.

Regardless of where people came from, they could bring but little food along. Few arrived in time to get out a garden the first year, and of course there were no orchards. They could make their old clothes last over, but they had to buy food. There were lots of cattle in the country, but no butcher shops. Because there was no ice, we could get fresh meat during warm weather only when someone would butcher his animals in the hope that he could sell the meat before it spoiled.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 driven east to the Nations and easily had at least a thirty-six hour start on any pursuit.

Caring for the store's money was a disturbing chore. It was nearly two years before we were able to get a safe, and yet another year before we had a local bank. About the time we got our store started, Dad bought the relinquishment on an improved claim. It was about a mile and a half from the store to the house on the claim. The homesteader was returning to Texas by wagon, so he sold us his furniture as well. When we began living on the claim, it meant carrying the money back and forth.

As it was always dark, winter or summer, before we could close the store, we worked various and sundry schemes to get the money back and forth. It was my job to hitch up the team, as well as to carry the silver. We could easily have two to three hundred dollars in silver if the freight wagons had been held up a day or two.

After I had tied the team out front, I would continue working around the store, including making necessary trips out to the tent warehouse in the rear. Finally I would stroll out into the darkness and not come back. I would have the coin sacks, my shotgun, and my bird dog. I tried to go a little different route each night; and before I approached the house I would send the dog ahead to inspect the house and barn to see if we had any company.

Mother handled the paper money and checks. She had a brownish tan wallet like the ones men carried in their inside coat pockets in those days. It was about the color of mesquite grass, and she had several feet of black thread fastened to it. She planned, if anyone stopped her, to throw the wallet out into the prairie. The thread would help us find it the next morning.

● 439 Our Indian business just seemed to happen. At least we had made
177 no conscious effort to attract it. In fact, Dad and Mother never made
443 any effort to learn the Comanche language. We were surprised to learn later that many merchants made it a practice to boost the price if an Indian was buying. I am sure that idea never occurred to any of
[797] us. We were later to find that the missionaries had been checking our prices and bookkeeping and had passed the word on to the Indians that we had one price for all.

We had no family history of past trouble with Indians; so when an Indian came in the store we accorded him the same degree of courtesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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About the time we were wondering what we would do with ourselves 484
during the long day in front of us, the Indians began to arrive in their little canvas-covered wagons.

The first two or three dozen wagons used up all the hitchracks in the little town. By noon there must have been 150 of the little miniature prairie schooners parked around the group of buildings that was our town. When the hitchracks were filled, the later arrivals pulled up out on the grass, unhitched, and tied the horses to the rear wheels of the wagons.

These were not our Indians. These were Comanches from the west [101]
and north, along the south side of the Wichita Mountains. All of them were in at least the second day of their journey. They were on 484
their way to an ancient tribal gathering place, across the Red River 628
in Texas. Bands of Comanches had been using this gathering place since before there were white men in North Texas.

Apparently they had arranged to rendezvous at our little settlement, 439
the last trading place on their trail, and make the rest of their journey together. In a little over two miles they would enter the Pasture Reserve, and it would be two more days' journey to the river. The ancient gathering place was on land controlled by the Burnett Ranch. The Burnetts, who had a history of getting along with the Comanches, encouraged the Indians to continue gathering there for their tribal powwows.

Just as there had been a shortage of hitchracks, soon there was a shortage of floor space in the store. For hours the only unoccupied floor was behind the counters. Of course the focal point for everyone—men, squaws, and children—was the stove. After slightly more than sixty years, I still have no desire to describe the scent of all those damp bodies crowded together, mingled with the steam rising from the clothing of those fortunate enough to get within the radius of the stove's heat.

I never knew when our Indians, that is to say the Indians living in our trade territory, joined these strange Comanches. They may even have started the day before. During the several hours these Indians were in town, I saw but an occasional face I had seen before. They were laying in a food supply to last during the time of their gathering, and as a result, by the time we had their wants appeased, our staple groceries were exhausted.

Owing to the inclement weather, they likewise stripped us of

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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439 bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle
643 of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian
439 crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than
[142] anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching
[291] six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

643 His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either
[142] side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only
[302] an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

643 This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect
439 English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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He continued to wave the bill at me as he answered, "Of course. I went there the first thing, when I got to town." 613 439

I needed to get rid of this Indian and get back to those that were buying supplies. Only when I had all their wants satisfied would I be able to feed my stomach, which was complaining at the way it was being treated. I tried another way to get rid of him by saying, "The stove is not mine to sell or not sell. It belongs to my father. He is up front on the dry goods side. The bald-headed man. Go talk to him."

Tall as I was, I could watch him make his way to where Dad was selling cotton hose to some young Indian women. I could see he was using the same arrogant tactics he had used on me. He pushed himself in front of the women, holding the bill level with Dad's face. From the quizzical look Dad was wearing, it was taking him a while to realize the drift of what the tall Indian had in mind. When he understood, he frowned, shook his head, and turned back to his stocking customers.

The Indian made his way to the door and left the store.

Searching for a familiar face, I spied the auburn Vandyke of the little preacher from the Dea Mission on Blue Beaver, back to the north and east. He was standing a few bodies away from me. When I was able to make my way to him I asked, "Who was that tall well-dressed Indian that was trying to buy our stove?"

I never knew whether it was disappointment, dismay, or awe as he answered with both caps and quotes in his voice, "You don't know? That was Quanah Parker, the great War Chief of the Comanches."

It took the passage of several years to bring me enough maturity to realize that this was possibly the first request a white man had refused Quanah Parker in many years. It is entirely probable that as little as eighteen months previous to that time, and before this land had been opened for white settlement, had Quanah Parker asked a white trader to sell him his stove, the trader would have drawn the fire, carried the stove out-of-doors, cleaned it of ashes, loaded it on the chief's wagon, and insisted it be accepted as a gift. His goodwill had been a must for many years to anyone doing business in the Comanche area, even though it was business conducted through the Indian Department.

Somewhere around 3:00 to 3:30 P.M., the Indians began hitching up their teams, loading up their supplies and their families, and heading south. In an hour or so there was not an Indian in town. We could

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and pre- 701
dates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union.

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 701
1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for 648
a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico.

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, 439
during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops.

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye* 000
to a River, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster.

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number 127
C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings 768
no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
262 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
435 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight
511 pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the pris- 726
oners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better 657
than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, 726
and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we 439
opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as 427
Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian [435]
Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal 137
grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass 657
and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was dis- 427
tributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them 434
that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they [435]
had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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452 Soon I came to a slip with a mistake of a dollar in the Indian's favor.
797 It was my mother's writing. The Indian had brought back a pair of girl's shoes, taken another pair that cost more, and also bought supplies —groceries and dry goods. I called the preacher's attention to the mistake, and he agreed. "Yes, it should be a dollar more." And he wrote it down that way. When he totaled the entries, the amount was exactly a dollar more than the amount I had given him.

During the auditing of the slips, both the minister and the Indian had remained grave and distant. The atmosphere wasn't friendly. Maybe they were embarrassed. I was. I was only in my fifteenth year, though I was operating in an adult sphere. My head was only a fifteen year-old head, and the same went for my experience. It was the first time anyone had seen fit to check our bookkeeping. In a way, I was feeling accused.

But when the preacher explained to Wer-que-yah, in the Comanche tongue, that our bookkeeping was honest, there was a bit of a lilt to the missionary's voice. And now the Indian was all smiles. As we arose from the ground, he exclaimed, "Wano! Wano!" a number of times and patted my back vigorously.

Then it was Reverend Deyo's turn. He extended his hand, saying, "I want to thank you for dealing with *my people* honestly. I checked your prices. I already knew you sell to the Indian and the white man at the same price. I shall tell *my people* you deal honestly. Not all merchants treat uneducated Indians fairly."

439 This incident may have accounted for some of our success as in-
452 dependent Indian traders. We, in turn, had to depend entirely upon
[672] the honesty of the Indian. He could neither be sued, nor could a judgment be levied against him.

000 Several years ago, two of my nephews were living with me and attending the university. One popular song you heard each time you tuned in on a radio program was "Don't Take Your Guns to Town, Son!" It was a plea of a mother to her son, just approaching young manhood, not to go to town armed, lest some gunman might see an easy way to get another notch on his gun and kill her offspring.

609 I told the boys I had once received much the same advice from an old Indian from whom I tried to borrow a gun while I was badly
452 scared. It was Wer-que-yah. It happened during another Grass Money payment at the same Cache reservation. This time Wer-que-yah's

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I lit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would 657 have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

657 These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it 452 seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested —just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

273 Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way 439 out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

657 We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

[452] But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legiti- mate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea 525 of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13]

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red.

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14]

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian.

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History.

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180—Analyst.]
B [See p. 169—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

actly how a store should be run proved a decided advantage for dad. 000 His problems were different from those facing the owner of a country store in a Kansas farming community. He had to supply the wants of people from many entirely different communities. In addition, I don't [439] recall that we even considered that we might have Indian customers as [443] well as white; yet we accumulated an Indian business that for probably three years actually overshadowed our white homesteader trade.

An example of the diversity of tastes, though an extreme one, is tobacco. My guess at this time is that at least eight out of ten men chewed, and many both chewed and smoked. There were five popular brands of chewing tobacco, led by Star and Horseshoe. We also carried at least ten lesser brands. Our sales of chewing tobacco, in due time, were well over one hundred pounds a week. Because we tried to satisfy everyone's taste, many people gave us their business in preference to trading at a store that carried only two or three brands, expecting their customers to take what they could get.

Duke's Mixture and Bull Durham took care of most of the cigarette smokers' needs, and about four other brands took care of the rest of the smokers. The ladies' snuff wants were not so diversified. Honest, Garrett's, and Tube Rose, each in five, ten, and twenty-five cent sizes, cared for their needs.

For the first year or so, as there was no drugstore closer than Lawton, a stock of standard drugs was a must. Generally speaking, Indian country is malaria country. Though the Indian had built up a resis- [164] tance or immunity to the disease, his mosquito friends played havoc with white people coming from a nonmalarial area.

Calomel, quinine, castor oil, Grove's Chill Tonic, Black Draught, and Epsom salts were musts. Castoria and Chamberlain's were mostly for the little folks. Then of course there was need of spirits and oil of turpentine for antiseptics, camphor and oil of cloves for aching teeth, and Sloan's liniment for those who developed rheumatism. Sick horses had to have spirits of niter.

Regardless of where people came from, they could bring but little food along. Few arrived in time to get out a garden the first year, and of course there were no orchards. They could make their old clothes last over, but they had to buy food. There were lots of cattle in the country, but no butcher shops. Because there was no ice, we could get fresh meat during warm weather only when someone would butcher his animals in the hope that he could sell the meat before it spoiled.

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000 driven east to the Nations and easily had at least a thirty-six hour start on any pursuit.

Caring for the store's money was a disturbing chore. It was nearly two years before we were able to get a safe, and yet another year before we had a local bank. About the time we got our store started, Dad bought the relinquishment on an improved claim. It was about a mile and a half from the store to the house on the claim. The homesteader was returning to Texas by wagon, so he sold us his furniture as well. When we began living on the claim, it meant carrying the money back and forth.

As it was always dark, winter or summer, before we could close the store, we worked various and sundry schemes to get the money back and forth. It was my job to hitch up the team, as well as to carry the silver. We could easily have two to three hundred dollars in silver if the freight wagons had been held up a day or two.

After I had tied the team out front, I would continue working around the store, including making necessary trips out to the tent warehouse in the rear. Finally I would stroll out into the darkness and not come back. I would have the coin sacks, my shotgun, and my bird dog. I tried to go a little different route each night; and before I approached the house I would send the dog ahead to inspect the house and barn to see if we had any company.

Mother handled the paper money and checks. She had a brownish tan wallet like the ones men carried in their inside coat pockets in those days. It was about the color of mesquite grass, and she had several feet of black thread fastened to it. She planned, if anyone stopped her, to throw the wallet out into the prairie. The thread would help us find it the next morning.

439 Our Indian business just seemed to happen. At least we had made
177 no conscious effort to attract it. In fact, Dad and Mother never made
443 any effort to learn the Comanche language. We were surprised to learn later that many merchants made it a practice to boost the price if an Indian was buying. I am sure that idea never occurred to any of
[797] us. We were later to find that the missionaries had been checking our prices and bookkeeping and had passed the word on to the Indians that we had one price for all.

We had no family history of past trouble with Indians; so when an Indian came in the store we accorded him the same degree of courtesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded.

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THE LOST ONES

WHEN WE WENT into the Comanche country in the spring of 1902, 114
it was not only a new country but a new way of life to me, a fourteen-year-old Kansas farm boy. The people I met, homesteaders or home-seekers, came from nearly every state in the Union, as well as from the Indian Nations. Ringed about us were Comanche families, camped rather than living on their allotments.

It was the Comanches, of course, who made the greatest impression on me. Almost as soon as Dad got his trading store opened, we started having an Indian trade. It just seemed to happen. We made no conscious effort to attract the Indians and wouldn't have known how had we wanted to try.

Mother bought our opening stock of dry goods, and she continued to do the buying as long as we ran the store. A few bolts of bright 443
colors, in both calico and gingham, together with matching cotton 177
braid, possibly proved an attraction to the Indian women at the start. Then too, Dad and Mother had the theory that we should treat everyone with the same degree of courtesy. These two things were the only concessions, if they were concessions, you could say we made.

Another thing that probably helped was that a missionary who 443
ran a mission back to the northeast on Blue Beaver Creek made a 177
check, unbeknownst to us, of the prices we charged to the white and 797

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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
101 tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

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When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start. 413

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs. 122 124

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group. 432 [436] 432 595

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases. [855] [858]

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231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the
[368] boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

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443 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the
money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior
age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

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tesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded. In due 000
time some of the Indians wanted credit until Grass Money payment 657
time. The government paid fifty dollars twice a year to each man, 452
woman, and child. This represented interest on tribal funds the gov- 434
ernment was holding in trust.

Carrying the Indians' accounts until Grass Money time brought 527
on an unlooked-for complication. We had naturally supposed that when they received their pay, the Indians would return to their allotments. But the campout on the reservation of hundreds of families was too much like the old tribal life for them to return readily to their lonesome allotment camp.

They could feast, visit, gamble, and hold horse races, and those that drank were supplied by the whiskey peddlers. Then too there were many visitors from other tribes, as they knew food, beef, and whiskey would be plentiful.

To get our money we had to go to the reservation and collect 452
while they still had it. They were pleased to see us, and they paid readily. They wanted to keep their credit good, but putting aside the necessary amount so as to pay up on their return was too much planning for them. That was especially true of the drinkers.

My first collection trip was successful and uneventful, and from then on it was my regular chore, and an interesting one. I would be gone from one to two days if the payment was held near the town of Cache, and longer when it was held near Ft. Sill at what was called "The Stone Store."

When death struck our little community, we were poorly pre- 000
pared. Two women and one baby died in a single night. All the needs for a funeral were lacking—no undertaker, no caskets, no cemetery, and no preacher.

Early the next morning caskets were put together from yellow pine and brought to our store and set on sawhorses. There the townswomen covered, padded, and lined them. Black calico was used for the covering of the adult caskets, and white muslin for the baby's. Quilting cotton was used for the padding and pillow, and bleached muslin for the lining.

Handles intended for toolboxes were screwed on the sides of the adult caskets by Dad after the women had tacked the black calico in place. Permission to bury the bodies on the claim adjoining the town on the north was granted by an old German homesteader.

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452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased
829 to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to
292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would
302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore
301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the
292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

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123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

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Wer-que-yah's camp sat a ways to the west of the trading post, in a small grove of blackjack trees. When I rode up, he was apparently pleased to see me. I was to learn that this was the general attitude of all our Indian customers—glad we were collecting so their credit would be good until another payment. Putting away what they owed until they came home and paid us was too great a problem for them to cope with. Should they remain camped there till the rest of their money was gone, they would spend the money they were saving for our account. 452 [454]

Before leaving the store that morning, I took a small memo book and copied the amount each Indian owed as shown by the ledger. I believe there were only fifteen accounts in this first payment. After we shook hands, I got out my little book and started to tell Wer-que-yah how much he owed.

Then his manner changed. He seemed bothered and was no longer smiling. He began telling me to wait, "his house," for *tiwa* (white man), "then I pay." On foot, he hurried toward the south, across a bit of a swag in the prairie. I could see him all the way till he entered a tent. He came out quickly. With him was the little Baptist missionary —well-trimmed Prince Albert whiskers and all. 452 797

Whenever I had met him, the missionary had had a calm, friendly, but dignified manner. But I realized as they approached now that both he and the Indian were of solemn mien. Reverend Deyo carried a small tablet and a pencil. Almost at once, he asked, "How much do you claim this man owes you?"

I took out my little memorandum book again and showed him the amount opposite Wer-que-yah's name—I believe it was slightly over $59.00—and he wrote it down at the top of his tablet. "I asked this Indian to keep his duplicate sales slips," he told me. "I want to see how their total compares."

I was busy thinking, while my customer went over to his hack and secured a woman's old purse that had long since lost both its shape and its looks. I was wondering what sort of a box the preacher and the Indian were trying to put me in. Supposing he hadn't kept all of the slips? Suppose he was honest, but had lost some? Maybe we hadn't always given him a duplicate!

The slips were rolled up endwise and tied with a strip of bed ticking. We untied them and straightened them out, and I started reading the total of each. The minister wrote them down in a column.

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452 Soon I came to a slip with a mistake of a dollar in the Indian's favor.
797 It was my mother's writing. The Indian had brought back a pair of girl's shoes, taken another pair that cost more, and also bought supplies —groceries and dry goods. I called the preacher's attention to the mistake, and he agreed. "Yes, it should be a dollar more." And he wrote it down that way. When he totaled the entries, the amount was exactly a dollar more than the amount I had given him.

During the auditing of the slips, both the minister and the Indian had remained grave and distant. The atmosphere wasn't friendly. Maybe they were embarrassed. I was. I was only in my fifteenth year, though I was operating in an adult sphere. My head was only a fifteen year-old head, and the same went for my experience. It was the first time anyone had seen fit to check our bookkeeping. In a way, I was feeling accused.

But when the preacher explained to Wer-que-yah, in the Comanche tongue, that our bookkeeping was honest, there was a bit of a lilt to the missionary's voice. And now the Indian was all smiles. As we arose from the ground, he exclaimed, "Wano! Wano!" a number of times and patted my back vigorously.

Then it was Reverend Deyo's turn. He extended his hand, saying, "I want to thank you for dealing with *my people* honestly. I checked your prices. I already knew you sell to the Indian and the white man at the same price. I shall tell *my people* you deal honestly. Not all merchants treat uneducated Indians fairly."

439 This incident may have accounted for some of our success as in-
452 dependent Indian traders. We, in turn, had to depend entirely upon
[672] the honesty of the Indian. He could neither be sued, nor could a judgment be levied against him.

000 Several years ago, two of my nephews were living with me and attending the university. One popular song you heard each time you tuned in on a radio program was "Don't Take Your Guns to Town, Son!" It was a plea of a mother to her son, just approaching young manhood, not to go to town armed, lest some gunman might see an easy way to get another notch on his gun and kill her offspring.

609 I told the boys I had once received much the same advice from an
old Indian from whom I tried to borrow a gun while I was badly
452 scared. It was Wer-que-yah. It happened during another Grass Money payment at the same Cache reservation. This time Wer-que-yah's

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camp was southeast of the Red Store, on a dry run that had a good 452
deal of timber along both sides of its gouge.

Nearly every payment, we collectors would hear of someone being 452
caught collecting on the reservation by a couple of deputy U.S. mar- 657
shals, who had taken his money and pistol-whipped him. Until this payment, I had never been approached by a marshal. While they carried commissions, presumably they were on the trader's payroll.

I don't think I had ever been noticed before. I went to the camps 452
of our customers only. Sometimes it would take two or three trips over a couple of days to catch everyone. When through, I hit for home. Often I was carrying considerable money and I didn't feel like visiting.

On this occasion, I was about to miss the Per-da-sop-py camp, and one of the girls—the children had all been to school—called me. I rode to the tent entrance, dismounted, and, holding my horse, waited till she brought out what she owed. As she was paying, a single marshal 657
riding by saw the transaction and ordered me off the campgrounds. 452

We were about a half-mile from the gate, and he rode on ahead. I felt sure he was looking for his partner. I had visions of losing the $300 to $400 of the store's money I was carrying, and being pistol-whipped besides. I had seen men pistol-whipped by officers, and I didn't relish the prospect.

I had already collected from Wer-que-yah, knew his camp was 609
hidden by trees, and rode directly to him. Excited, I told him my story and what I feared was going to happen to me. I knew either he or his son, Enoch, owned a good Colt .44. I asked to borrow it.

He began shaking his head. "Gun no wano! Gun heap bad!" he exclaimed over and over. "Horse heap fast!"

He jumped up, motioned for me to follow him, and started on foot down the bank of the run. Finding a place where the bank was low, he crossed over and continued down the east side. In a hundred or so yards we came to where the run left the reservation, near where it emptied into West Cache Creek.

Someone had pulled the staples holding the wire from a couple of posts, and the wire sagged almost to the ground. My friend stood on the wire and I rode across. I thanked him and hurried on my way. I wasn't by any means over my scare. I rode in the Cache Creek timber as far as I could and put my horse to a long lope—ready to start him running at the first sign of pursuit.

During the summer, a man by the name of Smith had started a 000

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000 little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I hit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would 657 have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

657 These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it 452 seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested —just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way 273 439 out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

657 We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

[452] But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legitimate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea 525 of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Wer-que-yah's camp sat a ways to the west of the trading post, in 452
a small grove of blackjack trees. When I rode up, he was apparently pleased to see me. I was to learn that this was the general attitude of all our Indian customers—glad we were collecting so their credit would be good until another payment. Putting away what they owed [454] until they came home and paid us was too great a problem for them to cope with. Should they remain camped there till the rest of their money was gone, they would spend the money they were saving for our account.

Before leaving the store that morning, I took a small memo book and copied the amount each Indian owed as shown by the ledger. I believe there were only fifteen accounts in this first payment. After we shook hands, I got out my little book and started to tell Wer-que-yah how much he owed.

Then his manner changed. He seemed bothered and was no longer smiling. He began telling me to wait, "his house," for *tiwa* (white man), "then I pay." On foot, he hurried toward the south, across a bit of a swag in the prairie. I could see him all the way till he entered a tent. He came out quickly. With him was the little Baptist missionary 452
—well-trimmed Prince Albert whiskers and all. 797

Whenever I had met him, the missionary had had a calm, friendly, but dignified manner. But I realized as they approached now that both he and the Indian were of solemn mien. Reverend Deyo carried a small tablet and a pencil. Almost at once, he asked, "How much do you claim this man owes you?"

I took out my little memorandum book again and showed him the amount opposite Wer-que-yah's name—I believe it was slightly over $59.00—and he wrote it down at the top of his tablet. "I asked this Indian to keep his duplicate sales slips," he told me. "I want to see how their total compares."

I was busy thinking, while my customer went over to his hack and secured a woman's old purse that had long since lost both its shape and its looks. I was wondering what sort of a box the preacher and the Indian were trying to put me in. Supposing he hadn't kept all of the slips? Suppose he was honest, but had lost some? Maybe we hadn't always given him a duplicate!

The slips were rolled up endwise and tied with a strip of bed ticking. We untied them and straightened them out, and I started reading the total of each. The minister wrote them down in a column.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1918. [113]
24. Buntin, op. cit, sec. II, 15-18, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[Ca. 1818]

157 175 than any other people whatever. Foppery in all its contemptible gradations, of dress, deportment and mental nothingness and insipidity is the prevailing characteristic of the young men. An Indian Dandy would, to be sure, be an amusing *unique* in the circles of fashion; but if you could transport a full dressed Comanchee buck into a coterie of our most exquisite "Delectables," my word for it, he would eclipse them in all the essential properties of that profession. The squaws from the infancy are too completely servile to bestow either time or solicitude on the ornaments 175 of person. The men are large, and well proportioned and 142 generally, good looking—the women, as much the reverse as human nature will bear. As a nation, they think them- 175 selves the most numerous and powerful on earth—and will 186 listen with incredulous wonderment to a recital of facts that controul this flattering opinion.—So true is it that ignorance and vanity are inseparably allied.

175 The Comanchees do not cultivate the earth, but subsist 224 for the most part on the erratic Buffaloes which descend into their district in the fall, in pursuit of a verdant herbage, 136 and return in the spring, (such of them as survive the depredations of their numerous biped enemies) to their northern range. It has been remarked that the number of Buffaloes that annually reach the regions inhabited by the Co- 000 manchees, has sensibly diminished within a few years. In the event of a serious failure of that munificent provision of nature, these and other tribes of similar habits, will be compelled to resort to agriculture, or to recede northwardly in pursuit of their ancient prey. The former of these alter- [461] natives would be difficult of adoption, on account of their native inertness and aversion to labor; and the latter would probably be rendered impracticable by the jealousy of other tribes, who already occupy the northern wilds.

175 These wandering savages have made but small ad- 342 vances in the domestic arts. Their lodges or tents, are formed of Buffaloe hides dressed to a suitable consistency, [237] and erected on poles, in the shape of an elongated cone, having an aperture at the top to emit the smoke, which purpose it answers but very imperfectly. They are exces-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657]
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595]
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343]
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness,
horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion,
"Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish house-
hold I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign
language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-
walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what
a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I
had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon.
I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw
a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was ex-
hausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let
him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then,
when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse
to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him
we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head
snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they
seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had
much more salable animals.

they believed, in truth, it was a living spirit in a silver body. 727

When I recounted all that had occurred since we last separated—my refusal to wind it—my obstinacy in resisting their commands, and my attack upon the Indian when unbound, he became still more convinced. The fact they had pursued such a course towards me, which they had not towards him, was perfect evidence in his mind they intended to naturalize me, and that, so long, at least, as the watch remained in order, I need not fear death at their hands. But he advised me, by all means, to pursue an entirely different course from that lately adopted; on the contrary, to leave no effort untried to initiate myself into their favor—to cultivate their good will—to yield submission in all things, and to deceive them, if possible, into the belief that I preferred to dwell with them rather than with my own people. By pursuing this course, he represented the time would come at last when their vigilance would relax, and an opportunity of escaping safely from them would occur. We conversed of many things, past, present, and to come, losing not a moment of the precious hour. At its close, he was ordered by the guard to leave. Charging me, if ever I escaped, to communicate the intelligence of his misfortunes to his friend, Antonio Ferandez, of Corpus Christi, he bade me a sorrowful *adieu*, and passed out of the tent. I have never seen or heard of him since.

Soon after this, early one morning, I discovered the 484 squaws busily engaged taking down the tents. One after 462 another the dingy white cones came down until the whole village looked as if some sudden tempest had laid it in ruins. Every canvas, buffalo mattress, and blanket was then rolled up, the cooking kettles and the tent poles collected, and all packed firmly on the backs of a crowd of mules [492] collected in the square. It was a busy and laborious scene,

484 requiring much strength to elevate some of the packages
462 to their place, yet it was all performed by women.

462 The Comanche Indian in his village is the idlest, laziest being in existence, a sluggard and a glutton. His sole and only pursuits are war and hunting. His wife, besides attending to the domestic duties of the tent, plants his corn and reaps it, cultivates his tobacco, tans his buffalo hides—in fine, performs wholly, without the remotest aid from him, every particle and kind of labor, which, among civilized beings, devolves upon the husband. So now, while the women toiled and strained and lifted, the men moped stupidly around, smoking their pipes, or lolled upon the ground.

727 Everything in readiness, I was once more blindfolded,
484 mounted, and tied, when the entire town, not only its men,
492 women, and children, but its furniture, its tents, its public and private buildings, all moved off on the backs of mules and horses. There was not left one stone upon another of that city.

727 Fortunately, the mule upon which I rode was led, so that I escaped the annoyance that befell me, under similar circumstances, on a previous occasion. Being deprived of the use of my eyes on the journey, except when we encamped at night, I cannot give a description of the country over which we passed, further than to say we crossed over many mountains, and that it seemed to me a wild and barren
[805] region. At the end of three days, or three "sleeps," as a Comanche would express it, we reached the end of the journey. Here I found myself in a small village, of not more than twenty or thirty tents, inhabited by what appeared to be a portion of Big Wolf's tribe, on the bank of a considerable river that flowed to the southwest, and in a valley much larger than any I have before described.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Dressing the Buffalo Skin

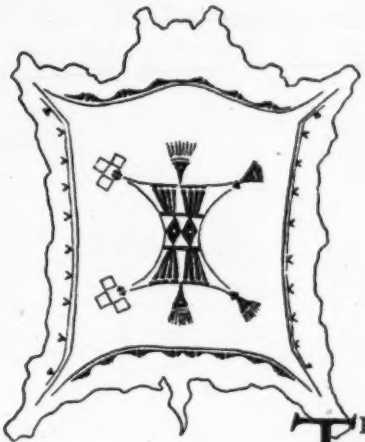
doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824]
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



462

V

At Work and Play

THE material culture of the Comanches was relatively meager, the industries few and simple.

To the visitor uninitiated in ways of primitive tribal life, Comanche men might give the impression of being lazy and indolent. If meat was abundant and the men not concerned with war, raids, or ceremonies, they were likely to be found loafing in their lodges or idly working at some small task. Meanwhile their wives were occupied with domestic chores, attending to the children, and ministering to the needs of the men. Any supposition that the men were lazy, however, would be false, for in the life of the camp a division of labor between the sexes existed. If men labored less continuously than their wives, theirs were the more perilous occupations of hunting, raiding, and fighting. The wife's share in the life of the community was the care of the household; the husband was the provider. It was his duty to defend his wife and children and the tribe at large, and if the enemy were too strong to be defeated or repulsed, to hold them in check until the women and children might escape. All these activities were dangerous and hazardous. To fight at an advantage, the man must be light and active on his feet and unhampered by a load. Chiefly for this reason the men with their arms went ahead and the women followed behind, looking after the children, carrying the burdens, and attending to the animals which transported the camp equipment. Long after the need for such culture patterns ceased, it was not uncommon to see a woman walk out of a store carrying a heavy sack

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

of flour or other supplies while the man came out unencumbered. Moreover, in the way of home industry there was indeed little for the men to do. The Comanches did not work at such specifically masculine crafts as metallurgy and wood-carving. Pottery, basketry, and weaving were unknown. 462 323 285 286

It was the woman's business to prepare the food, clothing, and shelter, and to care for the children. She made the household articles and bags, brought the wood and water, attended to packing and unpacking on moving day, and helped with making the horse equipage. She followed closely behind the hunter with pack animal and knife, skinned the animals, packed the hides to camp, and by slow, tedious processes converted them into clothing, tipi covering, bags, and other articles.

Hides were prepared differently according to whether they were to be worked into leather or made into rawhide bags. Some skins were tanned on one side only, others on both. The process was not identical for buffalo and deer skins, leather might or might not be smoked, and there were variations due to individual technique in workmanship. White influence affected the implements and technique, so that full details concerning the historic process can no longer be recovered. The essentials of tanning, however, are clear enough. To remove the hair, the skin was soaked on the hair side with a mixture of wood ashes and water, which produces lye. Lime, which was obtained from burned rock, was sometimes used in place of ashes. After the hide was sufficiently soaked, the hair side was scraped against the grain. Some women chose to shave off the hair without previously soaking the hide. 281

There were various kinds of scrapers. A scraper might be an oval, flat flake of flint chipped down so as to have a rather sharp and even edge all around, and it varied in size, some scrapers being large enough to use in both hands. Buffalo bones were often employed, and after the appearance of the white man, metal scrapers became common. Whether or not the hair was removed, a long and tedious process was required to tan the hide. The essential operations were the preparation of the hide, the application of the tanning mixture, and the subsequent working of the hide to make it soft and pliable.

The green hide, according to the whim of the individual worker,

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'mɔɤy. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 [462] The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim: see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221 dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224 camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251 it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281 The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492 horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In Notes Taken With Marcy, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. Exploration of the Red River, 95.

18. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days, Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage
wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry
his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224]
he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath
his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she
has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be
the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor
creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the
camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must
go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has
to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, [462]
to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and
bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so
much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or
to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might
please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is
instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the
horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long
night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and
feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the
precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the
publication of it to these poor heathen do them
some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed
females, could they be brought to bear upon their
cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 985. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 66.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
175 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
[585] principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[68] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
OOO waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 · N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, 1871-80. Condensed from an article in Ware's Valley Monthly, Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former 161
range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, 101
of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of 131
Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and
the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally 101
classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification.
In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the 101
Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a 197
relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which 101
signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but 233
keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess them- 241
selves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured
by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and 224
some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds 222
of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita 462

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1900 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcase is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the [462] women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, 562 except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 562 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni- 593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter 583 in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice 562 in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answerr that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will
[726] not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[782] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[784] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657]
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595]
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343]
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness,
horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion,
"Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish house-
hold I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign
language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-
walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what
a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I
had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon.
I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw
a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was ex-
hausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let
him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then,
when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse
to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him
we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head
snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they
seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had
much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers [493] for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 604 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

516 [352]

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

19. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A [See p. 180-B--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

281 skins soft and flexible no matter how often they were exposed to moisture.

Every woman made the clothing for herself and her family, as was explained in the previous chapter. From the tanned skins the women also made various kinds of soft leather pouches, among them the long fringed ones for the men's smoking utensils. Some of these [531] bags were decorated with beadwork after the arrival of the white traders, but informants insist that porcupine-quill embroidery was unusual among the Comanches.

281 Although every woman learned to make clothing and bags, it seems that there were only a relatively few who became expert at 463 designing and cutting the cover for a tipi. A mother or wife who wanted to make a tipi gathered the poles, stripped them of their bark and pared them down to the desired size, and possibly pointed the butts. She then most likely went to an expert tipi-maker and asked for her help. She might offer her a present then, or it might be given afterwards. A day for the work was agreed upon. Other women would be invited to join the "quilting party," but the expert was in complete charge and gave the instructions. She usually did the most critical cutting and fitting. During the day the hostess provided her guests with a feast. Although the women worked together, there appears to have been no organization of tipi makers.[2]

492 Since the Comanches spent much of their time on horseback, horse equipage was an important item. Although both men and [463] women worked at it, saddle-making tended to be the specialty of men [727] who were no longer active in war. In later times, however, Mexican captives became specialists at the trade. Saddles were mostly of a modified Spanish type. They were generally made of American elm in three pieces: the bars or seat proper, the pommel, and the cantle. Each part was laboriously shaved down into the desired shape and carefully fitted. The pommel and cantle were made high with but slight pitch; the bars or seat were moderate in length so that the saddle was deep and narrow. Holes were drilled with a red hot awl, the joints daubed with glue, and then the parts were laced firmly together by means of green deer sinew. The joints were scraped and rubbed smooth, and the frame was smeared with an ochre paint. Over

[2] Informants: Kills Something; She Invites Her Relatives.

The Comanches

276 Comanche pipes were made of bone, stone, or wood by both men and women. Many of the early pipes were straight tubes made of bone from the shank of a deer or an antelope, cut off at either end, the marrow punched out, and the mouth end pared down and smoothed. Before being used, such a pipe was commonly wrapped with the ligament from the back of a buffalo bull's neck, and this, when dried, made so complete a reinforcement of the bone that the pipe might last a long time. The straight bone pipes were easier to carry than the more bulky and elaborate stemmed pipes, and were therefore taken on expeditions. They were both long and short, and [171] were called ɔ'*mɔɹɔy*. Such pipes were also used by the Kiowas and Cheyennes.[4]

276 324 According to white captives, the stone pipe was most commonly used in later times. Stone pipes were made of soft stone, either white soapstone or red sandstone. Soapstone is easy to fashion, is found in various sections of the Comanche country, and answers as well as clay or meerschaum. The Comanche stone pipe bowl was made with a vertical cylinder on a flat base that projected forward and back from the bowl. This spur beyond the bowl allowed the smoker to grip the bowl without burning his hands. He had to use a two-handed grip to keep the bowl from falling off the stem, since the two parts of the pipe were not fastened together. Soapstone bowls were usually dyed red or black with a preparation concocted of poke berry and grease or walnut juice. Hard wood was sometimes substituted for stone. Pipes were often artistically engraved and designed, particularly those intended for ceremonial use.

411 [462] The manufacturing of weapons and equipment for war and the hunt belonged primarily to the category of man's work. Perhaps the most important article was the bow and arrow. The Comanches made excellent bows, which they used with great skill. A good bow required a long time and much care and labor in construction. The [463] experts were usually the old men who could no longer go to war. According to informants, they had no organization or "guild." The [435] customary present or fee given for an ordinary wooden bow was one horse.[5]

[4] Informant: Post Oak Jim; see also Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 208.
[5] Informant: Kills Something.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [631]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
648 out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
their claims to the land formerly known as
423 Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

[p. 144-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO(Comanche NO6

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427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians
434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

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465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the
434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 392. [113]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657]
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595]
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343]
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

657 871 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was 657 871 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German 464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 871 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882, states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than 551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by 593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were [595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently 152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 177
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162	Population:	
	Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300
162	Labor Force:	
464	Total:	551
	Unemployed:	125
	Unemployment rate:	23%
871	Education: (tribal estimates)	
	Average grade level achieved:	9th
	Number graduated from college in 1972:	11

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must 115
wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation 159
of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only 756
secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing.

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. 115
Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of 159
an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, 756
with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and 465
tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give [431]
away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine.

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She 756
> had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were 773
> gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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775 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have
154 voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek
756 Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the
[465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient.
[465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing
756 to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing
391 should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present
376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The
775 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on
756 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,
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[195]
[514]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) -1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. 775
By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce 756
to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request 576
presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor [516]
who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved 775
with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between 756
the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. [516]
> I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there [195]
> and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison-advisor. This approach ritual payment [465]
consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls 775
a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, 756
the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches 276

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.

465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinatsu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
775 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
756 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally
755 to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[754] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 275, and 1876, 52.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c:1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling [563] existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

All the next day we followed their trail until we came upon them at dusk. It was the main Comanche camp that my captor had been seeking; his wife's parents were there. I noticed that their hair, and that of his sister, was already long. He must have been gone on this raid for several years. 727

He led me into their tipi—all fixed up with blankets—and he bade me sit down at the west side (my regular place was next to the door). The women of the family struck me with whips, as was the custom on the arrival of a new captive in camp.

My job was to care for his children. The little crippled one I had to carry on my back; the other one I led about. Wherever they went to play, I had to go with them. [732]

Wahaɔmɔ slept regularly with his former wife's younger sister, *Puki*.

That winter a party left on a hunting trip to get some more meat. In their absence we had trouble keeping the horses. A big snow storm came up and completely buried some horses. In the main camp we were short of wood and food. The captive boys had to dig paths in the snow and dig for frozen horses for us to eat. They fed the living horses cottonwood shoots; the bark is good food, but it was frozen and cut the horses' mouths. After the horses had eaten the bark, the captive boys brought in the twigs for fuel.

The hunting party was out for nearly a month on account of the storm. They lost many horses, and they nearly starved to death. Still, they brought back a little meat. The people out on the party invented snowshoes made of woven sinews. One man on snowshoes shot an animal with an arrow, and when he ran up to it, he slid right past it. Others borrowed his snowshoes, because they didn't have enough sinew to make shoes for all the hunters. [481]

That was a hard winter.

Wahaɔmɔ taught me to hunt during the next spring. He had not yet married me. He was just kind to me. His wife would take a stick out of the fire and poke it at me out of jealousy to scare me and make me cry, but her step-children would help me against her.

By the fall of the second year I knew the language and was familiar with the customs. » » »

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wichita NO10

W 000 241

looking somewhat like a giant bee hive of the old fashion. They raised crops of corn, pumpkins and possibly tobacco. On the other hand the Apaches practiced agriculture only to a limited extent and commonly lived in crude brush lodges. Although they had but few arts their women were skilled basket makers.[6] In contradistinction to these other tribes, the Comanches, like their allies the Kiowas, never planted seed of any kind. Thus the Caddoan, Shoshonean, and Athapascan families have all been represented in the Abilene country at one time or another. It seems that the Wichitas and Apaches were here from time immemorial, but the Comanches were late comers. The stone artifacts we find in this country may have belonged to the Wichitas or Lipans; but it is not likely that any stone implement found here, excepting perhaps stone hammers and clubs, were ever used by the Comanches. Long before the latter tribe had reached this country, iron, steel, tin and copper had pretty well supplanted the stone and bone implements used by their forbears. Naturally this improvement in implements, together with the introduction of the horse worked some transformation among them; but we cannot follow this out because we know practically nothing of their culture before they came in touch with a higher civilization.

C 142

In physical appearance there was little to distinguish the Comanche from his fellow plains savages of other tribes. The artist Catlin described the race as "in statue rather low, and in person, often approaching to corpulency"; and stated that they were not as large and handsome as the Kiowas. He added that, "In their movements they were heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one of the most unattractive and slovenly-looking races of Indians that I have ever seen." But the mounted Comanche presented an entirely different appearance. Once on his horse, he continued, "He gracefully flies away like a different being."[7] Some twenty years later, about 1854, Captain R. B. Marcy, of the United States Army, described the men as of "About the medium statue, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline noses, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but

C [481 492]

6. For the picture of a Wichita village see George Catlin, North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839 (Edinburg, 1926), II, plate 173. On the Apaches see Hodge, Handbook, I, 65-66.

7. North American Indians, II, 74 and 84.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [442]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I 000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180 pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While we were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure 123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles [481] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility [273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor, [609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for [177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out [797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the [123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when his people needed him.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Dressing the Buffalo Skin

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824]
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

From Cradle to Grave

cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back. 854 [482]

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was 553 [551] 753 551

593 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. How-
684 ever, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe
586 that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband.
[482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he
[841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors,
[684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [631]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

Interview with Aikens

they believed, in truth, it was a living spirit in a silver body. 727

When I recounted all that had occurred since we last separated—my refusal to wind it—my obstinacy in resisting their commands, and my attack upon the Indian when unbound, he became still more convinced. The fact they had pursued such a course towards me, which they had not towards him, was perfect evidence in his mind they intended to naturalize me, and that, so long, at least, as the watch remained in order, I need not fear death at their hands. But he advised me, by all means, to pursue an entirely different course from that lately adopted; on the contrary, to leave no effort untried to initiate myself into their favor—to cultivate their good will—to yield submission in all things, and to deceive them, if possible, into the belief that I preferred to dwell with them rather than with my own people. By pursuing this course, he represented the time would come at last when their vigilance would relax, and an opportunity of escaping safely from them would occur. We conversed of many things, past, present, and to come, losing not a moment of the precious hour. At its close, he was ordered by the guard to leave. Charging me, if ever I escaped, to communicate the intelligence of his misfortunes to his friend, Antonio Ferandez, of Corpus Christi, he bade me a sorrowful *adieu*, and passed out of the tent. I have never seen or heard of him since.

Soon after this, early one morning, I discovered the 484 ● squaws busily engaged taking down the tents. One after 462 another the dingy white cones came down until the whole village looked as if some sudden tempest had laid it in ruins. Every canvas, buffalo mattress, and blanket was then rolled up, the cooking kettles and the tent poles collected, and all packed firmly on the backs of a crowd of mules [492] collected in the square. It was a busy and laborious scene,

484 requiring much strength to elevate some of the packages
462 to their place, yet it was all performed by women.

462 The Comanche Indian in his village is the idlest, laziest being in existence, a sluggard and a glutton. His sole and only pursuits are war and hunting. His wife, besides attending to the domestic duties of the tent, plants his corn and reaps it, cultivates his tobacco, tans his buffalo hides—in fine, performs wholly, without the remotest aid from him, every particle and kind of labor, which, among civilized beings, devolves upon the husband. So now, while the women toiled and strained and lifted, the men moped stupidly around, smoking their pipes, or lolled upon the ground.

727 Everything in readiness, I was once more blindfolded,
484 mounted, and tied, when the entire town, not only its men,
492 women, and children, but its furniture, its tents, its public and private buildings, all moved off on the backs of mules and horses. There was not left one stone upon another of that city.

727 Fortunately, the mule upon which I rode was led, so that I escaped the annoyance that befell me, under similar circumstances, on a previous occasion. Being deprived of the use of my eyes on the journey, except when we encamped at night, I cannot give a description of the country over which we passed, further than to say we crossed over many mountains, and that it seemed to me a wild and barren region. At the end of three days, or three "sleeps," as a [805] Comanche would express it, we reached the end of the journey. Here I found myself in a small village, of not more than twenty or thirty tents, inhabited by what appeared to be a portion of Big Wolf's tribe, on the bank of a considerable river that flowed to the southwest, and in a valley much larger than any I have before described.

Three Years Among the Comanches

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 On the return, which was by a different route from that 574 we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a 622 friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their [551] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the [622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his 727 people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

XIV

Another bargain and sale—Arrival at the village of Rolling Thunder—Uniformity of Indian villages—Euphonious names of Rolling Thunder's wives—Renewal of the covenant of the square stick—The wisest of the wise—Married to To-ma-no-a-ku-no, the Sleek Otter—The Indian duel—Visit to the ruins—Volcanic eruptions—Ancient architecture—The Indian legend—Mounds on the tablelands—Departure for the Grand Council—Incidents by the way—The tragical death of Rolling Thunder.

727 The Rolling Thunder was a frequent visitor at our camp, subsequent to the time when he and his tribe accompanied us home from the buffalo hunt. He exhibited a regard for me, and would often fall into a profound revery, when Kianceta, the Weasel, had presented me the watch, and I had caused it to communicate intelligence from the Great Spirit in the usual, rattling offhand manner in which it was accustomed to converse. His interviews with the Spotted Leopard became so long, and, to all appearances, of such vast importance that I had no doubt I was to be subjected to another sale and assignment.

My surmises proved to be entirely correct. Just previous to the time when preparations are made for the annual [361] [484] buffalo hunt, the Spotted Leopard and some of his distinguished warriors, Kianceta, and his other wives, with myself and a considerable drove of pack mules, set off over the mountains in all respect similar to those I had pre-

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

Visit to the Ruins

The battle lasted but a moment, the bright blades, in 578
the meantime, glittering and glimmering in the sun, and the contestants instantly presenting the appearance of men suddenly overtaken by a storm of blood. At length, a mortal thrust by one was followed by a fierce blow from the other, gashing through the side of the neck, from which the purple tide of life spouted up in a high wide arch, when both fell lifeless to the ground.

Had either survived the conflict, according to their code of honor, it would have been the duty of his brother to have put him immediately to death. Throughout the exciting scene not the slightest partiality was exhibited. The faintest shadow of emotion could not be detected upon the countenances of the savage stoics as they gazed upon it. They were stretched side by side on the spot where they had fallen—buried in the customary manner—and left to rest together in peace, at last.

The week succeeding this tragedy, a party of ten or 484
twelve, including the Rolling Thunder and myself, started 224
on a long journey, its object being to ascertain whether the buffalo droves had changed their feeding grounds, before the warriors set out on their annual hunt. In the course of this trip we crossed a valley, the singular appearance of which has very frequently since been the subject of study and reflection.

On the summit of many of the mountains we passed, 172
were broad, level tablelands, destitute of a solitary tree, and covered with rank grass. Upon every one of these elevated plains was to be seen a mound, in most instances in the form of a half-circle, resembling the overgrown ruins of an ancient fortress, and plainly the work of human hands.

Finally we descended into a ravine, walled on either 133
side by rugged cliffs which led us a day's ride to the south-

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

The Comanches

484 One end of a tipi pole was tied on each side of a horse or a mule and the other
492 end allowed to drag. This formed the travois on which the family belongings were piled until it was hardly possible to see the back of the animal bearing the burden. Children too large to be carried on their mothers' backs but too small to ride alone were tied on some old horse to be led or herded along with the procession. As an improvised
[758] ambulance for the wounded or ill, a buffalo skin was stretched between the poles of the travois, forming a sort of bed upon which the invalid was fastened for the journey. It frequently happened that some of the pack animals became frightened and scattered their burdens for miles over the prairie. Men and boys divided their time along the route between hunting and driving the remuda as they moved across a land they claimed as their own—Comanchería.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

[P.188]

[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

|D| The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the [131] extensive territory stretching from the northern boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [484] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and |B| fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1 '45) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 326.
22. Day, op. cit.

/page 31 continued/

K course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger
361 people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school
542 or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable
C clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison.
361 This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal.
K Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites
[361] where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects
C that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations
K are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered
484 by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This
601 mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep
602 up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually
[493] impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.
[491]

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites. Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 177 602 [167] 582 588 684 patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945. 115 159 756

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming. 115 159 484

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk about us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society. 115 159 756 562 559

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last 115 159 756

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

About the time we were wondering what we would do with ourselves 484
during the long day in front of us, the Indians began to arrive in their little canvas-covered wagons.

The first two or three dozen wagons used up all the hitchracks in the little town. By noon there must have been 150 of the little miniature prairie schooners parked around the group of buildings that was our town. When the hitchracks were filled, the later arrivals pulled up out on the grass, unhitched, and tied the horses to the rear wheels of the wagons.

These were not our Indians. These were Comanches from the west [101]
and north, along the south side of the Wichita Mountains. All of them were in at least the second day of their journey. They were on 484
their way to an ancient tribal gathering place, across the Red River 628
in Texas. Bands of Comanches had been using this gathering place since before there were white men in North Texas.

Apparently they had arranged to rendezvous at our little settlement, 439
the last trading place on their trail, and make the rest of their journey together. In a little over two miles they would enter the Pasture Reserve, and it would be two more days' journey to the river. The ancient gathering place was on land controlled by the Burnett Ranch. The Burnetts, who had a history of getting along with the Comanches, encouraged the Indians to continue gathering there for their tribal powwows.

Just as there had been a shortage of hitchracks, soon there was a shortage of floor space in the store. For hours the only unoccupied floor was behind the counters. Of course the focal point for everyone—men, squaws, and children—was the stove. After slightly more than sixty years, I still have no desire to describe the scent of all those damp bodies crowded together, mingled with the steam rising from the clothing of those fortunate enough to get within the radius of the stove's heat.

I never knew when our Indians, that is to say the Indians living in our trade territory, joined these strange Comanches. They may even have started the day before. During the several hours these Indians were in town, I saw but an occasional face I had seen before. They were laying in a food supply to last during the time of their gathering, and as a result, by the time we had their wants appeased, our staple groceries were exhausted.

Owing to the inclement weather, they likewise stripped us of

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rẽ'kap ẽ'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 575 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinf said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

XIII

The journey beyond the mountains—Capturing a bear—The night encampment—Entrance into the valley of Lescoha—The dashing escort—Camp of the Spotted Leopard—Another war dance—No change of programme—The bargain and sale—Renewal of the bloody covenant—Value of a captive—Arrival of Moko with the watch—Attempt to escape—Cutting the knee cord—Buffalo hunting—Battle with the Apaches—Meeting of Rolling Thunder and Spotted Leopard—Hanging by the heels—The arrival of the white women captives.

On this journey I was neither tied or blindfolded, but rode a bridled mule, while the warriors were mounted on their best horses. They usually kept me in advance of them, directing me when to turn to the right and left. We followed a well-beaten trail that led in a northwest direction. On reaching the head of the valley, we turned to the left, and began the ascent of a wide, low range of mountains, winding in and out of narrow passes and defiles, but still gradually ascending, traveling in this manner some twenty miles before reaching the summit. The descent on the opposite side was of equal extent.

The ravines were overgrown with dwarfish trees, and the adjacent mountains in general were rocky, but occasionally between the ridges that rose in succession one above the other were small, level plats, covered with a heavy growth of grass, upon which buffalo, deer, and antelopes were feeding.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

726 fun of a little fighting; they could snipe with bows and arrows from the fringe of the fray, although Rhoda Greyfoot says they never went on the "hardest" raids. For a married woman to join up with some man who was going on the warpath was, as has already been shown, the commonest manner of absconding.

When the entire band intended a series of onslaughts upon a distant enemy (three to four hundred miles from headquarters was a commonplace distance for a raid), they not infrequently took women along. The women carried small lodges and a few supplies to set up a temporary camp, the preferred location being one which provided a convenient place from which to strike at the enemy and was at the same time far enough removed to be safe from pursuit. Although the Apaches took their best medicine men along and the Kiowas included in the party a buffalo doctor who had power to heal wounds and an owl doctor with power to tell what was going to happen, the Comanches encouraged their medicine men with the greatest healing power to remain in camp and care for the wounded as they were brought in.[9]

723 A war party carefully studied and mapped any unfamiliar country
487 that it expected to traverse. All those needing information about the route and the terrain were assembled and instructed by the well-informed elders. After they were seated in a circle, a map was plotted on the ground showing rivers, hills, valleys, water holes, and any other identifying or unusual features. Then a line was drawn to represent the route planned for the first day. From a bundle of sticks, marked consecutively beginning with "one," a stick with a single notch was stuck at the point where the party was to camp at the end of the first day's journey. When the novices had committed this much to memory, the second day's journey was illustrated in the same manner. Instruction continued in similar fashion until it was felt that each man could follow the route satisfactorily. Thus a group could usually traverse without difficulty a region entirely new to members of the party. It is reported that one such instructed party, none of whom were over nineteen and none of whom had ever been in Mexico, were able to travel from their main camp on Brady's creek, Texas, and raid as far as the city of Monterrey without mishap and

[9] Lehman, *op. cit.*, 38, 148; Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 35.

with no other guidance than the instructions furnished before starting out.[10] 723 487

The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained with the party. 726 The legal governmental powers of the leader have been considered elsewhere, but for the sake of clarity some repetition here is essential. The men obeyed their leader implicitly and willingly. Each knew that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. If, on the other hand, disaffection did set in, the disgruntled warrior and those who sided with him merely withdrew to go their own way.

It was the duty of the leader to determine the objective of the raid, to plan the routes, to determine the camping places and the periods of rest, to designate the scouts, to appoint the cook and water carrier, to plan the general strategy of the attack, to divide the booty, and to order a retreat or make a truce with the enemy.

One or two scouts were kept from a one-half to a day's march ahead. A war party rarely traveled at night by choice, and the men rode without much talking, steady and quiet, all intent on where they were going. About midday they stopped to rest and water the horses. At night they camped, preferably in a grove near fresh water. If they were in enemy territory and a hill was available, the war party circled gradually up and around the hill until it reached a camping spot halfway up the hill on the side opposite the direction from which it had approached. The leader sent two sentries to the top of the hill, and the rest of the party slept soundly through the night. An enemy following their trail was exposed on the side of the hill under the view of the sentries in plenty of time to warn the sleeping encampment.

The leader carried a sacred pipe. When the evening meal was over, the pipe was formally filled, lighted and, after the usual offerings to the spiritual powers, passed to each warrior in turn. Then the leader talked to his men, telling them of the country, the best routes, and the safest places of retreat, giving them advice and telling them how

[10] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 414, from an account by Pedro Espinosa, a Mexican-Comanche warrior.

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the 648 following century, these were never as damaging as 728 the blows which had fallen on the province in the [721] years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mex- 175 ico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 648 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased some what—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared— [487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Coman- 175 ches during several decades of friendly contact with 177 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

/page 31 continued/

K 361 592 C 361 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison. This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal. K [361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects C K 484 601 602 that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep [493] [491] up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 224 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[727] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
422 586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. "... in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

727 firmly lashed. In this situation it was possible for us to roll off sidewise if we pleased, but it was impossible to extricate ourselves from the beasts.

The caravan set forward in the following order: Our drove in advance, with outriders in front, and to the right and left, guarding it in the same manner we had previously; behind the drove rode the warriors, and in their rear came the pack mules, and the mules bearing the prisoners, without bridles, but left to follow at their own leisure and discretion. It is customary, not only with the Indians on such [492] occasions as this, but with Mexican and Texan drovers on a long march, to leave their pack mules free to follow, and never do they stray out of the line or linger many rods behind. Our position, bound as we were, however, was not comfortable. Utterly powerless, so far as guiding the animal was concerned, which, like the wind, wandered where it listed, sometimes pushing and crowding in among the pack mules, sometimes suddenly stopping to take a bite or two of grass, and in that natural and innocent act, throwing us forward on the pommel of the saddle with the impression we were going over his head, the next moment starting suddenly on a sharp trot, throwing us as far backward—our predicament was indeed awkward as it was tormenting. But these were only the light afflictions and trials of the prairie. When our journey came to lead us through strips of timber land, as it often did, then the measure of our tribulation was full, indeed. The first time the thoughtless brute ran under a limb, striking me in the face and knocking me off, or rather turning me round so that my head reversed positions with my feet, the sensation produced was horrible, but practice makes perfect is a true adage, and, in time, habituates a man to almost anything. My frequent repetitions of this performance on the *tightrope*

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

rectly opposite—but a mile below the bluff was another gravelly beach, almost precisely similar to the one at which we had arrived, and opposite that, and below us, was likewise a high bluff, so that in crossing, it was necessary to move in a diagonal direction, as well as a long distance. The usual labor was expended, and the usual means resorted to in passing the drove, which, in consequence of the low water extending from the opposite beaches, left only the main channel, a distance, perhaps, of a hundred yards, to be swum. When it came our turn to take passage, the blindfolds were removed, and each was seated in a little [501] buffalo-skin boat, an invention original, I believe, with the Comanche tribes, and capable of being taken apart, folded [492] into a small compass, and carried as baggage. To the bow of these boats were hitched one end of a hair rope, the other to the tails of our mules, who safely ferried us from shore to shore.

That night we encamped at the foot of the mountain, and the whole of the next day traveled, as near as I could judge, over a steep, rough, and uneven road. During the entire trip, I was subjected to the same annoyances of being run under trees, burned with hot horseflesh, and staked down at night, as described above.

Early in the afternoon of the fourth day the warriors raised the war whoop, and afar off was heard another war whoop in reply. As we advanced, over what appeared to me a smooth plain, the answering voices grew more and more distinct, until finally the approaching parties met and intermingled. Having halted, I was taken from the mule, and when allowed the liberty of my eyes, found myself and companions standing together, in the midst of a great number of tents, and surrounded by five or six hundred men, all pushing forward to catch a glimpse of us. 727 [202]

Interview with Aikens

they believed, in truth, it was a living spirit in a silver body. 727

When I recounted all that had occurred since we last separated—my refusal to wind it—my obstinacy in resisting their commands, and my attack upon the Indian when unbound, he became still more convinced. The fact they had pursued such a course towards me, which they had not towards him, was perfect evidence in his mind they intended to naturalize me, and that, so long, at least, as the watch remained in order, I need not fear death at their hands. But he advised me, by all means, to pursue an entirely different course from that lately adopted; on the contrary, to leave no effort untried to initiate myself into their favor—to cultivate their good will—to yield submission in all things, and to deceive them, if possible, into the belief that I preferred to dwell with them rather than with my own people. By pursuing this course, he represented the time would come at last when their vigilance would relax, and an opportunity of escaping safely from them would occur. We conversed of many things, past, present, and to come, losing not a moment of the precious hour. At its close, he was ordered by the guard to leave. Charging me, if ever I escaped, to communicate the intelligence of his misfortunes to his friend, Antonio Ferandez, of Corpus Christi, he bade me a sorrowful *adieu*, and passed out of the tent. I have never seen or heard of him since.

Soon after this, early one morning, I discovered the 484 squaws busily engaged taking down the tents. One after 462 another the dingy white cones came down until the whole village looked as if some sudden tempest had laid it in ruins. Every canvas, buffalo mattress, and blanket was then rolled up, the cooking kettles and the tent poles collected, and all packed firmly on the backs of a crowd of mules [492] collected in the square. It was a busy and laborious scene,

484 requiring much strength to elevate some of the packages
462 to their place, yet it was all performed by women.

462 The Comanche Indian in his village is the idlest, laziest being in existence, a sluggard and a glutton. His sole and only pursuits are war and hunting. His wife, besides attending to the domestic duties of the tent, plants his corn and reaps it, cultivates his tobacco, tans his buffalo hides—in fine, performs wholly, without the remotest aid from him, every particle and kind of labor, which, among civilized beings, devolves upon the husband. So now, while the women toiled and strained and lifted, the men moped stupidly around, smoking their pipes, or lolled upon the ground.

727 Everything in readiness, I was once more blindfolded,
484 mounted, and tied, when the entire town, not only its men,
492 women, and children, but its furniture, its tents, its public and private buildings, all moved off on the backs of mules and horses. There was not left one stone upon another of that city.

727 Fortunately, the mule upon which I rode was led, so that I escaped the annoyance that befell me, under similar circumstances, on a previous occasion. Being deprived of the use of my eyes on the journey, except when we encamped at night, I cannot give a description of the country over which we passed, further than to say we crossed over many mountains, and that it seemed to me a wild and barren region. At the end of three days, or three "sleeps," as a
[805] Comanche would express it, we reached the end of the journey. Here I found myself in a small village, of not more than twenty or thirty tents, inhabited by what appeared to be a portion of Big Wolf's tribe, on the bank of a considerable river that flowed to the southwest, and in a valley much larger than any I have before described.

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
554

The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

Dressing the Buffalo Skin

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [422]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824]
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

XIII

The journey beyond the mountains—Capturing a bear—The night encampment—Entrance into the valley of Lescoha—The dashing escort—Camp of the Spotted Leopard—Another war dance—No change of programme—The bargain and sale—Renewal of the bloody covenant—Value of a captive—Arrival of Moko with the watch—Attempt to escape—Cutting the knee cord—Buffalo hunting—Battle with the Apaches—Meeting of Rolling Thunder and Spotted Leopard—Hanging by the heels—The arrival of the white women captives.

727 On this journey I was neither tied or blindfolded, but rode
[492] a bridled mule, while the warriors were mounted on their
487 best horses. They usually kept me in advance of them,
133 directing me when to turn to the right and left. We followed a well-beaten trail that led in a northwest direction. On reaching the head of the valley, we turned to the left, and began the ascent of a wide, low range of mountains, winding in and out of narrow passes and defiles, but still gradually ascending, traveling in this manner some twenty miles before reaching the summit. The descent on the opposite side was of equal extent.

133 The ravines were overgrown with dwarfish trees, and the
136 adjacent mountains in general were rocky, but occasionally between the ridges that rose in succession one above the other were small, level plats, covered with a heavy growth of grass, upon which buffalo, deer, and antelopes were feeding.

727 first carried away into captivity. This, I supposed, was the extent of the penalty I was doomed to suffer, but a short time taught me I was sorely and painfully mistaken. The Spotted Leopard, drawing down my leggin, with the coolness of the most practised surgeon, drew the edge of his knife across the cartilage or tendon just below the kneepan of my right leg. The muscle was not entirely severed, as was evidently his intention. The object of this surgical operation was to cripple me in such manner as to render escape impossible, even should a favorable opportunity present itself. For two weeks I was kept tied down, the chief frequently, during that time, bending the leg back and forth, each time breaking open the wound afresh. Eventually, however, I was unbound, and the wound permitted to heal, leaving a formidable cicatrice, and rendering the limb extremely stiff, not to such a degree, however, as it was his purpose to make it.

224 In the winter following, some 250 of the warriors, armed
727 with bows and arrows, lances, tomahawks, and knives, set
● 492 out on their annual grand buffalo hunt. They were mounted on their choice horses, while I, who accompanied the chief as his servant, rode, unarmed, a dilapidated mule.

224 It is only in the cold months that the skin of the buffalo has any value for the purposes of traffic. Then, only, is it covered with wool, being, in the warm summer weather, with the exception of a tuft of mane, entirely bare. During the latter period they are only killed as the necessity of food requires—their skins then being used for the construction of tents.

224 On these annual excursions, they are followed by a large
492 number of mules that not only carry out their buffalo-hunting tents, which simply consist of one or more skins,

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes—but also bring 224
back the hides they may succeed in taking. 492

On the occasion I now refer to, the party moved west, 224
threading their winding way over the mountains, and across numerous streams and valleys of greater or less width and extent. In the afternoon of the third day we struck a wide, rolling prairie. Dividing it nearly in the center was a high, smooth ridge—its summit reached from both sides by an easy, gradual ascent. As we crossed the prairie and approached this ridge, our scattered cavalcade extended, perhaps, a quarter of a mile, moving forward carelessly, and in no order whatever. I was at the extreme rear, by the side of the Spotted Leopard, and surrounded by the pack mules. As the foremost horsemen reached the height, they 726
halted suddenly, making hurried signs, while two or three of the braves galloped back down the slope, riding eagerly to and fro among their brethren, as if urging them to push forward without delay. The whole band, thereupon, dashed up the hill, except the Spotted Leopard and myself, who remained with the mules in the rear, and on reaching the summit deployed into line. By this time I had heard the cry of "the Apaches, the Apaches," and knew at once there was hot work at hand.

As yet, however, I had seen nothing of an enemy, and only drew the inference there was one present from the cries I had heard, and the general commotion that prevailed. In the course of two or three minutes after our line formed on the ridge, the air was rent with the noise of the war whoop, and up the opposite ascent, at full speed, came the Apaches in solid body, like a black cloud. As they approached, a shower of arrows were discharged from both lines, when they rushed upon each other in a hand-to-hand encounter.

The Comanches

One end
484 of a tipi pole was tied on each side of a horse or a mule and the other
492 end allowed to drag. This formed the travois on which the family belongings were piled until it was hardly possible to see the back of the animal bearing the burden. Children too large to be carried on their mothers' backs but too small to ride alone were tied on some old horse to be led or herded along with the procession. As an improvised
[758] ambulance for the wounded or ill, a buffalo skin was stretched between the poles of the travois, forming a sort of bed upon which the invalid was fastened for the journey. It frequently happened that some of the pack animals became frightened and scattered their burdens for miles over the prairie. Men and boys divided their time along the route between hunting and driving the remuda as they moved across a land they claimed as their own—Comanchería.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Horse and the Buffalo

These forces brought about an immediate and sweeping change in the life of the Comanches that was even more drastic than in the case of most other Indians. Walter Prescott Webb does not exaggerate in his claim that "Steam, electricity, and gasoline have wrought no greater changes in our culture than did horses in the culture of the Plains Indians."[2] With the horse, the Comanche achieved incomparably greater mobility; he mastered the buffalo; he had an exchangeable asset that made him a greater trader; he was transformed from an impotent infantryman into a fierce cavalryman—a dangerous warrior and insatiable raider. As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation, the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. It enabled the hunter to provide plenty of food, clothing, and shelter for his dependents, the raider to take more plunder, and the warrior to take more enemy scalps with less danger to himself. His life became exuberant, his culture efflorescent. 177

The Comanche had not been devoid entirely of a beast of burden for use in transportation previous to the acquisition of the horse. He had used the dog to draw his travois, as we have already seen. But his movable goods when toted by dogs were meager and his household poorly furnished. After obtaining the larger animal, he merely enlarged his dog harness, lengthened the travois poles, and "as an indication of appreciation of the boon which had been conferred upon him, named the horse the God-dog."[3] But the difference in the load that could be moved and the distance that could be covered as a result of the change increased considerably the area from which the Comanche could draw sustenance and the load of household appurtenances he could move about in his wanderings. 177 492 231

The horse had other practical advantages over the dog. It could eat grass and even the bark of trees. In the lush plains of the past it was easier to feed in large numbers than was the dog. Furthermore, its flesh could be eaten in times of food scarcity, while the dog, although nutritious, could not be eaten because of the coyote tabu. The skin of the horse provided shelter, robes, saddles, and rawhide thongs. The mane and tail were converted into ropes and bridles. The Comanche hunter was no longer compelled to stalk his game on foot. 177 231

[2] W. P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Conflict of Civilization*, 13.
[3] *Ibid.*

into the timbered area. The Shoshones of Idaho had obtained their horses by the route west of the continental divide about 1690 to 1700, or approximately twenty years before horses had reached the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. 231 174

Ponca tradition credits the Comanches with having the first horses seen by the people of their tribe. According to it, the Comanches at the time fought on horseback, using the long-handled stone battle-axe as their principal weapon. Furthermore, the Poncas claim that the Comanches had thick covers of overlapping pieces of rawhide to protect the breasts and sides of their animals. The Comanches taught the Poncas how to ride and to use the horse as a beast of burden. Soon afterwards they left the country, and the Poncas knew not where they went.[8]

The Comanches probably acquired horses as early as, or before, the Shoshones. They certainly had them by the time they moved into the South Plains. They were raiding in New Mexico in 1705. The next year, the Apaches in the northeastern part of that province suffered from Comanche horse-raiding expeditions. Comanche raiding in New Mexico apparently became progressively more frequent, for in 1719 the governor of the province sent a punitive expedition against the Comanches in an attempt to check the forays.

How many horses the Comanches accumulated is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Clinton Smith reported that his band had about 6,000 head, about one-half of which were the property of the chief; and that sometimes within a single night horses by the thousands were captured or stolen.[9] Captain Marcy estimated that the most successful warriors owned from fifty to two hundred animals each. By comparison, a Sioux considered himself wealthy if he owned thirty to forty.[10] The Antelope band, with a population of less than two thousand, had about 15,000 horses and 300 to 400 head of mules in 1867. Modern Comanches say that A Big Fall By Tripping owned 1,500 horses at the time of his death, although he was so fat he could not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. 231 174 556 [492]

[8] Alice C. Fletcher and Frances La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," B. A. E. *Bulletin No.* 27, 79–80.

[9] Clinton and Jeff D. Smith, *The Boy Captives*, 50–51.

[10] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of America* (vol. I of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*), 160.

The Horse and the Buffalo

Of all the techniques of taking mustangs, one of the easiest was to ambush them at the water hole. It was the habit of the wild horses to feed as much as ten or more miles out on the prairie from the nearest water. They would munch on the grass until thirsty. Then they would run the whole distance to the nearest hole. Hot and thirsty, they guzzled their bellies full. The Comanche, mounted on a good, rested horse, could dart from his ambush and quickly take a water-logged mustang which he could not even have approached a few minutes earlier.[16] 224

In capturing the hard-to-take stallions, however, the best way was to stalk them with a team of co-operating hunters. Each herd tended to move about within a limited range of territory; when flushed, it was likely to travel in a circle, returning eventually to or near the spot where it was originally found. To accomplish this end, one or more horsemen kept the herd continuously on the move without allowing it either to eat or to drink. This was not too difficult, for the stalkers, by remaining on the inside of the circle, traveled a much shorter distance than the herd. When their own mounts wearied, the riders were replaced by others or were supplied with fresh mounts. This procedure was continued without let-up for two or three days or until the herd became exhausted, when a number of riders on fresh mounts rode in and lassoed their pick of the wild horses.

To catch a wild horse is only half the job—if a man intends to ride him. There is yet the breaking to be done. The mustang was choked into exhaustion, thrown to the ground, and subjected to having the breath of the captor blown into its nostrils. The "wild" hairs were pulled from around its eyes. A headstall or hackamore, a loop of rope about the under jaw brought up and tied about the neck with a knot that would not slip, was put on the animal.[17] The captive was usually tied to a gentle mare in such a way as to keep it from injuring the mare during its first efforts to escape. While the horse was still tied to the mare, the owner handled it enough to make it gentle. After a few days it was set free, and thereafter followed the mare wherever she went. When the time came to ride his wild mustang, 492

[16] Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State*, 187.

[17] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 67; Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Pacific with a United States Government Expedition*, I, 186–87.

492 the Comanche usually took it into a sand-bottomed creek or into deep water for his first mountings. This precaution took the bounce out of the bucking and made for softer landing.

721 Capturing wild horses had its points, but to the Comanche stealing them was better. And the Comanche was the top horse thief of them all. When he went raiding, it was sometimes for scalps, but usually he was more interested in plunder and horses than in killing.

Acquisition of horses by plunder appealed to a Comanche, for it enhanced his prestige. Taking horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for valor and cleverness, and it was in its own right a form of coup: stealing horses from enemies was a distinguished mark of honor, and those most successful in this enterprise were highly respected. Captain Marcy reported that Is-sa-keep, a chief of one of the Northern Comanche bands, said that he was the father of four sons who were a great source of comfort to him in his old age for they could steal more horses than any other men in his band.[18] Some, like Rhoda Greyfoot's father and his two brothers, made it a point of honor never to return from a raid without horses.

The Comanche taking a guarded horse was a ghost. There are instances on record of Comanches' stealing hobbled and guarded mounts of soldiers. Colonel Dodge says that a Comanche could crawl into a "bivouac where a dozen men were sleeping, each with a horse tied to his wrist by the lariat, cut a rope within six feet of the sleeper, and get away with the horse without waking a soul." The Colonel also cites an instance of two Comanche raiders entering a stable under apparently impossible circumstances and making off with two of the best horses. The stable was built of heavy timbers set on end surmounted by a heavy plate doweled into place. The stable yard was enclosed by a heavy picket fence with similar dowel construction. Both yard and stable were guarded by sentries. Yet one stormy night the two Indians cut the dowels, removed enough timbers to permit a horse to go through, and made away with the two best animals without alarming either sentry. They were some sixty miles away before they were overtaken.[19]

[18] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 159.
[19] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 401–402.

for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieka*), a reddish brown (*ɛkakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*ʈɔsa*), a blue (*epixtuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔɾɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*ekaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛkasənaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsənaɾo*), or black (*ḍuu:-tsənaɾo*). And finally there were the red (*ɛkanaki*), yellow (*ohanaki*), and black (*ḍuunaki*) ears.

Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 862.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

feet to a post. Two men grabbed the hind legs, and the operator sat between the legs to do his cutting.[24] 232

Comanche horses were not ordinarily shod, but a man's favorite horse, if tenderfooted, was fitted with a rawhide boot soaked in water and tied over the sore hoofs.[25] Other riding horses had their hoofs toughened by walking them slowly back and forth near the heat and smoke of a fire.[26] 492

Among the Comanches, horses were private property. Each member of a family who was large enough to ride had one or more mounts of his own. The young child was usually given an old, gentle mare. The women had their riding mounts as well as mules and gentle horses for packing. Large numbers of mules were frequently found in the Comanche camps around the middle of the nineteenth century. Captives, before they were adopted into the tribe, were also forced to ride mules to lessen the danger of a break for freedom. [422]

Josiah Gregg was of the opinion that the Comanches had a universal custom of marking their animals by a slit in the tip of each ear.[27] Contemporary Comanches deny this, however, saying that any Comanche could distinguish one horse from another by looks just as easily as he could tell one person from another. After all, the Comanches lived with their horses.

Most accounts by early explorers on the plains agree that the Comanches were among the best horsemen the world has produced. Baldwin Möllhausen, a German scientist and traveler who crossed the Southern Plains in 1853, observed that from earliest childhood to the last days of his life the Comanche was continually on horseback. "Indeed, he makes but an awkward figure enough on foot, though he is no sooner mounted than he is transformed; and when with no other aid than that of the rein and heavy whip he makes his horse perform the most incredible feats," which gave him a feeling of independence and superiority.[28] Marcy stated that it was while the Co-

[24] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[25] Informant: Slope.

[26] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races*, I, 518, n.136; Parker, *op cit.*, 203.

[27] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 433.

[28] Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184.

492 manche was mounted that he exhibited himself to best advantage. "Here he is at home and his skill . . . is truly astonishing."[29]

492 726 868 One of the first things a Comanche child learned was to ride. He started riding in a pack on his mother's back long before he could walk. Next he was strapped to her saddle on a gentle mare. By the time he was four or five he was off on a pony of his own. Both boys and girls were taught to ride with or without a saddle. Girls were taught to ride astride and became almost as much at home on horseback as boys. But it was not enough for the Comanche boy merely to learn to ride. He had to be a trick rider. Day after day, month after month, he practiced in drill. He learned to pick up objects from the ground while his mount was traveling at full speed. At first, small and light objects were selected, but as the boy grew older and more proficient, heavier and more bulky objects were exchanged for the lighter ones, until at last, unassisted and at full speed, he might be able to pick up from the ground and swing across his horse the body of the heaviest man. To rescue a fallen comrade was the highest obligation of any Comanche warrior. To leave a comrade on the field to be stripped, mutilated, and scalped by desecrating enemies was a disgrace to The People. Every man was expected to be able to meet the challenge when the need arose—and he had to be able to do it alone. Generally, however, rescues were made by two men working togther. Rushing neck by neck on either side of the prostrate person, both riders stooped at the same instant and swung the body in front of one of the riders. This stunt was practiced over and over on all kinds of ground until riders and ponies could do it without a hitch.

492 726 In attack, the Comanche, like other horse Indians, made his mount a mobile shield between himself and his enemy. How many a trooper or pioneer within his defensive corral of wagons has cursed at the scudding Indian whirling about him, loosing arrows from beneath his horse's neck, with nothing showing but a leg hooked over the horse's backbone! The key to this fancy trick was a loop of rope attached to the cantle or, if the rider was bareback, plaited into his steed's mane. With the loop slipped over his head and under his outside arm, a trained rider (and what Comanche was not?) clung to

[29] R. B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 54*, 103.

the side of his horse with both hands free for shooting or picking up heavy objects while riding hell bent for leather.[30]

Thus it was that Homer Thrall imaginatively saw the Comanche as "the Arab of the Prairie—the model of the fabled Thessalian 'Centaur,' half horse, half man, so closely joined and so dexterously managed that it appears but one animal, fleet and furious."[31]

Long before they got horses, the Comanches, like their Shoshone cousins, liked to put a good bet on a stick game or an arrow-throwing contest. Small wonder that in later years they took to horse racing with gusto and mighty bets.

In one popular race the contestants started from a line and rushed full speed toward a tree, the one touching it first being the winner. In another they rushed at a pole resting horizontally about six feet from the ground. If a rider stopped his horse a moment too soon, he failed to touch the pole; if a moment too late, the horse passed under the pole, possibly leaving the rider dangling to the pole or thrown to the ground. In still another contest, two strips of buffalo hide were stretched across the track about six to ten feet apart. The starting point was about two hundred yards from the strips. The contestants jumped their mounts over the first strip, reversed their direction, and raced back to the starting point. The horse which failed to get beyond the first strip with all four feet or which went beyond the second lost the race regardless.

Most Comanche racers were "doctored" for a race. An owner had a medicine man chew up some unidentified medicine which he spit in the horse's mouth or ear. Whatever its specific effect, it was power in the Comanche view. No woman could come near a racer when it had had medicine made for it, and after racing, both horse and rider went into a creek to wash off the effects of the medicine.

In many instances horse racing proved to be really profitable business for the Comanches—who were not the least loath to fleece a sucker. Colonel Dodge has left a story of a race which the officers at Fort Chadburne, Texas, to their regret arranged with some Comanches. After the first bets had been laid, the Comanches innocently

[30] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 331; Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 103.

[31] H. S. Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas*, 445.

The Comanches

492 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[32]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

224 To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

262 The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse. No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

[271] 237 415 When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available, there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[32] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

The Comanches

224 It was necessary to have well-trained horses, for the time of the slaughter was short. The first step in training a horse for buffalo 492 running was to make him rope shy. This was done by twisting one end of a rawhide rope around the lower jaw, allowing the free end to trail. The trainer then mounted another pony and proceeded to prod the horse with whip, lance, or switch. For a short time, the horse, stepping on the halter rope, found it difficult to run. A few falls and hard jerks, however, were usually sufficient, and afterwards the horse very skillfully avoided stepping on any rope. Horses were trained also to run without bridle or rope of any kind, being guided by knee pressure.

224 Buffalo hunting, although hard work and dangerous, was truly exciting. When chasing buffalo, the Comanches, like other Indians, usually discarded all clothing except the breechclout. They rode bareback, although occasionally a small pad was used. Frequently a rope was wound in loose coils around the horse's body, just back of the forelegs; by thrusting his knees under the rope, the rider maintained a firm seat while in action. Each hunter rode upon the buffalo from the rear, coming in close on its right side and shooting at the soft spot between the protruding hip bone and the last rib. This was the only way to reach the vitals. The heart of the animal hung low, and since the rider was slightly behind and above the buffalo, the arrow slanted into the soft spot behind the short rib and ranged forward and downward. Driven with terrific force at such close range, the shaft often completely buried itself or passed all the way through the animal, even on occasion bringing down a second animal running alongside. A hunter sometimes pulled the arrow from the victim while the animal was still running. As soon as he heard the twang of the bow string, a good buffalo-running horse swerved away from its victim in order to be well out of harm's way when the wounded beast turned and charged. Unfortunately, the horse was not always quick enough to prevent being gored, and frequently a mount stepped in a prairie-dog hole, breaking its leg and throwing its rider. Many a hunter received broken limbs as a result of such accidents, and some were killed, but it was a risk taken with joy.[87]

[87] C. C. Rister, "Indians as Buffalo Hunters," *Frontier Times*, Vol. V (April, 1928), 456; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 361–62.

The Comanches

281 skins soft and flexible no matter how often they were exposed to moisture.

Every woman made the clothing for herself and her family, as was explained in the previous chapter. From the tanned skins the women also made various kinds of soft leather pouches, among them the long fringed ones for the men's smoking utensils. Some of these [531] bags were decorated with beadwork after the arrival of the white traders, but informants insist that porcupine-quill embroidery was unusual among the Comanches.

281 463 Although every woman learned to make clothing and bags, it seems that there were only a relatively few who became expert at designing and cutting the cover for a tipi. A mother or wife who wanted to make a tipi gathered the poles, stripped them of their bark and pared them down to the desired size, and possibly pointed the butts. She then most likely went to an expert tipi-maker and asked for her help. She might offer her a present then, or it might be given afterwards. A day for the work was agreed upon. Other women would be invited to join the "quilting party," but the expert was in complete charge and gave the instructions. She usually did the most critical cutting and fitting. During the day the hostess provided her guests with a feast. Although the women worked together, there appears to have been no organization of tipi makers.[2]

492 [463] [727] Since the Comanches spent much of their time on horseback, horse equipage was an important item. Although both men and women worked at it, saddle-making tended to be the specialty of men who were no longer active in war. In later times, however, Mexican captives became specialists at the trade. Saddles were mostly of a modified Spanish type. They were generally made of American elm in three pieces: the bars or seat proper, the pommel, and the cantle. Each part was laboriously shaved down into the desired shape and carefully fitted. The pommel and cantle were made high with but slight pitch; the bars or seat were moderate in length so that the saddle was deep and narrow. Holes were drilled with a red hot awl, the joints daubed with glue, and then the parts were laced firmly together by means of green deer sinew. The joints were scraped and rubbed smooth, and the frame was smeared with an ochre paint. Over

[2] Informants: Kills Something; She Invites Her Relatives.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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this frame wet rawhide of deer or buffalo was stretched and sewed with green deer sinew. As the wet rawhide dried, it shrank on the frame snugly, making a tough and durable saddle. A small, soft bear skin or buffalo robe was used as a pad.[3] Women's saddles were deeper than those of the men, and the horns and cantles had longer horizontal projections decorated with fringes and brass-headed tacks and were painted red. 492

The stirrup was usually made of a single piece of green willow wood. On either side of the foot rest the wood was bent up and the ends brought together to form the sides and top of the stirrup. The ends were lashed in place with wet sinew, and then over this wooden frame green buffalo hide was stretched and sewed together with sinew. When riding without saddles, the Comanches sometimes used a pad, usually made of dressed buffalo hide.

Bridles or halters were made of plaited buffalo hair or strips of tanned buffalo hide. The hair bridle seems to have been the most common. No bits were used. A loop was formed just above the horse's nose, and the animal was guided by a pull on the rein or by pressure of the knees.

Pack saddles were constructed of two large, ovaloid pads made of two pieces of rawhide sewed together with a grass stuffing between them. These fitted against the two sides of the horse and were held together by two strips of wood which arched over the horse's back and also served as a base for lashing the load. The two pads came so far down and fitted so snugly against the sides of the beast of burden that no cinch was needed.

The Comanches, like most Indians, enjoyed a good smoke. Post Oak Jim thinks there was no smoking in the old days, and he is probably right. At least, a few centuries ago the Comanches had access to very little tobacco. This was changed after they had contact with Mexican traders. From them they obtained cured tobacco in large leaves, which they themselves cut into long strips and pounded to shreds and then added crushed sumac leaves. They smoked both cigarettes and pipes. Cigarettes were rolled in cottonwood leaves or leaves of catbriar or blackjack oak. Only in more recent times were cornhusks introduced. 276

[3] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 277, 296.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929

NO6 Comanche NO6 ●
Wichita NO10

W
looking somewhat like a giant bee hive of the old fashion. They 000
raised crops of corn, pumpkins and possibly tobacco. On the other 241
hand the Apaches practiced agriculture only to a limited extent and commonly lived in crude brush lodges. Although they had but few arts their women were skilled basket makers.[6] In contradistinction to these other tribes, the Comanches, like their allies the 000
Kiowas, never planted seed of any kind. Thus the Caddoan, Shoshonean, and Athapascan families have all been represented in the Abilene country at one time or another. It seems that the Wichitas and Apaches were here from time immemorial, but the Comanches were late comers. The stone artifacts we find in this country may have belonged to the Wichitas or Lipans; but it is not likely that any stone implement found here, excepting perhaps stone hammers and clubs, were ever used by the Comanches. Long before the latter tribe had reached this country, iron, steel, tin and copper had pretty well supplanted the stone and bone implements used by their forbears. Naturally this improvement in implements, together with the introduction of the horse worked some transformation among them; but we cannot follow this out because we know practically nothing of their culture before they came in touch with a higher civilization.

C
In physical appearance there was little to distinguish the Co- 142
manche from his fellow plains savages of other tribes. The artist Catlin described the race as "in statue rather low, and in person, often approaching to corpulency"; and stated that they were not as large and handsome as the Kiowas. He added that, "In their movements they were heavy and ungraceful; and on their feet one C
of the most unattractive and slovenly-looking races of Indians that [481
I have ever seen." But the mounted Comanche presented an entirely 492] ●
different appearance. Once on his horse, he continued, "He gracefully flies away like a different being."[7] Some twenty years later, about 1854, Captain R. B. Marcy, of the United States Army, described the men as of "About the medium statue, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline noses, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but

6. For the picture of a Wichita village see George Catlin, **North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, written during eight years' travel amongst the wildest tribes of Indians in North America, 1832-1839** (Edinburg, 1926), II, plate 173. On the Apaches see Hodge, **Handbook**, I, 65-66.

7. **North American Indians**, II, 74 and 84.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6●

undertaking. Generally the men did the killing while the women 221
dressed the carcasses, loaded the meat on pack animals, took it to 224
camp, and cooked it for immediate use or dried it as the occasion
demanded. Some women were also hunters of recognized prowess.[17] [462]

In seasons of plenty the squaws boned and split the meat, carved 251
it into long chains, and threw it over poles to dry in the sun. Meat
intended for immediate consumption was dried or cooked over a
fire.

Naturally the Comanche women were adepts at tanning hides. 281
The tanning of a deer skin is described thus:

> Having soaked the skins thoroughly, then throw them over a smooth log leaned against a tree at an angle, and then taking a rib of a deer in both hands, remove the hair by scraping it against the grain; they then stretched and dried them, when they became beautifully soft and white. To color them, they tied several into chimney shape, hung to a limb, and building smoulder fires under them they soon changed to a yellowish brown on the hair side, and light yellow on the flesh side.[18]

A somewhat different account is given by another observer. He states that:

> The skins were first staked down to the ground, flesh side up. With a sharp bone the squaw then scraped off every particle of flesh; next the scraped surface was spread with lime to absorb the grease, after which the surface was spread with the brains of the animal, rubbing it in and working it over till the skin became soft and pliable, the process requiring days and days of hard work.[19]

All authorities agree that the Comanches were unexcelled as 492 ●
horsemen. Catlin was amazed at their trick of dropping their body

17. In Notes Taken With Marcy, Parker tells of one woman, the widow of the Penateka chief, Santa Anna, who was said to have killed with her rifle as many as fifteen deer in one forenoon (pp. 192-193). Captain Marcy tells how he observed two young Comanche women of a northern band mount their horses and pursue and lasso each a young antelope which they brought back in triumph to the camp. Exploration of the Red River, 95.

18. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 198-199.

19. Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, Recollections of Old Texas Days, Compiled by his daughter, Nanna Smithwick Donaldson, Austin, Texas (not dated).

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 701] "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

657 The early reservation days were largely
657 times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

128 Canonge's translations, though simply presented, show the fruit of patient research into the manner of word formation, characterized in Comanche by a rich use of affixes and of stem composition, while still maintaining a fairly simple inflectional apparatus. Some of the facts were already worked out for Comanche and for closely related languages (e.g. Southern Paiute) before Canonge began his work, but he still had much to do to reach his present fine understanding of Comanche structure and the meaning of each element. He supplemented his general knowledge of the language by careful study of his texts, with the help of Mrs. Riddles and other natives.

The author is to be congratulated on his technique for showing the relation between the native text and the translations. He uses numbers for each word in the native text and marks with the same number the part of the translation corresponding to each native word. This gives a good correlation of the two texts without making the publication impossibly expensive, as is the use of interlinear translation. The linguistically skilled reader, by consulting some of the published work on the structure of Comanche or related tongues, will be able to analyze the material with relative ease; naturally the untrained reader will need more patience to follow the structure but not more than he would need with interlinear translation. A possible criticism is that the literary style of the translation is at times a bit clumsy for trying to parallel the native version strictly.

Canonge uses brief summaries rather than short-phrase titles to the texts.. This will be welcomed by the folklorist concerned with finding "folk-theme" parallels between Comanche and other mythologies, and by the general ethnographer looking for data on particular aspects of Comanche customs. The material is classified into parts, including: Coyote stories, Fairy tales and fables, Humor in ridicule, Manners and morals, Adventure, Obtaining and preparing food.

It is to be expected that the majority of readers will be interested in the content rather than in the specific linguistic form of these texts. They will be able to read right along, simply disregarding the little numbers used for showing the analysis. The latter will be important to the linguist and the student of native story-telling style.

492 175 In historic times, the Comanche distinguish themselves as one of the tribes which was quick to adopt the use of the horse, becoming accomplished riders, and using this rapid means of movement to hunt the buffalo and in exploits of war.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, 175
however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient 727
perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration.

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on 175
horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cav- 726
alry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be 492
in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the 175
speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own 492
use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds.

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant 175
parade through the village mounted and accountred, and 726
bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful [714]
style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em-
[492] bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the
[593] saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive
727 them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
714

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encum- 175 726
brance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness [492]
of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Span- [714]
ish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet 175
long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For 411
defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buf- 175
faloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which 714
fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or [237]
circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not [558]
attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the 175
use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the 411
weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and 175
their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which 721
enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over 442
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 132
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657]
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595]
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343]
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buf-
492 falo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have
[224] two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and
462 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-
721 month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the
[492] camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually
[231] one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred
[224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat,
[251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After
462 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything
281 the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither
[299] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone
[283] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.
[412]

Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers
[281] for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down
[493] and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be
[436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The
567 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur-
727 nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women
[582] were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives.
[702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles . O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

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The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and 442
boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and [443]
bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt.
I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade 562
like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At
least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't
have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away 292
for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the
men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a
ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I 595
had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the 578
workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the
older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal ar-
rangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—
the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I
never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mis-
treat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation
to either husband or child.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 177
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

32: Gilles O,X-3. (1902-c.1910) 1974
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WHO WAS MO-CHO-ROOK?

IT WAS a hot, sunshiny Saturday in the late summer of 1902, and it was 000 the Saturday that they were holding horse races. They were white man's races. That is to say, each horse owner had to pay an entrance fee for any horse he wished to run in any particular race. This fee money was added to the prize money the racing committee was offering on this particular race. In an Oklahoma Indian race, anyone could 541 enter a horse, and then everyone raced for the prize money.

A very old Indian, Mo-cho-rook, who owned two fine racing stallions and always rode his own horses whenever he raced them, was standing near the finish line, in the shade of a saloon building, holding the reins of his large sorrel stallion. He was entered in a half-mile race, on the straightaway track, and from a standing start.

When the call came for all horses in the race Mo-cho-rook had entered to proceed to the starting line, the old Indian prepared to mount. He was the focal point for all eyes. Most people, white and Indian, knew he was very old, even if they did not know that the Comanche roll showed him to be seventy-seven.

He was small, possibly five feet two or three inches tall and weighing around 110 pounds. He always rode bareback. When, with his 492 hands on the sorrel's withers, he attempted to vault onto the horse, it quickly sidestepped. Mo-cho-rook came down on his feet and did not [571]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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492 lose his ballance, but the larger Indian boys, and some of the younger
571 Indian mem, began to give him a bad time.

It was as though they had been waiting for him to make a mistake.
[888] They were telling him he was too old even to get on a horse, let alone ride one. Some of the remarks were much less polite and even ribald. The old Indian turned his angry gaze on them and spat out an invective that tended to silence them. What he said was not in my vocabulary, and I never learned what he called them.

492 Then he turned back to his horse, shortened up his hold on the reins, and waulted completely over the stallion, landing lightly on his feet, and then vaulted onto the horse's back. Then he proceeded to the starting line and won himself a horse race.

I have stood near this horse's shoulders, and his withers were higher than my eyes—possibly as high as the top of my head, five feet ten and a half inches. In other words, this horse stood seventeen to eighteen hands high.

554 The old fellow was almost too fabulous to be believed in. As nearly as I was able to discern, he was already a Comanche legend, though he still lived. Mostly he was held in awe by the other Indians, especially by the younger ones. Maybe he was the bogeyman the elders threat-
571 ened the children with. This one time was the only time I ever saw anyone try to take liberties with him. I doubt that those young Indians would have done so then but for the presence of many white people, U.S. marshals, and Indian police.

000 Almost any version of the story of the one-eyed man at the three-ringed circus could have been applied to me when I hit the Comanche country in the early days of March, 1902. I had had my fourteenth birthday in January. Everything was new. Everything was wonderful. I would not have changed a single thing.

Since I am Scotch, the love of the land is as much a part of me as the color of my skin or my hair. I am not trying to sound poetic when I say that the sweep of the grass-covered Comanche prairies was soul-satisfying. West Cache Creek, then the most beautiful of prairie streams, furnished the finest fishing and swimming that I have ever enjoyed, anywhere, any time.

136 There were wild ducks most months of the year, snipe, kildee, plover, doves, curlew, and some bobwhite for my gun. The young of a small variety of cottontail rabbits that lived in the prairie dog towns and were called prairie dog rabbits fell to my rifle. They were superior

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vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[14] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 778
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without 726
waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his 778
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [595] [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Its place was in the rear of the wagon bed. That way, if it leaked, it 000
wouldn't damage the other merchandise.

The trip home took about six to seven hours. If the roads were muddy, it took longer. Dad was generally gone from home about fourteen hours, but the team had at least three hours to rest in Lawton. They couldn't make these trips day in, day out. We planned at least a day's rest between trips.

This particular morning Dad was ready to leave by the time I had the team hitched up, and I went in, hoping Mother had my breakfast ready. As I ate, she asked me if I had heard anything about Albert [164]
Martny's falling from a horse, catching his foot in a stirrup, and being dragged.

The Jim Martny family, one of the more prosperous Comanche families, was one of my own family's favorites. Jim was larger than most Comanches; many folks called him Big Jim. He was a multiple- [595]
wife Indian, and his favorite wife was the mother of two boys—Albert, then in his fourteenth year, and Earny, who was twelve. Jim's other wives' children were girls.

Indirectly, the way Mother learned about Albert's accident was that ours was one of the luckier towns—we had a doctor. Dr. McLain, just out of medical school, settled in our town with his young wife only a few days before we arrived. He built a combination office and residence across the street, and a bit east, from where Dad built our store building.

Mrs. McLain was expecting a baby before long; and when the doctor made an out-of-town call, Mother or Mrs. Cudyback, the wife of a saloonkeeper living directly across the street from the store, would sit with her. Occasionally Mrs. McLain would go to the Cudyback home or sit in our store until the doctor returned. The night before, both Mother and Mrs. Cudyback had visited with Mrs. McLain, and Mother was full of the story about Albert's accident. Mr. Cudyback picked up a good deal of gossip at the saloon he and his brother Will ran, and Mrs. McLain told what she learned from her doctor husband.

Jim Martny owned two well-bred racing stallions, and his other 492
horses were of superior quality compared to the horses owned by most 541
of his Comanche neighbors. I don't know how long Albert had been riding his father's horses in races, but early in 1902, when our town began holding races each first and third Saturday, Albert was his

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

492 father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the
541 horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

492 Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and
177 Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.)
492 This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stal-
164 lion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

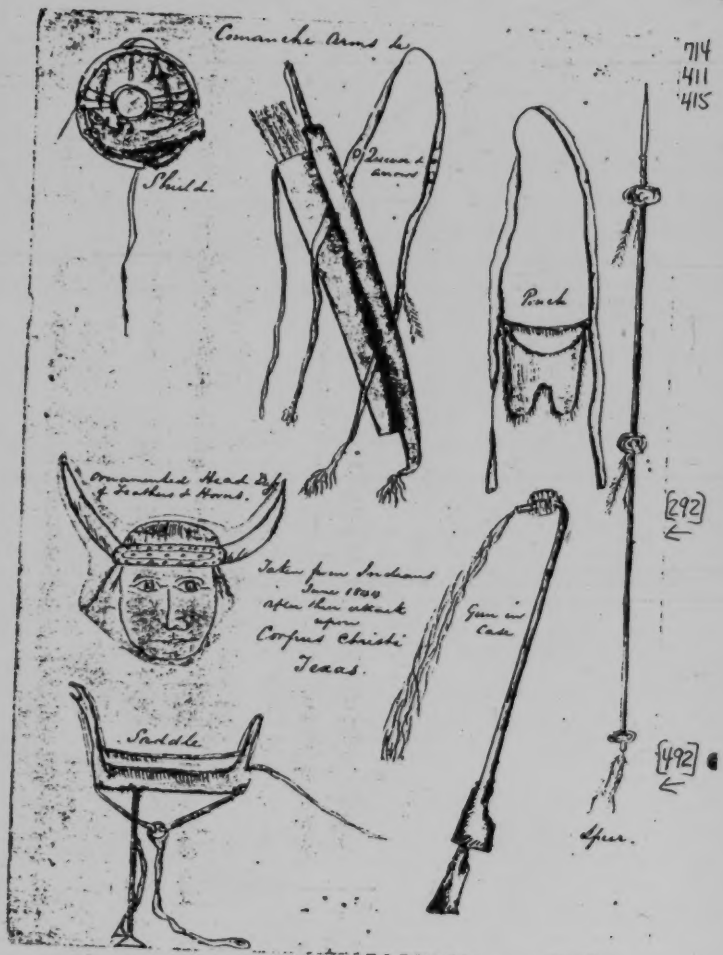
000 He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

763 When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

124 The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

000 With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas



714
.411
.415
[292]
[492]

FIGURE 18. Weapons and equipment captured from a Comanche war party that raided Corpus Christi, Texas, in June 1844. Sketch by William Rollsert.

[p.169]

/page 31 continued/

K 361 542 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison. C 361 This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal. K [361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects C K that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations 484 are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered 601 by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This 602 mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep [493] up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually [491] impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [412]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 191
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O;X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down [493] and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and 442
boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and [443]
bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt.
I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade 562
like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At
least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't
have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away 292
for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the
men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a
ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I 595
had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the 578
workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the
older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal ar-
rangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—
the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I
never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mis-
treat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation
to either husband or child.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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MY FRIEND CHARLEY ROSS

IT MUST HAVE BEEN close to the first of December, 1902, when early one morning the second norther of a mild fall struck. Like the first one, it wasn't a true blue norther, and during the day several light showers came over, hitching rides on the hurrying wind.

Soon the small amount of moisture from each shower was worked into the dirt of our street, without ever having had a chance to run off. By night the street was well cut up. Then the real cold arrived. By morning our street was frozen solid in its chopped-up condition. When the sun came up, it found the clouds cleared away; but the wind was as vicious and stinging as it had been the day and night before. Dad had mail he wanted to leave on the morning mail hack, so I put on about all the clothes I owned and started for the post office.

Our main business street in the little town of Faxon, Indian Territory, was only two blocks long, and most of the buildings, including ours, were on the north side. There were only scattered buildings on the south side of the street. All the buildings were one story, except the one where the post office was located. It was a story and a half, and the merchant-postmaster and his family lived upstairs. Dad's building, of box type construction, had a frame false front which extended full width as high as the comb of the roof.

As I stepped out of the store door, two little Indian wagons, with-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, "*Hi-hites Para-da-de-al Hi-hites Para-da-de-al*" They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, "*Hi-hites Para-da-de-al*" Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a*. Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

rectly opposite—but a mile below the bluff was another gravelly beach, almost precisely similar to the one at which we had arrived, and opposite that, and below us, was likewise a high bluff, so that in crossing, it was necessary to move in a diagonal direction, as well as a long distance. The usual labor was expended, and the usual means resorted to in passing the drove, which, in consequence of the low water extending from the opposite beaches, left only the main channel, a distance, perhaps, of a hundred yards, to be swum. When it came our turn to take passage, the blindfolds were removed, and each was seated in a little buffalo-skin boat, an invention original, I believe, with the Comanche tribes, and capable of being taken apart, folded into a small compass, and carried as baggage. To the bow of these boats were hitched one end of a hair rope, the other to the tails of our mules, who safely ferried us from shore to shore.

That night we encamped at the foot of the mountain, and the whole of the next day traveled, as near as I could judge, over a steep, rough, and uneven road. During the entire trip, I was subjected to the same annoyances of being run under trees, burned with hot horseflesh, and staked down at night, as described above.

Early in the afternoon of the fourth day the warriors raised the war whoop, and afar off was heard another war whoop in reply. As we advanced, over what appeared to me a smooth plain, the answering voices grew more and more distinct, until finally the approaching parties met and intermingled. Having halted, I was taken from the mule, and when allowed the liberty of my eyes, found myself and companions standing together, in the midst of a great number of tents, and surrounded by five or six hundred men, all pushing forward to catch a glimpse of us.

excellent protection from the winter blizzards that frequently sweep across the open plains, and horses could always forage on cottonwood bark. 133

Growing in the sandy soil along the larger streams were extensive thickets of plum bushes and grapevines; and in much of the eastern portion, pecans, walnuts, haws, and persimmons contributed to the food supply of the Comanches. The mesquite, the tree most commonly found, provided wood for fires and its beans were valuable food for both people and horses. The rocky hills and sides of canyons were covered with scrubby cedar. Other trees found here and there were the ash, elm, redbud, oak, willow, bois d'arc, hackberry, chinaberry, cottonwood, and chaparral. 137 [313]

During the hot, dry summers, the area appeared to be a desert, but shortly after a spring or summer rain, its wide expanse became a sea of nutritious grass. Its warm, salubrious climate, the abundance of edible plant products, and the millions of wild animals which provided food, clothing, and shelter made the area a paradise for nomads who lived by hunting. The Comanche was well off and rarely haunted by the spectre of starvation. 511 ●

To the west were the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of New Mexico, within striking distance of a Comanche raiding party, or near enough for trade, but sufficiently removed to leave the raider safe from any punitive force that might attempt to pursue him through the adjacent mountainous terrain and across the wide, level expanse of the intervening *Llano Estacado*. The watering places and landmarks were so few as to make any expedition into the region extremely hazardous except for those thoroughly acquainted with the routes. 133

To the south lay a great expanse of wild waste in the Big Bend country; through this ran a network of Indian trails, by way of water holes, from the central homeland of the Comanches into northern Mexico. Beyond the Río Grande the settlements of northern Mexico were isolated and poorly defended. Striking across this wasteland, the Comanches raided settlements far south of the river, returning with many captives and thousands of horses. The great desert expanse prevented pursuit by forces sufficiently formidable either to punish the marauders or to recapture the plunder, and the Comanches prospered as plunderers.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

[423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see,[1] a Southern Comanche chief:

178
829
[224]

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawa-
koni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1496-1498.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
262 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
435 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight
511 pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Comanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-
red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

372 ly and easily by placing a rag around the point of friction and sprinkling gun powder on the rag. And if rags and gun powder were plentiful, they would load an old gun and shoot it against a tree. The rags would light and could be used to start a fire. This method was especially good in wet weather.

When needed, a low fire was kept fed by wood or buffalo chips gathered by the women and children. Buffalo chips were more desirable, since they burned more slowly and the fire did not die out so readily. Their surface remained year after year, unaffected by the weather, except annually they became a little harder until at last it was almost impossible to cut them with a knife. The under side, not being exposed to the sun, retained a certain amount of moisture longer and was never quite so hard. During cold weather the same fire provided heat both for comfort and for cooking food.

352 513 The bed of the lodge owner was placed at the back of the tipi, that is, directly opposite the entrance in the place of honor. Other beds were placed on one or both sides according to need. In the permanent camp, beds were elevated above the ground from four to six inches by means of pole or rawhide slats supported by a couple of poles. Robes were spread on top to form bedding and cover. In the temporary camp the mattress was spread on the ground. Members of the family simply crawled beneath the skins needed for cover, leaving the remainder for a mattress, and, according to informants, slept with their heads to the west. Buffalo-skin partitions were frequently stretched between beds to give a degree of privacy. Pillows were made from skins of smaller animals and stuffed with grass or straw. Although such beds were soft and fairly comfortable, they were also desirable abodes for both dogs and innumerable vermin.

352 Mattresses served as chairs or for lounging as well as for beds. The master of the lodge always occupied the position directly facing the door. On his left was the place of honor for guests. Lodges of well-to-do persons were provided in modern times with back rests at the head and foot of the mattress.

Ample storage space was available between and underneath the beds and toward the front of the tipi. Extra food, clothing, and small articles were stored principally in parfleche bags. When many buffalo were killed, much dried meat was stored away in parfleches

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 [534] After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 [293] While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis; and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [622] [312] [513] [514] [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28] 342 [177] [427] [514]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents. [422] [352] [359] [312] [591]

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., ann. II, 50, 14.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

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28. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 28, 18.

ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined 727
for mercy, like their own vile curs.

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415] which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522] that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irksome—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgusting camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection. [515 364]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Three Years Among the Comanches

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

•515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 ●515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 [534] After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

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10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

which time she takes no food, except a little broth 841
and some kind of vegetables; but on no account .262
will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them 515
the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat with- [264]
out washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when 262
they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with 727
reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation 000

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 756 755 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first interview. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though Sanapia never directly alluded to this. 775 755 515 756 [783]

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient. 775 755 756 775 755 756 763

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She 775 755 756 782

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

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A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 78]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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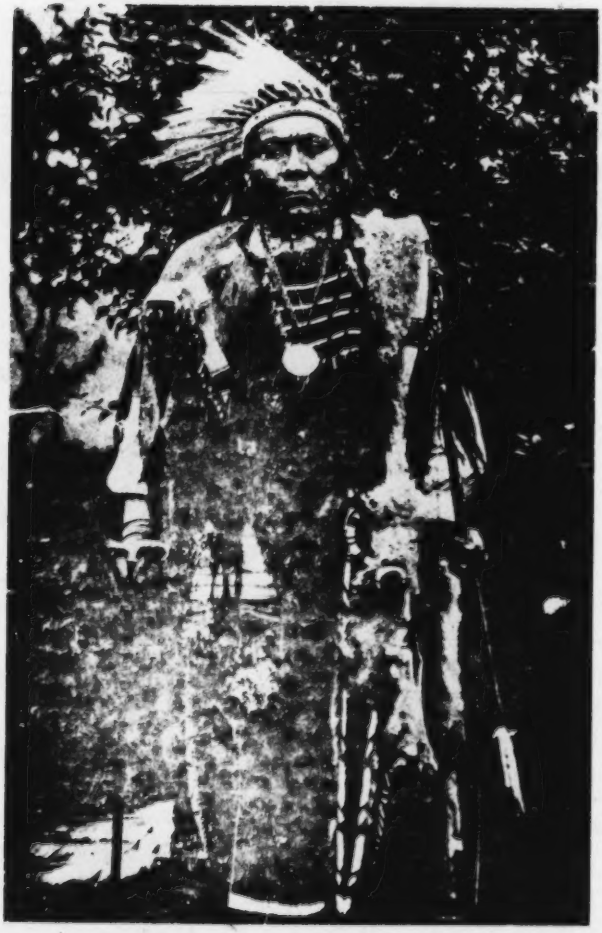

Yapai Comanche band "chief" in 1890. Sanapid's maternal grandfather.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones · E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

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824
137 "red berry cedar" *ekapokowa:pi* *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 391 376 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 756 576 195 514 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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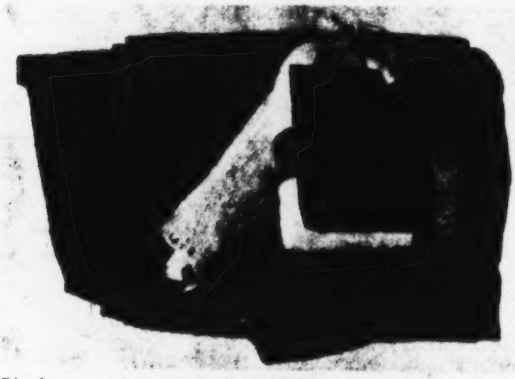

Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. 775
By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce 756
to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request 576
presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor [516]
who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved 775
with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between 756
the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. [516]
> I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there [195]
> and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison–advisor. This approach ritual payment [465]
consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls 775
a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, 756
the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches 276

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

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595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

727 dance over him in the square. I longed for the privilege of speaking to him, but it was denied. The morning following his advent, he was tied on a mule, his face covered with buckskin, and escorted from the camp. I never could gain the least information from whence he came, or whither he was taken; but suppose he had been captured by a party belonging to another village, who simply halted at our [515] encampment overnight, and got up the war dance by way of entertainment.

727 We were frequently visited by the chiefs and warriors of 574 the surrounding tribes. They were, invariably, cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained. Then there was a pipe [535] dance, which is the dance of love and friendship. They were invited to repose on the largest buffalo skins, and given to eat the flesh of a roasted dog, though the moon was not in the full—a luxury surpassing even the meat of the wild horse. I apprehend many were attracted to our camp through curiosity to see and hear the wonderful watch, the fame thereof, beyond question, having spread far and near. I come to this conclusion from the fact that speedily following their arrival, Moko would bring it forth, and call on me to make it talk.

There was one visitor, in particular, a stout, surly chief, who in the course of the summer visited our camp many times. He appeared to have become fascinated with the watch, never growing weary of listening to the alarm. After Moko had finally placed it affectionately in her bosom, he would have long and earnest interviews with Big Wolf, the subject of their conversation being, as was easy to perceive, the mysterious watch. I learned that he was the chief of a tribe whose village was situated in a valley beyond the mountains at the distance of two days' journey, and that he was known as the Spotted Leopard.

At Work and Play

"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office. 411 554 [527 778]

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wɜpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon. 411

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were 517

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

The Comanches

•517 quite simple. Visiting, feasting, the dance, story-telling, and competitive games constituted their principal means of recreation and amusement. The Comanches were very sociable and spent much time visiting. Visiting and feasts furnished opportunity for the discussion of news and tribal welfare. The religious ceremonies were regarded by many as less an occasion for worship than an exciting and interesting social gathering.

Social gatherings in the evenings were filled with mirth, revelry, and enjoyment. Before the arrival of the white trader, the Comanches were noted for their abstinence from intoxicating drink. Most evenings were devoted to singing and storytelling, which was not only entertainment but education. By frequent repetition of stories, the [869] tribal history, traditions, legends, and ideals were perpetuated for the young. Older people seldom grew weary of repeating the stories or of listening to them.

517 On other evenings young men and women gathered around a fire which had been kindled in the village, and while it reflected its 535 dancing shadows against the yellow lodge-skins, they danced and chanted their songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beat of the drum. Those who did not participate in the dance sat on the ground in a circle, facing the musicians who sat in the center beating their small drums. Men and women dancers stood a short distance apart facing each other. When the music began, a man would select a dancing partner by placing his hands round her waist, while she clasped him in similar fashion. The affair lasted an hour or more. The Indian, who had been taught to dance almost from the time he had been able to lift his feet, danced with rhythm and freedom, and every movement was vivid and natural.

526 Competitive games continued from childhood to middle life, and when a person became too old to participate, he still enjoyed watching them.

When food was plentiful and no necessary jobs were pressing, a Comanche really liked to settle down for some good fun. Men and women alike were great sports; gambling was a passion. Their horse racing has already been described, but it was not their only athletic sport. The women liked to play double ball or shinny, a strenuous pastime, to say the least. They set up arrow-shooting contests to test

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6●

N C 126 386

I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N ●C ●517 822

The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N C 386 824

All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected; all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415

When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire 887
built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invo- 575
cation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, 782
a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an 276
offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were 575
eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such 887
coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne. 521

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among [554]
them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 887 ●521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

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[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke. 575 887 522

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents. [689]

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

522 575 887 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

575 887 182 One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor. 627x 688

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[16]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians. 627x 754 684

627x 754 684 512

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[16] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 754 684 522 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and [558] begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

606 581 562 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

x627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture. 627x

Papítsoin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so." [602]

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech. 627x 789

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers. [522]

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the 627x 684

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches. [171]

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

rendered me an adept in this sort of somersault. There was 727
one consolation attending it, the moment I went over, the mule would invariably stop, and an Indian as invariably run and right me up again.

Unable to see, I was in perpetual suspense. If the mule happened to be traveling at a sharp pace on these occasions, and the branches strong, it became a violent and serious affair, not only to the extent of inflicting great pain, but of endangering life. As it was, my face and breast were sorely bruised, resembling more the appearance of a pugilist returning from some Long Point than the ordinary features of a man. It afterwards afforded the Indians most excellent [522] sport, a subject for infinite jest, and every performance was treated with "tremenduous applause." No comic actor ever so amused his audience. Indeed, I could tell sometimes from the laughter that would begin to arise that danger was near, and lying close on the mule's neck, escape it. It was aggravating beyond endurance, converting any humbler emotions I might have entertained to those of uncontrollable wrath. If each malediction I bestowed on the high cheek-boned, copper-colored demons, and which came from the bottom of my heart, had possessed the weight of a grain of mustard seed, the whole Comanche nation would have soon been attending to their own torments instead of mine, in another and a hotter world.

About noon of the first day's march, the cavalcade halted, repacked the mules, roasted some venison, and after an hour's delay proceeded on the journey. At dark they again stopped for the night. When permitted to dismount, and the blindfold had been taken from my eyes, I discovered we were in a narrow ravine, a lonely and secluded spot, with high precipitous mountains rising close on either side, and near a large spring which gushed from a rock, the source

Horseflesh Hissing Hot

solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double 727
purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves
food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of [291]
leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat,
the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was
necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our 727
feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the 522
meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry
and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my persōn, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, [726]
forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some
fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this 727
space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the
following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

Obstinacy

ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined 727
for mercy, like their own vile curs.

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415] which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522] that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irksome—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgusting camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection. [515 364]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

nearly so important to the Comanches as they were to some tribes 293
farther north.

The life of a Comanche warrior was rugged, but that did not keep 302
him from spending a great deal of time at his toilet. He was especially proud of his hair, and in the village he might be seen daily combing, greasing, and braiding it. Men parted their hair from the center of the forehead back to the crown, forming a braid on each side, and made a streak of yellow, white, or red along the part. The braids were tied or wrapped with beaver fur or any other available material that appealed to the wearer's fancy. Beaver fur was worn on dress occasions. Bright-colored pieces of cloth, with red the most commonly recurring color, is used at the present time by the older men. Pieces of silver, beads, tin, glass, and single feathers were attached to the side locks as decorations. Each man also wore a scalp lock braided from the hair at the top of his head, and in it he usually wore a single yellow or black feather. Brushes, made from the tails of porcupines, were used for grooming the hair. The most common form was made by stretching the porcupine tail over a stick of wood. Hair brushes were also made by pounding out the fibres of a large yucca stalk. These fibers were gathered up and bound together with a buckskin thong and singed so as to burn off the sharp edges. The men never shaved, but carefully plucked all hair from their face and eyebrows with a pair of tweezers made of bone, leaving the whole face as smooth as a baby's cheek. A piece of door spring was used incessantly by Post Oak Jim through all the long hours of interviews in 1933. Comanche vanity went so far that narcissistic bucks begged for the hair that women cut off in mourning so that they could splice it into their braids to make them look longer. She Invites Her Relatives tells of one *tuiβltsi* who was showing off at a dance. "He threw his side [522] lock over his shoulder—and the attached end came off. Everybody hooted with laughter; he picked it up and went home."

Paint was an indispensable article of ornamentation for both sexes. Both men and women, when circumstances permitted, painted their faces before meeting strangers and for all special occasions. The Comanches always carried paint with them. Vermilion was much sought [386] after, but when it could not be obtained from the white trader, paint was made from clays and from weed and berry juices. Black was the

The Comanches

887 lapse into conversation. The pipe was passed among them and smoked until it burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they dispersed for the night. The fire-tender left first; the others followed in procession, treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make nonceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The conversation dealt with matters both trivial and serious. The men exchanged ideas and related the latest camp gossip. They narrated deeds which they had performed in their younger days and stories which they had heard. They engaged in coup-counting games by forming sides and each relating a coup which he had gained. The losing side might have to furnish a feast the next day. At other times they spent the evening asking each other dishonorable and embarrassing questions. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the warpath without meeting the enemy?" They were beyond struggling for prestige, and they made light of the prime-of-lifers to whom prestige meant so much. And although they discussed tribal matters of moment, they had no authority.

887 In earlier times the Old Men's Smoke Lodge was respectfully treated, but in later days they received some rough handling by
● 522 practical jokers among the boys. The most common prank was to close the smoke flaps of their lodge and smoke them out. Once their old war robes with painted coup pictures were slashed by boys. Another time pranksters put excrement in the doorway and covered it with dirt, knowing that the old men always took off their moccasins to enter their sacred lodge. Yet another time, boys stood outside the door and smeared foul stuff in their hair as they came out. And once, as the old men were going through the pipe-lighting ritual and could not holler out, they backed a colt through the door and made it kick and buck. "It tore things up and the old men were awful sore. They began to talk about what they should do to the young men when they caught them, what law they should give them, but one old man spoke up.

" 'Now you old fellows,' he told them, 'you were boys once.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.' "[26] 887 522

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed. 164

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely. 763 888 [762]

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before 764

[26] Informant: That's It.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

Miscellaneous. The body build of the Comanches is in- 142
clined to corpulency, perhaps even more today than in Catlin's time. The hands appeared small but well formed. Several instances were noted where the second toe of the foot was distinctly longer than the first or big toe.

The health of the Comanches seemed not particularly good. 164
Trachoma is endemic, with actual blindness or badly impaired vision frequent. Rheumatism, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis were other common complaints.

Relative to mentality, Richardson ('27, p. 72) says, "the 157
Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men." Mooney appraises them as 'practical and businesslike.' Although the present writer's sojourn with the tribe was very brief, he can emphatically confirm the judgments of the aforementioned observers. Joking or bantering proclivities seemed [522]
also a widespread characteristic.

MEASUREMENTS*

Stature. The average stature of the Comanches, according 141
to the writer's data, is 168.3 cm. for males and 156.1 cm. for females. These averages are quite close to those reported by Boas (1895 a, males 167.8 cm., females 156.2 cm.), being practically identical in the females. A significant likeness, too, appears in the gross distribution of the two series, namely, approximately one-fourth, respectively, being short (below 166 cm.), and tall (above 173 cm.).

	Males	
	Under 166 cm., per cent	Over 173 cm., per cent
Comanche		
Goldstein	29.4	23.5
Boas	24.4	27.1
Apache and Navaho (Boas, 1895 a)	23.7	25.3

171
141

* It may be mentioned that the percental distributions of the characters measured, not included here, were, despite the small numbers, as a rule of remarkably even spread, i.e., conforming to the normal distribution curve. The averages, minima and maxima of the various characters are appended at the end.

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, 595
wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might [556]
thus have been of considerable size.

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is 607
likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it.

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words [195]
for spider, *tatê'cɪ*, and for tarantula, *pɪ'hīre'cɪ*, are recognized to mean "some- [522]
one's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of [522] "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made 522 flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nîmîʔâra*ʔ, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lêʔct*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'pîʔ*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

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tahni?inukwahe$_8$.— me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu$_{13}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hunakwʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ narohtʌma?a$_2$ uranu$_3$, u$_4$ yaanu$_5$ pʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ tʌbinaa?wekiti$_8$ suku$_9$ narohtʌmakʌ$_{10}$ tʌkinu$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ narohtʌma?a$_{13}$ ukʌhu$_{14}$ marʌkí-?nenu$_{15}$. 11. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, su?ahru$_4$ pʌhʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ kʌma?ku$_7$ u$_8$ wihínu$_9$. 12. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ wanarohpetimi?anu$_3$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ uku$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$. 14. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tabebe?tu$_2$ wanarohpetinu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ tukaani$_5$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —mia$_4$ rakwʌ$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 16. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ puki$_5$ to?yanu$_6$. 18. sitʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ ma$_3$ kumahpʌ?$_4$ habinu$_5$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ hunaiki$_4$ pʌnʌ$_5$ nʌmiiyu$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kima$_4$ habiki$_5$. ʌnʌhahtu$_6$ hina$_7$ wehkíniina$_8$?— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 21. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ habimi?anu$_3$. 22. habihtsikʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ sʌmʌh$_3$ ke$_4$ ʌhpʌitʌsʌ$_5$ taanu$_6$, pʌ$_7$ puhiwihta$_8$ nasutamʌhabiitʌ$_9$.

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away$_8$.— 9. This one$_1$ went$_3$ outside$_2$. 10. This one$_1$ found$_3$ a can$_2$, took$_5$ it$_4$, put$_{11}$ half of$_8$ her$_6$ money$_7$ there$_9$ in the can$_{10}$, pressed down$_{15}$ its$_{12}$ lid$_{13}$ on it$_{14}$. 11. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that way$_1$, along there$_4$ threw$_9$ it$_8$ beside$_7$ their$_5$ house$_6$. 12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went to play cards$_3$. 13. These two$_1$ arrived$_3$ there$_2$. 14. These two$_1$ played cards$_3$ through the day$_2$ also$_4$ (through) night$_5$. 15. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{4\ 7}$. —Let us$_5$ go$_4$.— 16. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$, arrived$_4$ at$_5$ their$_4$ house$_6$. 17. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ unhitched$_4$ their$_4$ horse$_5$. 18. Then$_8$ /this$_1$/ her$_3$ husband$_4$ laid down$_5$. 19. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ herself$_5$ was moving$_4$ about outside$_6$. 20. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ her$_{10}$. —Come$_4$ come lie down$_5$. What$_7$ are you /around$_4$/ looking around for$_8$?— 21. This one$_1$ then$_2$ went to lie down$_3$. 22. Lying down$_1$, this one$_2$ slept still$_5$ not$_4$ at all$_3$ [till] morning came$_6$, (but) lies thinking of$_9$ her$_7$ money$_8$. 23. This

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539 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_2$ taayʌtsʌnu$_3$, ʌkʌnaa$_4$ pʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_4$ wehkímí?anu$_7$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ke$_2$ u$_3$ uraayu$_4$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kumahpʌ?a$_5$, —kima$_6$. tʌhkaru?i$_7$ tah$_8$,— me$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 26. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kumahpʌ-?a$_3$, —nʌ$_4$ buhiwihta$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ narohtʌmakʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ rʌki?ha$_9$ watsikʌ?i$_{10}$.— me$_{11}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{12}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kʌhtaa$_4$ ma?$_5$ nʌe$_6$ tukaani$_7$.— me$_8$ yʌ-kwiiyu$_9$. 29. —nahkia$_1$ u?$_2$ po?ayaahkwa?i$_3$,— mekʌse?$_4$ surʌ$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 30. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nahma?ai$_2$ ma$_3$ wehkitʌ$_4$, ma$_5$ wehkitʌ$_6$, ʌʌmʌsokorʌtsʌpʌkahku$_7$ ma$_8$ uranu$_9$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ na?okiiyu$_4$. 32. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ kahnibetu$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ urahtsi$_7$. 33. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ kwasikʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ suni$_8$ mʌʌrʌ$_9$. puhihwikahnikʌ$_{10}$ rakwʌ$_{11}$ tabʌ$_{12}$ puhiwihta$_{13}$ sibe?nikiyutʌ$_{14}$, puhihwikahni-kʌ$_{15}$ tahni?i?etu?i$_{16}$.— me$_{17}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{18}$.

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539 one$_1$ early morning$_2$ got up$_3$, first$_4$ went to look for$_7$ her$_5$
502 money$_6$. 24. This one$_1$ did not$_2$ find$_4$ it$_3$. 25. This one$_1$ then$_2$ cooked$_3$, said to$_{9\ 10}$ her$_4$ husband$_5$, —Come$_6$. We$_8$ will eat$_7$.— 26. These two$_1$ ate$_2$. 27. This one$_1$ said to$_{11\ 12}$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ —I$_4$ lost$_{10}$ my$_6$ money$_5$ what$_9$ I$_8$ put$_9$ in (the) can$_7$.— 28. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{8\ 9}$ —Wind$_4$ it$_5$ (was) hard$_6$ last night$_7$.— 29. —(I) guess$_1$ it$_2$ blowed away$_3$,— that one$_5$ said$_{4\ 6}$. 30. These two$_1$ together$_2$ are looking for$_4$ it$_3$, are looking for$_6$ it$_5$, one mile away$_7$ (they) found$_9$ it$_8$. 31. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ was rejoicing$_4$. 32. These two$_1$ went$_4$ towards$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, their$_5$ money$_6$ finding$_7$. 33. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{17\ 18}$. —Next time$_8$ don't$_4$ treat$_9$ your$_6$ money$_7$ that way$_5$. From now on$_{16}$ /in the bank$_{10}$/ we$_{11}$ will put$_{16}$ our$_{12}$ money$_{13}$ in the bank$_{15}$.—

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XIV

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ tomoanu$_3$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$
nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —narʌ?ʌya$_3$ nabuniiku$_4$ ma?$_5$ tomoa?i$_6$,— me$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ʌmʌhúpiitʌ$_2$. tʌasʌ$_3$ kʌhtáa-
nʌenu$_4$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ sekwikʌ́nikʌhu$_4$
tunehtsʌʌnu$_5$, ma$_4$ tsʌhkínu$_7$. 6. makuhpa$_1$ marii$_2$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌse?$_3$ si?anetʌ$_4$ marʌʌba?etʌ$_5$, piakwasinaboo?$_6$
wʌhkitsu?tsu?ikatʌ, si?ana$_8$ piahuuhpa?aiki$_9$ suhka$_{10}$ se-
kwikʌni$_{11}$ tʌbinaa?weki$_{12}$ habitʌ$_{13}$, pa?a$_{14}$ habiiyu$_{15}$. 7.
pʌ$_1$ wʌhkitsu?tsu?i?a$_2$ piahakai$_3$ pipikúkʌ?eeyu$_4$. 8. sitʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —ohkaka$_3$ tʌbitsi$_4$ narʌ?ʌyati$_5$ kwasi-
naboo?a$_6$ wʌhkuupa$_7$,— me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 9. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$ somewhere$_3$.
522 2. It$_1$ clouded up$_3$ much$_2$. 3. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ said$_{7\,8}$ —It$_3$
looks$_4$ dangerous$_3$ clouding up$_4$.— 4. It$_1$ began to rain$_2$ and$_3$
(the) wind blew hard$_4$. 5. These$_1$ Indians$_2$ ran$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$
cellar$_4$ (and) crowded$_7$ it$_4$. 6. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ in it$_1$,
at this place$_4$ a big snake$_4$ is lying$_{13}$, /is/ rattling$_7$, /is/
over them$_4$, there$_8$, over$_{14}$ along (a) big log$_9$ (it) was lying$_{15}$
(in the) middle of$_{12}$ that$_{10}$ cellar$_{11}$. 7. (He) was making$_4$
some kind of big$_3$ noise with$_4$ his$_1$ rattles$_2$. 8. These$_1$ In-
dians$_2$ said$_{8\,9}$, —Kill$_7$ that$_3$ very$_4$ dangerous$_5$ snake$_4$.—

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wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, --kʌ$_3$ ranʌ$_4$,— me$_5$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_6$. 539
10. —tamʌba?atu$_1$ ma?$_2$ pahitu?i$_3$,— me$_4$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_5$.
11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ ma$_4$ ʌmaku$_5$, ma$_6$ baho?ʌmaku$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ kʌhtaa$_9$ ma$_{10}$ nʌeku$_{11}$, hunakwʌhi$_{12}$ ke$_{13}$ bʌkʌhu$_{14}$ to?iwa?i$_{15}$ nanakakukʌse?$_{16}$ surʌ$_{17}$, —nʌtsa?$_{18}$ to?itu?i$_{19}$,— me$_{20}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{21}$. 12. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ marʌʌhkutʌ$_3$, ma$_4$ tsahwihtsi$_5$, to?inu$_6$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ nuhkínu$_3$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ nʌena$_3$ u?ahru$_4$ ma$_5$ wʌnʌʌhkupa?eeyu$_6$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ kuya?anu$_3$, si?ahru$_4$ hunu?matu$_5$ pohpínu$_6$, si?ana$_7$ tʌpanaruhka$_8$ karʌnu$_9$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?bi$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tʌhpe?ku$_4$ okwehkina$_5$. 17. pʌkʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ karʌna$_3$ sʌmʌbaaruanu$_4$. 18. si?anakʌse?$_1$ pibiakwasinaboo?$_2$ ma$_3$ okwema-?ai$_4$ mawakatu$_5$ pakwabihkwaina$_6$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ kuya?anu$_3$. 20. —noo$_1$ nʌ?$_2$,— mekʌse?$_3$ sitʌ$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ kahnikʌhu$_7$ nuhkínu$_8$. 21. sitʌʌ$_1$ kwasinaboo?nʌʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ manukíkʌnu$_4$, pʌmʌwa?itisʌ$_5$ sukʌhu$_6$ hunu?matu$_7$ u$_8$ namanukika$_9$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ wobikʌnikʌ$_4$

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9. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$. —Let's$_4$ go out$_3$.— 10. —It$_2$ will fall$_3$ on us$_1$,— (they) said$_4$ $_5$. 11. As$_5$ it$_4$ rained$_6$ a lot$_3$, as$_7$ it$_6$ hailed$_7$, also$_8$ as$_{11}$ it$_{10}$ blew$_{11}$ hard$_9$, as (it) sounded$_{16}$ outside$_{12}$ (as) not$_{13}$ place$_{14}$ can't [to] go out$_{15}$, that /one$_{17}$/ one$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{20}$ $_{21}$. —I$_{18}$ will go out$_{19}$.— 12. At this place$_1$ this one$_2$, opening$_3$ it$_4$, went out$_4$ from them$_5$. 13. This one$_1$ ran$_3$ towards the creek$_2$. 14. /This$_1$/ that$_2$ wind$_3$ along there$_4$ was knocking$_6$ her$_5$ down$_4$. 15. This one$_1$ was frightened$_3$ a lot$_2$, jumped$_6$ along here$_4$ on to the creek$_5$ sat$_9$ here$_7$ under the bank$_8$. 16. This$_1$ creek$_2$ its$_3$ fullness$_4$ came flowing$_5$. 17. Where$_1$ she$_2$ is sitting$_3$ is all under water$_4$. 18. Here$_1$ big snakes$_2$ with$_4$ its$_3$ flow$_4$ are swimming around$_6$ towards her$_5$. 19. This one$_1$ really$_2$ was scared$_3$. 20. Saying$_3$ $_5$. —I$_2$ must$_1$ (go),— this one$_4$, ran$_6$ to$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$. 21. These$_1$ snakes$_2$ made$_4$ her$_3$ run$_4$, as$_9$ she$_8$ ran away from$_9$ one just like them$_5$ there$_6$ on to the creek$_7$. 22. This one$_1$ then$_2$ arrived and entered$_6$, in$_4$ their$_3$ wooden house$_4$ /is/ all

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539 ikʌhúpiitʌ$_9$. sʌmʌba?$_1$isoketʌ$_4$. 23. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na-?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$, --hakʌkia$_4$ urʌ$_5$ pihisi?apʌ$_6$ wa?ihpʌ?$_7$?-- me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ahru$_2$ marʌʌkʌhu$_3$ to?inu$_4$, pʌ$_5$ kwasu?i$_6$ sʌmʌsihwapʌnaihku$_7$. 25. sitʌʌ-kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ maaitʌ$_4$ nanihtokwekʌ$_5$. 26. su-kʌhu$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ urii$_4$ kʌhtánʌenu$_5$, pahoopima$_6$ tʌasʌ$_7$ urii$_8$ ʌmanu$_9$. 27. subetʌ$_1$.

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539 wet$_4$. 23. These$_1$ her$_2$ relatives$_3$ said$_8$ $_9$. --Wonder where$_4$
522 that /one$_5$/ coward$_6$ woman$_7$ is$_4$?-- 24. This one$_1$ along here$_2$ went up$_4$, to them$_3$ as$_7$ her$_5$ dress$_6$ had been all torn$_7$.
25. These$_1$ her$_2$ relatives$_3$ were laughing$_5$ at her$_4$. 26. There$_1$ this$_2$ much$_3$ wind blew hard$_5$ (on) them$_4$ (and) hail$_6$ also$_7$ rained on$_8$ them$_9$. 27. That is all$_1$.

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XV

539 1. soobe?ʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ waahkusi?okwe?betu$_4$ mi-
?anu$_5$. 2. tamutʌso?ihunu?ma$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$
nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$. —ʌbia$_3$. 4. hunu?betu$_1$ tanʌ$_2$
na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ pomaakwa$_4$. — 5. surʌʌ$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi-
?anu$_3$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?a$_4$
wʌhpómi?inu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ uma$_7$ sohokʌahtsi$_8$, u$_9$ wʌyumi?i-
nu$_{10}$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nʌtsa?$_3$ sohoro?itu?i$_4$,
— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$, sʌmʌ?ma$_7$ to?inu$_8$. 8. okoba?a$_1$ to-
?itsi$_2$, suhka$_3$ huuhpihta$_4$ moke$_5$ tahkobʌtsi$_6$, pahihkitʌ$_7$,
tʌasʌ$_8$ sʌmʌ?ma$_9$ u$_{10}$ mokama$_{11}$ tsaninu$_{12}$. 9. sohkotʌ$_1$ pʌ$_2$
tsanihkutʌ$_3$ wenuunukina$_4$. 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?nʌʌ$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went$_5$ towards grey flow-
522 ing cedar creek$_4$. 2. Those ones$_2$ camped$_3$ on Briar Creek$_1$.
3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ (said), —Oh$_3$, 4. let's$_2$ go to pick$_4$
pecans$_3$ on to the creek$_1$.— 5. Those ones$_1$ went$_3$ on to the
creek$_2$. 6. These ones$_1$ cut down$_5$ some of$_4$ these$_2$ pecans$_3$,
also$_6$ climbing$_8$ on it$_7$ [the tree], knocked$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them] down$_{10}$.
7. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_8$ $_6$, —I$_3$ will climb up$_4$.— (and)went up$_8$
on one$_7$. 8. Climbing$_2$ on there$_1$, that$_3$ tree$_4$ limb$_5$ (is)
breaking$_6$, (she) is coming-falling$_7$, again$_8$ (she) got hung$_{12}$
on one$_9$ (of) its$_{10}$ limb /on$_{11}$/. 9. From there$_1$, from$_3$ her$_2$
perch$_3$ (she) swung back and forth$_4$. 10. Those$_1$ her$_2$

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uhka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ tsapʌhetu?ĩha$_6$ mʌninu$_7$. 11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ tʌhʌyakarʌrʌ$_3$, uba?a$_4$ wʌnʌhtsi$_5$, u$_6$ tsapʌhénu$_7$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ pomanu$_4$. 13. waahkusi?okwe?kʌhi$_1$ uma$_2$ tʌmʌʌnu$_3$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ puhĩhwituanu$_5$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sooko$_2$ narʌhka?rʌmʌʌnu$_3$. 15. wihnu$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌku$_3$ pitusʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$. 16. seʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ kohtoohtsi$_3$, tʌkʌhmaniiyu$_4$. 17. si?ahrukʌse?$_1$ waikinʌ$_2$ nanakwʌhʌnʌh$_3$ pʌpa?a$_4$ yʌkwihkana$_5$ nuhkikitʌ$_6$, marʌʌkʌ$_7$ wʌnʌnu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —kwʌʌpʌ$_3$. weehtsi$_4$, tahi$_5$ tʌkʌhmanikʌ$_6$. —me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ tʌkʌhtʌʌʌpʌha$_5$ yaahtsi$_6$, urʌʌ$_7$ kohtoopʌkahtu$_8$ u$_9$ nʌʌhkwitubinikwʌsʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ wihĩnu$_{12}$. 20. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ u$_3$ su?uyaa?inu$_4$. 21. —soo$_1$ ma?$_2$ hibihkatʌ$_3$. — me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 22. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —hipe?se?$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?$_5$ senihku$_6$ tʌkʌhmani?eeyu$_7$? — 23. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, —pia$_3$ rʌa$_4$ noo$_5$ u$_6$ makwinumʌtsi$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.

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friends$_3$ they$_5$ will take down$_4$ that one$_4$ (but they) couldn't$_7$. 11. One$_1$ man$_2$ is on horseback$_3$, standing$_5$ on it$_4$ took$_7$ her$_6$ down$_7$. 12. These$_1$ women$_2$ picked$_4$ a lot$_3$. 13. In Wichita Falls$_1$ (they) traded$_3$ for it$_2$, got$_5$ much$_4$ money$_3$. 14. Those ones$_1$ bought$_3$ lots of$_2$ groceries$_3$. 15. Then$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ (they) moved$_5$ back$_4$. 16. Those various$_1$ women$_2$, making a fire$_3$, were cooking$_4$. 17. Along there$_1$ a wagon$_2$, (with) a married couple$_3$ sitting$_5$ on it$_4$ is coming-running$_6$, (and) stopped$_8$ among them$_7$. 18. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ her$_3$, —Wife$_3$! Getting off$_4$, cook for$_6$ us$_5$.— 19. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ taking$_4$ their$_4$ bought food$_5$ into$_8$ their$_7$ fire$_8$ threw$_{12}$ /it$_{11}$/ that$_9$ still wrapped package$_{10}$. 20. Those$_1$ women$_2$ laughed at$_4$ her$_3$. 21. —Lots$_1$ she$_2$ has drunk$_3$,— said to$_{4\ 6}$ her$_5$. 22. That$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), —Since when$_4$ (does) woman$_5$ cook$_7$ in this way$_6$?— 23. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said to$_{3\ 10}$ him$_9$, —Must$_5$ /be/ because$_{3\ 4}$ /of/ having made$_7$ her$_6$ dizzy$_7$.—

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Oklahoma

XVI

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ wahahtʌh$_3$ nʌmʌrenanʌh$_4$ narʌmʌʌ-?kʌhu$_5$ puhíhwʌhimami?aayu$_4$. 2. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ kahnikatʌhʌwaka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hina$_3$ mʌkwʌ$_4$?— me$_5$ uhri$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$, —mʌhʌwaka$_2$ nʌkwʌ$_3$ rabetʌhkaki?$_4$, — mekʌ$_5$. 5. sitʌʌ-kʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 6. tʌkʌtsi$_1$, oyetʌ$_2$ narʌmʌʌ?kʌhu$_3$ mi-?aayu$_4$. 7. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌwaka$_2$ mahri$_3$ tʌhka?inʌkwʌ$_4$ mahrʌmunakwʌ$_5$ nuraami?a$_4$. 8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?matu$_2$ weenu$_3$. 9. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nanakwʌhʌnʌkwʌ$_2$ paatʌbinaa$_3$ tobo?inu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ pukuhnihi$_6$ hibikʌtu?i$_7$. 10. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌkwʌ$_2$ mahrʌbinakwʌ$_3$ ukʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ uhrʌmatʌ$_2$ pʌhi$_3$ tsahanitʌ$_4$ tʌpanabetu$_5$ pʌhʌ$_6$ pukuhnih$_7$ tsahkʌ́anu$_8$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ natsa?ani?$_3$ pʌnʌsu?a$_4$ tʌpanabá?a$_5$ to?ikwa$_6$. 13. suni$_1$ naahtsi$_2$, sitʌhi$_3$ tena-nih$_4$ paakʌhu$_5$ to?kwʌrianu$_6$. 14. mahrʌ$_1$ natsa?ani?$_2$ muhpa?araihtu$_3$ wʌhtʌ́kwanu$_4$, mahri$_5$ mana?koroominu$_6$.

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539 522 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, two$_3$ Indian man$_4$ went$_5$ to town$_6$ to get money$_7$. 2. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_2$ at a couple's home$_3$. 3. That$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_3$ them$_4$. —What$_5$ you two$_6$ (want)?— 4. These two$_1$ said$_2$, —To you$_3$ we$_5$ came to eat supper$_4$.— 5. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 6. (After) eating$_1$, all$_2$ were going$_4$ to town$_3$. 7. These two$_1$, they$_2$ [who] ate$_4$, with them$_3$ went moving$_4$ in front of them$_5$. 8. These ones$_1$ went down$_3$ on to the creek$_2$. 9. These two$_1$, the man and wife$_2$, stopped$_4$ in the middle of the water$_3$, (and) will water$_7$ their$_5$ horses$_6$. 10. These two$_1$ men$_2$ went down$_3$ to it$_4$ behind them$_5$. 11. This$_1$ one of them$_2$ [who] is driving for$_4$ them$_3$, made$_5$ their$_6$ horses$_7$ go up$_8$ on to the bank$_9$.
12. This$_1$ their$_2$ buggy$_3$ it also$_4$ went up$_5$ on the bank$_6$.
13. That way$_1$ happening$_2$, these two$_3$ men$_4$ were spilled out$_5$ in the water$_6$. 14. Their$_1$ buggy$_2$ fell$_4$ upside down$_3$, and

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15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhi$_2$ tsahanitʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ narʌmuhki$_5$ ke$_6$ bʌa?i$_7$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ$_4$, su?ahru$_5$ kuro?inu$_6$. 17. sitʌsu?akʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pukuhnʌruhketʌ$_5$, pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ$_6$, su?ahru$_7$ kuro?inu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$, —yee$_4$. nʌnʌmʌnitʌhtsʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ tʌtsʌhaniiku$_7$. -- mekʌ$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ mahrʌwakatu$_3$ tunetsʌtsi$_4$, mahrʌ$_5$ natsa?ani?a$_6$ tsahkárʌkʌnu$_7$. 20. mahrʌ$_1$ tsowekwa?kʌse?$_2$ okwenukwa$_3$. 21. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ suni?yutʌsʌ$_2$ puhihwikahnikʌ$_3$ wekwʌhúpiitʌ$_4$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$, --mʌkwʌkia$_3$ hakani$_4$ nahánu$_5$?— me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ uhrʌmatʌ$_3$, —paakʌhutsa?$_4$ iitʌ$_5$ nʌhi$_6$ tsayuma?i$_7$.— mekʌ$_8$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$ uhri$_3$ puhíhwimakanu$_4$. 25. --meeku$_1$ bʌkwʌ$_2$, haitsinʌkwʌ$_3$, namʌsoapʌrʌmʌʌkwa$_4$ pʌkwʌ$_5$, — me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 26. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ nʌʌmʌ$_3$, —tsaakumasʌ$_4$ nʌʌ$_5$ kwasú?utʌmʌʌnu$_6$, puhihwiparaiboo?atsa?$_7$ haitsikatʌ$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 27. subetʌ$_1$.

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covered$_4$ them$_5$ up$_6$. 15. This one$_1$ [who] is driving for$_3$ them$_2$, (did) not$_4$ let go of$_7$ their$_4$ reins$_5$. 16. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ began making bubbles$_4$, bobbed up$_6$ along there$_5$. 17. This one also$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ gets out from under$_5$ their$_4$ horses$_5$ begins making bubbles$_4$, bobbed up$_8$ along there$_7$. 18. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ said to$_8$ $_{10}$ him$_9$, —Oh$_4$! Surely bad$_5$ when$_7$ you$_6$ drive$_7$.— 19. This$_1$ man$_2$ running$_4$ towards them$_3$, set up$_7$ their$_5$ buggy$_6$. 20. Their$_1$ hats$_2$ floated off$_3$. 21. These two$_1$ are still that way$_2$ (when they) arrived and entered$_4$ in (the) bank$_3$. 22. This$_1$ banker$_2$ said to$_4$ $_8$ them$_7$, —What$_4$ happened$_5$ you two$_3$?— 23. This$_1$ one$_2$ of them$_3$ said$_8$, —In the water$_4$ this one$_5$ made$_7$ us$_6$ fall$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ banker$_2$ gave money to$_4$ them$_3$. 25. —Now$_1$ you two$_2$ friends$_3$, /you two$_3$/ go to buy clothes$_4$,— (he) said to$_4$ $_8$ them$_7$. 26. That$_1$ one$_2$ Indian$_3$ said$_9$, —I$_5$ did$_4$ buy$_6$ (a) good$_4$ suit$_4$, (I) have$_8$ (a) banker$_7$ friend$_8$.— 27. That is all$_1$.

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XVII

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌi$_3$ puhihwʌ̲himaru?i̲ka$_4$, nʌmʌnarʌmʌʌ?nʌʌkʌma?kʌ̲$_5$ nobitʌnu̲$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌ̲ku$_3$ sʌ?sʌmʌhku$_4$ buhíhwʌ̲himanu̲$_5$. 3. u$_1$ yʌihkakʌ̲se?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ nanahtenanʌʌ$_4$ sookʌ̲nikʌ̲hu$_5$ hibimi?anu̲$_6$. 4. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tukaninu̲$_2$, tsaa$_3$ mʌahtabeba?i̲$_4$. 5. yʌihtʌkʌ̲tsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌ̲$_3$ mariі$_4$ yʌkwihkaku$_5$, marʌʌ$_6$ kʌma?kʌ̲rʌ$_7$ pibianiwʌnʌʌyu̲$_8$, rʌasʌ$_9$ pibiawaa?akiiyu̲$_{10}$. 6. marʌʌ$_1$ na?renahpʌ?kʌ̲se?$_2$, —yee$_3$. uriі$_4$ bunitu?i̲$_5$ nʌ?$_6$,-- mekʌ$_7$ mariі$_8$ bunihtsi$_9$, ikahki$_{10}$. 7. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —usʌ$_4$ hakarʌ$_5$ hibihka$_6$?-- mekʌ$_7$. 8. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?renahpʌ?$_3$, —namaka?mukitsika$_4$ taa$_5$ tʌrʌc?tii$_6$ betsʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, when$_4$ they$_3$ will receive money$_4$, Indians$_2$
522 camped$_6$ beside Indian stores$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ received money$_5$ one hundred apiece$_4$. 3. When$_2$ it$_1$ was night$_2$, their$_3$ menfolk$_4$ went$_6$ to town$_5$ to drink$_6$. 4. It$_1$ got dark$_2$, (but it) had$_4$ [was] good$_3$ moonlight$_4$. 5. Eating supper$_1$, as$_5$ they$_4$ are sitting$_3$ in$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, (there) are beside$_7$ them$_6$ many (who) are talking loudly$_8$, also$_9$ many are shouting loudly$_{10}$. 6. Their$_1$ man relative$_2$ said$_7$, --Oh$_3$! I$_4$ will look at$_5$ them$_4$,-- looking at$_9$ them$_8$, came in$_{10}$. 7. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ said$_7$, --Who is$_5$ that$_4$, (who) is drinking$_6$?-- 8. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), --Getting ready$_4$, our$_5$ children$_6$ taking along$_7$, to those ones$_8$ to

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htsi$_{7}$, orʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{8}$ motsotaiboo?nʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{9}$ nuraa$_{10}$.— 9. marii$_{1}$ 539
kʌakwʌ̲ka$_{2}$, sitʌʌ$_{3}$ hibipʌ̲nʌʌ$_{4}$ pibiatsuhniniwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{5}$, tʌasʌ$_{6}$
ta?kwʌ̲bainu̲$_{7}$. 10. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ wa?ihpʌ?$_{2}$ sʌmʌ?a$_{3}$ rʌasʌ$_{4}$
pʌwa?iti$_{5}$ rʌrʌe?tʌkati$_{6}$ nimainu̲$_{7}$. 11. —kima$_{1}$. 12. orʌʌ-
kʌ̲hu$_{1}$ tanʌ$_{2}$ raiboo?nʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{3}$ nuraa$_{4}$.— mekʌ$_{5}$. 13. sitʌ-
kwʌ̲kʌse?$_{1}$ nahmetʌ̲$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ ohnáa?rʌrʌe?tihi$_{4}$ habikonokoko$_{5}$
tohímʌ̲ka$_{6}$. 14. si?anetʌ̲kʌse?$_{1}$ sitʌʌ$_{2}$ urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{3}$ nuraanu̲$_{4}$,
marʌʌ$_{5}$ nʌʌhtʌmakʌ̲$_{6}$ wekwinu̲$_{7}$. 15. si?anakʌ̲se?$_{1}$ marʌʌ$_{2}$
huumasʌapʌ̲$_{3}$ ʌkʌ̲sʌ$_{4}$ soohpuhikatʌ$_{5}$ pʌtuhkati$_{6}$ tuhʌkia-
hkaku$_{7}$, wʌnʌʌyu̲$_{8}$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ mahrʌmatʌ$_{2}$, —iki$_{3}$
tanʌ$_{4}$ ituhka$_{5}$ piahuuhpa?a$_{6}$ yʌkwi$_{7}$.— mekʌ$_{8}$. 17. sitʌʌ-
kʌ̲se?$_{1}$ wohyaku$_{2}$ maba?a$_{3}$ yʌkwinu̲$_{4}$. 18. marii$_{1}$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌ̲se?$_{2}$ sokʌ̲hʌ$_{3}$ marʌʌ$_{4}$ kahnikʌ̲$_{5}$ pibianiwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{6}$,
rʌasʌ$_{7}$ na?aruuyu̲$_{8}$. 19. pʌi$_{1}$ yʌkwihkakukʌ̲se?$_{2}$ sʌmʌ?a$_{3}$
mahrʌmatʌna$_{4}$ tua?kʌ̲se?$_{5}$, —piah$_{6}$. hipa?a$_{7}$ tanʌ$_{8}$ yʌkwihka$_{9}$?—
mekʌ$_{10}$. 20. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ ma$_{2}$ pia?$_{3}$, —yuukarʌ$_{4}$. keta?$_{5}$
rekwaarʌ̲$_{6}$.— 21. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{2}$, —piah$_{3}$. ʌ$_{4}$
mo?e$_{5}$ nʌ$_{6}$ uhtu$_{7}$.— mekʌ$_{8}$. 22. ma$_{1}$ mo?e$_{2}$ yaahuiihtsi$_{3}$,

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those of 'bearded white man$_{9}$' (you) run$_{10}$.— 9. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ 539
went to go out$_{2}$, these$_{3}$ drunks$_{4}$ were talking very mean$_{5}$ also$_{6}$ 522
were shooting$_{7}$. 10. This$_{1}$ woman$_{2}$ called$_{7}$ one$_{3}$ (who) also$_{4}$
like her$_{5}$ has children$_{6}$. 11. —Come$_{1}$! 12. To those ones$_{1}$ to
(the) white people$_{3}$ let's$_{2}$ run$_{4}$.— (she) said$_{5}$. 13. These two$_{1}$
are together$_{2}$, are carrying in (their) arms$_{4}$ their$_{3}$ little ba-
bies$_{4}$ in night cradles$_{5}$. 14. At this place$_{1}$ these$_{2}$ ran$_{4}$ to
them$_{3}$, entered$_{7}$ in$_{6}$ their$_{5}$ fence$_{6}$. 15. Here$_{1}$ their$_{2}$ grown
tree$_{3}$ still$_{4}$ has many leaves$_{5}$ (and) was standing$_{6}$ (being)
darkly shaded$_{7}$ around under it$_{6}$. 16. This$_{1}$ /is/ one of them$_{2}$
said$_{3}$. —Let's$_{4}$ sit$_{7}$ here$_{5}$ under this$_{6}$ on (this) big log$_{6}$.—
17. These$_{1}$ in a row$_{2}$ sat$_{4}$ on it$_{3}$. 18. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ are sitting$_{3}$,
there$_{3}$ at$_{5}$ their$_{4}$ camp$_{5}$ (there) was loud talking$_{6}$ and$_{7}$ fighting$_{8}$.
19. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ are sitting$_{3}$, one$_{5}$ of them$_{4}$ (her) son$_{5}$ said$_{10}$.
—Mother$_{6}$. On what$_{7}$ are$_{9}$ we$_{8}$ sitting$_{9}$?— 20. This$_{1}$ his$_{2}$
mother$_{3}$ (said), —Sit still$_{4}$. Don't$_{5}$ talk$_{6}$!— 21. This$_{1}$ little
boy$_{2}$ said$_{4}$. —Mother$_{3}$! Give$_{7}$ me$_{6}$ your$_{4}$ hand$_{5}$!— 22. Fetching$_{3}$

Humor in Ridicule

519 —ihka$_4$ masukaa$_5$. — mekʌ$_4$. 23 sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —hipa?atsa$_4$ ranʌse?$_5$ yʌkwikʌhutu?i$_6$? piahuuhpa?a$_7$ tanʌ$_8$ yʌkwihkatʌʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$ ke$_3$ narahkuparʌ$_4$, —piah$_5$. itʌtsa?$_6$ taa$_7$ yʌkwihkana$_8$ yʌyʌ-mukʌbʌniitʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —niyukarʌ$_4$. — me$_5$ ma$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌasʌ$_2$, —piah$_3$. ʌ$_4$ mo?e$_5$ nʌ$_6$ uhtu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ mo?e$_3$ ma$_4$ mo?okʌ$_5$ mʌʌnu$_6$. 28. ma$_1$ mo?ekʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, —ihka$_5$ masukaa$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ ma$_4$ masukaahtsi$_5$, ma$_6$ kwasima$_7$ tsaainu$_8$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nanihkupʌkatʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ bʌ$_4$ tʌi?a$_5$, —kwi?tanáai?$_6$. ʌ$_7$ manaa?nakwʌhi$_8$ masukaa$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ masúkaanu$_3$, ma$_4$ nakima$_5$ tsaainu$_6$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ ma$_3$ nakima$_4$ tsaaihtsi$_5$, yahnénu$_6$. 33. yahnetʌ$_1$, yahnetʌ$_2$, pʌ$_3$ tʌeti$_4$ sokoko$_5$ mahbénu$_6$. 34. sitʌsu?akʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌi?$_3$ nanihkupʌkatʌ$_4$, yʌtsʌnu$_5$. 35. sʌmʌ?oyetʌ$_1$ mariia$_2$ yorihka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ motsotaiboo?$_5$ pitsipʌbimoróo?$_6$ yʌtsʌhtsi$_7$, marʌʌ?a-

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519 her$_1$ hand$_2$, (he) said$_4$. —Feel$_5$ this$_6$!— 23. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$
522 said$_{10}$. —On what should$_4$ we$_5$ be sitting$_6$? We$_8$ are sitting$_9$ on a big log$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ little boy$_2$ (does) not$_3$ give up$_4$, said$_{10}$. —Mother$_5$! This$_6$ our$_7$ seat$_8$ is moving much$_9$.— 25. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_5$ him$_6$. —Sit still and keep quiet$_4$!— 26. This one$_1$ again$_2$ said$_3$. —Mother$_3$! Give$_7$ me$_6$ your$_4$ hand$_5$!— 27. This one$_1$ placed$_6$ her$_2$ hand$_3$ in$_5$ his$_4$ hand$_5$. 28. This one$_3$, taking$_4$ her$_1$ hand$_2$, said$_7$. —Feel$_4$ this$_5$!— 29. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ feelings$_5$ it$_4$, took hold$_6$ on$_7$ its$_6$ tail$_7$. 30. This one$_1$ is laughing herself to death$_2$, said to$_{10}$ that one$_3$ her$_4$ friend$_5$. —kwi?tanáa?i$_6$, [her name] Feel$_9$ on$_8$ your$_7$ further side$_5$!— 31. This one$_1$ felt$_3$ it$_2$, took hold$_4$ on$_5$ its$_4$ ear$_5$. 32. This$_1$ woman$_2$ taking hold$_5$ on$_4$ its$_3$ ear$_4$, laughed$_6$. 33. (She) is laughing$_1$, is laughing$_2$, (she) dropped$_4$ her$_3$ little one$_4$ to the ground$_5$. 34. This one also$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ is laughing herself to death$_4$, (she) got up$_5$. 35. As$_3$ all of them$_1$ /they$_2$/ got up$_3$, this$_4$ bearded white man's$_5$ milk

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tahpu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 36. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, 539
—piahuuhpa?a$_3$ takwʌ$_4$ ta$_5$ yʌkwihkana$_6$ suatʌ$_7$, — mekʌ$_8$.
37. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhkutʌ$_3$ ta$_4$ rʌsu?naahka$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$
pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 38. subetʌ$_1$.

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cow$_6$ getting up$_7$, went$_9$ away from them$_8$. 36. These two$_1$ 539
women$_2$ said$_3$. —On a big log$_3$ we$_4$ thought$_7$ our$_5$ seat$_6$ (was).— 522
37. These$_1$ then$_2$ from there$_3$ when$_5$ it$_4$ was quiet$_5$, went$_9$ back$_6$
to$_8$ their$_7$ house$_8$. 38. That is all$_1$.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

516 [352]

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Finally, apparently losing her temper, the one-eyed squaw started 609
mouthing, ran to the south end of the counter, rounded the end, and 432
started back north toward where Mother was standing. Mother, realizing the squaw's intentions, began mimicking her mouthings, picked up her skirts slightly with either hand, as I had seen her do a thousand times when shooing chickens or helping with the livestock around the farm, charged directly toward the little Indian woman.

Mother's mouthing was just as loud and just as unintelligible as was the squaw's, and for an instant it looked as though the irrisistible force was about to collide with the immovable object. Then suddenly Number Three braked to a stop and began running backward. Mother gave her no time to turn around.

Abruptly, the trail ended for the back-peddling intruder—she reached the little window deck where Mother's flowers sat. It was as I have said, knee-high, and the cactus sat on the squaw's side. There was nothing left for the frightened Indian woman to do but sit down, and she sat with all her accumulated momentum directly upon Mother's cactus.

I never decided which arose first, the homely little squaw or her shrieks of pain. At the first shriek, the other wives ran to her rescue. A counter-top showcase hid Mother and the shrieking Indian woman. For all they knew, Mother might be murdering their companion.

When the other wives saw what had happened, they began 609
screaming also, but theirs were screams of laughter. Close behind 432
the wives came the other Comanche women who were sitting around 522
the stove, and their peals of laughter added to the bedlam. 152

From time to time I have read stories having to do with the stoicism 152
of the American Indians and their ability to repress emotions—re- 522
maining indifferent to either pleasure or pain. But I assure you, this repression doesn't include an already excited squaw, clad in a calico *pit-sa-quina*, who unexpectedly sits on a cactus. Neither did it extend to the several Comanche women present in the store when she had her mishap. The little one-eyed Indian woman's shrieks of anguish were what you would expect to hear, even from a sedate white woman, under similar circumstances. And the gales of merriment loosed by the other Comanche women present equaled what you would expect from a group of white women laughing at a companion involved in a like predicament.

Certainly, the victim's face registered a mixture of fear and pain 152

across. Otherwise, the construction of the Comanche wheel was exactly like that illustrated by Lowie.[26] It consisted of willow rim with rawhide spokes radiating from a rawhide circle, one to two inches large, in the middle. The special throwing arrow, three to five feet long, was like the Crows' in having a forked feathered butt. It differed, however, in possessing a lashed-on barb of chinaberry, a hard wood, at the point. 526

The wheel game called for four players, two to a side. The teams stood facing each other, five or six steps from the starter, who rolled a hoop or wheel down the line between them. The players threw their special arrows simultaneously. If an arrow hit went through the center hole, its barb made it stick and the wheel fell down. Now the side that had hit the mark had the advantage, for the other side had to throw ordinary arrows at the center hole of the fallen wheel from the spot where the successful marksman had stood. Any arrow that failed to hit the center hole was captured and kept by the other side. Any arrow that hit the center hole was recovered by the thrower. Thus the team that first put its barbed arrow in the hole while the hoop was rolling stood a chance to win up to ten arrows while not having to risk a single one of its own. Players without much skill could agree to shoot for the spaces between the spokes instead of the center hole. Spectators bet on one side or the other, and when they got excited put up their own arrows to be thrown.[27]

The old kicking game played by the boys in the legend of the split of the Comanches and Shoshones, although remembered, seems to have been dropped as a sport. The women, however, were still playing kick-the-ball in 1933. Hopping on the left foot, they keep a rag ball in the air by "dribbling" it off the ground with the instep of the right. The idea is to get as far as possible before the ball is missed and falls to the ground. One or two girls or women play on a side, and good players can carry the ball seventy-five to one hundred yards. A variation is duration kicking in place, and in this a skilled player can keep the ball in the air two or three hundred kicks.

When it was too hot for much exertion, or at night when sports were impossible, or at any time, if a person was too lazy or too old 524

[26] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, fig. 11, p. 102.
[27] Informants: Breaks Something; Post Oak Jim.

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524 for the more strenuous activities, there were the hand game, varieties of dice, and, in later years, card games.

One of their principal "parlor" games which was common to all the bands was known variously as "bullet," "button," and "hands." The players were divided into two parties who formed in parallel lines opposite each other or in a half-circle. A number of counters, usually sticks, were placed between the two parties and all must be gained by one side or the other before the game was won. The game was usually twenty-one points, though the players might agree upon any number. When all were ready, the players commonly sang one of the many gambling songs and several beat time, either on the ground with a stick, on a parfleche, or on small hand drums, or kept time with motions of their arms. During this performance, one player took the bullet, button, bone, or some other convenient object and, after moving his hands in time to the singing and making many gestures to confuse his opponents, thrust out his closed hands. An opposing player guessed which hand the object was in. The game could be varied by passing or pretending to pass the object from one player to another. If the guesser were successful, his party then hid the object. If during the manipulations the object were accidentally dropped, the opposing side took the object and a counter. The game was won when one side had possession of all the counters. This game could last all night or be concluded almost at once. Players bet on the outcome, sometimes staking all they possessed under the care of a neutral scorekeeper.[28] Excitement was intense as the "button" passed back and forth to the accompaniment of drumming and rhythmic hand-game songs. The winning of a game called for a special victory song.

Dice games were quite popular until replaced in recent years by card games. There were many variations. One form was played with small, square blocks of wood, each side of which was painted a different color. The bet was made on the color that would turn up when the dice were thrown.

Another form of the game, a favorite with the men, was played on the flesh side of a buffalo robe marked into sections with chalk

[28] Stewart Culin, "Games of North American Indians," B. A. E. *Twenty-fourth Annual Report*, 309; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 133; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 516; Battey, *op. cit.*, 326.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

lines. The dice consisted of two smooth sticks, each about four inches in length, flat on one side and curved on the other. The flat side was about an inch in width. The player held the two sticks between his thumb and forefinger and either tossed them up or dropped them on a flat stone resting in the center of the playing section. The points scored depended on the section in which the sticks fell. One tally stick for each point was taken from the pile by the winner. The player obtaining the most sticks won the game. The women usually varied the game slightly. They used twelve sticks, from six to ten inches in length. Any stick which fell and remained across another counted a point. The first player to get one hundred points won the game. 524

Another variation of the game, popular with the women, was played with a shallow wicker bowl or basket and six plum stones or flat pieces of bone.[29] The basket was six to eight inches in diameter, and the dice were marked in a way to make possible several combinations of colors. When several players were participating, each player bet with the opposite player. In making the throw, the basket was raised so as to toss the dice only a few inches high. Before they fell, the basket was brought sharply to the ground. Each player threw in turn. The women chatted and joked continually during the game.

The Comanches, like other Indians, had no moral inhibitions against gambling, so they went all out in their betting. After all, it was only an exchange of property between friends, and generous gift-giving was the custom anyhow. Husbands and wives were free to gamble each other's goods, and each was supposed to pay up the other's debts. Some winners, like Breaks Something, were compassionate, however. On one hunting expedition, according to Breaks Something's story, his band came upon another Comanche group and found some men gambling at dice behind a windbreak. One old man had won nearly everything and was looking for new game. Breaks Something cut in to play against him, putting up the cartridges he had brought for hunting: ten cartridges to a tally stick. He bet and won; bet and won. The old man went broke. He bet twelve hides his wife had not yet tanned. Then he bet her tipi and everything in it. Then his two horses. He lost everything he had. In desperation 525

[29] Culin, "Games of North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 54–55, 159.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 apparently, no doubt that the Comanche were in frequent contact
411 with tribes using the sinew-lined bow, and that the tribes most closely related to the Comanche habitually used such bows.

Arrow shafts were made from straight stems of the rough-leaved dogwood (*Cornus asperifolia*). This species was also the preferred arrow material of the tribes of the Missouri River region (7, p. 108). Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the arrows of the Comanche as being "twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular point of iron at one end, and two feathers intersecting each other at right-angles, at the opposite extremity." They do not specify the material used for arrows further than by saying that it was "flexible wood." Arrows for the *aratsi* game were made from the stems of
● [E24] the soapberry (*Sapindus Drummondii*). Wood for game sticks was obtained from the buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*).

824 The leaves of the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were mixed with
276 tobacco. The addition of other plant materials to tobacco was a common practice among many tribes of Indians, the leaves of smooth sumac being widely used in this way. Chamberlain (6, p. 72) notes that this species was smoked by the Gosiute, and Gilmore (7, p. 100) cites its use by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, but neither writer mentions its being mixed with tobacco. McGuire (14, p. 385) gives Marcy and McClellan (16, p. 102) as his authorities for the following: "Captain Marcy refers to the Comanche being extravagantly fond of smoking tobacco, which they call pah-mo, mixed with the leaves of sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)." West (24, p. 107) accepts this without question and repeats it. In neither the 1853 (15) nor the 1854 (16) edition of Marcy and McClellan are we able, however, to find this complete statement. The passage on Comanche smoking in these volumes (15 and 16, p. 102) is as follows: "All of them [the Comanche] are extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they use for smoking, mixed with the dried leaves of the sumac, inhaling the smoke into their lungs and giving it out through the nostrils." Evidently the Comanche term for tobacco and the name of the particular species of sumac were taken by McGuire from some other source and not from Marcy and McClellan, as is implied. It may be true that *Rhus trilobata* was smoked by the Comanche, but *Rhus glabra* was specified by our informants as the species which was smoked, and medicinal uses only were ascribed to the former. We know of only one other reference to *Rhus trilobata* as a smoking material, that by

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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the side of his horse with both hands free for shooting or picking up heavy objects while riding hell bent for leather.[30]

Thus it was that Homer Thrall imaginatively saw the Comanche as "the Arab of the Prairie—the model of the fabled Thessalian 'Centaur,' half horse, half man, so closely joined and so dexterously managed that it appears but one animal, fleet and furious."[31]

Long before they got horses, the Comanches, like their Shoshone cousins, liked to put a good bet on a stick game or an arrow-throwing contest. Small wonder that in later years they took to horse racing with gusto and mighty bets.

In one popular race the contestants started from a line and rushed full speed toward a tree, the one touching it first being the winner. In another they rushed at a pole resting horizontally about six feet from the ground. If a rider stopped his horse a moment too soon, he failed to touch the pole; if a moment too late, the horse passed under the pole, possibly leaving the rider dangling to the pole or thrown to the ground. In still another contest, two strips of buffalo hide were stretched across the track about six to ten feet apart. The starting point was about two hundred yards from the strips. The contestants jumped their mounts over the first strip, reversed their direction, and raced back to the starting point. The horse which failed to get beyond the first strip with all four feet or which went beyond the second lost the race regardless.

Most Comanche racers were "doctored" for a race. An owner had a medicine man chew up some unidentified medicine which he spit in the horse's mouth or ear. Whatever its specific effect, it was power in the Comanche view. No woman could come near a racer when it had had medicine made for it, and after racing, both horse and rider went into a creek to wash off the effects of the medicine.

In many instances horse racing proved to be really profitable business for the Comanches—who were not the least loath to fleece a sucker. Colonel Dodge has left a story of a race which the officers at Fort Chadburne, Texas, to their regret arranged with some Comanches. After the first bets had been laid, the Comanches innocently

[30] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 331; Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 103.

[31] H. S. Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas*, 445.

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492 brought forth a miserable-looking pony with a three-inch coat of thick hair and a general appearance of neglect and suffering. Its rider
525 "looked big enough to carry the poor beast on his shoulders" and was armed with a club with which he belabored the animal from starting line to the finish. Yet, to the surprise of the whites the Indian pony managed to win by a neck. Within an hour the officers bit again and lost by a nose. Then they suggested a third race and brought out a magnificent Kentucky racing mare. In a frenzy of excitement the Indians bet everything that the whites would take. With the starting signal the Indian rider threw away his club, gave a whoop, and his little mount "went away like the wind." That Kentucky mare was soon so far behind that for the last fifty yards the Comanche sat backwards on his pony beckoning to the white rider to come on. The whites afterwards learned that the shaggy pony was a celebrated racer, and that the Comanches had just come back from fleecing the Kickapoos to the tune of six hundred ponies with that same little horse.[82]

Straight-run relay races from a standing start for a distance "ten times the distance you can shoot an arrow," or a good two miles, made a favorite run. Shorter obstacle races put both speed and control to a rigorous test.

To the Comanche, then, the horse was an intimate household
224 friend, a beast of burden, a counter in the great prestige game of the warriors, a "gamer," and an occasional source of food. But it was to the buffalo that he turned for his economic mainstay.

The buffalo was as indispensable to the Comanche as the horse.
262 No part of the slaughtered animal was wasted except the rump, spine, and skull. Hair, skin, flesh, blood, bones, entrails, horns, sinews, kidneys, liver, paunch, and the dried excrement were all utilized. The Indian ate its flesh, the marrow of its bones, the contents of the gall bladder on raw liver, and even at times its entrails—a habit left over from Shoshone days. Of the edible parts, only the heart was unconsumed; it was left for magical perpetuation of the herds.

[271] When the Comanche was thirsty and water was not available,
237 there was the blood of the buffalo. Its paunch, after the inner lining
415 was removed, was used as a water bag and also as a container in which

[82] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 329–30.

to cook stone-boiled soup.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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[29] Culin, "Games of North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 54–55, 159.

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525 he offered to bet his sister. Breaks Something thought this was too much; he refused. The old man's "brother" (a classificatory cousin) broke in, "It's nothing; she's just like a dog." Whereupon Breaks Something agreed to allow twenty-five tally sticks value on the girl. He won her!

Next day Breaks Something sent his mother over to collect the goods he had won: the tipi and the girl, the horses, and everything. The women folk cried and said these were not the old man's to gamble. "I took pity on them," recalled Breaks Something. "I took pity on them and gave everything back to them except the blanket from the old man's back. So I lost my new-won wife."

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[525] of the Comanche with the dog,[160] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[161] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[162] At
743 the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
197

[160] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[161] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[162] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[p .252-A]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I lit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would
657 have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

657 These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it
152 seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested —just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way
273 439 out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

657 We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

[152] But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legitimate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea
525 of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the
money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late sum-
mer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and
horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whis-
key peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior
age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other
and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the
old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with
the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and
most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen
about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the
odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that after-
noon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark.
Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up
camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could
catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the
area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these
tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one
at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

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517 quite simple. Visiting, feasting, the dance, story-telling, and competitive games constituted their principal means of recreation and amusement. The Comanches were very sociable and spent much time visiting. Visiting and feasts furnished opportunity for the discussion of news and tribal welfare. The religious ceremonies were regarded by many as less an occasion for worship than an exciting and interesting social gathering.

Social gatherings in the evenings were filled with mirth, revelry, and enjoyment. Before the arrival of the white trader, the Comanches were noted for their abstinence from intoxicating drink. Most evenings were devoted to singing and storytelling, which was not only entertainment but education. By frequent repetition of stories, the [869] tribal history, traditions, legends, and ideals were perpetuated for the young. Older people seldom grew weary of repeating the stories or of listening to them.

517 On other evenings young men and women gathered around a fire which had been kindled in the village, and while it reflected its 535 dancing shadows against the yellow lodge-skins, they danced and chanted their songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beat of the drum. Those who did not participate in the dance sat on the ground in a circle, facing the musicians who sat in the center beating their small drums. Men and women dancers stood a short distance apart facing each other. When the music began, a man would select a dancing partner by placing his hands round her waist, while she clasped him in similar fashion. The affair lasted an hour or more. The Indian, who had been taught to dance almost from the time he had been able to lift his feet, danced with rhythm and freedom, and every movement was vivid and natural.

●526 Competitive games continued from childhood to middle life, and when a person became too old to participate, he still enjoyed watching them.

When food was plentiful and no necessary jobs were pressing, a Comanche really liked to settle down for some good fun. Men and women alike were great sports; gambling was a passion. Their horse racing has already been described, but it was not their only athletic sport. The women liked to play double ball or shinny, a strenuous pastime, to say the least. They set up arrow-shooting contests to test

speed and distance skills. With the older men they threw arrows at marks and at the wheel. The women also had a sport of their own: kick-the-ball. Younger men wrestled and in older times played at kicking each other. And adults of both sexes spent hours in games of chance. Then there were social dances of a purely recreational nature, storytelling, gossiping, and singing. A Comanche rarely had good reason to be bored, and with his usually extroverted personality his lust for life was strong.

Shinny and double ball were exclusively women's games among the Comanches. Lacrosse, definitely a man's game and important in the lives of the eastern Indians, was never taken up by the Comanche men. The two ball games played by the women were essentially similar in principle, but different in equipment required and in its use.

Ten women or girls to a side made up the usual team. The players, garbed in showy dress, were wont to gather on the ball field about mid-afternoon. If they intended to play shinny, two stakes were driven into the ground at both ends of a field a hundred or more yards long. Each player had a curved stick. The ball, made of hair-stuffed deerskin, was flattened and three or four inches in diameter. The rules of the game were essentially similar to those of our own shinny.

Double ball was a much faster variation of shinny. One stake at each end of the field formed the goal. A rawhide thong eighteen inches long was substituted for a ball. A hooked stick three feet long was used by each player to catch and throw the thong. The game started with a referee tossing the thong up between two centers as in basketball. The one who caught it had to throw it with her stick to a teammate, who ran toward her goal with it. If blocked by an opponent, she tossed it over her opponent and caught it coming down on the other side, continuing on her way, or else she passed it over to a teammate. The object was to maneuver into position so that the thong could be thrown at the stake. When it wrapped itself around the pole, a goal had been scored. This game, called *natsi̇ɒ:et,* was the favorite of the Water Horse band, who were "tall, thin, and fleet of foot." When two bands gathered for games, they would bring up great bundles of goods for betting. They beat all other bands at *natsi̇ɒ:et* until the others refused to play them.[24]

[24] Informant: That's It.

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●526 Shinny as a woman's game was practically universal among North American Indians, so it is hardly surprising to find it as a sport among the Comanches. Double ball was also a woman's game throughout most of the United States, except among the West Coast tribes, where it was played by men. Inasmuch as it was played by Paiutes and Shoshones in the Great Basin, the Comanches most likely enjoyed the game before their migration.

The lives and livelihood of the Comanches turned on their skill with the bow and arrow. Informal archery tournaments occurred on any festive occasion to test bow and arrow skills in several ways. One type of contest placed a premium on speed in fitting and discharging flights of arrows. The players took a certain number of arrows, which they held with their bows in the left hand. Each player in turn advanced in front of the judges and discharged his first arrow upward as high as possible. He then proceeded to discharge the others as rapidly as possible. Victory belonged to the one who succeeded in having the greatest number of arrows in the air at once.[25]

Shooting for the mark, called *wɔ'kɔrɔ*, was done in the manner of "bowls." Each contestant used four arrows. The first marksman sent out an arrow, near or far, as he wished. Then he and his opponent alternated in shooting their arrows. The closest to the mark arrow won the round, as in horseshoes. The loser of the round had the chance to shoot the target arrow on the next try.

Exactly the same game was played with throwing arrows specially constructed to be light and long with feathers trimmed closer than a bow arrow. This arrow game, when throwing for the mark, was known to the Comanches as *tir'ɔwɔkɔ*. Sometimes the players decided to throw for distance instead. In this case, they called the game *narɔ'rɔnɛ:lɔ*, and a good throw was considered to be two hundred yards—hardly a mean distance. Players and spectators alike bet on these games.

Young men like to play the wheel game, *aratsi*, as a more complicated sport of arrow throwing. Among the Crows the wheels collected by Lowie were nine and one-quarter and ten inches in diameter. The Comanches called for sharper marksmanship, because their wheels, according to informants, were only four or five inches

[25] Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 198.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

across. Otherwise, the construction of the Comanche wheel was exactly like that illustrated by Lowie.[26] It consisted of willow rim with rawhide spokes radiating from a rawhide circle, one to two inches large, in the middle. The special throwing arrow, three to five feet long, was like the Crows' in having a forked feathered butt. It differed, however, in possessing a lashed-on barb of chinaberry, a hard wood, at the point. 526

The wheel game called for four players, two to a side. The teams stood facing each other, five or six steps from the starter, who rolled a hoop or wheel down the line between them. The players threw their special arrows simultaneously. If an arrow hit went through the center hole, its barb made it stick and the wheel fell down. Now the side that had hit the mark had the advantage, for the other side had to throw ordinary arrows at the center hole of the fallen wheel from the spot where the successful marksman had stood. Any arrow that failed to hit the center hole was captured and kept by the other side. Any arrow that hit the center hole was recovered by the thrower. Thus the team that first put its barbed arrow in the hole while the hoop was rolling stood a chance to win up to ten arrows while not having to risk a single one of its own. Players without much skill could agree to shoot for the spaces between the spokes instead of the center hole. Spectators bet on one side or the other, and when they got excited put up their own arrows to be thrown.[27]

The old kicking game played by the boys in the legend of the split of the Comanches and Shoshones, although remembered, seems to have been dropped as a sport. The women, however, were still playing kick-the-ball in 1933. Hopping on the left foot, they keep a rag ball in the air by "dribbling" it off the ground with the instep of the right. The idea is to get as far as possible before the ball is missed and falls to the ground. One or two girls or women play on a side, and good players can carry the ball seventy-five to one hundred yards. A variation is duration kicking in place, and in this a skilled player can keep the ball in the air two or three hundred kicks.

When it was too hot for much exertion, or at night when sports were impossible, or at any time, if a person was too lazy or too old 524

[26] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, fig. 11, p. 102.
[27] Informants: Breaks Something; Post Oak Jim.

The Comanches

857 spent in gang play. When a new camp was set up, they set out to find a good water hole in the creek where they could play all day. Following and baiting small birds and large insects fascinated them. [411 Hummingbirds were shot with headless arrows having a vertically split foreshaft in which to catch the birds. Boys would spend all 224] day chasing one bird, according to Skinny and Wrinkled, in a kind of concentration that boded well for the future hunter and tracker of men and beasts. Bull bats were shot with arrows having horizontally split foreshafts. Grasshoppers were shot with hummingbird arrows, and their hind legs were eaten for lunch.

The boys had great fun by tying two grasshoppers together with a short thread and then crowding about to watch them "wrestle." They would jump and jerk each other up short. The one that first fell on its back was the loser. They liked to catch "shit rollers," tie a piece of straw to a leg, and watch them fly, running fleetly after them as they followed their courses. They would stick a small straw up the anus of a horsefly and turn the insect loose—which perhaps showed how they felt about horseflies.

Small boys, who had no real arrows, made them of reed shafts with grasshopper legs for points and a ballast daub of mud stuck two inches from the point. They killed night hawks with slings and amused themselves playing with whirrers—two strings attached to a bone and pulled taut to make a whirring noise.

Although boys were by themselves most of the time, the younger ones now and then joined the little girls to play camp. On the sand by the creek they built small windbreaks and arbors. A play group leader was made "chief," and each boy chose a wife or wives. They all swam in the creek, gathered in ponies with the girls, and rode together. Some time was spent by the boys in hunting squirrels to bring into camp for their "wives" to cook, while the girls gathered berries, edible roots, and the eggs of turkeys, ducks, quail, and prairie chickens. All this swag made for good make-believe feasts.

[836] The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. "One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife," said Post Oak Jim.

857 When younger boys and girls played together (but not when ● 526 they were playing camp), there were several forms of joint games.

From Cradle to Grave

A hilarious favorite was "grizzly bear." For this, a mound of sand, called the "sugar," was fashioned. Then one child was dragged around by his heels to smooth a circle around the "sugar." Outside the circle all the children formed a queue, holding to each others' waists and facing the mound. The leader was the "mother" protecting her young from the "grizzly," who was played by a child inside the circle. His part was to reach out of the circle and seize a child, but the mother protected the children by swinging the line back and forth. At last one child was caught and subjected to the penalty of being tickled ("eaten") by the bear in the circle. After that, players would break out of the line and try to dash in to steal some "sugar" from the grizzly's store and get out without his catching them. As each was caught, he was tickled, and the game went on until the "sugar" was all stolen or all the children were captured.

In another group game the children all sat in a row with their feet straight out in front of them. An old man had to join them in the fun. He would advance with closed eyes and feel up and down the row until he decided to choose one child. This one he picked up by the feet, head hanging down over his back, and carried him around in a circle back to the row. The other children asked the "It" many questions: "Do you have a horse, a saddle, a belt, etc?" The given answer was always "Yes." At last they rushed forward and took their playmate off the old man's back, crying that they were going to eat the old man. So they tickled the old fellow with joyous cries.

Other times they took pieces of old hide to the tops of hills. While some of the children rode on the hides, the others pulled them bouncing down with ropes. "Guess over the hill" (*nanip'ka*) was another favorite. Two older boys would organize the game. The boy who was "It" went over the hill; another stood guard at the top to make sure he did not spy while the other children hid under robes or blankets. When called by the guard, "It" came and tried to guess the names of the hiders.[6]

On rainy days all was still; the children lay quietly at home in their family tipis, for they were superstitiously afraid of thunder and lightning. Winter was the time for the telling of stories; not summer.

[6] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

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stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd. C 233 721

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California. N 233 C 233

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire. N C 114

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information N C 286 [526] N C [386] C N 124 N C 126 386

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

tesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded. In due 000
time some of the Indians wanted credit until Grass Money payment 657
time. The government paid fifty dollars twice a year to each man, 452
woman, and child. This represented interest on tribal funds the gov- 434
ernment was holding in trust.

Carrying the Indians' accounts until Grass Money time brought 527
on an unlooked-for complication. We had naturally supposed that when they received their pay, the Indians would return to their allotments. But the campout on the reservation of hundreds of families was too much like the old tribal life for them to return readily to their lonesome allotment camp.

They could feast, visit, gamble, and hold horse races, and those that drank were supplied by the whiskey peddlers. Then too there were many visitors from other tribes, as they knew food, beef, and whiskey would be plentiful.

To get our money we had to go to the reservation and collect 452
while they still had it. They were pleased to see us, and they paid readily. They wanted to keep their credit good, but putting aside the necessary amount so as to pay up on their return was too much planning for them. That was especially true of the drinkers.

My first collection trip was successful and uneventful, and from then on it was my regular chore, and an interesting one. I would be gone from one to two days if the payment was held near the town of Cache, and longer when it was held near Ft. Sill at what was called "The Stone Store."

When death struck our little community, we were poorly pre- 000
pared. Two women and one baby died in a single night. All the needs for a funeral were lacking—no undertaker, no caskets, no cemetery, and no preacher.

Early the next morning caskets were put together from yellow pine and brought to our store and set on sawhorses. There the townswomen covered, padded, and lined them. Black calico was used for the covering of the adult caskets, and white muslin for the baby's. Quilting cotton was used for the padding and pillow, and bleached muslin for the lining.

Handles intended for toolboxes were screwed on the sides of the adult caskets by Dad after the women had tacked the black calico in place. Permission to bury the bodies on the claim adjoining the town on the north was granted by an old German homesteader.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the
money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

Compared to a good tipi, the shack of the frontiersman was a poor 342
makeshift. The tipi shed wind and water and was warm and well
ventilated. It could be set up within fifteen minutes and could be [252]
struck in less time. In hot weather the cooking was done outside. Actually, during much of the summer and autumn little shelter was really needed. In the permanent camp a brush arbor was often erected in hot weather, under which the entire family or groups of families found refuge from the summer heat. The roof was flat and made of leafy boughs supported by posts seven or eight feet high. The sides were left open to permit full benefit from the breeze. Most Comanches today, even those who have substantial houses, build brush arbors in their yards for lounging and summer sleeping. (There are no bedbugs in the arbors.) Arbors of hooped saplings reminiscent of Shoshone wickiups were also used.

Some owners painted their tipis with a number of encircling [531]
stripes and with geometric designs on both the lining and the outside cover. The average tipi, however, did not have the added touch of the artist.

The furnishing of a tipi was like all else in Comanche economic life—simple and highly adapted to mobility. Devices for comfort were a comparatively modern innovation, since it is inconceivable that in the days when the Indians were foot travelers and carried most of their possessions on their backs they would load themselves down with luxuries. In the center of the tipi a round hole was dug for the
fire. It has been contended that the only difference in a Kiowa and a [354]
Comanche camp was in the fire-hole. The Comanches made their fire-hole about fifteen inches in diameter, while the Kiowas made theirs about two feet.[84]

Before the arrival of the white man, the Comanches produced 372
fire by means of the fire drill. The method consisted of hand twirling a hard stick, held vertically in a hole in a horizontal block of softer material, until the heat ignited the Spanish-moss tinder or birds' nests packed about the hole. Fire drills were kept in cases of buffalo horn, called *na'a:*. Flint and steel for fire-making were among the first articles introduced by Mexican traders. After the introduction of gun powder, the Comanches found that a fire could be started more quick-

[84] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 57.

281 skins soft and flexible no matter how often they were exposed to moisture.

Every woman made the clothing for herself and her family, as was explained in the previous chapter. From the tanned skins the women also made various kinds of soft leather pouches, among them the long fringed ones for the men's smoking utensils. Some of these [531] bags were decorated with beadwork after the arrival of the white traders, but informants insist that porcupine-quill embroidery was unusual among the Comanches.

281 463 Although every woman learned to make clothing and bags, it seems that there were only a relatively few who became expert at designing and cutting the cover for a tipi. A mother or wife who wanted to make a tipi gathered the poles, stripped them of their bark and pared them down to the desired size, and possibly pointed the butts. She then most likely went to an expert tipi-maker and asked for her help. She might offer her a present then, or it might be given afterwards. A day for the work was agreed upon. Other women would be invited to join the "quilting party," but the expert was in complete charge and gave the instructions. She usually did the most critical cutting and fitting. During the day the hostess provided her guests with a feast. Although the women worked together, there appears to have been no organization of tipi makers.[2]

492 [463] [727] Since the Comanches spent much of their time on horseback, horse equipage was an important item. Although both men and women worked at it, saddle-making tended to be the specialty of men who were no longer active in war. In later times, however, Mexican captives became specialists at the trade. Saddles were mostly of a modified Spanish type. They were generally made of American elm in three pieces: the bars or seat proper, the pommel, and the cantle. Each part was laboriously shaved down into the desired shape and carefully fitted. The pommel and cantle were made high with but slight pitch; the bars or seat were moderate in length so that the saddle was deep and narrow. Holes were drilled with a red hot awl, the joints daubed with glue, and then the parts were laced firmly together by means of green deer sinew. The joints were scraped and rubbed smooth, and the frame was smeared with an ochre paint. Over

[2] Informants: Kills Something; She Invites Her Relatives.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

ing that paper was used for padding inside the shields, Anglo-American pioneers were quite puzzled at the Comanche interest in books. 411

The surface of the shield was stretched into a convex or saucer shape with the convex surface to the outside. A convex surface would readily deflect a blow. The shield was then hung up to dry. Sometimes the shield-maker would unlace the shield and remove the wooden frame, adding, of course, additional packing. This increased the safety of the shield, since a bullet could penetrate the wooden frame more easily than the packing.

A buckskin cover was usually fitted over the flint-like shield, much as a cover is drawn over a spare automobile tire. It was drawn in on the under side by means of a buckskin thong laced through eyelet holes around the edges. Through the hide itself were bored two pairs of holes, and through each pair was passed a loop or band of rawhide or buckskin. By means of these two bands the shield was fastened to the left arm near the elbow in such a manner as not to interfere with the free use of the hand.

After the shield had thoroughly dried and cured, it was treated by setting it up as a target, and if a bullet or an arrow pierced it when fired from a distance of about fifty yards, it found a place in the debris of the camp. In times of action the Indian manipulated his arm so as to make any blow strike the shield at an angle. Very few bullets fired from old-fashioned rifles would penetrate a well-constructed shield unless the bullet struck the surface perpendicularly, a near impossibility when the shield was in the hands of one expert in the art of using it.

The Anglo-American pioneers and soldiers who knew the Comanches well relate that their shields were usually adorned with three kinds of insignia. Bear teeth worn or painted on a shield indicated that the owner was a great hunter or had the toughness of the bear; scalps attached to or painted on the shield indicated its owner to be a mighty warrior, and horse or mule tails that he was an accomplished raider. The materials were attached by means of buckskin strings to the under side of the shield. Around the rim of the outside cover feathers were attached and held in place with sinew. Comanche informants maintained that there should have been an even number, usually four but possibly six or more. The arrangement made it pos- 411 536 [801]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

411 sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the
●531 shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

411 Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physi-
778 cal but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away
[84] from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Albert Atocknie (Lone Tipi), in 1924
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 350]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 212
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1788, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tome 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia's mother, 1909.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 273–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 118.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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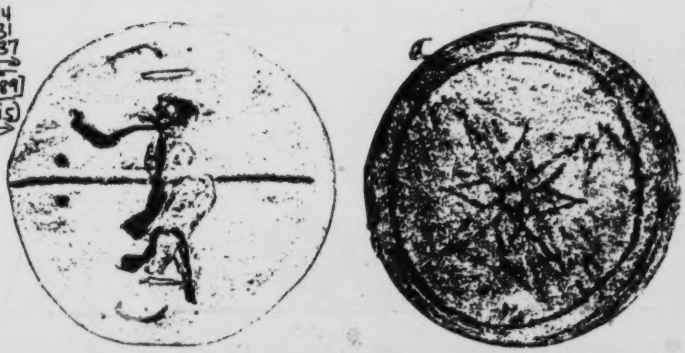

FIGURES 19–20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 44532.)

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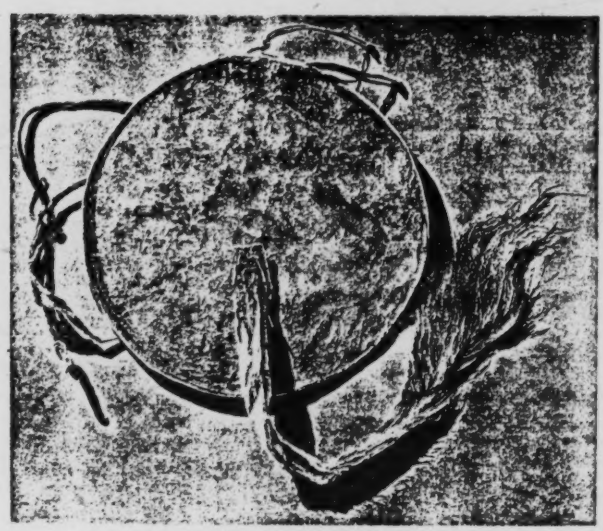

FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 62,579.)

[p. 170]

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18.A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1470 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 62579. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 177]

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FIGURES 22–23. Comanche decorated shield and painted cover. (USNM 443a.)

[p. 172]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. 714 531
The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this 532
Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed 172
rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. 531
Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield 531
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missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24–25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in 411
Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and
decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. 237
wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse 531
or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in 237
length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted
with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending
out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 237
18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they 825
made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, 415
Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa In- 237
dians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to
the wild state in Texas before the 1850s. This piece measures 8 cm. in 415
diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has
been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in
the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 531

6. Jackson, 1958, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). 714

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1844, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

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FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1470.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn.

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche.

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature.

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.A This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A [See p. 180-B--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

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FIGURE 29. Comanche feathered bonnet. (USNM 1475.)

[p. 177]

178 this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes.[13] 415 171 531

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red. 415 415 531

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14] 531 439 431

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian. 272 171

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top 283 531

13. Winter (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarci, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History. 113

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermilion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180-C—Analyst.]
B [See p. 169—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. 284

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 237 292 714 237 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 30–31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82–83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. 171

A [See p. 169—Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files—Analyst.]

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PLATE 17. Comanche painted shield. (USNM 4430.)

[p. 180-A]

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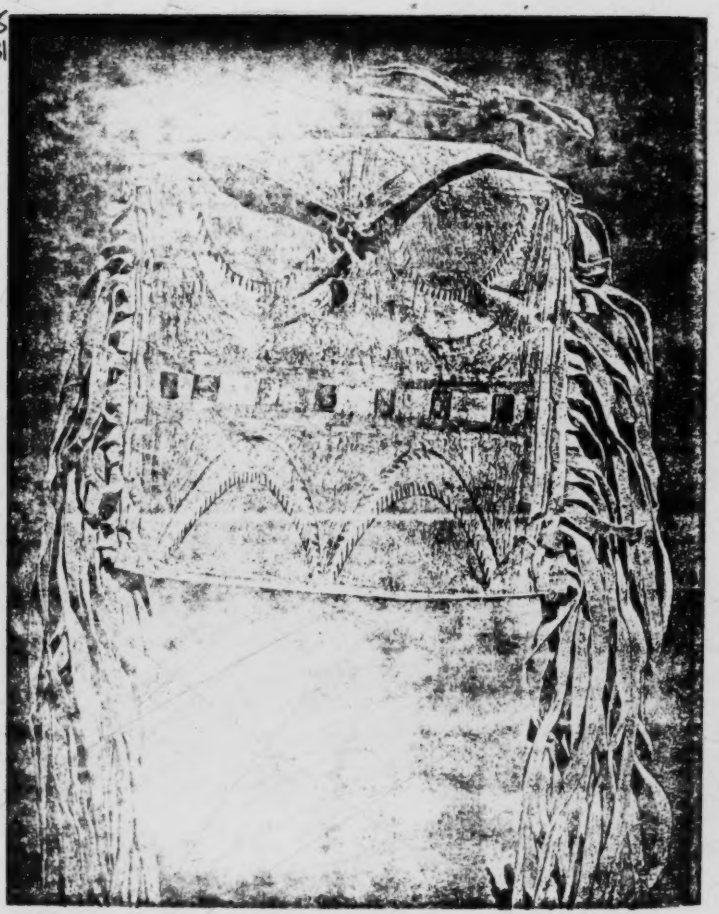

PLATE 18. Comanche painted rawhide case. (Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., E 3780.)

[p. 180-B]

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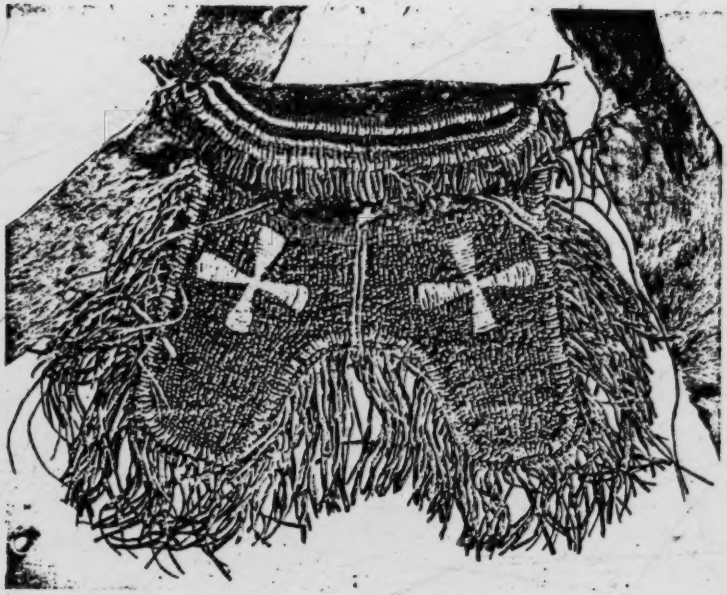

PLATE 19. Comanche beaded pouch. (USNM 1473.)

[p. 180-C]

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PLATE 20. Upper garment of a Comanche woman, worn by Vivian Poolaw, a Kiowa-Comanche. See also Figures 36 and 37. (USNM 148a.)

[p. 180-D]

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FIGURE 35. Comanche small beaded pouch. (USNM 1467.)

[p. 183]

415 A small but elaborately decorated pouch from the Comanche (Figure 35) [531] may have served a woman as a container for small toilet articles. Presumably it was worn on dress occasions, supported by the two twisted buckskin cords passed under a woman's belt. Probably the ends of the cords hung free so that the rolled metal cones attached to them would jingle as the woman moved, as would the similar metal jinglers attached to the cut fringes of the top and base of the pouch. The body of the pouch, of reddish-brown buckskin, measures but 8 cm. in height, and 7.5 cm. in its greatest width across the bottom. The vertical seams at each side of the pouch and the tie cords are edged with blue and white seed beads. Even smaller seed beads are used in decorating the front surface of the pouch and flap. Designs on the flap comprise a small rosette with four projecting triangles, and a border band of triangles on a blue ground. Rounded and less precisely defined elements appear in the 1.5 cm. wide beaded horizontal band at the base of the pouch. Bead colors are predominantly the primary ones, red, yellow, and blue, although a few green, pink, and white beads are used. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this pouch historically are its proof that the type occurred on the Southern Plains prior to 1850 and that, even at that early time, small seed beads were employed in its decoration.

Beaded Small Pouch Figure 35

292 A handsome upper garment for a Comanche woman was ingeniously [281] fashioned from a single deerskin (see Figure 36) which measured 186 cm. [237] long by 60 cm. wide in its center dimensions. The basic form of the deerskin has been little altered, even the leg extensions being preserved. A transverse slit in the skin 25 cm. in length provides the hole for the wearer's head and neck, and the garment is draped over her shoulders with the head portion of the skin in front and the tail portion behind. Plate 20 shows a front view of this garment, as worn by Miss Vivian Poolaw, a young Kiowa-Comanche woman from western Oklahoma. Although the center of the hide falls but 52 cm. below the neck opening, the deer legs extend below the wearer's wrists. Primary decoration consists of a blocky reddish-brown painted area extending over the shoulders and down the center both in front and in back. (See Figure 37, showing a back view.) The garment is slightly longer in back (54 cm. on the midline). Note also the long cut fringe at each side which conceals the upper arms and upper forearms, and the much shorter cut fringes on the bottom edges of the garment in front and back. Rolled metal jinglers are attached to a few of the short fringes in front. There is a decorative border of brass tacks around the neck opening and a row of buckskin string pendants about 15 cm. below the neck opening at both front and back. On one of these front strings are strung five large beads, two blue and three red.

Comanche Woman's Upper Garment Plate 20 and Figures 36–37

292 Presumably this handsome garment was worn by a Comanche woman on dress occasions rather than for daily wear, which may account for its difference in construction from the fitted upper garment pictured in Lino Sánchez

[p. 185]

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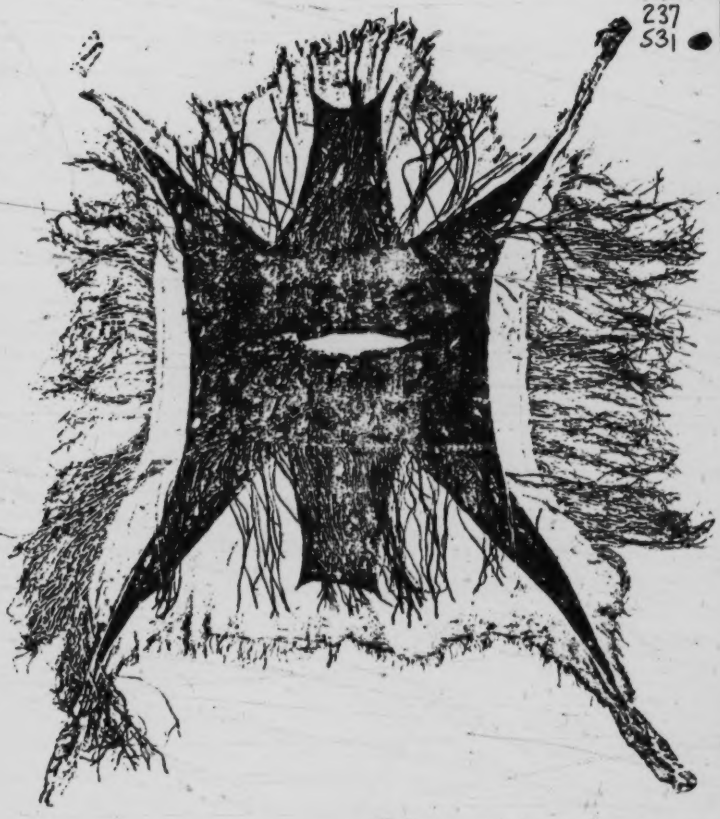

FIGURE 36. Comanche woman's upper garment, spread out, showing pattern of construction from a single deerskin. See also Plate 20 and Figure 37. (USNM 1480.)

[p.186]

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FIGURE 37. Back view of Figure 36 as worn. See Plate 20 for front view.

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FIGURE 38. Comanche collar for a pet antelope. (USNM 1468.)

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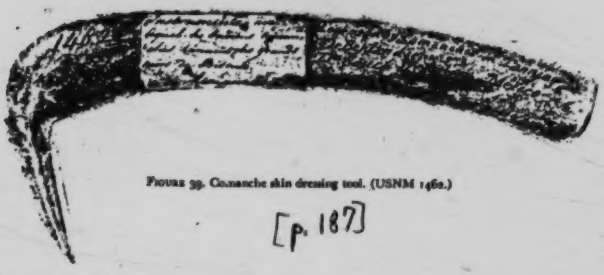

FIGURE 39. Comanche skin dressing tool. (USNM 1462.)

[p. 187]

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

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The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet. 531

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Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa In- 237
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7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1834, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

796 of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression
241 came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was
537 able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

796 The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were
241 kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round
[533] [535] they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow*," keeping time to rude specimens of music ham-
[534] mered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

727 It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I
302 was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

726 called a Vengeance Dance. The dance did not begin until dark, and it ended in time for the party to take its departure before day, although the Comanches did not rely on dancing to arouse the war spirit of the group as much as some of the other Plains Indians. The tendency of the Comanches to make a decision quickly and to leave the same night as the dance were additional factors tending to eliminate unnecessary details. As darkness settled over the village, the people gathered around a fire, leaving an opening in the circle toward the proposed objective of the party. The volunteers were attired in all their war dress and paint. Only braves leaving on the raid could dance, but each was aided by a woman partner. A dancer might carry a rattle, but it was not essential. The warriors danced when they felt the urge, unless ordered to dance by a whip wielder. Sometimes there was little actual dancing. The spectators formed a circle outside the dancers, and joined in the singing.

The War Dance in some respects compares to the modern college pep rally preceding a football game. Some songs were merely musical
•[533] and without words. The songs with words were known by most people. Popular love songs, of which there were many, were sung. It is very difficult to render the songs into English without sacrificing the rhythm, but a sample verse of a popular song goes as follows:

Going away tonight;
Be gone a long time.
While I'm gone,
I'll be thinking of you.[7]

The dance would be interrupted at intervals by an old warrior, who approached the drummer and announced that he wanted to tell a story while the dancers rested. Having received recognition, he would recite the details of a coup which he had gained and take an oath that what he told was true. "Sun, Father, you saw me do it. Earth, Mother, you saw me do it. Do not permit me to live until another season, if I speak falsely." When the speaker finished, he was given an enthusiastic ovation: a mingling of war whoops, drum beating, gourd rattling, stamping of feet, and clapping of hands. Be-

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

They
533 had some music, but their repertoire was limited even for savages. Noah Smithwick, who spent several months with the Comanches about 1837, states that it was customary for the first fellow who awoke in the morning to announce that fact in song; but he thought this was rather a "spontaneous outpouring akin to that of the feathered songsters than a religious rite."[30]

157 Notwithstanding their lack of culture the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men. Once in a council (the proceedings of which were carefully recorded by a secretary) President Sam Houston was trying to get the Comanches to agree to a line of division between the country of the Indians and that of their white neighbors. In the treaty the line was not being described as the Indians had been told it would be run. Buffalo Hump, a young Comanche chief, detected the discrepancy at once and a sharp argument between him and Houston followed. The dialogue is too long to be repeated, but one who reads it will be convinced that the chief knew exactly what he wanted and why he wanted it. He knew the topography of the country to perfection and also the settlements and roads. He clung persistently to his position and would not be moved from it.[31]

181 Notwithstanding their many savage vices the Comanches rated
577 higher morally than other nomadic tribes. They were hospitable and would share their last morsel with their guests. In war they gave no quarter and asked none, but it was not their custom to apply slow torture to unfortunate enemies. Of course individuals differed widely. Among the Southern Comanches, chief Buffalo Hump was erratic and sometimes treacherous, but Mo-pe-cho-co-pe (Old Owl) was even tempered and altogether dependable. Robert S. Neighbors, long a Texas and United States Indian agent, knew the Old Owl for a number of years and in his reports quotes him again and again. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Neighbors ever lost confidence in the old savage or ever doubted his word.[32] There were, no doubt, many Comanches as honest as the Old Owl, but the

30. The Evolution of a State, 181.

31. "Minutes of a Grand Council held near the Falls of the Brazos, between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, commencing on Monday, October 7th, 1844, Ms. Texas Indian Papers.

32. For instance, see Neighbors' report to Medill, 30 Cong., 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 171, 16-25.

Comanche NDG ●
Delaware NM7

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Comanche																		
	H.T.	K-A	Kio	Cheo	Kio	K.T.	Ing	Ing	Wis	M.C.	I.C.	C.C.	W.M.	Pai	Ute	K-W.	Tau
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	•–	+	•–	+		+	+
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		–	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•–	+	+		(+)	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	–	•+	•–	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							–				(+)	(+)	–	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+		–	
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•–			+	+	+	+		–	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
174. By women		–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 72 [595] If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā`r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā`r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies. [216]

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described. [593]

535 [796] During the entire period of the nā'wapinā`r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle. [292]

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápairē`ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā`r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating [621]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the 535
performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of
any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his 535
dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have 231
been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards 535
with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little [292]
Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and [534]
used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses [293]
also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nä'wapinàr had decided that the time for action 726
had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare
for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled,
coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred
the ceremony called nïotsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and
sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the [533]
opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned
by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the
master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position.
On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of [287]
the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath
to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified,
and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful 727
raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury.
Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode [287]
ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted
black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party
came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that
the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements 701
of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of
these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long [714]
spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of
eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated
with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpalet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinf said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by 302 themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied 301 hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would 534 flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable
721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their
101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time immemorial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the
171 identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 711 C K [829] Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

C K [129] C K 798 795 533 829

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of
[778] her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
115 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
159 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
756 involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing
[826] ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

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[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *pubakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become incressingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 145

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *pubakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
787
755

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bokwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755
756
778
787

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music hammered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

The Comanches

796 755 The medicine man, dressed according to the dictates of his medicine, approached the tipi from the east, swinging a bull roarer (*yuane*:[18]) as he came and calling to the people, inviting them into the lodge.

After circling the tipi in the clockwise direction, he leaped into the pit from the east; on climbing out on the west side, he was ready to enter the lodge.

All persons who wished to be spectators (everybody was welcome —sickly or puny ones were most likely to participate) gathered around. They first had to remove all metal objects from their persons; then they circled the lodge and jumped in and out of the pit as the medicine leader had done. After entering the lodge, anyone going to sit on the north side had to circle the fire clockwise to get there.

Now the ceremony began. The medicine man ordered the music to start. The drummers gave four beats, finishing with a yell. The song leaders followed with four special beaver medicine songs, after which the medicine man dismissed the singers, who moved over among the drummers.

The time had arrived for the invocation of the pipe. The assistants (the women who had summoned the medicine man) filled the pipe. They lighted it with an ember offered from the fire by a spectator. Each took a puff before handing the pipe to the medicine man. He drew four puffs of smoke and prayed according to the dictates of his medicine. The pipe was now returned to the women, who cleaned it and laid it on the ground before them.

The medicine man next took up his feathers. First they were dipped in the north beaver pond; next in the south. Circling as always in the clockwise direction, he returned to the patient, whom he fanned with the dripping feathers. The two assistants once more filled and lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the medicine man. He smoked as before. When he had done, he again passed it back to the assistants for cleaning.

Now standing at the feet of the patient, the doctor worked over him with herbs. When he had finished this process, he flung off his buffalo robe and shinnied up the cottonwood tree to stick his head

[534] [18] *Yuane* means "warm wind," the soft whirring noise of the bull roarer. It consists of a flat cedar board "in the shape of a beaver tail" swung above the head by means of a thong attached to a handle. In battle it was whirled, or else carried close to the shield for power to stop bullets.

On the Reservation

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one. 182 648x 795

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing. 648x 795

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles. [534]

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days. [535]

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[18]

[18] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums [534] of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

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a hole for the fire, the smoke from which passes through an opening in the top; on the margin of the hole for the fire, they dig a trench in a circular form, and fill it with water. In a direct line from the door across the centre of the fire-place, and between it and the fire, they spread a buffalo skin for the sick person's bed. At the head and feet, and on each side opposite the shoulder, they place small heaps of dirt moulded in the form of a sugar loaf; they then place a larger heap, of nearly the same form, exactly between the one at the head and the side of the tent, and another between the fire and the one at the feet; in these two last they plant willow trees. They then cut a trench, with square sides, and about three feet deep, in a direct line from the door of the tent, and from ten to fifteen feet in length. The dirt taken from this trench is taken to the end opposite or farthest from the door, and thrown into a sort of mound, and a willow tree set in it, and smaller ones of the same kind are placed on each side of the trench, quite up to the door. The friends are then formally invited, when a scene commences which defies an adequate de- [534]
scription. The musicians come forward, with fife and drum, and play with all their might; the whole company passes in single file through the trench into the tent, and the music, and dancing continues through the night, with short intervals of rest. When thirsty, they drink of the wa- [58] ter in the trench about the fire, and frequently approach

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 535 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nẽ'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nfotsẽit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [287] 727 [287]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpalet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 625 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 575 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinî said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by 302 themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied 301 hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specifically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a special- 775
ized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, 755
choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people 766
and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote 794
leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes.

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and [278]
smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bokwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands.

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, 775
Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes 755
it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's 756
head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays [539]
that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance.

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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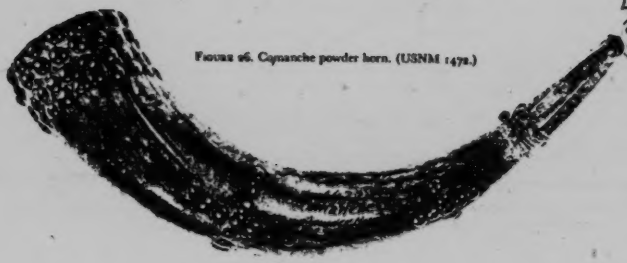

FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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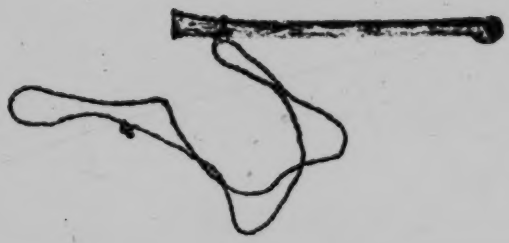

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FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 3458.)

[p. 175]

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn. 415 531

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche. 534 202 714 237 283 171

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature. 000

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of 415 531 162 415 531 415 171 531

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

[A See p. 180-B—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938) 1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute MK13
Washo NT20
Comanche N06 ●

Peyote Element Distribution List

Element	Occurrence																			
	Ute	K-A	Kio	Cam	Kio	Arp	Dri	Dri	Wis	Dri	Cri	Cri	Wis	Ute	Cam	K-W	Tim
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

N
W
171
534
745*
796

C
171
534 ●
745
796

(Continued on next page)

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

Comanche N06 ●
Delaware NM7

C
P
171
795
796
534
579

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	Ut T	Ut A	Ute	Cont	Ute	Ute B	Dat I	Dat S	Wiu	Na C	Cr I	Cr S	WBS	Ute	Cos	Wt P	Tim
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	*+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	(+)	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	*−	*−	*+	−	+	+	*+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			*(+)					*+	*+	+	+	*+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only *after* midnight	+		+	+		*−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	*−	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	*−	+	+	+	*−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	*−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	−	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	*−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−*(+)		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

north winds in the wintry season, and in hot and sultry weather shade them from the sun.

I had remained in the chief's tent but a short time when I was again conducted to the square. There I found Aikens, Martin, and Stewart. It was soon revealed we were to "cut a conspicuous figure" in a war dance. We have among us frequent ideal representations of savage customs which are horrible enough, but the mind labors and struggles in vain to select from the wide range of our language the exact words that will properly describe an Indian war dance round a *real* captive. They came forth bedizened in their traps and feathers, their tomahawks and scalping knives in their uplifted hands, great daubs of red paint above and below their eyes, circling round and round us on a spasmodic trot, uttering their hoarse guttural songs, which seemed to flow up through their savage throats over sharp rifts of phlegm. As they proceeded, their pace, such as it was, accelerated, and their songs grew loud and louder, rising gradually from a monotonous grunt into a hideous and indescribable howl. Very often, some one of them, deserting his place, would dart towards us with his drawn hatchet threatening to brain us, while another would seize us by the hair and go through the pantomime of scalping. Thus, for two hours, they continued to sing and dance, and whoop and yell, flourishing their tomahawks and knives over us, until, at last they were compelled to stop from mere exhaustion. The captives were then separated, myself being led back to the chief's tent, where I was tied down to stakes in the manner before described. Four days had now passed without repose, but weary nature, at length, demanded rest, and I sank into a troubled sleep.

796 of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression
241 came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was
537 able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

796 The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were
241 kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round
[532] they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded
[536] in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music ham-
[534] mered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

727 It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I
302 was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

727 dance over him in the square. I longed for the privilege of speaking to him, but it was denied. The morning following his advent, he was tied on a mule, his face covered with buckskin, and escorted from the camp. I never could gain the least information from whence he came, or whither he was taken; but suppose he had been captured by a party belonging to another village, who simply halted at our [517] encampment overnight, and got up the war dance by way of entertainment.

727 We were frequently visited by the chiefs and warriors of 574 the surrounding tribes. They were, invariably, cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained. Then there was a pipe [535] dance, which is the dance of love and friendship. They were invited to repose on the largest buffalo skins, and given to eat the flesh of a roasted dog, though the moon was not in the full—a luxury surpassing even the meat of the wild horse. I apprehend many were attracted to our camp through curiosity to see and hear the wonderful watch, the fame thereof, beyond question, having spread far and near. I come to this conclusion from the fact that speedily following their arrival, Moko would bring it forth, and call on me to make it talk.

There was one visitor, in particular, a stout, surly chief, who in the course of the summer visited our camp many times. He appeared to have become fascinated with the watch, never growing weary of listening to the alarm. After Moko had finally placed it affectionately in her bosom, he would have long and earnest interviews with Big Wolf, the subject of their conversation being, as was easy to perceive, the mysterious watch. I learned that he was the chief of a tribe whose village was situated in a valley beyond the mountains at the distance of two days' journey, and that he was known as the Spotted Leopard.

ooo turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

127 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded ●535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 without any damage, very much to my relief. 635

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727 of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574 This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727 collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425 pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727 Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622 there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

224 older children left the main camp for the operating base. Mules and pack horses were used to transport the hunting tents, which consisted simply of one or more undercoated skins thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes. They were also to bring back to the main camp the many hides and quantities of meat that would be taken. Only weapons, tools, and supplies that seemed necessary for the occasion were carried.

224 There was plenty of hard work for all concerned, but it was work spiced by anticipation of the excitement of great feasts and sharpened 535 by gay social activity. This was really the "Harvest Season." On at least one and possibly for several evenings before the hunting party left the main camp, the people gathered for the Hunting Dance at the central meeting place of the village just as lengthening shadows faded into darkness. The hunting party itself often continued to dance for one or more nights after they had left the main camp. There was no spiritual significance attached to the dance; each Comanche informant insists that the people danced because they "were glad they were going on a hunt." Why not? For the dance a fire was built, unless a bright autumn moon provided sufficient light. There [801] were two, four, or more drummers and singers, always an even number. The drummers and singers were men who had good voices, but for such strictly social dances no medicine powers were essential. Men and women lined up facing each other, and when the music began, the women crossed over and selected a partner. The dancers joined at intervals in the singing. They wore their everyday clothes, for no special ceremonial dress was necessary on this occasion. During the dance one man took care of the fire, but the wood was gathered by any of the enthusiastic dancers who wished to help. About midnight the dance ended and the people scattered to their lodges for sleep.[36]

224 The regulation of communal buffalo hunts under the strict surveillance of military police was one of the outstanding features of the cultures of practically all the Plains tribes. But of this the Comanches had nothing. They had, of course, no military fraternities such as those which did the policing for the other tribes, and in spite of their fierce individualism they seem not to have had the need for police

[36] Informants: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; Kills Something.

The Comanches

517 quite simple. Visiting, feasting, the dance, story-telling, and competitive games constituted their principal means of recreation and amusement. The Comanches were very sociable and spent much time visiting. Visiting and feasts furnished opportunity for the discussion of news and tribal welfare. The religious ceremonies were regarded by many as less an occasion for worship than an exciting and interesting social gathering.

Social gatherings in the evenings were filled with mirth, revelry, and enjoyment. Before the arrival of the white trader, the Comanches were noted for their abstinence from intoxicating drink. Most evenings were devoted to singing and storytelling, which was not only entertainment but education. By frequent repetition of stories, the [869] tribal history, traditions, legends, and ideals were perpetuated for the young. Older people seldom grew weary of repeating the stories or of listening to them.

517 On other evenings young men and women gathered around a fire which had been kindled in the village, and while it reflected its ●535 dancing shadows against the yellow lodge-skins, they danced and chanted their songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beat of the drum. Those who did not participate in the dance sat on the ground in a circle, facing the musicians who sat in the center beating their small drums. Men and women dancers stood a short distance apart facing each other. When the music began, a man would select a dancing partner by placing his hands round her waist, while she clasped him in similar fashion. The affair lasted an hour or more. The Indian, who had been taught to dance almost from the time he had been able to lift his feet, danced with rhythm and freedom, and every movement was vivid and natural.

526 Competitive games continued from childhood to middle life, and when a person became too old to participate, he still enjoyed watching them.

When food was plentiful and no necessary jobs were pressing, a Comanche really liked to settle down for some good fun. Men and women alike were great sports; gambling was a passion. Their horse racing has already been described, but it was not their only athletic sport. The women liked to play double ball or shinny, a strenuous pastime, to say the least. They set up arrow-shooting contests to test

727 procedure in sewing was from east to south, to west, to north, to east, or in the same direction in which a Comanche entered a tipi. The hair was oiled and combed, and the scalp-loop attached to a slender pole. The other end of the pole was stuck in the ground and the scalp was allowed to dry. Lances, tomahawks, and shields were sometimes used instead of poles.

With the scalp poles high, so all could see, the warriors led the parade into the village. The leader and any other person receiving special recognition led the way. Behind them were those who had shown the greatest courage, counted coups, or performed creditable acts. The remaining warriors came next. On both sides and in the rear were the relatives, friends, and other villagers, who had come forth shouting, yelling, and dancing. They sang songs in which they mentioned the names of their favorite heroes. On entering the village, the warriors turned off as they came to their own lodges, turned their horses and weapons over to a wife, mother, or sister, and went inside to rest and prepare for the big Victory Dance.

727 535 When there were scalps it was a Scalp Dance; if only plunder and captives had been taken, it was a Victory Dance. There was little difference except for the presence of the scalps. The dance was likely to continue all night, and when the victory had been a brilliant one, dancing and feasting were apt to be kept up for several days.

These dances varied from band to band, and even within the same village, but certain characteristics were evident in all. The dance took place in the center of the village in the evening following the return of the successful war party. The villagers put up a large pole in the center of the dance circle. The scalps were attached to the pole. Wood was gathered and stacked in a conical pile with dry grass beneath, so it could be easily fired. The fire was lighted after dark when the singers and drummers, old or middle-aged, had arrived and seated themselves near the scalp pole. Both men and women painted and dressed for the occasion. Black was the predominating color for women; red for men. Men entitled to wear war bonnets donned them. The men and women dancers at times formed in lines facing each other, each line dancing forward and backward; a moment later they formed a circle, dancing around the scalp pole and the musicians. At intervals the spectators joined in the singing.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Captives were bound and placed in the center of the circle, possibly tied to the scalp pole. Frequently one of the dancers left his position and in pantomime killed and scalped the captive. Sometimes captives were tortured by the dancers, even to death. When the dance began, the singing was low and the dancers moved in a slow to moderate pace, but as it continued, the pace was accelerated and the singing grew louder. The dance continued from two hours to two or more days, but normally terminated before the light of day.[27]

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The contemporary Comanche Brush Dance still retains some of the features of the old Scalp Dance.

In 1933, at a Brush Dance put on by *Mʌmɩɜkɔ*, the men and women danced back and forth in the old way before a tall pole on which Old Glory flew.

"That used to be a pole for scalps. At sunset we will bring down the flag," they said. "The man who brings down the flag has to be a good warrior. He has to tell about a coup first."

In each Comanche band there was a dance whip-holder. His whip was a wood blade with a serrated edge, and upon it were carved scalp symbols for the owner's victims. At the end of the whip were two short otter-skin lashes. In the old days there were one or two of these, owned by the bravest men in the band.

[293]

At any dance, the owner of the whip, which is called *pianɜ'ɜpai'i* (big whip), may stop the dance and recite a coup, ending his recital with a sun curse upon himself in testimony of its truth. He is a kind of master of ceremonies at the dance. He can dance up to any lounging spectator and point his whip. That person has to jump right in and dance—or be whipped.

Sometimes a warrior who could not dance for certain reasons wished to be excused; nevertheless, when the whip was pointed, he had to get up and dance. Then he could recite his strongest deed. The whip wielder next countered with his. If his deed was as good as the warrior's, the brave had to dance the rest of the time; if not,

[27] This account of the return of a successful party is compiled from statements by informants Yellowfish, Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old, and See How Deep the Water Is; also, Nystel, "Three Months among the Indians," *loc. cit.*, 38; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 359–60; Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 27–28.

727 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.

●535 On the fourth day of *MʌmɜʒkƏ's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated
554 part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

On the Reservation

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one. 182 648x 795

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing. 648x 795

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles. [534]

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days. [535]

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[18]

[18] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group 796
returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the tri- 541
umph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling [203]
on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front 796
of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the 701
lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his [411]
war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct 796
approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all 535
finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums [534] of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he 793]
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [782]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 535 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 535 785 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstainence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 535 783 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre- [558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 535 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem- [346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 535 778 787 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [78] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 774 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

113

[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

[pp 304-end, not processed]

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, 621
associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had [535]
nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number
listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four 101
bands:—

Yápairḕka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natḕka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairḕka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī 621
nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tīrewṑku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse 535
dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatḕka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi² nū⁵'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā̀r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches [126]
> have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast." [3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in 701
war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark, 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several in-
72 formants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even
exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration,
[535] called nä'wapinä̀r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to
the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony origi-
nated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some
hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy
that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general as-
[216] semblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nä'wapinä̀r, and pass
a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general
he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more
than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned war-
[533] rior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied
the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pre-
tended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he
finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drum-
mers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the
tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking
next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 During the entire period of the nä'wapinä̀r it seems that the several
[796] dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the
bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the
[292] dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would
wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a consid-
erable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted
men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the
group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[62] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the
exclusive property of the Yápaire̓ka band. The performers marched
through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed
with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with
tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the
procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded
some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance
began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others fol-
lowed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would
stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the
nä'wapinä̀r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the
same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 595 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [594] [293]

When the master of the nä'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called níotsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [287] 727 [287]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

551 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
551 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
701 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
● 536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

The Green Corn Dance

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 305
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

746 of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression
241 came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was
537 able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

746 The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were
241 kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round
[538] they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded
[536] in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music ham-
[537] mered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

727 It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I
302 was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

From Cradle to Grave

A hilarious favorite was "grizzly bear." For this, a mound of sand, called the "sugar," was fashioned. Then one child was dragged around by his heels to smooth a circle around the "sugar." Outside the circle all the children formed a queue, holding to each others' waists and facing the mound. The leader was the "mother" protecting her young from the "grizzly," who was played by a child inside the circle. His part was to reach out of the circle and seize a child, but the mother protected the children by swinging the line back and forth. At last one child was caught and subjected to the penalty of being tickled ("eaten") by the bear in the circle. After that, players would break out of the line and try to dash in to steal some "sugar" from the grizzly's store and get out without his catching them. As each was caught, he was tickled, and the game went on until the "sugar" was all stolen or all the children were captured. 857 526

In another group game the children all sat in a row with their feet straight out in front of them. An old man had to join them in the fun. He would advance with closed eyes and feel up and down the row until he decided to choose one child. This one he picked up by the feet, head hanging down over his back, and carried him around in a circle back to the row. The other children asked the "It" many questions: "Do you have a horse, a saddle, a belt, etc?" The given answer was always "Yes." At last they rushed forward and took their playmate off the old man's back, crying that they were going to eat the old man. So they tickled the old fellow with joyous cries.

Other times they took pieces of old hide to the tops of hills. While some of the children rode on the hides, the others pulled them bouncing down with ropes. "Guess over the hill" (*nanip'ka*) was another favorite. Two older boys would organize the game. The boy who was "It" went over the hill; another stood guard at the top to make sure he did not spy while the other children hid under robes or blankets. When called by the guard, "It" came and tried to guess the names of the hiders.[6]

On rainy days all was still; the children lay quietly at home in their family tipis, for they were superstitiously afraid of thunder and lightning. Winter was the time for the telling of stories; not summer. 85? [82] [538]

[6] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally [622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chi man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recit the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 682 673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

538 177 [797] [175]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

for the fox, the buffalo for the ox, the falcon for the kite, the quail for the dove, while the enemy of all, the banned wolf, plays the same part for the Comanche fabulist he has performed for all other fabulists. 538 177

The Comanches have, also, lodge-fire legends of their race, and of notable men, and incidents in their history which have been handed down through many generations. One or two of these may prove interesting. 538

"A long time ago there was a great drought. The streams dried up. The grass withered on the plains, then in the valleys. The heavens rained heat, and the dry grass took fire and burned over the whole earth. The animals all fled away, or died. There was nothing to eat. Qua-co-che-bitche was chief of a band. Among them there were many women and children. They lay upon the ground, and their hearts were weak. The sky was yellow with the heat, and all famished, for there was no shade and they had nothing to eat nor water to drink. Qua-co-che-bitche was a great hunter, and he prayed to the Great Spirit to send the buffalo back to the plains. Being strong, he took his bows and arrows and left the camp, saying that he would be back with food in six days. He traveled toward sunrise. It was two days after he left the lodges. He was wearied by journeying and fasting. The sun was sinking in the West, and Qua-co-che-bitche's heart was weak. He was ready to fall down. But he went a little further toward a clump of trees that were green, as if they grew by water. He saw a great stream flowing from under a hill side. His heart grew strong. He approached the crystal waters. He beheld the tracks of an innumerable herd of buffaloes. There were old ones and young ones—a great multitude. The trail was fresh. He quenched his thirst with the cool water, and was strong. He followed the trail rapidly. He soon came in sight of a great object, which he at first thought was a mountain. But on coming nearer it moved. Qua-co-che-bitche was alarmed. His heart grew weak. It was a great buffalo. It had a thousand feet and was very high and covered a large place. When it moved the earth trembled. A voice came to Qua-co-che-bitche, from the waters, bidding him slay the buffalo. Thus encouraged, he attacked it. He was surprised that his arrows were so effective. The great buffalo soon fell, making a noise like thunder and causing an earthquake. He cut a great quantity of flesh from the hump, and after strengthening his heart by eating, he started with some meat for his tribe. He went toward the setting sun. He had not traveled far when he met them, all coming at the command of a voice in the air to feast of the great buffalo. They went forward to the stream of clear water and feasted, for four moons, on the flesh of the great buffalo, and drank water from the pure stream. Their hearts became strong. They made shields of the hide of 539

extending from the headwaters of the latter eastward into the Great Plains.[12] 174

The backbone formed by the Rocky Mountain chain was apparently the shielded route used by most of the Comanches in their movement toward the South Plains, for Pike, Lalande, Pursely, Chouteau and DeMun, James, and others mention the Comanches' and Snakes' using trails along the edge of the mountains on their frequent journeys from the Platte to the Arkansas River and to New Mexico. Bandelier recorded that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited a Comanche village near Taos on a tributary stream near the head of the Canadian and traded the inhabitants guns, but a few years later the stronghold of the latter was to the east in what is now Oklahoma and Texas.

Any attempt to explain why the Comanches and the Shoshones separated is largely inferential. But if we may accept one Comanche tradition, the split occurred as the result of a dispute over the distribution of a bear which the Comanches had killed. The misunderstanding is supposed to have occurred on Fountain Creek north of Pueblo, Colorado, in the edge of the mountains.[13] Unable to reconcile their differences, the Comanches drifted southward while the Shoshones gradually shifted to the north and west.

A somewhat more plausible legendary account was given to the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group in 1933 by Post Oak Jim, then aged sixty-four. It is as follows:

« « « Two bands were living together in a large camp. One band was on the east side; the other on the west. Each had its own chief. 174 539

Every night the young boys were out playing games—racing, and so forth. They were having a kicking game; they kicked each other. One boy kicked another over the stomach so hard that he died from it. That boy who was killed was from the West camp. He was the son of a chief.

When this thing happened, the West camp cried all night. In

[12] Jefferson, *op. cit.*, I, 78.

[13] G. B. Grinnell, "Who Were the Padoucas?" *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXII (1920), 260.

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174 the East camp it was silent. Next day, they buried that boy.

The boy's father, the chief, had his crier go around announcing
●539 that there would be a big fight to see which camp was best so as to settle the question of his son's death. There was big excitement. Both sides had good warriors. The East camp ran to its horses. "If they really mean what they say, they will kill us," they cried.

The two sides lined up, and the chiefs met in the center. Then an old man from the East camp came up into the center. He wept and told them it wasn't right for them to fight among themselves like that. They took pity on him. Then other old men came out and gathered with him. "You have plenty of enemies to fight," they cried. "These were just boys playing a game. Don't take this thing so seriously. You are setting a bad example for the children. Whatever this chief wants to keep the peace, we'll do it."

That chief called it off. He said he did not realize what he was doing. So the East camp brought them horses and other things.

After that the chief had his announcer tell the people it was time to move camp. "We have had bad luck here. There has been hard feeling." While they were still there, smallpox broke out.

Then they broke up. One group went north; those are the Shoshones. The other group went west. » » »

174 Simple legendary explanations never tell the whole story, however, for many factors are at work when a people is on the move. It is most probable that the Comanche migration to the South Plains was in part forced by the incursion of more powerful tribes equipped with muskets coming from the northeast. Quarrels may have given no more than the impetus to split the groups.

It was an aggressive southward movement of the Blackfeet and a western advance by the Crows and other eastern tribes that forced the peoples occupying the western fringe of the plains between latitudes forty-three and fifty-two to retire toward the south, west and northwest. According to Flathead tradition, shortly after this eastern impact the Shoshone-Comanches disappeared from the vicinity of the Missouri.[14]

[14] James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau: The Flathead Group," B. A. E. *Forty-fourth Annual Report*, 304, 318.

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo 237
burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and [372]
cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep
some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed
with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of
buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fash-
ioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasion-
ally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions.
Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were [286]
made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture cloth-
ing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When prop- [281]
erly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it pro-
vided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it
constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before [286
the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide 415]
provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the In- 773
dians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty 539
years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[33]
In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was
Ka:wus, the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[33] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

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old man all alone on the field. He just kept walking back and forth until, at last, he jumped back into the draw. The People kept looking. Then they saw him come out of the draw as a bird flying up and over the mountain.

Now The People wondered how they could get over the mountain to see. At last they thought of two birds. One was Owl. He flys quietly. The other was Quail. He walks quietly.

These two went over the top of the mountain, and there they saw a single tipi facing east. At sunset they landed near it.

After dark Owl said, "That's what we're here for. I'm going."

As he lit on the tipi pole, the old man inside said, "Uh, there's an Indian."

Owl flew back to Quail and told him, "He knew I landed, and when I flew away, he said, 'Uh, the Indian is gone.' "

Then Owl and Quail went up close together. They could hear someone talking. Then there was no sound for a long time, so Owl told Quail to go up to the tipi. Quail went up and peeked. Three times he looked. Then he went back to Owl. "There are three people there," he said, "an old man, his wife and daughter."

They waited a long time, this time—until midnight.

Then the daughter spoke. "Mother," she said, "let's have something to eat."

Owl said, "There they go. They've got plenty of meat."

Then they waited another long time, and again they heard the girl ask for something to eat. But her mother warned her, "Sh-h-h, don't talk like that. You can't tell how those Indians travel."

Owl nudged Quail, "She means us."

This happened three times when finally the old man said they should eat. So the woman opened a parfleche and took out lots of meat. When they were through eating, she just swept the suet and loose chunks to the back of the tipi.

Then they went to sleep. Quail went up and snitched some pieces. "Here's your meal," he said to Owl. Then they flew back to The People with some meat in their claws.

They exclaimed, "My, they have lots of meat, we shall have to go around the mountain to get at that stuff." So they moved camp. They packed all their stuff on ten horses, representing each band.

The Horse and the Buffalo

The old man saw them coming. "What do you want?" he asked them. 773 539

"Oh, we're just here for a visit."

He was suspicious, nevertheless, and he drew a line from a tree to a stump, telling them to camp on the other side and not to cross the line. For three successive days he visited them, but he always kept them from coming to his camp. Every time he would say, "I don't know where we can get any meat to eat at all."

Ka:wus was there with The People. He could turn himself into any form. "It's up to you," The People told him. "You have to figure out how to get meat. He isn't ever going to give us any."

"There is only one way," *Ka:wus* replied. "Just leave it to me. Now you people break camp and move away." Then he changed himself into a puppy.

The old man followed after The People to see where they went. After a while, the daughter came to see if she could find anything in their old camp. Just that little puppy was there.

"Oh, you poor little puppy," she cried out. "You're mine." But the pup backed off like it was shy.

"Don't be afraid," she coaxed it. "From now on you are never going to be hungry. I'll prove it to you now. Come on!"

With that she opened the door to the tipi, and *Ka:wus* went in. There was a hole in the floor, and down there he saw a hundred thousand buffaloes!

Just then the old man came back. "Take that dog out," he ordered. "You can see from the look in its eyes that it is a human being. Take it out, or I will kill it."

The old man followed his daughter outside the tipi as she did what she was told. She put the puppy down, and then her father went away again to see if The People were coming back. As soon as he was out of sight, she picked the puppy up and took him right back in the tipi.

"You'll never get hungry," she kept consoling him, and she showed him all those buffaloes.

Then he began to act like he was getting nervous, and he jumped right out of her arms. He jumped around and shouted just like a human being, stampeding the buffaloes. They smashed down the door, and out they poured.

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773 That dog was still in there. The girl grabbed a club to brain
539 him, but he turned back to his human form. Hanging on to the side of a buffalo, he rode out without her getting him. He made straight for the hills, and there he saw that mess of buffaloes.

With that he went straight back to his people.

"How did you make out? What happened?" They wanted to know.

He told them, "Tomorrow at sunrise those buffaloes will be right at our door," he said.

After that they always had plenty of buffalo to eat. That is how they got them. » » »

136 The American bison, or "buffalo," as it is commonly called, is not really a buffalo at all. It is a gregarious bovine ruminant, one of the largest members of the family *Bovidae* that also includes cattle, sheep, goats, and antelope. It is a close relative of the bison of Europe, although quite different in appearance in many respects. It is of rather early origin. Recently discovered fossil remains are said by geologists to belong to the middle Pleistocene age, to be not less than four hundred thousand years old.

The first buffalo seen by Europeans was in 1521 by Cortez in the menagerie of Montezuma. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the first European to report seeing buffalo in Texas. Pedro de Castañeda, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, recorded that there were so many of them he did not know what to compare them to except the fish in the sea; they were so thick that many times his party was unable to go through them.

The buffalo were found on the whole of the Great Plains. The eastern limit of the buffalo land followed roughly from the north along the ninetieth meridian to the northeastern corner of Iowa. Then it bore slightly to the southwest, crossing the Red River about the ninety-eighth meridian, ran south in Texas to about the thirty-first degree of latitude, entered the southern part of New Mexico about the one hundredth and fourth meridian, and roughly followed the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the north. Thus the entire Comanchería fell well within the buffalo range.

Within this area the vast herds drifted back and forth in seasonal

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The father of Rhoda Greyfoot, who was a famous medicine man, had a shield, but Rhoda never saw it. "They were very precious about them," she said. 411 778

Painted shields usually had power, and the designs symbolized that power. If a young man wanted a new shield endowed with power and was willing to encumber himself with all the burdens and limitations that power imposed, he had three choices for obtaining it. He could ask a man who had a medicine shield for a share of his power, he could go on a vision quest himself to get instructions for the design from a spirit source, or he could ask a medicine man to procure a design for him.

In the first case, the young man would visit the owner of a medicine shield and smoke with him. Not until the pipe had been smoked would he make his request, for, having smoked with him, the shield owner must grant the favor he asked. The donor gave him some power, but he still retained his own power, too. The young man then had his shield painted by the donor as an exact duplicate of his own. If, however, the young man received instructions for the design from a spirit source, he would ask a "good artist" to paint his shield according to the vision. As for the third possibility—asking a medicine man to procure a design for him—Post Oak Jim gave the following account:

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« « « A boy brought his shield to a peyote meeting and asked the leader for advice. He smoked and asked assistance. He was told to leave the shield by the door at the side of the fire tender.

After the midnight water ceremony the leader took the shield, put cedar on the fire, held the shield over it, and shook it. He gave it to the boy, who was sitting on the south side. He took the shield and made a circle. The leader said he would have directions for him in the morning, and the boy thanked him. [The leader can give directions at a meeting or afterwards.]

In the morning he told the boy to bring an artist and he would dictate the design to him. "The design will be all right," he said, "so don't be afraid. If you want to know about it, go to a lonely place some night, and the shield will tell you all about it."[20] » » »

[20] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

753 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given
551 one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his
753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be *ɔβɔyβita*—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » »

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

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776 825 Sometimes when they were ceremoniously smoking, after puffs had been blown to the Great Spirit, Sun, and Earth, a puff was blown to a near-by buffalo skull with a prayer that it provide the people with meat to eat and skins for their lodges and clothing. At times they prayed to the buffalo in general to range where hunting would be good.

Sometimes buffalo talked to a person. Although in Cheyenne mythology it was only the buffalo male that talked, in Comanche mythology it could be either male or female, old or young. A buffalo might turn into a human being and through its supernatural power reveal the location of the herd to the people or otherwise perform good deeds. A Comanche story which has survived not only is interesting but explains how the guardian spirits functioned through the medium of the buffalo.

776 825 ●539

« « « Once when a party of Comanches went on a buffalo hunt, they were accompanied by a young boy. He was a handsome child, and his family, who were well-to-do, dressed him in the finest regalia and provided him with the best of equipment and a swift horse. When the hunters charged and scattered the herd, the boy selected and followed a small group which contained a beautiful young calf. The boy selected this buffalo for his kill. His first arrow hit beneath the lowest rib. He shot again, and again his arrow found its mark, but the buffalo did not fall. The boy decided to retrieve his arrows, but the buffalo ran into a stream and stopped in the middle of it. The boy would not go into the water because he did not wish to spoil his fine clothes, so he abandoned the chase.

Ordinarily a buffalo shot as this one had been would die, but through its supernatural power the young buffalo maintained life, as it had fallen in love with the boy. It rejoined the herd and in time gave birth to a calf. The boy by means of the two arrows was father of the calf. The other members of the herd would not play or associate with the calf. The calf noticed that the other calves stood around their mothers and fathers, and he wondered about his father. When he asked his mother about his father, she explained to him that his father was "one of those who eats us, and it was I who desired that he be your father." The calf then insisted on seeing him, even after

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

his mother warned that they would be killed should they upon the long journey meet scouts from his father's people. They traveled by night, and after many days came in sight of the village. The mother told the calf to do as she did. She rolled herself about on the ground, and there stood a woman dressed in a buffalo-robe with peg holes or eyelets about the edges. The calf rolled on the ground and became a handsome boy, wrapped in a beautiful yellow calf robe. Then the woman told the boy to go forward to the center of the village; there he would find his father and his relatives in his tent. The boy found everything just as his mother had said, and told his father his story. His father remembered the incident, and asked for the boy's mother. They went for her, and the father said that both were to live in his house. The woman returned the two arrows to the father and cautioned him not to drink from any stream except as she directed.

The people in the village were starving. As soon as the buffalo woman learned of this, she took a piece of dry meat and fat and gave it to the man. Although the portion was small, he satisfied his appetite without consuming it all, and passed the remainder to another. When they had all eaten their fill, a portion of the dry meat still remained. When the father again spoke to the buffalo woman about the plight of the tribe, she directed every family to pack a parfleche as if it were full of dry meat. When morning came the parfleches were full of dry meat. After they had again eaten, she directed them to break camp and follow her. She led them to a herd of buffalo, and they made a rich killing. They were aware that the strange woman was the cause of their success; also they noticed that neither she nor the calf boy ever ate.

Some time had passed, and the Comanches were prosperous. One day the father of the buffalo calf, while traveling across the prairies, became very thirsty. He remembered the warning given him by the woman, but thought he would merely wet his mouth. As he did so, there occurred a great confusion in the camp, and the people saw the woman and the boy, who had been instantly transformed into a buffalo cow and calf, fleeing from the camp. The father was very sad, for the woman had made him very prosperous through her supernatural power. Likewise, the people were sad, for they had learned to love the buffalo woman and the calf-boy."[15]

Government and Law

A heroic and possibly legendary story of the making of a war chief in the Water Horse band, full of the flavor of the Comanches, was told by That's It. It reveals his influence and reflects Comanche marital and legal attitudes.

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« « « There were two young brothers about sixteen and twenty-five years old. Neither was a medicine man.

In the old days lots of trouble began over women. The oldest brother was out wandering about the camp one day when he met a young woman coming down a cow trail. She proposed to him that they go on the warpath. They had seen each other at the dances; she wanted him and had plotted the meeting.

"I am a young man," he rebuffed her. "I take orders only from my people. You are beautiful and married. If we do this thing, there will be trouble."

Later she accosted him in the same spot.

"For a young man, you're an awful coward," was her taunt.

This made him kind of sore. He answered her, "Well—you come at sundown with your stuff. I shall be here with two horses."

Her husband was in the habit of having some old men in for a smoke in the evening. He told her to clean up the tipi. When the old men were all there, he told her to bring the fire stick and then to lie down and listen.

While she was lying there, the sister of her lover came over with a rare blanket, which she slipped to her under the edge of the tipi.

After a while she told her own sister she was going out to get some air. Putting the blanket over her head, she walked right by the men smoking outside.

One of them remarked, "My, there goes a boy with a beautiful blanket."

She met her lover at the rendezvous and they made their get-away.

In the morning her husband missed her. He went up to the boy's tipi and asked his father where the lad was. He got the answer that they did not know; he had not been in all night.

"Well," said this man, "he has run off with my wife." The father told him he was sorry, and the husband went away.

Later on, when nothing was seen of the couple, the husband came back again.

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701 "What is it you want," he was asked.

539 "I want *nanɛwɔkə* (damages)," he declared.

The father agreed to this, telling him that he could have his pick of all their herd. The younger brother gave his assent, too, saying, "That is all right, if only you leave my favorite."

The husband laughed, "That's just the very horse I want."

"Well, in that case, it's just as good as yours. But I won't give it up until my brother comes back."

His mother pleaded the same thing, so finally the husband agreed to let the whole matter of the settlement rest until the elder brother returned.

Before long a war party was being organized.

The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. "It is good," he said. "And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people."

When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him.

A couple of nights later they set up a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there, he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zigzagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hilltop.

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The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, *"ahe!"* The others came and took the scalps.

It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a Scalp Dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses.

The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory, he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other.

Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

"Now," said the youth to one of his followers, "you do as I have just done." Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example, they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased

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701 them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while, when the Comanches got tired, they turned back. They
● 539 scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

They got ready and set up a buffalo-hide tipi painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words,

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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"This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead."

Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, "This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends."

The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him.

Ten years later (he was then twenty-nine), he led another big raid—this time to the Mexican border. They attacked a small camp beside an elbow-shaped hill. What they did not notice was that there was another camp—a big one—around the crook of the elbow. They met a lot more resistance than they expected. The Comanches were driven off, their leader surrounded and forced into a draw. He fought fiercely and killed a good many of the enemy until they went away and left him. He was himself shot in the legs.

After he had recovered his strength, he followed slowly after his companions. He traveled eleven days, but could not find them. The eleventh day, he put in at a creek at sunset. He climbed a hill to look about. On the other side he saw some horses and located the smoke from a fire. Leaving his horse behind, he stole up on the lone lodge—a brush hut. He listened and heard a man speaking to a woman. Their talk was Comanche!

He took off his weapons and walked up to them. The man greeted him. He invited him in; he fixed him up with new clothes and gave him a blanket to sit on. This man was an old man; he was living out all alone with his family. He was glad to have some one to talk to him. Supper was served up right away. When it was finished he said, "Now we'll tell stories."

The chief remarked that his host had been telling his wife that

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701 he was going to shoot a hawk to get some feathers for their boy. "Well,
● 539 I have some feathers over there in my bundle. Go get him some."

The man was pleased with this offer, and he told his wife to get some of them. When she opened the visitor's bag, he was surprised at all the war materials in it; he saw he had a war chief with him. He wanted to know who he was, so he asked his guest for the name of his father.

"Well, my father is nobody," was the reply he received. "But I got these feathers"—and then he told of all his war deeds that his feathers represented. He also told how his brother ran away.

Then this lonely man knew that here was his own brother. They were happy to be together again.

The older brother asked what had been done about the *nanɛwɔkə* for the wife he had. He learned that it had never been settled because he had never come back to the band. Now was the time to go back.

Together with his younger brother, the chief, he started back to look for their people. His wife and children were with them.

When, at last, they approached the camp, they were met by a lookout. He told them to wait where they were while he rode into the camp to warn their parents. The chief had been given up for dead; his family was in mourning for him. His mother fainted when she heard the good news, but she recovered and washed the caked blood from her gashes. She dusted herself all over with red powder. She was overjoyed.

Then the two brothers came in; after thirteen years the family was reunited. The old man, the father, traded four horses for two large tipis—he got them from a Kiowa who was present. These were the new homes for his sons.

They were waiting for the old man, whose wife the elder brother had stolen, to come up and collect that *nanɛwɔkə*. They wondered why he did not come.

The younger brother, the great chief, told his older brother he would have to give his wife back. "If you can't get another wife, I shall take care of your children myself."

Their mother talked to the older brother.

"Your brother is a big war chief now," she admonished him. "What he says must go."

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So they sent down for the old man to come up. He did not want to go, but one of his wives urged him into it—he now had four wives. 701

The young chief dictated the whole thing. When the old man came into the tipi he told him to sit between his brother and his wife. The old man hesitated. He was afraid. 539

"It is all right," he was assured by the elder brother.

When he was seated, he hugged the children and was very pleased.

"We are going to give you back your wife," the chief told him, "Tomorrow when you come back, we shall have a feast here. Bring one of your wives. Then when we have eaten, you can take this woman and her children to your lodges."

The old man and the woman were not as one once again until they were on their horses and ready to go the next day.

Thereafter the old man told the two brothers to pitch their tipis back of his. "We are brothers now. My wives are yours any time you want. Just for the asking." » » »

On the raid or warpath the leader of a war party was in supreme control of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be expected, but a warrior seldom refused to obey his leader. It was said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that disobedience might bring disaster to the party. The leader did not use force or punishment. If a man did not trust the ability and wisdom of the war leader, either he did not join or he separated himself from the party. A warrior followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere. This, be it noted, was also the procedure when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. 726

The powers of the war chief included determining the objectives of the raid, designating the scouts, deciding upon the camping places and periods of rest, appointing the cook and water carriers, formulating the general tactics of attack, ordering the expedition to turn back, making a truce with the enemy, and dividing the booty.[9] 726 624

[9] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25.

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impressive eloquence and beauty. (Knowing that they would likely have to speak in public council at some time, the Comanches had trained themselves to speak well. Before delivering a speech, if there were opportunity, the speaker spent much time in preparation and rehearsal.) He represented himself as a man of peace, but he made it understood that he wanted no encroachment of either red men or white men upon the vast expanse of territory south of the Arkansas River which he considered his own. He did not want it disfigured by soldiers' camps and "medicine homes." His country was small enough already. There was time enough to consider reservations and the building of homes when the buffalo were gone, and there were plenty of buffalo if only enough to supply the Indians' needs were killed. As to trusting to the agents for food, he had no confidence in that. He called attention to the "white" Indians, those who had come in contact with the whites and had made treaties in accord with white man's wishes. Formerly they had been powerful, but now they were weak and poor. He had little respect for them, for "They are an old dirty, inefficient-looking set, hardly capable of managing their own affairs," who had degenerated to the point where the Comanches had no desire to associate with them. The speech of Ten Bears, of the Ute peace episode, who spoke for the Comanches at the Council of Medicine Lodge Creek in 1867, may well be given in full, not only because it presented the case of the Comanche well and forcibly, but also because it is a masterpiece of oratory that would be a credit to one trained in the classroom.

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My heart is filled with joy when I see you here, as the brooks fill with water when the snows melt in the spring; and I feel glad as the ponies do when the fresh grass starts in the beginning of the year. I heard of your coming when I was many sleeps away, and I made but few camps before I met you. I knew that you had come to do good to me and to my people. I looked for benefits which would last forever, and so my face shines with joy as I look upon you. My people have never first drawn a bow or fired a gun against the whites. There has been trouble on the line between us, and my young men have danced the war dance. But it was not begun by us. It was you who sent out the first soldier

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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and we who sent out the second. Two years ago, I came upon this road, following the buffalo, that my wives and children might have their cheeks plump and their bodies warm. But the soldiers fired on us, and since that time there has been a noise like that of a thunderstorm, and we have not known which way to go. So it was upon the Canadian. Nor have we been made to cry once alone. The blue-dressed soldiers and the Utes came from out of the night when it was dark and still, and for camp-fires they lit our lodges. Instead of hunting game they killed my braves, and the warriors of the tribe cut short their hair for the dead.

So it was in Texas. They made sorrow come in our camps, and we went out like the buffalo bulls when the cows are attacked. When we found them we killed them, and their scalps hang in our lodges. The Comanches are not weak and blind, like the pups of a dog when seven sleeps old. They are strong and far-sighted, like grown horses. We took their road and we went on it. The white women cried and our women laughed.

But there are things which you have said to me which I do not like. They were not sweet like sugar, but bitter like gourds. You said that you wanted to put us upon a reservation, to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls. I know every stream and every wood between the Río Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over that country. I live like my fathers before me and like them I lived happily.

When I was at Washington the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours, and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers, and the sun, and the wind, and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. Do not speak of it more. I love to carry out the talk I get from the Great Father. When I get goods and presents, I and my people feel glad, since it shows that he holds us in his eye.

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If the Texans had kept out of my country, there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live in, is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that, we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The whites have the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die. Any good thing you say to me shall not be forgotten. I shall carry it as near to my heart as my children, and it shall be as often on my tongue as the name of the Great Spirit. I want no blood upon my land to stain the grass. I want it all clear and pure, and I wish it so that all who go through among my people may find peace when they come in and leave it when they go out.[84]

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After both the Indians and the whites had talked too much and told a good many lies along with a great deal of truth, the treaty would be drawn and signed by the white men. The Indians made a mark opposite their names, which were phonetically written, after a fashion, by the white men. Yet there is no evidence to indicate that the Comanches were ever convinced that it was best for them to sign. Presents were distributed and the council ended. The Comanches returned to their buffalo tipis and the whites to their cabin homes, but neither had any confidence that the other would do what had been promised.

[84] Ten Bears, Comanche chief, "Speech," October 20, 1867, "Record Copy of the Proceedings of the Indian Peace Commission Appointed under the Act of Congress Approved July 20, 1867" (MS, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington), I, 104.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

I

● 539 1. sóobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ u$_4$ piabʌhʌwahtʌkʌ$_5$ tʌ?-rikúu?nʌʌ$_4$ sockʌniba?i$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narahka?witsi$_2$, nʌkʌbʌ́ni$_3$. 3. sunikʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ nayʌkwibʌniku$_3$, oha?ah-nakatʌ$_4$ urʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. surʌkʌse?, --mʌnʌkia$_2$ nʌ-kʌbʌ́ni?— 5. —haa$_1$,— mekʌse?$_2$ surʌʌ$_3$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. —mʌi$_3$ nahubiyaaru?i$_4$ nʌ?$_5$.— me$_6$ urii$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 7. —mʌʌ$_1$ kahni$_2$ nʌʌ?ka$_3$ kʌhtaaku$_4$ tsahtʌ-mi?inu$_5$. 8. tai$_1$ nʌhkaru?ika$_2$.— 9. —haa$_1$.— mekʌse?$_2$ surʌʌ$_3$. 10. —kimʌbʌniika$_1$, kimʌbʌniika$_2$.— mekʌse?$_3$ surʌ$_4$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_5$. 11. —nʌkʌtsi$_1$ nʌʌ?ka$_2$ nahma$_3$ mo-?otsaaihtsi$_4$, sʌmʌ?ʌ?tsumfhkina$_5$.— 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ somewhere there$_3$ in the big prairie$_4$ $_5$, prairie dogs$_6$ had a town$_7$. 2. Those ones$_1$, having gathered together$_2$, were dancing much$_3$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ were continuing$_3$ that way$_1$, coyote$_4$ arrived$_4$ among them$_5$. 4. That one$_1$ (said), —You all$_2$ are dancing$_3$?— 5. —Yes$_1$,— they$_3$ said$_3$. 6. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said to$_4$ $_5$ them$_7$. —I$_3$ will sing for$_4$ you all$_5$.— 7. —All of you$_3$ shut$_3$ your$_1$ house$_2$ tightly$_4$. 8. We$_1$ will dance$_2$.— 9. —Yes$_1$,— they$_3$ said$_2$. 10. —All keep coming$_1$, all keep coming$_2$,— said$_3$ that$_4$ coyote$_5$. 11. —All of you$_2$ dancing$_1$, holding hands$_4$ with each other$_3$, come with your eyes tightly closed$_4$.—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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wihnu$_2$ urii$_3$ nʌkʌ̲rʌkʌ̲ika$_4$, surʌ$_5$ piahuuhpihta$_4$ yaarʌ̲$_7$, 539
sʌkwenaisʌ$_8$ urii$_9$ wʌhtókwʌ̲kina$_{10}$. 13. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$
urʌʌmatʌ$_2$ tasʌkʌpunihtsi$_3$, oha?ahnakati$_4$ buninu$_5$.
14. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, --tunehtsʌʌka$_2$ 15. tai$_1$ wʌhtokwʌ̲kitʌ$_2$
ma?$_3$ -- 16. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_3$ turunehtsʌnu$_4$.
17. pʌʌ$_1$ muhyi$_2$ urii$_3$ mʌnihkakusʌ$_4$ surʌ$_5$ oha?ahnaka-
tʌ$_6$ sooti$_7$ wʌhtókwenu$_8$ 18. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ piakoh-
toohtsi$_3$, surii$_4$ tʌ?rikúu?nii$_5$ kusíwʌhpimanu$_6$ 19. pʌ$_1$
wʌhtokwe?nii$_2$ suurʌ$_3$ sukʌ̲hu$_4$ tsaahtʌhkanu$_5$.

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12. Then$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ began to dance$_4$, that one$_1$, takes$_7$ a big club$_6$, from one end$_8$ /that one$_5$/ came[1] clubbing$_{10}$ them$_9$. 13. One$_1$ of them$_2$ peeping$_3$ saw$_5$ the coyote$_4$. 14. That one$_1$ (said), --Everyone run$_2$. 15. He$_3$ is coming clubbing$_2$ us$_1$.— 16. Those ones$_1$ ran$_4$ to$_3$ their$_2$ houses$_3$. 17. As$_4$ they$_3$ are still unable$_4$ (to open) their$_1$ door$_2$, that$_5$ coyote$_4$ clubbed$_8$ many$_7$. 18. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ making a big fire$_3$, roasted in ashes$_4$ those$_4$ prairie dogs$_5$. 19. There$_4$ that one$_3$ ate good of$_5$ his$_1$ clubbings$_2$.

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[1]In the article, Voiceless Vowels in Comanche, Canonge, IJAL, Vol. 23, No. 2, April, 1957, under 1, Contrast in Identical Environment, the last sentence should be amended to say that the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing has the semantic implication of 'stem meaning resulting in or occurring simultaneously with action indicated by the following morpheme'. In the article, wʌhtókwʌ̲kina would have been translated 'clubbed and came on'. Actually, a translation 'came clubbing' or 'clubbing as he came' is entirely legitimate. [119]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

II

1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ kuyunʌ́?nʌʌ$_3$ bisikwanúu?ibʌni$_4$. 2. suni$_1$ uriì$_2$ nayʌkwibʌnikukʌse?$_3$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ urʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$. --tamihtsi?benihtʌhtsi?nʌʌ$_2$ hina$_3$ mʌnʌ$_4$ hanibʌ́ni?$_5$?-- 4. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$. --pisikwanúu-?ibʌnitʌ$_2$ nʌnʌ$_3$.— 5. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --mʌmʌma?ai$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ bisikwanúu?itu?i$_5$.— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 6. --haa$_1$ — mekʌse?$_2$ surʌʌ$_3$. 7. surʌkʌse?$_1$ nah$_2$ hʌʌsʌ$_3$ urʌʌmʌ?ai$_4$ pisikwanúu?itsi$_5$. wihnu$_6$ me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 8. --orʌtsa?$_1$ raa$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pʌnʌ$_4$ ʌkʌnaa$_5$ pisikwanúu?i$_6$.-- me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$. --nʌha?$_2$?— 10. --haa$_1$ — mekʌse?$_2$ suurʌ$_3$. 11. urʌʌkʌhʌ$_1$ u$_2$ yuhuwehkipʌ$_3$ wihnu$_4$ surʌ$_5$ pisikwanúu?inu$_6$. 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ turkeys$_3$ were sliding much$_4$. 2. As$_1$ they$_2$ were continuing$_3$ that way$_1$, coyote$_4$ arrived$_4$ among them$_5$. 3. That one$_7$ said$_1$, --Dear little brothers$_2$, what are$_3$ you all$_4$ doing so much$_5$?— 4. Those ones (said)$_1$, --We$_3$ are sliding much.$_2$.-- 5. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{4\ 7}$, --I$_4$ will slide$_5$ with you all$_3$.— 6. --Yes$_1$,-- those ones$_3$ said$_2$. 7. Sliding$_5$ with them$_4$ just$_2$ a few times$_3$, that one$_1$ then$_6$ said$_{7\ 8}$. 8. --That one$_1$ our$_2$ friend$_3$ himself$_4$ slide$_4$ first$_5$, (he) said$_{7\ 9}$ to him$_6$. 9. That one (said)$_1$ --Me$_2$?— 10. --Yes$_1$,-- said$_2$ that one$_3$. 11. Then$_4$ that one$_5$, the fattest to be found$_2$ $_3$ of them$_1$, slid down$_4$. 12. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ hit$_5$

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wihnu$_2$ ok^hu$_3$ paak^hu$_4$ w^ht^kwanu$_5$, nahúbiniiyu$_6$. 539
13. sur^k^se?$_1$, —anáa$_2$.— meh$_3$. 14. sur^^k^se?$_1$,
—hakani$_2$ ^n^$_3$ nahánu$_4$?— 15. sur^k^se?$_1$, —namar^ni?$_2$
n^?$_3$,— me$_4$ y^kwihtsi$_5$, nahúbiniiyu$_6$. 16. sur^k^se?$_1$
wihnu$_2$ r^yaainu$_3$. 17. sur^k^se?$_1$ oha?ahnakat^$_2$ us^$_3$
p^ma$_4$ u$_5$ nabiso?aru?iha$_6$ mutsip^ha$_7$ huuhpihta$_8$ p^htu$_9$
u$_{10}$ pisikwanúú?itu?itu$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ tsi?nikanu$_{13}$. 18. sur^k^se?$_1$
wihnu$_2$ oha?ahnakat^$_3$ piayakenu$_4$, —nohi?$_5$ t^taat^$_6$ taa$_7$
haitsi$_8$ namar^ninu$_9$,— me$_{10}$ y^kwiiyu$_{11}$. 19. sur^k^se?$_1$
wihnu$_2$, —tan^$_3$ hakanihku$_4$ ma$_5$ hani$_6$?— me$_7$ y^kwiiyu$_8$.
20. —tan^witsa$_1$ nah$_2$ baak^hu$_3$ ma$_4$ wihinu$_5$.— 21. su-
r^^k^se?$_1$, —haa$_2$ — meh$_3$. 22. sur^k^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$
uhka$_4$ b^i$_5$ m^^hka$_6$, —miaru?i$_7$ n^?$_8$.— me$_9$ y^kwiiyu$_{10}$.
23. sur^k^se? wihnu$_2$ hunu?b^hoiki$_3$ nuhkínu$_4$, so?ana$_5$
b^$_6$ t^r^e?t^^k^$_7$ bit^nu$_8$. 24. sur^k^se?$_1$, —obotika$_2$
hunu?ruti$_3$ noo$_4$ hina$_5$ tuhanikiti$_6$ okwehkiti$_7$ puhwaih-
b^^ni$_8$,— me$_9$ urii$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 25. sur^^k^se?$_1$ u$_2$
t^r^e?t^^$_3$, —ap^$_4$ ohtotsa?$_5$ hini$_6$ tuhupit^$_7$ okwehkit^$_8$,—

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there$_3$ in the water$_4$, (and) was groaning$_5$. 13. That one$_1$ said$_3$, —Ouch$_2$.— 14. Those ones$_1$ (said), —What$_2$ happened to$_4$ you$_3$?— 15. That one$_1$, saying$_{4\ 5}$, —I$_3$ hurt myself$_2$,— was groaning$_6$. 16. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ died$_3$. 17. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ placed$_{13}$ it$_{12}$, a sharp$_7$ stick$_8$, along the place$_9$ he$_{10}$ will slide$_{11}$, what [so$_6$] that$_5$ he$_8$ will stick himself$_6$ (in sliding) with it$_4$. 18. Then$_2$ that$_1$ coyote$_2$ cried loudly$_4$, —Our$_7$ very$_8$ poor$_6$ friend$_9$ hurt himself$_9$,— (he) was saying$_{10\ 11}$. 19. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —What are$_4$ we$_3$ to do to$_6$ him$_5$?— 20. —We ought to$_1$ just$_2$ throw$_5$ him$_4$ in the water$_3$.— 21. Those ones$_1$ said$_3$, —Yes$_2$.— 22. When$_4$ they$_5$ did$_6$ thus$_3$ to$_8$ that one$_4$, then$_2$ that one$_1$ said$_{9\ 10}$, —I$_8$ will go$_7$.— 23. Then$_2$ that one$_1$ ran$_4$ around the creek$_3$, arrived$_6$ somewhere$_5$ among$_7$ his$_8$ children$_7$. 24. That one$_1$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ them$_{10}$, —Over there$_2$ along the creek$_3$ look much for$_5$ something$_{4\ 5}$ black coming$_6$ /coming/ floating$_7$.— 25. Those one$_1$, his$_2$ children$_3$, said to$_{9\ 11}$ him$_{10}$, —Father$_4$, along there$_5$ something$_6$ is black$_7$, is

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539 me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 26. surʌkʌse?$_1$ ukʌhu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$.
27. pina$_1$ surʌ$_2$ piabuhitóo?$_3$ si?ana$_4$ okwehkina$_5$.
28. surʌkʌse?$_1$ makʌhu$_2$ weehtsi$_3$, u$_4$ yaanu$_5$, pʌ$_6$
kahnikʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 29. piakohtoohtsi$_1$, sihka$_2$ kuyu-
níl?a$_3$ bahtsino?itsi$_4$. u$_5$ ku?inʌbʌni$_6$. 30. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$
kwasʌhka$_3$. pʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?tii$_5$ nimainu$_6$. --kimaka$_7$. tʌhka-
ru?i$_8$ tanʌ$_9$.-- 31. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ana$_2$ nuraakitsi$_3$,
yʌkwihtsi$_4$. tʌhkáayu$_5$. 32. urii$_1$ tʌhkakukʌse?$_2$ tʌehuh-
tsúu?$_3$ urʌʌba?aiki$_4$ yʌtsʌmi?arʌ$_5$. --oha?ahnakatʌ$_6$ nʌ$_7$
maaka$_8$-- me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 33. surʌkʌse?$_1$, --hakani$_2$
ʌ$_3$ mʌʌru?i$_4$?-- 34. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌehuhtsúu?$_3$,
--ma$_4$ haitsinii$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ narʌmu?ikʌtu?i$_7$.-- me$_8$ yʌkwihtsi$_9$,
yʌtsʌnukwa$_{10}$. 35. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌehuhtsúu?$_2$ u$_3$ haitsinii$_4$
narʌmu?ikʌnu$_5$. 36. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$. --meekuka$_3$
namaka?muuki$_4$; uhka$_5$ rai$_6$ bunikwatu?ika$_7$.-- 37. surʌʌ$_1$
wihnu$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 38. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$,
--nʌ$_4$ rʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_5$. osʌ$_6$ hini$_7$ ohto$_8$ huhkúwʌnʌkina$_9$?--
39. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ suabetainu$_3$. suhka$_4$ bʌ$_5$ ku?inapʌha$_6$

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coming floating$_8$.-- 26. That one$_1$ went$_2$ to it$_3$. 27. It is$_2$
that$_2$ big turkey$_3$ coming floating$_5$ here$_4$. 28. That one$_1$,
going down$_3$ to it$_2$, took$_5$ it$_4$, went$_8$ to$_7$ his$_6$ house$_7$. 29. mak-
ing a big fire$_1$, picking clean$_4$ this$_2$ turkey$_3$, roasted$_6$ him$_5$
much$_4$. 30. When$_3$ it$_2$ cooked$_3$, that one$_1$ called$_4$ his$_4$ chil-
dren$_5$. --You all come$_7$. We$_9$ will eat$_8$.-- 31. These ones$_1$,
coming running$_3$ here somewhere$_2$, sitting down$_4$, were eat-
ings. 32. As$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, a little bird$_3$ is flying$_5$ over them$_4$,
said to$_9$ $_{11}$ him$_{10}$. --Coyote$_6$, feed$_8$ me$_7$.-- 33. That one$_1$
(said), --What$_2$ to do with$_4$ you$_3$?-- 34. Then$_3$ that$_1$ little
bird$_3$ flew off$_{10}$, saying$_{8\ 9}$. --I$_6$ will tell$_7$ his$_4$ friends$_5$.--
35. That$_1$ little bird$_2$ told$_5$ his$_3$ friends$_4$. 36. Then$_3$ those
ones$_1$ (said), --Now everyone$_3$ get ready$_4$; we$_6$ will go to see$_7$
that one$_8$.-- 37. Then$_2$ those ones$_1$ went$_3$. 38. Then$_3$ that$_1$
coyote$_2$ (said), --My$_4$ children$_5$, what$_7$ is that$_6$ along there$_8$
coming stirring up dust$_9$?-- 39. That one$_1$ recognized$_2$ them$_3$,
(so) taking off$_7$ that$_6$ his$_5$ roasted meat$_6$, (he) put$_9$ it$_8$ away in

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tsayumi?itsi$_7$. u$_8$ watsihtahni?inu$_9$. 40. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tʌhtsi?nʌʌma?ai$_4$ etʌsipʌkahtu$_5$ sʌmʌna?ani?inu$_6$, si?ana$_7$ etʌsikawo?arʌ$_8$. yakehpʌni$_9$. 41. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ kuyunfi?nʌʌ$_2$ si?ana$_3$ maba?a$_4$ tobo?ihupiitʌ$_5$. 42. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$, --haa$_2$.-- meh$_3$. --natsakʌ$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$ taa$_6$ haitsiha$_7$ paakʌku$_8$ tsahto?itsi$_9$. si?anetʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ ku?inʌbʌni$_{12}$?-- 43. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$. --hipe?sʌka$_3$ nʌ$_4$ nasuwatsipʌha$_5$ nʌ$_6$ ninʌsútamakʌbʌni$_7$.-- me$_8$ yʌkwihtsi$_9$. piayakenu$_{10}$. 44. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ kuyunfi?nʌʌ$_3$. --nahruku$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nohiti$_6$.-- me$_7$ niwʌnʌtsi$_8$. bituʌ$_9$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 45. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ surii$_4$ bʌʌ$_5$ tʌrʌe?tii$_6$. --taa$_7$ tʌhkapʌhaka$_8$ tsapʌye$_9$. tai$_{10}$ tʌhkaru?ika$_{11}$.-- me$_{12}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{13}$. 46. surʌʌ$_1$ tʌkʌtsi$_2$. yuu?ʌhkooinu$_3$.

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hiding$_9$. 40. Then$_3$ that one$_1$ with$_4$ his$_3$ dear children$_4$ all rolled$_6$ around in the ashes$_5$, here somewhere$_7$ (with) ash (on) their faces$_8$, (they) were crying much$_9$. 41. Those$_1$ turkeys$_2$ came to a stop$_5$ here somewhere$_3$ by him$_4$.
42. Those ones$_1$ said$_3$, --Yes$_2$.-- --It is reported$_4$ (that) you$_5$, pulling$_9$ our$_6$ friend$_7$ out of the water$_8$, at this place$_{10}$ are roasting$_{12}$ him$_{11}$ much$_{12}$.-- 43. That$_1$ coyote$_2$, cried loudly$_{10}$ saying$_{8\ 9}$. --You all$_3$ have reminded me much of$_{6\ 7}$ the one I had forgotten$_{4\ 5}$ some time ago$_3$.-- 44. Then$_3$ those$_1$ turkeys$_3$ went$_{10}$ back$_9$ saying$_{7\ 8}$. --That one is just$_4$ playing with$_4$ us$_5$.-- 45. Then$_3$ that$_1$ coyote$_3$ said to$_{12\ 13}$ those$_4$ his$_5$ children$_6$, --Pull out$_9$ our$_7$ meat$_8$. We$_{10}$ will eat$_{11}$.--
46. Those ones$_1$, eating$_2$, slept unconcerned$_3$.

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III

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ tʌehwakaré?ee?$_3$ mo?obetii$_4$ tʌ?-rikúu?nii$_5$ si?anetʌ$_6$ kohtoohkatʌ$_7$, kwasʌ́kʌbʌni$_8$. 2. uh-kakʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kwasʌkʌbʌníku$_3$, oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ uwaka$_5$ bi-tʌnu$_6$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —tʌtaatʌ$_3$ wakaré?ee?$_4$. hina$_5$ ʌnʌ$_6$ kwasʌ́kʌbʌni$_7$?— 4. wakaré?ee?kʌse?$_1$, —tʌ?-rikúu?a$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ kwasʌkʌbʌnitʌ$_4$. 5. ma$_1$ marʌkʌtsi$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ ma$_4$ rʌhkaru?i$_5$.— 6. oha?ahnakatʌkʌse?$_1$, —nʌ$_2$ makanu$_3$ nʌʌ?$_4$— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 7. wakaré?ee?kʌse?$_1$, —ke$_2$ nʌ?$_3$,—me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_5$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —meeku$_3$ rakwʌ$_4$ maba?atu$_5$ nararʌʌna$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 9. su-rʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ runehtsʌwa?i$_5$ naahka-tʌ$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —noo$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ biarʌpihta$_5$ nʌ$_6$ napema$_7$ wʌtsʌkʌnane$_8$,— me$_9$ yʌk-wiiyu$_{10}$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —haa$_3$,— me$_4$ yʌkwii-yu$_5$. 12. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ piarʌpihta$_2$ yaahuyʌkʌtsi$_3$, ma$_4$ na-pema$_5$ ma$_6$ wʌtsʌkʌ́nanu$_7$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —kima$_3$. meeku$_4$ runehtsʌru?i$_5$ takwʌ$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$.

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1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ at this place$_6$ a little turtle$_3$, having a fire$_7$, (he) was roasting much$_8$ five$_4$ prairie dogs$_5$. 2. As$_3$ he$_2$ was roasting$_3$ that$_1$ much$_3$, coyote$_4$ arrived$_6$ to him$_5$. 3. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said) —Little$_3$ turtle$_4$, what are$_5$ you$_6$ roasting much$_7$?— 4. Turtle$_1$ (said), —I$_3$ am roasting much$_4$ prairie dog$_2$. 5. (After) finishing$_2$ it$_1$, I$_3$ will eat$_5$ it$_4$.— 6. Coyote$_1$ said$_{5\ 6}$, —You$_4$ feed$_3$ me$_2$.— 7. Turtle$_1$ said$_{4\ 5}$, —I$_3$ (will) not$_2$.— 8. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —Now$_3$ let us two$_4$ run a race$_6$ over it$_5$.— 9. That$_1$ turtle$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —I$_4$ can't$_3$ run$_5$ (I'm not) able$_6$.— 10. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{7\ 10}$, —I$_4$ must$_3$ tie$_8$ a big rock$_5$ on$_7$ my$_6$ leg$_7$.— 11. That$_1$ turtle$_2$ said$_{4\ 5}$, —Yes$_3$.— 12. These two$_1$, fetching$_3$ a big rock$_2$ tied$_7$ it$_6$ on$_5$ his$_4$ legs. 13. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —Come$_3$. Now$_4$ we two$_6$ will run$_5$.—

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14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —hinakia$_3$ kaabehkaru?i$_4$ ʌkihtsi?$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, uwakatu$_8$ kimanu$_9$. 15. si?ana$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ nahkʌma?kʌ$_3$ robo?inu$_4$. 16. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ runehtsʌnu$_3$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ ma$_3$ bʌahkwa$_4$. 18. suni$_1$ bʌhi$_2$ nahami?aku$_3$, oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ makuhpa$_5$ nuhkínu$_6$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ noo?yahnehtu$_3$ ma$_4$ yʌwihka$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$ tʌbitsi$_7$ tunehtsʌnu$_8$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tʌ?rikúu?kwasʌkʌpʌka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$, si?anetʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ kwasimaku$_7$ mari$_8$ tsapʌyénu$_9$. 21. wihnu$_1$ ma$_2$ bʌkahka$_3$, ma$_4$ namʌsítʌhkanu$_5$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tsuhnipʌha$_3$ ʌmahpaakʌhu$_4$ wihi?eeyu$_5$, u$_6$ kwasitaka$_7$ etʌsipʌka$_8$ manakʌʌ?ikʌnu$_9$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?ahru$_3$ to?iki$_4$, kwe?yʌkatʌ$_5$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ su?ahru$_3$ puhikabatu$_4$ mi?atsi$_5$, u$_6$ watsihpunihka$_7$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ kohtoopʌha$_4$ kʌma?kʌ$_5$ karʌhtsi$_6$, —nohi?$_7$ tsaahtʌkʌhútu?i$_8$ nʌʌ$_9$,— me$_{10}$ yʌkwliyu$_{11}$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ ma$_3$ bunihkatʌ$_4$, maaitʌ$_5$ yahnéeyu$_6$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ kwasitaka$_4$ si?anetʌ$_5$ kunakʌ-

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14. This$_1$ turtle$_2$, came$_3$ towards him$_4$, saying$_{4\ 7}$, —Wonder how$_5$ (he) will cheat$_6$ now$_5$?— 15. Here someplace$_1$ these two$_2$ stood$_3$ beside each other$_3$. 16. Then$_2$ these two$_1$ ran$_3$. 17. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ went off and left$_4$ him$_3$. 18. As$_3$ they$_2$ continued$_3$ that way$_1$, coyote$_4$ ran$_4$ ahead of him$_3$. 19. As$_5$ he$_4$ went out of sight$_5$ on over the hill$_3$, this$_1$ turtle$_2$ really$_7$ ran$_8$ back$_4$. 20. This one$_1$ arrived$_4$ to$_3$ his$_2$ cooked prairie dog$_3$, at this place$_3$ pulled$_9$ them$_8$ out$_9$ by$_7$ their$_4$ tail$_7$. 21. Then$_1$ when$_3$ it$_2$ cooled$_3$, hurriedly (he) ate$_5$ it$_4$. 22. This one$_1$ throws$_5$ its$_2$ [their] bones$_3$ in the lake$_4$, (he) caused to stick out$_9$ of the ashes$_8$ its$_4$ [their] tail(s) only$_7$. 23. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ comes in sight$_4$ along here$_3$ (and) is tired out$_5$. 24. This$_1$ turtle$_2$, going$_5$ along there$_3$ among the weeds$_4$, is hiding watching$_7$ him$_4$. 25. This$_1$ coyote$_2$, sitting$_4$ beside$_5$ his$_3$ fire$_4$, said$_{10\ 11}$, —I$_9$ am about to eat$_8$ very$_7$ good$_6$.— 26. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ is looking at$_4$ him$_3$, is laughing$_6$ at him$_5$. 27. At this place$_3$, this$_1$ coyote$_2$ pulls out$_7$ its$_3$ tail only$_4$

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5/9 ku$_4$ tsahtó$^{\text{?}}$i$^{\text{?}}$eeyu$_7$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ mawaka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ ʌmahpaakʌhu$_3$ mi?-anu$_4$, ukuhpaiti$_5$ tsiwainu$_6$, u$_7$ tsuhnipʌha$_8$ rʌhkánu$_9$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ bʌmi$_5$ kaabeh-kawa?itʌ$_6$, me$_7$ suatʌ$_8$. ʌnʌse?$_9$ tʌtaatʌ$_{10}$ wakaré?ee?$_{11}$ nʌ$_{12}$ kaabehkanu$_{13}$,— me$_{14}$ surʌ$_{15}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{16}$ me$_{17}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{18}$. 31. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ʌmituku$_3$ ʌkʌnaa$_4$ ke$_5$ tunehtsʌkʌʌyu$_6$, ʌpinakwʌ$_7$ nahanoorʌ$_8$, ʌwa?iku$_9$ pitusʌ$_{10}$ tunetsʌtsi$_{11}$, ʌ$_{12}$ tʌkwʌsʌkʌpʌha$_{13}$ ke$_{14}$ sʌmʌrʌhkaayu$_{15}$. 32. ʌnʌse?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ wakaré?ee?$_3$ nʌ$_4$ kaabehkanu$_5$, nʌ$_6$ kwakúnu$_7$.— 33. mekʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ yʌk-wihtsi$_3$, nuhkínu$_4$. 34. wakaré?ee?kʌse?$_1$ umetʌ$_2$ biayah-nenu$_3$, —nʌmasʌ$_4$ ʌ$_5$ kaakwakunu$_6$.—

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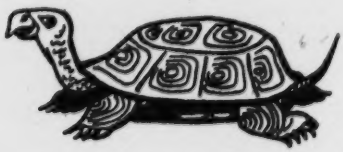
from the fire$_5$. 28. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ came up$_4$ to him$_3$.
29. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ went$_4$ to the lake$_3$, felt$_4$ inside it$_5$ with a stick$_6$, ate$_9$ its$_7$ bones$_8$. 30. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said), —I$_4$ can't$_3$ be cheated$_4$ myself$_5$ (I) thought$_7$ $_8$. You$_9$, little$_{10}$ tur-tle$_{11}$, cheated$_{13}$ me$_{12}$,— that$_{15}$ coyote$_{16}$ said$_{14\ 17\ 18}$. 31. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said) —You$_3$ first$_4$ (I) did not$_5$ cause (you) to run$_6$, continuing along$_8$ behind you$_7$, (I) did not$_{14}$, running$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ like you$_9$, eat up$_{15}$ your$_{12}$ roasted meat$_{13}$. 32. You$_1$, little$_2$ turtle$_3$, cheated$_5$ me$_4$, beat$_7$ me$_6$,— 33. That one$_2$ saying$_{1\ 3}$ (that), ran off$_4$. 34. The turtle$_1$ laughed loudly$_3$ at him$_2$, —I did$_4$ beat$_4$ you$_5$ by cheating$_6$.—



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IV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ soniitu$_4$ u$_5$ rʌehbu?ehabiku$_6$ tʌtaatʌ$_7$ kuyúu?si?$_8$ kahtʌ$_9$. 2. su?ana$_1$ u$_2$ karʌʌku$_3$, oha?ahnakatʌ$_4$ uwaka$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —hina$_2$ ʌna$_3$ tua?$_4$?— me$_5$ u$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 4. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —uihtʌhtsi?$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?a$_5$ tua?$_6$.— 5. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —senihtʌhtsi?$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?eyu$_5$.— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, uba?atu$_8$ tusínu$_9$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌhtsi$_5$, wihnu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 7. wihnukʌse?$_1$ sura$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?a$_5$ pia?$_6$ pitʌnu$_7$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ bʌ$_3$ tʌe?ti$_4$, —sʌmʌ?kia$_5$ ʌpa?atu$_6$ tusínu$_7$?— mekʌ$_8$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhkihtsi?$_3$,

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ where a little path lay$_5$ $_6$ through the grass$_4$, a little$_7$ quail$_8$ is sitting$_9$.
2. As$_5$ he$_2$ sat$_3$ there somewhere$_1$, coyote$_4$ came up$_6$ to him$_5$.
3. That one$_1$ said to$_5$ $_7$ him$_6$, —What$_2$ son$_4$ (are) you$_3$?—
4. That one$_1$ (said), —I$_3$ am that kind of little one$_2$, son of$_6$ Scares$_5$ People$_4$.— 5. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ spit$_7$ on him$_6$, saying$_6$ $_7$, —This is the kind$_3$ (inferior) (that) Scares$_5$ People$_4$.—
6. Acting on$_5$ him$_4$ that way$_3$, that$_1$ coyote$_2$ then$_6$ went$_7$.
7. Then$_1$ that one$_2$, /that$_3$/ Scares$_5$ People's$_4$ mother$_6$, arrived$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ said to$_5$ /that$_2$/ her$_3$ little one$_4$, —Wonder if someone$_3$ spit$_7$ on you$_6$?— 9. That$_1$ little Scares$_3$

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—haa$_4$. 10. tʌatsa?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ nʌba?atu$_3$ tusínu$_4$:— 539
11. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —hakahpu$_2$ surʌ$_3$ mi?anu$_4$?— 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —ibu$_2$ u?$_3$ muhyʌpetu$_4$ ma$_5$ pu?etu$_6$ mi?a?i$_7$.— 13. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$ ruhûbʌhkanu$_4$. 14. surʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌna$_3$ napʌhu$_4$ yʌtsʌnukwa$_5$. 15. surʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌmunakwʌ$_3$ karʌhúpiitʌ$_4$. 16. surʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ kimaayu$_4$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?$_3$ mamunahkwetʌ$_4$ yʌtsʌnu$_5$, sihka$_6$ oha?ahnakati$_7$ wʌ?yʌrʌhkinu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ bʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ wʌ?yʌrʌkika$_4$, hunu?matu$_5$ pohpínu$_6$, pʌ$_7$ ome$_8$ wʌhkóbanu$_9$. 19. sitʌ$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —yee$_3$, tamihtsi?benihtʌhtsi?$_4$, kima$_5$,— meh$_6$. 20. —nʌma?ai$_1$ tuhurʌhkaaki$_2$.— 21. surʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhki?$_3$, —yaa$_4$. 22. bʌtaka$_1$ ke$_2$ u$_3$ rʌhkarʌ$_4$. 23. nʌmasʌ$_1$ ʌ$_2$ wʌ?yʌrʌhkinu$_3$.—

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People$_2$ (said) —Yes$_4$. 10. I say$_1$ coyote$_2$ spit$_4$ on me$_3$.— 11. That one$_1$ (said), —Which way$_2$ did$_4$ that one$_3$ go$_4$?— 12. That one$_1$ (said), —He$_3$ went$_7$ this way$_2$, down$_4$ this$_5$ path$_6$ towards the east$_4$.— 13. That one$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ got angry$_4$. 14. That one$_1$ flew off$_5$ on$_4$ that$_2$ coyote's$_3$ trail$_4$. 15. That one$_1$ settled$_4$ there$_2$ ahead of coyote$_3$. 16. There somewhere$_2$ that$_1$ coyote$_3$ was coming$_4$. 17. This$_1$ Scares$_3$ People$_2$ flew$_5$ from in front of him$_4$, scared$_6$ this$_4$ coyote$_7$ with wing noise$_8$. 18. When$_4$ she$_3$ scared$_6$ him$_2$, this one$_1$ jumped$_4$ into the creek$_5$, broke$_9$ his$_7$ legs$_8$. 19. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_6$, —Oh$_3$. Dear little brother$_4$, come$_5$.— 20. —Come to eat bone marrow$_2$ with me$_1$.— 21. That$_1$ Scares$_3$ People$_2$ (said), —Oh$_4$. 22. By yourself$_1$ eat$_2$ it$_3$. 23. I did$_1$ scare$_3$ you$_3$.—

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V

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ u$_4$ bianoo?karʌku$_5$, pia-rabú?kina?$_6$ uma$_7$ kahníba?i$_8$. 2. sootikʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ tʌrʌe?-tʌpa?i$_3$. 3. u$_1$ kumahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$ bʌnʌ$_3$ hunu?betu$_4$ aainukwa$_5$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$, —hinakia$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ tʌhkane$_6$?—mekʌ$_7$. 5. sʌme$_1$ yʌkwihtsi$_2$, pʌʌ$_3$ muhyʌkʌ$_4$ karʌʌrʌ$_5$, u$_6$ buhwaihbʌniku$_7$, si?ahru$_8$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_9$ mawakatu$_{10}$ to?-ihupiitʌ$_{11}$. 6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tabú?kina?$_2$, —hina$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ wehkí-niina$_5$? 7. tʌakia$_1$ ʌ$_2$ kaabehkaru?iha$_3$ wehkíniina$_4$.— 8. —yee$_1$. kee$_2$. tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ ʌwaka$_5$ rʌh-kaki?$_6$.— 9. —usʌhakia$_1$ ma?$_2$ noo$_3$ nʌ$_4$ rʌrʌe?tʌhtsi?nʌʌ$_5$ tsihakooihumi?ana$_6$ supana?itʌ$_7$, pʌnʌ$_8$ si?ana$_9$ nʌmʌkʌ$_{10}$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ where that big hill sat$_4$ $_5$, on it$_7$ a big rabbit$_6$ had a home$_8$. 2. That one$_2$ had$_3$ many$_1$ children$_3$. 3. Her$_1$ husband$_2$ himself$_3$ loped off$_5$ towards the creek$_4$. 4. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$ said$_7$, —Wonder what$_4$ we$_5$ will eat$_6$?— 5. Saying$_2$ that$_1$, as$_7$ she$_6$ is sitting$_5$ in$_4$ their$_3$ doorway$_4$ looking around much$_7$, along here$_8$ came$_{11}$ coyote$_9$ in sight$_{11}$ towards her$_{10}$. 6. This$_1$ rabbit$_2$ (said), —What$_3$ (are) you$_4$ looking around for$_5$?— 7. (I) suppose$_1$ (you) are looking around for$_4$ what$_3$ you$_2$ will cheat$_3$.— 8. (Coyote says) —Oh$_1$. No$_3$. I$_4$ am about to die of hunger$_3$, (and) came to eat$_6$ to [with] you$_5$.— 9. —Wonder what$_1$ he$_2$ must$_3$ know of$_7$ my$_4$ little children$_5$ about to die of hunger$_6$,

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rʌhkákimanu$_{11}$.— 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —nʌma?aih- 539
tʌ$_3$ mia$_4$. inakwʌtsa?$_5$ huuhkaba$_6$ sohobokóo?$_7$ wʌnʌrʌ$_8$,
tʌmarʌʌmoari$_9$ bokopikatʌ$_{10}$ umati$_{11}$ takwʌ$_{12}$ taa$_{13}$ tʌhka-
ru?iha$_{14}$ pomaakwa$_{15}$,— mekʌ$_{16}$. 11. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ ukʌhu$_2$ mi?-
anu$_3$. 12. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tabú?kina?$_2$, huuhkabaiki$_3$ pʌhi$_4$ mi?-
aku$_5$, —hakʌ$_6$ surʌ$_7$ pokopi$_8$ ʌ$_9$ tʌ?awena$_{10}$?— mekʌ$_{11}$ u$_{12}$
niikwiiyu$_{13}$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —inakwʌ$_3$ u?$_4$
wʌnʌʌrʌ$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, si?ana$_8$ butsiwaipʌha$_9$ soho-
bokóo?a$_{10}$ wʌnʌku$_{11}$, —iki$_{12}$ ma?$_{13}$,— meh$_{14}$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tabú?kina?$_2$ maaitʌ$_3$ yahnénu$_4$, —nah$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ ʌ$_7$ po?sa?a$_8$
supana?itʌ$_9$, ʌma?ai$_{10}$ kima?i$_{11}$.— 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahna-
katʌ$_2$ tuhúbʌhkanu$_3$, pʌmetʌ$_4$ u$_5$ yahnena$_6$ ruhúbʌhkakʌnu$_7$.
16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ su?ahri$_3$ tʌpanakʌhi$_4$ tsawo?-
netʌ$_5$, payapehta$_6$ su?ahru$_7$ nah$_8$ noo$_9$ sooko$_{10}$ tsapʌyée-
yu$_{11}$. 17. —meeku$_1$ ma$_2$ hiima$_3$. 18. ʌ$_1$ tʌrʌe?tii$_2$ nʌʌ$_3$
nookʌnukwa$_4$.— 19. sihka$_1$ tabú?kina?a$_2$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_3$ ahpʌ?-
kʌse?$_4$ bʌʌ$_5$ kahnikʌ$_6$ bitʌhtsi$_7$, sihka$_8$ urʌʌ$_9$ pia?a$_{10}$
warʌ?inu$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ wehkínukwa$_{13}$. 20. si?ana$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ-

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himself$_8$ [he] came$_{11}$ here$_9$ to us$_{10}$ to eat$_{11}$?-- 10. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{16}$. —Go$_4$ with me$_3$. In this direction$_5$ in the timber$_6$ is standing$_8$ (a) mulberry tree$_7$ [which] has$_{10}$ much$_9$ berries$_{10}$. From it$_{11}$ we two$_{12}$ will go to pick$_{13}$ what$_{14}$ we all$_{13}$ will eat$_{14}$.— 11. These two$_1$ went$_3$ to it$_2$. 12. As$_5$ they$_4$ went$_5$ through the timber$_3$, that$_1$ rabbit$_2$ said to$_{11}$ $_{13}$ him$_{12}$. —Where is$_4$ that$_7$ fruit$_8$, that$_{10}$ you$_9$ told of$_{10}$?— 13. This$_1$ coyote$_2$, saying$_{6}$ $_{7}$, —It$_4$ is standing$_5$ in this direction$_3$,— here$_8$ where$_{11}$ a dead white$_9$ mulberry tree$_{10}$ is standing$_{11}$. —It$_{13}$ (is) here$_{12}$,— (he) said$_{14}$. 14. This$_1$ rabbit$_2$ laughed$_4$ at him$_3$, (saying) —I$_4$ just$_5$ know$_9$ your$_7$ craziness$_8$, came$_{11}$ with you$_{10}$.— 15. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ got angry$_3$, got angry at$_7$ her$_5$ laughter$_6$ at him$_4$. 16. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ along there$_3$ in the bank$_4$ is scratching$_5$, just$_8$ must$_9$ have pulled out$_{11}$ lots of$_{10}$ roots$_6$ along there$_7$. 17. —Now$_1$ take$_3$ them$_2$. 18. You$_3$ carry [them] off for$_4$ your$_1$ children$_2$.— 19. This$_1$ rabbit's$_2$ children's$_3$ father$_4$, arriving$_7$ at$_6$ their$_5$ house$_4$ (and) missing$_{11}$ /this$_8$/ their$_9$ mother$_{10}$, went off look-

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539 na$_2$ pʌmʌ$_3$ ahwekʌ?ih̲a$_4$ noorʌ̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ kahnibetu$_7$ ma$_8$ mi?anooko$_9$, ma$_{10}$ ra?uranu̲$_{11}$. 21. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$ si?ahru$_3$ mahrʌwakatu$_4$ piahuuhyaarʌ̲$_5$, to?iki̲$_6$. 22. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ bunihtsi$_3$, tobo?inu̲$_4$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ sihka$_2$ tabú?kina?nʌʌ$_3$ ahpʌ?a$_4$ si?ahru$_5$ siima$_6$ piahuuma$_7$ ma$_8$ wʌhkúpanu̲$_9$. 24. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$ piayake̲tsi$_4$, pʌmʌ$_5$ u$_6$ ahwekʌ?ih̲a$_7$ u$_8$ kobekʌ̲hu$_9$ wihihtsi$_{10}$, pʌʌ$_{11}$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_{12}$ nuhkínu̲$_{13}$. 25. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, --nʌmasʌ$_3$ ʌ$_4$ kaabehkanu̲$_5$.-- 26. sihka$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?a$_3$ pʌ$_4$ wʌhkupa?ih̲a$_5$ kwahinoohtsi$_6$, mi?anu̲$_7$. 27. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tabú?kina?nʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?tʌhtsi?nʌʌkʌ̲$_5$ bitʌnu̲$_6$. 28. --nahkia$_1$ ranʌ$_2$ usʌ$_3$ noo$_4$ tsihakooitu?in̲ʌʌ$_5$,-- me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_7$. 29. si?anakʌ̲se?$_1$ e?kabápi?$_2$ marʌʌba?aiki̲$_3$ yʌtsʌmi?a$_4$, pʌ$_5$ tayaahkana$_6$ marʌʌba?atu$_7$ tapʌ̲hénu̲$_8$. 30. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$, --usʌ$_4$ hini$_5$ pahínu̲$_6$?-- me$_7$ yʌkwihtsi$_8$, ukʌ̲hu$_9$ tunehtsʌnu̲$_{10}$. 31. si?ana$_1$ arʌka?rʌhkapʌ̲matʌ$_2$ habiiyu̲$_3$. 32. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$ makʌ̲hu$_4$ mi?ʌ̲tsi$_5$, ma$_6$ yaanu̲$_7$. 33. --tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_1$. ihka$_2$

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ing for$_{13}$ her$_{12}$. 20. As$_3$ she$_2$ traveled$_9$ towards$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$, carrying$_8$ what$_4$ coyote$_2$ dug for$_4$ her$_3$, somewhere$_1$ (he) met$_{11}$ her$_{10}$. 21. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ came in sight$_4$ along here$_3$ towards them two$_4$ carrying a big club$_5$. 22. These two$_1$ seeing$_3$ him$_2$ stopped$_4$. 23. This$_1$ (coyote) with this$_4$ /with/ big club$_7$ killed$_9$ /him$_8$/ these$_2$ rabbits'$_3$ father$_4$ along here$_5$. 24. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$, crying loudly$_4$, (and) throwing$_{10}$ in$_9$ his$_8$ face$_9$ what$_7$ he$_6$ dug for$_7$ her$_8$, ran$_{13}$ to$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ house$_{12}$. 25. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ (said), --I did$_3$ cheat$_5$ you$_4$.-- 26. Carrying on his back$_4$ this$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ what$_5$ he$_4$ clubbed$_6$, (he) went$_7$ (away). 27. This one$_1$, the rabbits'$_2$ mother$_3$, arrived$_6$ to$_5$ her$_4$ little ones$_5$. 28. --(I) suppose$_1$ we$_2$ must$_3$ $_4$ all die of hunger$_5$,-- (she) said$_4$ $_7$. 29. Here$_1$ a buzzard$_2$ flying$_4$ over them$_3$, dropped$_6$ his$_5$ burden$_6$ on to them$_7$. 30. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$, saying$_7$ $_2$, --What is$_3$ that$_4$ (which) fell$_4$?-- ran$_{10}$ to it$_9$. 31. Here$_1$ some deer meat$_2$ was lying$_3$. 32. This$_1$ their$_2$ mother$_3$ going$_5$ to it$_4$ took$_7$ it$_4$.

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ran^$_3$ nah$_4$ hininaihku$_5$ ma$_6$ r^hkaru?in^^$_7$.-- mek^$_8$. 34. si?ahru$_1$ sit^$_2$ ma$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, p^$_5$ t^r^e?t^^ma?ai$_6$ ma$_7$ r^hkánu$_8$. 35. --sur^$_1$ nookia$_2$ hini$_3$ huhtsúu?$_4$ ma$_5$ rap^hehtsi$_6$, tai$_7$ tsaaht^hkak^nu$_8$.-- mek^$_9$. 36. --tan^$_1$ us^$_2$ tsihákwitso?ainu$_3$.-- 37. subet^$_1$.

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33. —Children$_1$. This$_2$ just$_4$ from something$_5$ we$_3$ will all eat$_7$ /it$_6$/, --(she) said$_8$. 34. Along here$_1$ this one$_2$ taking$_4$ it$_3$, ate$_8$ it$_7$ with$_6$ her$_5$ children$_6$. 35. —That one$_1$, (it) must be$_2$ some$_3$ (kind of) bird$_4$, dropping$_6$ it$_5$, caused$_8$ us$_7$ to be fed good$_8$.-- (She) said$_9$. 36. —We$_1$ were saved from hunger$_3$ (by) that$_2$.— 37. That is all$_1$.

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VI

529 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ u$_3$ piahunu?baihku$_4$ su?ana$_5$ piapʌhʌ$_6$ pimoróo?$_7$ paakʌma?ru$_8$ kimaayu$_9$. 2. surʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ kimarʌ$_3$, wʌnʌhúpiitʌ$_4$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —hinatsa$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ panoo$_4$ saraa$_5$ saraa$_6$ saraa$_7$?— mekʌse?$_8$ suurʌ$_9$. 4. sʌmekʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ yʌkwihka$_3$, si?ana$_4$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_5$ kimaayu$_6$, mawaka$_7$ bitʌnu$_8$. 5. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, —hina$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ niwaihbʌni$_4$?— me$_5$ ma$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, —nah$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ nʌ$_5$ nooro?iha$_6$ niwaihpʌnitʌ$_7$.— 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —nʌetʌ$_3$ noo$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, —haa$_3$.— me$_4$ yʌkwitʌ$_5$, —nʌ$_6$ kwahikʌ$_7$ to?i$_8$.— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ royopʌba?a$_4$ tʌhʌyaro?i$_5$.— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 12. sitʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, —meekurʌ$_3$ nʌ$_4$ bapiba?a$_5$ to?i$_6$.— me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌ?$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pimoróo?$_2$, —meekurʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ nʌ$_5$ kwasima$_6$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, where there was a big creek$_3$ $_4$, there$_5$ a big$_6$ cow$_7$ was coming$_8$ along (the) edge of (the) water$_9$. 2. That one$_1$ (who) is coming$_2$ stopped$_4$ there somewhere$_3$. 3. That one$_1$ /that one$_2$/ said$_3$, —What$_2$ (shall) I$_3$ carry across (the) water$_4$ $_7$?— 4. As$_3$ she$_2$ is saying$_3$ that$_1$, /here$_4$/ (a) coyote$_5$ (who) was coming$_6$, arrived$_8$ to her$_7$. 5. This one$_1$ said to$_5$ $_7$ her$_6$, —What$_2$, (are) you$_3$ asking for so much$_4$?— 6. This$_1$ cow$_2$ (said), —I (am$_4$) just$_3$ asking much for$_7$ what$_6$ I$_5$ will carry$_6$.— 7. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$, —Carry$_4$ me$_3$.— 8. This$_1$ cow$_2$ says$_4$ $_5$, —Yes$_3$. Climb up$_5$ to$_7$ my$_6$ back$_7$.— (she) said to$_9$ $_{11}$ him$_{10}$. 9. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$, —I$_4$ (will) not$_3$.— 10. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_4$ $_8$ him$_7$, —Mount$_5$ on$_4$ my$_3$ neck$_4$.— 11. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$ —I$_4$ (will) not$_3$.— 12. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ him$_8$, —Now$_3$ climb up$_4$ on$_5$ my$_4$ head$_5$.— 13. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$, —I$_4$ (will) not$_3$.— 14. This$_1$ cow$_2$ said to$_9$ $_{11}$ him$_{10}$, —Now$_3$ just$_4$

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tsaaimi?a$_{7}$. pahábimi?anʌʌ$_{3}$.-- me$_{9}$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 539
15. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$. --ke$_{3}$ nʌ?$_{4}$.-- me$_{5}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{6}$. 16. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ pimoróo?$_{2}$. --meekuse?$_{3}$ ʌnʌ$_{4}$ hakanihku$_{5}$ manihútu?i$_{6}$?-- me$_{7}$ u$_{8}$ niikwiiyu$_{9}$. 17. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ pimoróo?$_{2}$. --ʌnʌwitsa$_{3}$ nʌ$_{4}$ nakima$_{5}$ tsaaimi?ar$_{\wedge}$$_{6}$. pahábimi?a$_{7}$.-- me$_{8}$ u$_{9}$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 18. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$. --tsaati$_{3}$ nʌ?$_{4}$ su?ura?i$_{5}$.-- me$_{6}$ sihka$_{7}$ pimoróo?$_{8}$ niikwiiyu$_{9}$. 19. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$. --nʌwitsa$_{3}$ nah$_{4}$ ʌkuhpa$_{5}$ habimi?a$_{6}$.-- me$_{7}$ u$_{8}$ niikwiiyu$_{9}$. 20. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ pimoróo?$_{2}$. --haa$_{3}$.-- me$_{4}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{5}$. 21. wihnuk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ sitʌ$_{2}$ pimoróo?$_{3}$ piakʌsaanu$_{4}$. 22. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$ ma$_{3}$ tʌpetu$_{4}$ ma$_{5}$ sap$_{\wedge}$ka$_{6}$ ikanu$_{7}$. 23. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ pimoróo?$_{2}$ sik$_{\wedge}$hu$_{3}$ sootʌk$_{\wedge}$hu$_{4}$ paak$_{\wedge}$hu$_{5}$ weenu$_{6}$. 24. pahábimi?ar$_{\wedge}$$_{1}$. una?r$_{\wedge}ru_{2}$ maninu$_{3}$. 25. manitsik$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ surʌ$_{2}$ pimoróo?$_{3}$ su?ahru$_{4}$ paakʌma?k$_{\wedge}$hu$_{5}$ wʌhtíkwanu$_{6}$. tʌyaainu$_{7}$. 26. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$ si?anet$_{\wedge}$$_{3}$ ma$_{4}$ tʌpetu$_{5}$ tʌasʌ$_{6}$ to?inu$_{7}$. 27. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$. --po?sa$_{3}$ pimoróo?$_{4}$. nʌmasʌ$_{5}$ ʌ$_{6}$ kaabek$_{\wedge}$tsi$_{7}$. ʌ$_{8}$ tʌbehkanu$_{9}$.-- me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 28. sitʌk$_{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_{2}$ si?anet$_{\wedge}$$_{3}$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_{4}$ sihka$_{5}$ pimoróo?$_{6}$ tʌhkánu$_{7}$. 29. subet$_{\wedge}$$_{1}$.

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go holding$_{7}$ on$_{4}$ my$_{5}$ tail$_{6}$, (and) go swimming$_{8}$.-- 15. This$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ said$_{5\ 6}$. --I$_{4}$ (will) not$_{3}$.-- 16. This$_{1}$ cow$_{2}$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ him$_{8}$. --Now$_{3}$ in what way$_{5}$ will$_{4}$ you$_{4}$ cross$_{6}$?-- 17. This$_{1}$ cow$_{2}$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_{9}$. --You ought$_{3}$ to go holding$_{4}$ on$_{5}$ my$_{6}$ ears$_{5}$. (and) go swimming$_{7}$.-- 18. This$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ said to$_{6\ 9}$ this$_{7}$ cow$_{8}$. --I$_{4}$ thought of$_{5}$ a good thing$_{3}$.-- 19. This$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ her$_{8}$. --I ought to$_{3}$ just$_{4}$ go lying$_{6}$ inside you$_{5}$.-- 20. This$_{1}$ cow$_{2}$ said$_{4\ 5}$. --Yes$_{3}$.-- 21. Then$_{1}$ this$_{2}$ cow$_{3}$ opened her mouth wide$_{4}$. 22. This$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ entered$_{7}$ through$_{4}$ her$_{3}$ mouth$_{4}$ into$_{6}$ her$_{5}$ stomach$_{6}$. 23. This$_{1}$ cow$_{2}$ here$_{3}$ went down$_{4}$ to$_{5}$ much$_{4}$ water$_{5}$. 24. (She) goes swimming$_{1}$. (and) crossed$_{3}$ to the other side$_{2}$. 25. Having crossed$_{1}$. that$_{2}$ cow$_{3}$ fell down$_{6}$ along there$_{4}$ beside the water$_{5}$ (and) died$_{7}$. 26. At this place$_{3}$ this$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ came out$_{7}$ through$_{5}$ her$_{4}$ mouth$_{5}$ again$_{4}$. 27. This$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ said$_{10\ 11}$. --Crazy$_{3}$ cow$_{4}$. Cheating$_{7}$ you$_{4}$. I did$_{5}$ kill$_{9}$ you$_{8}$.-- 28. At this place$_{3}$ this$_{1}$ coyote$_{2}$ ate$_{7}$ much of$_{4}$ this$_{5}$ cow$_{6}$. 29. That is all$_{1}$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VII

1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ piarʌrahyapʌ̲$_4$ aaimi?a$_5$. 539
2. pu?etu$_1$ u$_2$ aaimi?akukʌ̲se?$_3$ su?ana$_4$ pu?ekʌma?kʌ$_5$ sʌmʌ?$_6$ hahpi$_7$. 3. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —ʌnʌkia$_2$ si?ana$_3$ hahpi$_4$? — me$_5$ u$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$, suhka$_8$ oha?ahnakati$_9$.
4. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_2$, —haa$_3$. siki$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ habitʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ yʌhkwi$_8$. 5. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_2$ nʌ?$_3$, — me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_5$. 6. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ piarʌrahyapʌ̲$_2$, —sʌmʌrʌ$_3$ noo$_4$ nʌmati$_5$ biakʌhka?a$_6$. — me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 7. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ umati$_2$ kʌhká?anu$_3$. 8. wihnukʌ̲se?$_1$ surʌ$_2$, —haa$_3$. mi?a?i$_4$ nʌ?$_5$, — me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 9. surʌ$_1$ oha?ahnakatʌkʌ̲se?$_2$ bu?etu$_3$ nuhkínu$_4$, so?ana$_5$ umunakwʌ̲$_6$ rʌasʌ$_7$ habihúpiitʌ̲$_8$. 10. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ piarʌrahyapʌ̲$_2$ si?ana$_3$ pu?etu$_4$ anikwitami?a$_5$. 11. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌasʌ$_2$ si?ana$_3$ mamunakwʌ̲$_4$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ habiiyu$_7$. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ̲$_2$, —ʌnʌkia$_3$ si?ana$_4$ habiiyu$_5$? — me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 13. —haa$_1$.-- mekʌ̲se?$_2$ surʌ$_3$, —tsi-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (a) big pounded meatball$_4$ went loping$_5$. 2. As$_3$ it$_2$ went loping$_3$ along the road$_1$, one$_4$ was lying$_7$ there somewhere$_4$ beside the road$_5$. 3. That (loping) one$_1$ said to$_5$ $_7$ /him$_6$/ that$_8$ coyote$_9$, —Are you$_2$ lying$_4$ here$_3$?— 4. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_7$ $_5$, —Yes$_3$.— I$_5$ am lying$_6$ here$_4$.— 5. That$_1$ [coyote] said$_6$ $_5$, —I$_3$ am about to die of hunger$_2$.— 6. That$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ him$_8$, —(You) must$_4$ take$_6$ one$_3$ big bite$_6$ of me$_5$.— 7. That one$_1$ [coyote] took a bite$_3$ of it$_2$. 8. Then$_1$ that one$_2$ [coyote] said$_6$ $_7$, —Yes$_3$, I$_5$ am going$_4$.— 9. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ ran$_4$ along the road$_5$, again$_7$ stopped and lay down$_6$ over there$_5$ in front of it$_6$ [meatball]. 10. That$_1$ big meatball$_2$ went rolling$_5$ here$_3$ along the road$_4$. 11. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ /again$_3$/ was lying$_7$ here$_3$ in front of it$_4$ again$_6$. 12. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to$_4$ $_8$ him$_7$, —Are you$_3$ lying$_5$ here$_4$?— 13. —Yes$_1$.— said$_2$ that one$_3$ [coy-

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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539 harʌyaaihumiʔarʌ$_4$ nʌʔ$_5$. -- 14. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌrahyapʌ$_2$, -nʌmatitʌ$_3$ sʌmʌsʌ$_4$ piakʌhkaʔa$_5$. -- me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ siʔahru$_2$ maati$_3$ piakʌhkaʔanu$_4$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ohaʔahnakatʌ$_2$, -niʔaʔi$_3$ nʌʔ$_4$. -- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, -sibu$_2$ maʔ$_3$ sini$_4$ sʌmʌnaʔanetʌkatʌ$_5$. -- me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$ siʔanetʌ$_3$ rʌasʌ$_4$ anikwitanukwa$_5$. 19. surʌkʌse?$_1$ ohaʔahnakatʌ$_2$ siʔana$_3$ rʌasʌ$_4$ mamunakwʌ$_5$ habihúpiitʌ$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$, -ʌnʌkia$_3$ siʔana$_4$ habiiyu$_5$? -- me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 21. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, -haa$_2$ siki$_3$ nʌʔ$_4$ habitʌ$_5$. tsiharʌyaaihumiʔarʌ$_4$ nʌʔ$_7$. -- me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$, -nʌmatitʌ$_3$ noo$_4$ sʌmʌ$_5$ biakʌhkaʔa$_6$. -- 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ siʔahru$_2$ maati$_3$ kʌhkáʔanu$_4$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ohaʔahnakatʌ$_2$, -sibu$_3$ maʔ$_4$ ma$_5$ puʔetu$_6$ nah$_7$ sini$_8$ sʌmʌnaʔanetʌkatʌ$_9$. -- me$_{10}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{11}$, nuhkínu$_{12}$. 25. siʔana$_1$ rʌasʌ$_2$ mamunakwʌ$_3$ habihúpiitʌ$_4$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ biarʌrahyapʌ$_2$ siʔana$_3$ ma$_4$ habiku$_5$, mawakatu$_6$ anikwitahkina$_7$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, -ʌnʌkia$_2$ siʔana$_3$ hahpi$_4$? --

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ote]. --I$_5$ am about to die of hunger$_4$.-- 14. That$_1$ meatball$_2$ said to$_{6\ 8}$ him$_7$. --Take a big bite$_5$ from me$_3$ once$_4$.-- 15. This one$_1$ [coyote] along there$_2$ took a big bite$_4$ of it$_3$. 16. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ said$_{5\ 6}$. --I$_4$ am going$_3$.-- 17. This one$_1$ [meatball] said$_{6\ 7}$. --Along here$_2$ it$_3$ is$_5$ this way$_4$, one after another$_5$.-- 18. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ went rolling off$_5$ again$_4$ at this place$_3$. 19. That$_1$ coyote$_2$ stopped and lay down$_4$ here$_3$ in front of it$_5$ again$_4$. 20. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to$_{6\ 8}$ him$_7$. --Are you$_3$ lying$_5$ here$_4$?-- 21. This one$_1$ [coyote] said$_{8\ 9}$. --Yes$_2$. I$_4$ am lying$_5$ here$_3$. I$_7$ am about to die of hunger$_6$.-- 22. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ (said), --(You) must$_4$ take$_6$ one$_5$ big bite$_6$ from me$_3$.-- 23. This one$_1$ [coyote] along here$_2$ took a big bite$_4$ of it$_3$. 24. This$_1$ coyote$_2$ ran$_{12}$ saying$_{10\ 11}$. --This way$_3$, along$_6$ this$_8$ road$_6$ it$_4$ is$_9$ just$_7$ /this way$_6$/ one after another$_9$.-- 25. Here$_1$ again (coyote) stopped and lay down$_4$ in front of it$_3$. 26. As$_5$ he$_4$ lay$_5$ here$_3$, this$_1$ big meatball$_2$ came rolling$_7$ towards him$_4$. 27. This one$_1$ [meatball] said to$_{5\ 7}$ him$_4$,

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Coyote Stories

59A me$_3$ ma$_4$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 28. –haa$_1$.– mek^se?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$, –tsiharʌyaaihumi?arʌ$_4$ nʌ?$_5$.– me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$, maati$_8$ kʌhkâ?ahutu?i$_9$. 29. sitʌk^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ biakʌsahka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ biarʌrahyap^$_5$ ma$_6$ buninu$_7$, ma$_8$ tamana?aru$_9$ tʌhkap^ha$_{10}$ hanikaku$_{11}$. 30. sitʌk^se?$_1$ piarʌrahyap^$_2$, –yee$_3$. sur^-sʌtuku$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$ nʌ$_6$ kaabehkanoorʌ$_7$,– me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 31. surʌk^se?$_1$ si?anet^$_2$ oha?ahnakatʌ$_3$ nuhkínu$_4$, pʌmi$_5$ u$_6$ suabetaihka$_7$.

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–Are you$_2$ lying$_4$ here$_3$?– 28. –Yes$_1$, said$_2$ this one$_3$, –I$_5$ am about to die of hunger$_6$.– (he) was saying$_{6,7}$, and is about to take a bite$_9$ of it$_8$. 29. When$_3$ he$_2$ opened his mouth wide$_3$, /this$_1$/ this$_4$ big meatball$_5$ saw$_7$ it$_4$ as (coyote) had$_{11}$ meat$_{10}$ between$_9$ his$_8$ teeth$_9$. 30. This$_1$ big meatball$_2$ said to to$_8$ $_{10}$ him$_9$. –Oh$_3$, you$_5$ (are) that same one$_4$, moving along cheating$_7$ me$_6$.– 31. At this place$_2$, when$_7$ it$_4$ [meatball] recognized$_7$ him$_5$, that$_1$ coyote$_3$ ran$_4$.

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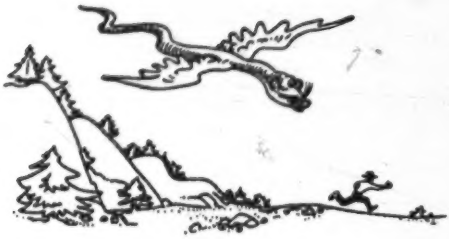
12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



VIII

539 1. sʌmʌ?kʌtsa?$_1$ raiboo?$_2$ pʌmaku$_3$ bʌʌ$_4$ waahimaru?ih$_5$ waahpihta$_6$ wʌhká?ami?anu$_7$. 2. su?ana$_1$ u$_2$ biaroyakarʌku$_3$, uruhkati$_4$ wʌhká?abʌni$_5$. 3. uhka$_1$ u$_2$ wʌhka?abʌnikukʌse?$_3$ hini$_4$ huuhkabaiki$_5$ uwakatu$_6$ kasábipikuhkina$_7$. 4. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —hinikia$_3$ u?$_4$,— me$_5$ suatʌ$_6$, huumati$_7$ buhwáainu$_8$. 5. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌwakatu$_2$ u$_3$ biakasabipi-kuku$_4$, u$_5$ buninu$_6$. 6. pʌmi$_1$ ma$_2$ bunihka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ kwasinaboo?$_5$ kasakatʌ$_6$, mawakatu$_7$ yʌtsʌhkina$_8$. 7. si-tʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$ u$_3$ namarunehtsʌ$_4$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ waikinʌkahtu$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ kesʌ$_3$ pʌ$_4$ waikina$_5$ u$_6$ wʌhpitʌʌku$_7$, ubinai$_8$ u$_9$ kʌhtsía-

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1. One$_1$ white man$_2$ went to cut down$_7$ (a) cedar tree$_6$, with which$_3$ (they) will have$_5$ their$_4$ Christmas tree$_8$. 2. There somewhere$_1$, where that big mountain sits$_2$ $_3$, below it$_4$ (he) was cutting much$_5$. 3. As$_3$ he$_2$ was cutting$_3$ /that$_2$/ much$_3$, something$_4$ among the trees$_5$ came$_7$ towards him$_6$, making wing noises$_7$. 4. This$_1$ white man$_2$ looks around$_6$ at the trees$_7$ and thinks$_5$ $_6$, —Wonder what$_3$ it$_4$ (is)?— 5. As$_4$ it$_3$ made big wing noises$_4$ towards him$_2$, that one$_1$ [he] saw$_6$ it$_5$. 6. As$_3$ he$_2$ looked at$_3$ it$_1$, this$_4$ snake$_5$ [that] has wings$_6$, came flying$_2$ towards him$_7$. 7. This$_1$ white man$_2$ ran away from$_4$ it$_3$. 8. That one$_1$ ran$_4$ to$_3$ his$_2$ wagon$_3$. 9. Before$_3$ he$_4$ reached$_7$ his$_4$ wagon$_5$, this$_1$ snake$_2$ bit$_{10}$ him$_9$ from behind

Comanche Texts

539 nu$_{10}$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tukaninu$_2$. 11. u$_1$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ-kʌse?$_2$ u$_3$ wʌsúwarʌkinu$_4$. 12. sube?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ taanu$_3$. 13. pʌʌ$_1$ kahtʌ́i?nii$_2$ surʌ$_3$ u$_4$ kwʌhʌ$_5$ ke$_6$ u$_7$ pitʌna$_8$ narʌmu?ikʌnu$_9$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ kahtʌ́i?nʌʌ$_3$ sʌsʌ-mʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ tʌhʌyayʌkwinu$_5$. 15. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ waikinʌba?$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ ta?wo?i?$_5$ himahtsi$_6$, u$_7$ wehkínukwa$_8$. 16. surʌʌ$_1$ su?ana$_2$ u$_3$ habiku$_4$, u$_5$ rʌyaaipʌnaihku$_6$, u$_7$ uranu$_8$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌbekwika$_2$. 18. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?nʌʌ$_2$ --mahka$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ kʌhkupa?iha$_5$ suabetaitu?inʌʌ$_6$. -- meka$_7$. 19. suku$_1$ huuhkaba$_2$ urii$_3$ tobo?ikaku$_4$, si?ana$_5$ marʌʌ-kʌhu$_6$ piaba?ati$_7$ kasakatʌ$_8$, marʌʌkʌhu$_9$ yʌtsʌhkinu$_{10}$. 20. --ma$_1$ buniika$_2$. 21. urʌtuku$_1$ ma?$_2$ narʌ?ʌyatʌ$_3$ kwasinaboo?$_4$. -- me$_5$ surʌʌ$_6$ niwʌnʌtsi$_7$, sʌʌhpe?sʌ$_8$ u$_9$ kwʌtikúnu$_{10}$, u$_{11}$ behkánu$_{12}$. 22. --sitʌtukutsa?$_1$ raa$_2$ haitsiha$_3$ kʌhkupa?i$_4$. -- 23. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ sihka$_3$ rai-boo?$_4$ noonukwa$_5$ rʌasʌ$_6$ sihka$_7$ kwasinaboo?a$_8$. 24. si-tʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌku$_3$ sooyotʌ$_4$, pitusʌ$_5$ rʌasʌ$_6$ ukʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$, suma$_9$ toyama$_{10}$ kʌanu$_{11}$. 25. soko$_1$ ma$_2$ ku-

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/him$_8$/. 10. It$_1$ got dark$_2$. 11. His$_1$ relatives$_2$ began to miss$_4$ him$_3$. 12. Then$_1$ it$_2$ was morning$_3$. 13. /That one$_3$/ his$_4$ wife$_5$ told$_9$ their$_1$ neighbors$_2$ of$_9$ his$_7$ not$_6$ arriving$_8$. 14. /Those$_1$/ some of /them$_4$/ their$_2$ neighbors$_3$ got on horses$_5$. 15. Some$_1$, taking$_6$ their$_4$ guns$_5$, went looking for$_8$ him$_7$ on$_3$ their$_2$ wagons$_3$. 16. There$_2$ those ones$_1$ found$_8$ him$_7$, as$_6$ he$_5$ lay$_4$, (and) as$_6$ he$_5$ had died$_6$. 17. That one$_1$ was all swelled up$_2$. 18. These$_1$ white men$_2$ said$_7$, --We$_6$ will find out$_6$ what killed$_5$ that one$_3$. 19. As$_4$ they$_3$ stood$_4$ there$_1$ among the trees$_2$, here$_5$ to them$_4$ came flying$_{10}$ (something which) has$_8$ big long$_7$ wings$_9$ /to them$_9$/. 20. --Look at$_2$ it$_1$. 21. It$_2$ (is) that$_1$ dangerous$_3$ snake$_4$,-- those ones$_4$ so sayings$_7$ all of them at once$_8$ shot at$_{10}$ it$_9$, killed$_{12}$ it$_{11}$. 22. --This one$_1$ killed$_4$ our$_2$ friend$_3$.-- At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ carried off$_5$ this$_3$ white man$_4$, also$_6$ this$_7$ snake$_8$. 24. These ones$_1$ (who) are many$_4$, that$_2$ morning$_3$ went$_8$ back$_5$ again$_4$ to it$_7$, went up$_{11}$ /on it$_9$/, on the mountain$_{10}$. 25. As$_5$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Fairy Tales and Fables

539 ʔekʌ̲$_3$ marii$_4$ bitʌhka$_5$, suʔana$_6$ ma$_7$ tokwehkuʔekʌ̲$_8$ piarainą$_9$, makʌ̲hi$_{10}$ marii$_{11}$ tokwi̲tehka$_{12}$, makuhpatʌ$_{13}$ kasá-bipi̲kuna̲$_{14}$. 26. sitʌʌkʌ̲seʔ$_1$ suhka$_2$ bʌhtsaʔeti$_3$ ukʌ̲hu$_4$ haninu̲$_5$. 27. sumetʌ̲$_1$ toyametʌ̲$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ weehtsi$_4$, umanaiki̲suahtu$_5$ miʔanu̲$_6$. 28. sokʌ̲hi$_1$ u$_2$ taikʌ̲hi$_3$ urii$_4$ bunihkaku$_5$, surʌ$_6$ urʌʌ$_7$ hanipʌ̲$_8$ pʌtsʌ̲hánu̲$_9$, suhka$_{10}$ sumatu$_{11}$ toyamatu$_{12}$ sehka$_{13}$ kwasinaboo$^{\prime}$a$_{14}$ rohpóroanu̲$_{15}$. 29. sitʌʌkʌ̲seʔ$_1$ taiboo$^{\prime}$nʌʌ$_2$ tʌasʌ$_3$ ukʌ̲hu$_4$ miʔanu̲$_5$, sehka$_6$ bʌʌ$_7$ tohkʌaʔi̲ha$_8$ sʌʌmatu$_9$ tsoʔme̲tsi$_{10}$, u$_{11}$ kutsi̲tónanu̲$_{12}$. 30. sitʌʌkʌ̲seʔ$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌhtsi$_4$, —mia$_5$ ranʌ$_6$. taa$_7$ haitsʌ̲ha$_8$ ranʌ$_9$ kʌhkupaʔi̲ha$_{10}$ suabetaʔi̲$_{11}$, tʌasʌ$_{12}$ nahkia$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ sʌmʌwasʌʔi̲$_{15}$. — me$_{16}$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{17}$. 31. sunihku$_1$ setʌ$_2$ taiboo$^{\prime}$$_3$ suhka$_4$ kakʌ̲sakatʌna$_5$ kwasinaboo$^{\prime}$a$_6$ pʌmʌmatʌna$_7$ kʌhkupaʔi̲ha$_8$ sʌmʌnanaarʌmuʔikʌnu̲$_9$. 32. usʌseʔ$_1$ tʌbitsi̲tʌ$_2$. 33. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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they$_4$ arrived$_5$ there$_1$ at$_3$ its$_2$ top$_3$, there$_6$ at$_8$ its$_7$ very top$_8$ (was) a big hole$_9$, and when$_{12}$ they$_{11}$ peeped$_{12}$ in it$_{10}$, wing noises$_{14}$ (are) in it$_{13}$. 26. These ones$_1$ prepared$_5$ there$_4$ that$_2$ explosive$_3$. 27. These ones$_3$ descending$_4$ /from that that place$_1$/ from that mountain$_2$, went$_4$ further off from it$_5$. 28. As$_5$ they$_4$ are looking$_5$ there$_1$ at$_3$ that$_2$ hole$_3$, /that one$_6$/ their$_7$ charge$_8$ exploded$_9$, scattered$_{15}$ /that$_{10}$/ those various$_{13}$ snakes$_{14}$ all over that$_{11}$ /all over the/ mountain$_{12}$. 29. These$_1$ white men$_2$ again$_3$ went$_5$ /to/ there$_4$, gathering$_{10}$ all together$_9$, those scattered$_6$ (remains) /what$_8$/ they$_7$ had blown out$_8$, set$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ on fire$_{13}$. 30. These ones$_1$, having done to$_4$ it$_3$ [them] that way$_2$, said$_{16}$ $_{17}$. —Let's$_4$ go$_5$. We$_7$ know$_{11}$ what killed$_{10}$ our$_7$ friend$_8$ also$_{12}$ (I) guess$_{13}$ (we) killed all of$_{15}$ it$_{14}$.— 31. In that way$_1$ those various$_2$ white men$_3$ told everyone about$_9$ those$_4$ winged$_5$ snakes$_6$ that killed$_8$ one of them$_7$. 32. That$_1$ is true$_2$. 33. That is all$_1$.

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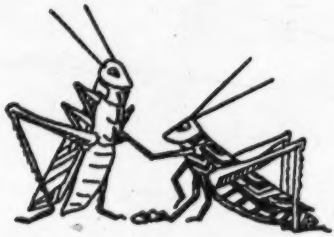
Oklahoma



IX

539 1. soobe'ʌʌkʌtsa'$_1$ ɤʌa$_2$ ahtakíl'$_3$ tʌmʌʌmi'anu$_4$. 2.—ibu$_1$ nʌ'$_2$ tabe$_3$ ikahpetu$_4$ manakwʌhu$_5$ nana'atahpu$_6$ naboorl$_7$ kwasu'i$_8$ tʌmʌʌkwatu'i$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 3. u$_1$ pia'kʌse'$_2$. — tʌa$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ o'ana$_5$ manakwʌ$_6$ miasuwaitu'i$_7$.— me$_8$ u$_9$ nilkwiiyu$_{10}$. 4. sitʌkʌse'$_1$ ahtakíl'$_2$. —natsatsa$_3$ taa$_4$ nomia'eku$_5$, u'ana$_6$ esitsʌnʌ'ikatʌ$_7$, tahʌ$_8$ na'nʌmʌnʌʌkabaiki$_9$ nʌ$_{10}$ yʌtsʌmia'eeku$_{11}$. —5.sitʌkʌse'$_1$ si'anstʌ$_2$ yʌtsʌhkwa$_3$ tʌmʌʌ-mi'atsi$_4$. 6. sitʌkʌse'$_1$ yʌtsʌmi'arʌ$_2$, yʌtsʌmi'arʌ$_3$, u$_4$ biarʌpinoo'karʌku$_5$, uma$_6$ karʌhúpiitʌ$_7$. 7. maa$_1$ ma$_2$ karʌkukʌse'$_3$ piawosa'ía'ra'$_4$ mawakatu$_5$ to'ihúpiitʌ$_6$. — hina$_7$ ʌnʌ$_8$?— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ nilkwiiyu$_{11}$. 8. surʌkʌse'$_1$. —

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, a grasshopper$_3$ went to buy$_4$.
2. —I$_2$ will go buy$_9$ (a) different kind of$_4$ designed$_7$ coat$_8$ (I will go) far away$_5$ this way$_1$ towards (the) going down$_4$ (of the) sun$_3$,— (he) said$_{10}$. 3. His$_1$ mother$_2$ said to$_{9\ 10}$ him$_9$. —You$_4$ continually$_3$ want to go$_7$ over there$_5$ far away$_6$.—
4. This$_1$ grasshopper$_2$ (said), —No matter$_3$? When$_5$ we$_4$ move$_5$, when$_{11}$ I$_{10}$ fly$_{11}$ among$_9$ our$_8$ relatives$_9$, there$_4$ (I) appear grey$_7$.— 5. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ flew off$_3$, /going/ to buy$_4$. 6. This one$_1$ goes flying$_2$, goes flying$_3$, where that big rock hill sits$_4$ $_5$, (it) stopped and sat$_7$ on it$_6$.
7. As$_3$ he$_3$ sat$_3$ on it$_1$, (a) big grasshopper$_2$ climbed$_4$ towards him$_5$ and stopped$_6$. —What$_7$ (do) you$_8$ (want)?— (he) said to$_{9\ 11}$

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●539 tsaa$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ naboori$_4$ kwasu?i$_5$ suwaaitʌ$_6$.— me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nana?atahputi$_2$ tʌrʌstʌpihta$_3$ himanu$_4$ uma$_5$ sihka$_6$ esi?ahtamúu?a$_7$ tʌ?ekanu$_8$. 10. —meeku$_1$ nabuuni$_2$.— mekʌse?$_3$ surʌ$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?ana$_2$ wʌnʌrʌ$_3$, nabuihwʌnʌbani$_4$. 12. —nohi?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ nabuniyu$_3$ nʌʌ$_4$.— mekʌse?$_5$ surʌ$_6$ esi?ahtamúu?$_7$. 13. —usʌ$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ bʌesʌ$_3$ tsaa$_4$ nabooris$_5$ nʌ$_6$ suwainihti$_7$ kwasu?utua?i$_8$. miaru?i$_9$ nʌ?$_{10}$.— usʌ$_{11}$ mekʌse?$_{12}$ suurʌ$_{13}$. 14. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ pitusʌ$_3$ yʌtsʌnukwa$_4$, so?ana$_5$ sehka$_6$ esi?ahtamúu?a$_7$ pʌkʌhu$_8$ sooyori?ikahtu$_9$ pitʌnu$_{10}$. 15. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ esi?ahtamúu?nʌʌ$_2$. —osʌ$_3$ hakarʌ$_4$ nanisuyake$_5$ naboorʌ$_6$ uku$_7$ tamʌkaba$_8$ kahtʌ$_9$.— 16. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$. —urʌ$_2$ u?$_3$ rʌmʌʌko?i?$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ urii$_3$ nasuyakeku$_4$, pʌnihku$_5$ uhka$_6$ pʌ$_7$ nara?urakʌ?iha$_8$ urii$_9$ tʌ?awekʌnu$_{10}$. 18. setʌkʌse?$_1$ esi?ahtamúu?$_2$ sebutu$_3$ tabe?ikahpetutu$_4$ sʌmʌyorinukwa$_5$, tʌʌ?nikatʌ$_6$, setʌ$_7$ sʌmʌkoyamanu$_8$, nananisuyake$_9$ setʌ$_{10}$

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him$_{10}$. 8. That one$_1$ said to$_7$ $_9$ him$_8$. —I$_3$ want$_4$ (a) nice$_2$ designed$_4$ coat$_5$.— 9. This one$_1$ took$_4$ different kinds of$_2$ little stones$_3$, with it$_5$ [them] (he) painted$_8$ this$_6$ grey grasshopper$_7$. 10. —Now$_1$ look at yourself$_2$,— that one$_4$ said to$_3$ $_6$ him$_5$. 11. This one$_1$ stands$_3$ here$_2$ looking at himself much$_4$. 12. —I$_4$ look$_3$ very$_1$ nice$_2$,— said$_5$ that$_4$ grasshopper$_7$. 13. —Already$_3$ I$_2$ received$_8$ that$_1$ nice$_4$ designed$_5$ coat$_6$ (the) way I want$_4$ $_7$. I$_{10}$ will go$_9$,— thus$_{11}$ said$_{12}$ that one$_{13}$. 14. At this place$_1$ that one$_2$ flew /off$_4$/ back$_3$; (and) arrived$_{10}$ there$_5$ (at the) place$_6$ (where) those various$_4$ grasshoppers$_7$ are flying a lot /to$_9$/. 15. Those$_1$ grasshoppers$_2$ (said), —Who$_4$ (is) that$_3$, (who) looks$_6$ pretty$_5$, (who) here$_7$ among us$_8$ /is/ sitting$_9$?— 16. One$_1$ said$_2$ $_4$. —It$_3$ (is) that one$_2$, returned from buying$_4$.— 17. As$_4$ they$_3$ wished for$_4$ that$_2$, that one$_1$ told$_{10}$ them$_9$ in that way$_5$ [how] he$_7$ met$_8$ that one$_6$. 18. These various$_1$ grasshoppers$_2$ all flew off$_5$ (in) various ways$_3$ towards the going down (of the) sun$_4$ (and they) stay$_6$ (and when) these various ones$_7$ all returned$_8$, these various

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Fairy Tales and Fables

539 naboohka$_{11}$. 19. suku$_{1}$ sehka$_{2}$ naboori$_{3}$ ahtamúu?a$_{4}$ naahkaku$_{5}$, atanaihtʌ$_{6}$ urʌʌkʌ$_{7}$ bitʌnu$_{8}$. 20. surʌkʌse?$_{1}$, —mʌnʌ$_{2}$ esi?ahtamúu?nʌʌ$_{3}$ hakanihku$_{4}$ nananisuyakeku$_{5}$ naboohka$_{6}$? — me$_{7}$ urii$_{8}$ niikwiiyu$_{9}$. 21. surʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$, -- tʌmʌʌyʌkarʌ$_{2}$ nʌnʌ$_{3}$. usʌ$_{4}$ sube?sʌ$_{5}$ suhka$_{6}$ esi?ahtamúu?a$_{7}$ tʌmʌʌko?ikatʌ$_{8}$ nihánu$_{9}$, tsaa$_{10}$ naboori$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ kwasu?utʌ-mʌʌhka$_{13}$. -- me$_{14}$ yʌkwitʌ$_{15}$. 22. subetʌ$_{1}$.

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ones$_{10}$ are designed$_{11}$ pretty$_{9}$. 19. As$_{5}$ those various$_{2}$ designed$_{3}$ grasshoppers$_{4}$ are livings there$_{1}$, one from a different kind$_{6}$ came up$_{8}$ to them$_{7}$. 20. That one$_{1}$ said to$_{7}$ them$_{8}$, —How is it$_{4}$ all you$_{2}$ grey grasshoppers$_{3}$ are designed$_{6}$ pretty$_{5}$?— 21. Those ones$_{1}$ are saying$_{14\ 15}$, --We$_{3}$ shopped around$_{2}$. Thus$_{4}$ at that time$_{5}$ when$_{13}$ he$_{12}$ bought$_{13}$ the nice$_{10}$ designed$_{11}$ coat$_{13}$ (someone) named$_{9}$ that$_{6}$ grey grasshopper$_{7}$ 'Is Returned From Buying$_{8}$'.-- 22. That is all$_{1}$.

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X

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsʌ?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ wakaré?ee?$_4$ tʌrʌebuhipʌ-
ha$_5$ hʌkikʌ$_6$ hʌkikahtʌ$_7$. 2. tʌtaatʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌe?tʌkʌse?$_3$
su?ana$_4$ ma$_5$ kʌma?kʌ$_6$ karʌrʌ$_7$, animuiha$_8$ pʌmi$_9$ pʌ$_{10}$
pia?a$_{11}$ maka?eku$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ rʌkʌhʌ́ni$_{14}$. 3. si?anakʌse?$_1$ mahri$_2$
yʌkwihkaku$_3$, piakwasinaboo?$_4$ marʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. sitʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ rʌhkapʌharuku$_4$ mʌh$_5$ tʌhkayʌ-
karʌʌ$_6$.— me$_7$ uhri$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 5. sitʌhkʌse?$_1$ wakaré-
?ee?nʌh$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kwahikupʌsʌ$_4$ wekwinu$_5$, ke$_6$ mama?ai$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$, suhka$_9$ kwasinaboo?a$_{10}$ tʌ?ʌyatʌ$_{11}$. 6. sitʌkʌ-
se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌma?ai$_3$ pʌ?$_4$ ke$_5$ mʌhi$_6$ niwʌnʌku$_7$,
ʌmi$_8$ mahrʌ$_9$ ahpʌ?a$_{10}$ piwokʌtsi$_{11}$, nuhkitu?i$_{12}$, — me$_{13}$ u$_{14}$
niikwiiyu$_{15}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ tuhúbʌhkanu$_3$. 8.
tuhuhʌkʌtsikʌ$_1$ pʌ$_2$ puihoikiti$_3$ ekapitʌma$_4$ pisáanu$_5$. 9. si-
tʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —ke$_3$ hina$_4$ supana?iitʌ$_5$, nánahbi-
so?ai$_6$ yʌyʌmuhkutʌ$_7$, nʌʌ?mai$_8$ wakaré?ee?$_9$, — me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$
niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ maatu$_3$ tunshtsʌ-

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539 825 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (a) turtle$_4$ is shade-sitting$_7$ in (the) shade$_6$ (of) little weeds$_5$. 2. As$_{12}$ its$_{10}$ mother$_{11}$ is feeding$_{12}$ flies$_8$ (to) it$_9$ [child]. her$_2$ little$_2$ child$_3$ is sitting$_7$ there$_4$ beside$_6$ her$_5$ eating$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ much$_{14}$. 3. As$_2$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ here$_1$, (a) big snake$_4$ arrived$_6$ to them$_5$. 4. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ them$_3$. --You two$_5$ are moving about eating$_6$ my$_3$ meat$_4$.— 5. These two$_1$ turtles$_2$ entered$_5$ in$_4$ their$_3$ backs$_4$ (and) talked$_6$ not$_6$ with him$_7$, (and) are afraid of$_{11}$ that$_9$ snake$_{10}$. 6. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{13}$ $_{15}$ him$_{14}$. —As$_7$ you two$_6$ are$_7$ not$_5$ talking$_7$ with me$_3$, I$_4$, will run$_{12}$, dragging$_{11}$ you$_8$, their$_9$ father$_{10}$.— 7. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ got angry$_3$. 8. Getting angry$_1$, around$_3$ his$_2$ eye$_3$ /he/ /applied$_5$/ /with/ red$_4$. 9. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ him$_{11}$. —Lazy$_8$ turtle$_9$, (you) don't$_3$ know$_5$ anything$_4$, (you) move$_7$ slowly$_6$.— 10. This$_1$ snake$_2$ ran$_4$ towards him$_3$, twisted$_9$ his$_5$

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539 nu̲u̲$_4$, pʌ$_5$ kwasi$_6$ ma$_7$ kwasihoiki̲$_8$ wʌ?kwipunanu̲u̲$_9$. 11. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, maai$_4$ piwokʌ̲tsi$_5$, puhikabaiki̲$_6$ maai$_7$ tsahpó?tsemi?a̲$_8$. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ suni$_3$ pʌmi$_4$ u$_5$ mʌʌmi?aku$_6$, tʌebuhipʌ̲ha$_7$ su?ana$_8$ wʌnʌku$_9$, mahoiki̲$_{10}$ nʌʌ?kwipunu̲kwa̲$_{11}$. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ suni$_3$ pʌmi$_4$ u$_5$ mʌʌhka$_6$, pʌ$_7$ kwasi$_8$ tsahká?anu̲u̲$_9$. 14. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ kwasinaboo?$_3$ kwasiwaaitʌ̲$_4$, nuhkínu̲u̲$_5$. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ nanʌsu?uyaa$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ u$_6$ mʌʌnu̲u̲$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu̲u̲$_9$. 16. sube?sʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ suni$_2$ uhka$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌhka$_5$, sʌsʌmʌ?$_6$ kwasinaboo?$_7$ pi?to?na?i̲$_8$. 17. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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539 825 (own) tail$_6$ around$_8$ his$_7$ (the turtle's) tail$_8$. 11. Acting on$_3$ him$_2$ that way$_1$, dragging$_5$ him$_4$, (he) went bouncing$_8$ him$_7$ through the weeds$_6$. 12. As$_6$ he$_5$ went acting on$_4$ him$_4$ that way$_3$, as$_9$ little weeds$_7$ are standing$_9$ there$_8$, this$_1$ turtle$_2$ went off wrapping himself$_{11}$ around it$_{10}$ [weeds]. 13. When$_4$ he$_5$ [the turtle] acted on$_4$ him$_4$ [the snake] that way$_3$, this$_1$ snake$_2$ pulled off$_9$ his$_7$ (own) tail$_8$. 14. At this place$_1$ this$_2$ snake$_3$ is without a tail$_4$, (and) ran away$_5$. 15. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$. —I$_3$ caused$_7$ him$_4$ to be$_7$ very$_3$ laughable$_4$.— 16. From that time$_1$, when$_5$ he$_4$ acted on$_5$ him$_3$ that way$_2$, some$_4$ snakes$_7$ are bobtailed$_8$. 17. That is all$_1$.

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XI

● 539 1. soobe'ʌkʌtsa'$_1$ zʌz$_2$ su'anz$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba'i$_5$.
2. surʌkʌse'$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ paraiboo'$_3$, —nomiaru'i$_5$ tanʌ$_6$, —me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 3. surʌʌkʌse'$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahni$_3$ tsahtʌ́wa-'inu$_4$, pʌʌ$_5$ tʌnoowapinii$_6$ tʌnookʌnu$_7$. 4. pʌmʌsu'$_2$ tʌhʌ́yakʌanu$_3$, pʌʌ$_5$ tʌrʌse'tii$_6$ pihímanu$_7$. 5. pʌʌ$_1$ tʌ-noowapinii$_2$ makʌtsi$_3$, nomi'anu$_4$. 6. sʌsʌmʌ'nʌʌ$_1$ na-'naí'bi$_2$ hunu'betu$_3$ mi'anu$_4$. 7. surʌkʌse'$_1$, —nʌmʌ$_2$ kahnikʌhu$_3$ nʌ'$_4$ mia$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwihtsi$_7$, okʌho$_8$ hunu-'ba'atu$_9$ to'inu$_{10}$. 8. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnibetuti$_2$ u$_3$ bunihkakʌse'$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ kahninʌʌ$_6$ kehéwa'i$_7$. 9. surʌkʌse'$_1$, —nomi'a'itu-ku$_2$ nʌnʌ$_3$,— ime$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 10. sitʌkʌse'$_1$ pu'etu$_2$ mi'anu$_3$, mi'anoorʌ$_4$, mi'anoorʌ$_5$, tukaninu$_6$. 11. su'a-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, somewhere there$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a camp$_5$. 2. /That one$_1$/ their$_2$ chief$_3$ said$_{4\ 7}$, —We$_5$ will move$_6$.— 3. Those ones$_1$ took down$_4$ their$_2$ teepees$_3$, (and) loaded$_7$ their$_5$ pack animals$_6$. 4. They also$_1$ mounted horseback$_2$, (and) put$_5$ their$_3$ children$_4$ behind$_6$ (them). 5. Driving$_3$ their$_1$ pack animals$_2$ (they) moved away$_4$. 6. The young woman of$_2$ some of them$_1$ went$_4$ towards the creek$_3$. 7. That one$_1$ came out$_{10}$ along (the) creek$_9$ over there$_8$ saying$_{4\ 7}$, —I$_4$ go$_5$ to$_3$ our$_2$ camp$_3$.— 8. As$_4$ she$_3$ looked$_4$ towards$_2$ their$_1$ camp$_2$, (she saw) their$_5$ teepees$_6$ were gone$_7$. 9. That one$_1$ said$_{4\ 5}$, —We$_3$ moved away$_2$.— 10. This one$_1$ went$_3$ along the trail$_2$, (she) travels$_4$, (and) travels$_5$, night came$_6$. 11. There$_1$ /from/

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nakʌse?$_1$ mamunai$_2$ hini; tuhânikina$_4$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mawaka$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$, siwaka$_4$ piawasápe?wakʌ$_5$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —hakahpu$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ mi?aayu$_5$?— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ na?nʌmʌnii$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ nʌe$_6$ nobʌahraikwʌka$_7$, urʌʌ$_8$ napʌhu$_9$ mi?arʌ$_{10}$, — mekʌ$_{11}$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —nʌma?aihtʌ$_3$ mia$_4$ mʌmʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$, — me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —haa$_3$. nah$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ʌma?ai$_6$ miaru?i$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ napʌha$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ sokokimarʌ$_6$, tawia?i$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —nʌba?a$_3$ tʌhʌyaro?i$_4$. ʌ$_5$ nomiaru-?i$_6$ nʌ?$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ maba?a$_2$ tʌhʌ́yaro?inu$_3$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$ ma$_3$ noohtsi$_4$, pisʌ́tʌkinukwa$_5$. 21. surʌkʌse?$_1$ so?ana$_2$ toyahkaba$_3$ u$_4$ noo?ikanu$_5$. 22. si?anakʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ biaroyahkarʌʌku$_3$, u$_4$ biaraiku$_5$, sitʌ$_6$ wasápe?$_7$, —itsa?$_8$ nʌ$_9$ kahni$_{10}$, — me$_{11}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{12}$. 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ kwʌhʌtsa?$_4$ kesuatʌ$_5$. nah$_6$ nʌ?$_7$ tsaaku$_8$ uma?ai$_9$ tekwaru?i$_{10}$. — mekʌse?$_{11}$ suurʌ$_{12}$. 24. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —wee$_3$.—

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in front of her$_2$ something$_3$ dark is coming$_4$. 12. This one$_1$ arrived$_3$ to it$_2$, to this$_4$ /to/ big bear$_5$. 13. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said to$_6$ her$_7$, —Which way$_3$ are$_5$ you$_4$ going$_5$?— 14. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{11}$, —When$_7$ [because] my$_3$ relatives$_4$ moved away and left$_7$ me$_6$, I$_5$ am following$_{10}$ their$_8$ tracks$_9$.— 15. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —Go$_4$ with me$_3$ to$_6$ your$_5$ camp$_6$.— 16. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{8\ 9}$, —Yes$_3$, I$_5$ just$_4$ will go$_7$ with you$_4$.— 17. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{8\ 9}$, —I$_5$ am coming walking$_6$, [and] wore out$_7$ my$_3$ moccasins$_4$.— 18. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said$_{8\ 9}$, —Mount$_4$ /on/ me$_3$. I$_7$ will go carrying$_6$ you$_5$.— 19. This one$_1$ mounted$_3$ on him$_2$. 20. This$_1$ bear$_2$, carrying$_4$ her$_3$, went off pacing$_5$. 21. That one$_1$ entered$_6$ over there$_2$ in the mountains$_3$ carrying$_5$ her$_4$. 22. Here$_1$, where that big mountain sits$_{2\ 3}$, where that big cave (is)$_{4\ 5}$ this$_6$ bear$_7$ said$_{11\ 12}$, —This$_8$ (is) my$_9$ home$_{10}$.— 23. This$_1$ bear$_2$ (said), —My$_3$ wife$_4$ is mean$_5$. I$_7$ just$_6$ will talk$_{10}$ with her$_9$ good$_8$.—

Fairy Tales and Fables

539 me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_4$. 25. —nʌ$_1$ kwʌhi$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ nʌ$_4$ rʌrʌe?tii$_5$ punitu?i$_6$ ʌkʌnaa$_7$.— mekʌse?$_8$ surʌ$_9$ suhka$_{10}$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 26. hunakwʌ$_1$ mahri$_2$ tobo?ihupitʌkakʌse?$_3$ u$_4$ kwʌha$_5$ mahrʌwakatu$_6$ piayakekatʌ$_7$, to?inu$_8$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ ihka$_5$ tʌtaati$_6$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_7$ marʌnipʌha$_8$ suwaitʌ$_9$.— me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌha$_3$ sihka$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ kahnikʌ$_7$ ni?ikanu$_8$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ makanu$_3$, pʌ$_4$ pomapʌha$_5$, natsamukwe?a$_6$, na?sêeka?a$_7$, na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_8$ tʌaa$_9$ na?tso?me?a$_{10}$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌma$_3$ ma$_4$ maka?iha$_5$ tʌhkarʌ$_6$, wihnu$_7$ tʌhkámanu$_8$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?a$_2$ kwʌha$_3$ ma$_4$ norʌnákʌnu$_5$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ʌhpʌ́inu$_2$. 33. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌetsʌkua$_2$ taayorinu$_3$, taarʌhkanu$_4$. 34. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_2$, — miaru?i$_3$ nʌ?$_4$,— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_4$. 35. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?a$_2$, —nah$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ mʌʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$ ʌ$_7$ tsaweehkwatu?i$_8$,— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 36. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_2$, —haa$_3$,— me$_4$ yʌkwiiyu$_5$. 37. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?a$_2$ tʌaa$_3$ ma$_4$ noohtsi$_5$, pu?etu$_6$ pisʌ́tʌkinukwa$_7$. 38. u$_1$ bianoo?baihku$_2$,

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said$_{11}$ that one$_{12}$. 24. That$_1$ bear$_2$ said to$_{4\ 6}$ her$_3$, —Get down$_3$.— 25. —I$_3$ will see$_4$ my$_1$ wife$_2$ (and) my$_4$ children$_5$ first$_7$.— that one$_9$ said to$_{8\ 12}$ that$_{10}$ woman$_{11}$. 26. As$_3$ they$_3$ stopped and stood$_3$ outside$_1$, his$_4$ wife$_5$, came out$_6$ towards them$_4$, is loudly crying$_7$. 27. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{10\ 11}$, —Don t$_4$ try$_9$ to hurt$_8$ this$_5$ little$_6$ woman$_7$.— 28. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ told$_6$ this$_4$ woman$_5$ to enter$_8$ into$_7$ their$_4$ house$_7$. 29. This one$_1$ fed$_3$ her$_2$, her$_4$ berries$_5$, grapes$_6$, persimmons$_7$, pecans$_8$ and$_9$ dried plums$_{10}$. 30. This one$_1$ is eating$_4$ what$_5$ she$_4$ fed$_6$ her$_3$, at this place$_2$ then$_7$ finished eating$_8$. 31. This$_1$ bear's$_2$ wife$_3$ made a bed for$_5$ her$_4$. 32. This one$_1$ slept$_2$. 33. These ones$_1$ early morning$_2$ got up$_3$, ate breakfast$_4$. 34. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{6\ 5}$, —I$_4$ will go$_3$.— 35. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ her$_{10}$. —I$_4$ just$_3$ will haul$_8$ you$_7$ off$_8$ to$_6$ your$_5$ camp$_4$.— 36. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{4\ 5}$, —Yes$_3$.— 37. This$_1$ bear$_2$, again$_3$ carrying$_5$ her$_4$, along the trail$_4$ went pacing$_7$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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u$_3$ biahahpa?niku$_4$, kahni$_5$ uhtu$_6$ yʌkwlhka$_7$. 39. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tsaaku$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$ nʌmʌ$_6$ kahnikʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ noohpitʌnu$_9$,— me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{11}$. 40. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa-?ihpʌ?$_2$ weenu$_3$. 41. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wasápe?$_2$, —mi?a?i$_3$ nʌ?$_4$,— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 42. sitʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ pia-?nʌʌkʌ$_4$ bitʌnu$_5$. 43. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ ka-?witsi$_4$, ma$_5$ pitʌ?imatu$_6$ na?okitʌ$_7$, nʌhkánu$_8$. 44. su-betʌ$_1$.

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38. Where that big hill was$_1$ $_2$, where that big level spot is $_3$ $_4$, teepees$_5$ are sitting$_7$ along there$_6$. 39. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{10}$ $_{11}$, —You$_5$ arrived carrying$_9$ me$_8$ to$_7$ our$_6$ camp$_7$ very$_3$ well$_4$.— 40. This$_1$ woman$_2$ got down$_3$. 41. This$_1$ bear$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$. —I$_4$ go$_3$.— 42. This$_1$ woman$_2$ arrived$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ mothers$_4$. 43. These$_1$ her$_2$ relatives$_3$ gathering together$_4$, are rejoicing$_7$ over$_6$ her$_5$ return$_6$, (and) danced$_8$. 44. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

XII

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_3$ mahími?anu$_4$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wahahtih$_2$ notsa?kanukwa$_3$. 3. sunikʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ nahami?aku$_3$, atabitsinʌʌ$_4$ urʌʌma$_5$ pahínu$_6$, urii$_7$ sʌmʌwasʌnu$_8$. 4. surʌkwʌrakakʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$ kʌanu$_3$. 5. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ bitusʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kahnibetu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 6. piaroyabihta$_1$ kʌma?ru$_2$ u$_3$ bu?ebaihku$_4$, uhtu$_5$ uhri$_6$ mi?akukʌse?$_7$ su?ana$_8$ bu?ekʌma?kʌ$_9$ nʌʌmʌ$_{10}$ papi$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ tsuhnipʌ$_{13}$ nahapʌ$_{14}$ su?ana$_{15}$ hahpi$_{16}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌi?$_3$, —ihka$_4$ buni$_5$, tʌih$_6$. — me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 8. —pʌwa?i$_1$ tahʌ$_2$ naahkwabikatu?iha$_3$, — me$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, u$_6$ sʌʌhpo?tsenu$_7$. 9. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?$_3$,

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, young men$_3$ went to fight$_4$.
2. Those ones$_1$ two$_2$ sweethearts went off with$_3$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ continued on$_3$ that way$_1$, other Indians$_4$ fell$_4$ [attacked] /on/ them$_5$, killed everyone of$_6$ them$_7$. 4. Only those two$_1$ women$_2$ got out of it$_3$. 5. These two$_1$ went$_2$ back$_3$ towards$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$. 6. Where that trail was$_3$ 4 along side of$_2$ a big mountain$_1$, as$_7$ they$_6$ went$_7$ along there$_8$, there somewhere$_8$ beside the trail$_9$, (a) human$_{10}$ head$_{11}$ that$_{12}$ (had) become$_{14}$ (a) skull$_{13}$ was lying$_{16}$ there$_{15}$. 7. This$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ said$_7$ s. —Look at$_2$ this$_4$, friend$_4$.— 8. —We$_2$ ourselves will be lying$_3$ like it$_1$,— (and so) saying$_4$ s. (she) kicked$_7$ it$_4$. 9. /That

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539 tʌ$_1$ u$_2$ papi$_3$ nʌʌmʌ$_4$ nahánu$_5$, mahrʌma?ai$_4$ tekwanu$_7$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, —ibu$_2$ nʌ?$_3$ miaru?i$_4$.— me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 25. —tai$_1$ bukutsakakʌkwatu?i$_2$ nʌ?$_3$,— me$_4$ yʌkwihtsi$_5$, uhrʌwahketʌ$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 26. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ piarosapitʌpa?a$_2$ karʌrʌ$_3$, si?ahru$_4$ mahrʌwaka$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ ma$_3$ tʌi?a$_4$, —nʌbinakwʌ$_5$ ro?i$_6$. mʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ nʌ?$_9$ ʌ$_{10}$ tsaweekwatu?i$_{11}$,— me$_{12}$ u$_{13}$ niikwiiyu$_{14}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ napekʌ$_3$ wʌnʌhtsi$_4$, mabinakwʌ$_5$ ro?inu$_6$. 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 30. suhka$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?a$_3$ bʌahtsi$_4$, uhri$_5$ mi?akukʌse?$_6$ ta?siwóo?$_7$ tʌaaʌ$_8$ arʌka?$_9$ tʌaaʌ$_{10}$ setʌ$_{11}$ huhtsúu?$_{12}$ uhrʌmunaikiyutʌ$_{13}$, nunurawʌna$_{14}$, setʌ$_{15}$ huhtsúu?$_{16}$ yo?yorinuna$_{17}$. 31. sitʌ$_1$ tsuhnipʌkʌse?$_2$, —ke$_3$ marʌʌ$_4$ nʌe$_5$ tʌ?ʌyatʌʌ$_6$,— me$_7$ yʌkwiiyu$_8$. 32. —ʌmi$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ ʌkwihkatʌ$_3$, tahi$_4$ tʌ?ʌyatʌʌ$_5$,— me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 33. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kahni$_3$ hakani$_4$ tosanabuniku$_5$ marʌʌkʌhu$_6$ kʌahupiitʌ$_7$. 34. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tʌi?a$_3$, —otsa?$_4$ ʌ$_5$ na?nʌmanʌʌ$_6$

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became$_3$ (an) Indian$_4$, talked$_7$ with them$_4$. 24. This one$_1$ said$_{5\ 6}$, —I$_3$ will go$_4$ this way$_2$. 25. I$_3$ will go to lead a horse for$_2$ us$_1$.— (So) saying$_{4\ 5}$ (he) went$_7$ away from them$_4$. 26. This one$_1$ is sitting$_3$ on a big white (horse$_2$), along here$_4$ (he) came up$_4$ to them$_5$. 27. This one$_1$ said to$_{13\ 14}$ her$_{13}$, this$_2$ her$_3$ friend$_4$, —Climb up$_4$ behind me$_5$. To$_2$ your camp$_3$ I$_9$ will take$_{11}$ you$_{10}$ off$_{11}$.— 28. This one$_1$, standing$_4$ on$_3$ his$_2$ foot$_3$, climbed up$_4$ behind him$_5$. 29. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$. 30. As$_4$ they$_5$ went$_6$, leaving$_4$ that$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$, buffalo$_7$ and$_8$ deer$_9$ and$_{10}$ various$_{11}$ birds$_{12}$ from in front of them$_{13}$ are running off$_{14}$, various$_{15}$ birds$_{16}$ are flying off$_{17}$. 31. This$_1$ skull$_2$ said$_{7\ 8}$, —They$_4$ are$_6$ not$_5$ afraid of$_6$ me$_5$.— 32. —They$_3$ are smelling$_3$ you$_1$, are afraid of$_3$ us$_4$,— (he) said$_{4\ 5}$. 33. This one$_1$ came out and came up$_7$ /to them$_4$/ (to) their (dual$_2$) teepees$_3$ somehow$_4$ appearing white$_5$. 34. This one$_1$ said to$_{2\ 3}$ her$_4$, his$_2$ friend$_3$, —That over

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kahni$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 35. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, —wee$_2$ meeku$_3$, — me$_4$ yʌhkwi$_5$. 36. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ weehtsi$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kahnibetu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$. 37. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tsuhnipʌ$_2$ u$_3$ papi$_4$ sima?ai$_5$ pʌ$_6$ pukuma?ai$_7$ tsu?manu$_8$. 38. subetʌ$_1$.

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there$_4$ /is/ your$_3$ relatives$_4$ camp$_7$. 35. This one$_1$ said$_4$ s, —Now$_3$ get off$_2$.— 36. This$_1$ woman$_2$ getting off$_3$, went$_4$ towards$_5$ her$_4$ camp$_5$. 37. This$_1$ skull$_2$ that$_3$ head$_4$ /with this$_5$/ with$_7$ his$_6$ horse$_7$ disappeared$_8$. 38. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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tahni?inukwahe$_8$, — me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu$_{10}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hunakwʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ narohtʌma?a$_2$ uranu$_3$, u$_4$ yaanu$_5$ pʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ tʌbinaa?wekiti$_8$ suku$_9$ narohtʌmakʌ$_{10}$ tʌkinu$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ narohtʌma?a$_{13}$ ukʌhu$_{14}$ marʌkí-?nenu$_{15}$. 11. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, su?ahru$_4$ pʌhʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ kʌma?ku$_7$ u$_8$ wihínu$_9$. 12. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ wanarohpetimi?anu$_3$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ uku$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$. 14. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tabebe?tu$_2$ wanarohpetinu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ tukaani$_5$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —mia$_4$ rakwʌ$_5$, — me$_6$ yʌkwiiyu$_7$. 16. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ puki$_5$ to?yanu$_6$. 18. sitʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ ma$_3$ kumahpʌ?$_4$ habinu$_5$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ hunaiki$_4$ pʌnʌ$_5$ nʌmiiyu$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kima$_4$ habiki$_5$. ʌnʌhahtu$_6$ hina$_7$ wehkíniinaʌ$_8$?— me$_9$ u$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$. 21. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ habimi?anu$_3$. 22. habihtsikʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ sʌmʌh$_3$ ke$_4$ ʌhpʌitʌsʌ$_5$ taanu$_6$, pʌ$_7$ puhiwihta$_8$ nasutamʌhabiitʌ$_9$.

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away$_8$.— 9. This one$_1$ went$_2$ outside$_3$. 10. This one$_1$ found$_2$ a can$_3$, took$_5$ it$_4$, put$_{11}$ half of$_8$ her$_6$ money$_7$ there$_9$ in the can$_{10}$, pressed down$_{15}$ its$_{12}$ lid$_{13}$ on it$_{14}$. 11. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that way$_1$, along there$_4$ threw$_9$ it$_8$ beside$_7$ their$_5$ house$_6$.
12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went to play cards$_3$.
13. These two$_1$ arrived$_3$ there$_2$. 14. These two$_1$ played cards$_3$ through the day$_2$ also$_4$ (through) night$_5$. 15. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{4\ 7}$. —Let us$_5$ go$_4$.— 16. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$, arrived$_6$ at$_5$ their$_4$ houses$_5$. 17. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ unhitched$_4$ their$_4$ horses$_5$. 18. Then$_3$ /this$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ laid down$_5$. 19. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ herself$_5$ was moving$_6$ about outside$_4$. 20. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ her$_{10}$, —Come$_4$ come lie down$_5$. What$_7$ are you /around$_6$/ looking around for$_8$?— 21. This one$_1$ then$_2$ went to lie down$_3$. 22. Lying down$_1$, this one$_2$ slept still$_3$ not$_4$ at all$_5$ [till] morning came$_6$, (but) lies thinking of$_9$ her$_7$ money$_8$. 23. This

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Humor in Ridicule

539 23. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_2$ taayʌtsʌnu$_3$, ʌkʌnaa$_4$ pʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ wehkímí?anu$_7$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ke$_2$ u$_3$ uraayu$_4$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kumahpʌ?a$_5$, —kima$_6$. tʌhkaru?i$_7$ tah$_8$,— me$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 26. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kumahpʌ-?a$_3$, —nʌ$_4$ buhiwihta$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ narchtʌmakʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ rʌki?ha$_9$ watsikʌ?i$_{10}$.— me$_{11}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{12}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —kʌhtaa$_4$ ma?$_5$ nʌe$_6$ tukaani$_7$.— me$_8$ yʌ-kwiiyu$_9$. 29. —nahkia$_1$ u?$_2$ po?ayaahkwa?i$_3$,— mekʌse?$_4$ surʌ$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$. 30. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nahma?ai$_2$ ma$_3$ wehkitʌ$_4$, ma$_5$ wehkitʌ$_6$, ʌʌmʌsokorʌtsʌpʌkahku$_7$ ma$_8$ uranu$_9$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ na?okiiyu$_4$. 32. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ kahnibetu$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ puhiwihta$_6$ urahtsi$_7$. 33. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ kwasikʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ puhiwihta$_7$ suni$_8$ mʌʌrʌ$_9$. puhihwikahnikʌ$_{10}$ rakwʌ$_{11}$ tahʌ$_{12}$ puhiwihta$_{13}$ sibe?nikiyutʌ$_{14}$, puhihwikahni-kʌ$_{15}$ tahni?i?etu?i$_{16}$.— me$_{17}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{18}$.

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539 one$_1$ early morning$_2$ got up$_3$, first$_4$ went to look for$_7$ her$_5$
522 money$_6$. 24. This one$_1$ did not$_2$ find$_4$ it$_3$. 25. This one$_1$ then$_2$ cooked$_3$, said to$_{9\ 10}$ her$_6$ husband$_5$, —Come$_6$. We$_8$ will eat$_7$.— 26. These two$_1$ ate$_2$. 27. This one$_1$ said to$_{11\ 12}$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ —I$_4$ lost$_{10}$ my$_4$ money$_5$ what$_9$ I$_8$ put$_9$ in (the) can$_7$.— 28. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{8\ 9}$ —Wind$_4$ it$_5$ (was) hard$_4$ last night$_7$.— 29. —(I) guess$_1$ it$_2$ blowed away$_3$.— that one$_5$ said$_{4\ 6}$. 30. These two$_1$ together$_2$ are looking for$_4$ it$_3$, are looking for$_6$ it$_5$, one mile away$_7$ (they) found$_9$ it$_8$. 31. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ was rejoicing$_4$. 32. These two$_1$ went$_4$ towards$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, their$_5$ money$_6$ finding$_7$. 33. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_{17\ 18}$. —Next time$_5$ don't$_4$ treat$_9$ your$_6$ money$_7$ that way$_8$. From now on$_{14}$ /in the bank$_{10}$/ we$_{11}$ will put$_{16}$ our$_{12}$ money$_{13}$ in the bank$_{15}$.—

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XIV

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ sʌ?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$.
2. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ tomoanu$_3$. 3. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$
nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —narʌ?ʌya$_3$ nabuniiku$_4$ ma?$_5$ tomoa?i$_6$, — me$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ʌmʌhúpiitʌ$_2$, tʌasʌ$_3$ kʌhtáa-
nʌenu$_4$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ sekwikʌnikʌhu$_4$
tunehtsʌʌnu$_5$, ma$_6$ tsʌhkínu$_7$. 6. makuhpa$_1$ marii$_2$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌse?$_3$ si?anetʌ$_4$ marʌʌba?etʌ$_5$, piakwasinaboo?$_6$
wʌhkitsu?tsu?ikatʌ, si?ana$_8$ piahuuhpa?aiki$_9$ suhka$_{10}$ se-
kwikʌni$_{11}$ tʌbinaa?weki$_{12}$ habitʌ$_{13}$, pa?a$_{14}$ habiiyu$_{15}$. 7.
pʌ$_1$ wʌhkitsu?tsu?i?a$_2$ piahakai$_3$ pipikúkʌ?eeyu$_4$. 8. sitʌʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —ohkaka$_3$ tʌbitsi$_4$ narʌ?ʌyati$_5$ kwasi-
naboo?a$_6$ wʌhkuupa$_7$, — me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 9. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$

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539 522 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$ somewhere$_3$.
2. It$_1$ clouded up$_3$ much$_2$. 3. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ said$_7$ $_8$ —It$_5$
looks$_6$ dangerous$_3$ clouding up$_4$.— 4. It$_1$ began to rain$_2$ and$_3$
(the) wind blew hard$_4$. 5. These$_1$ Indians$_2$ ran$_5$ to$_6$ their$_3$
cellar$_4$ (and) crowded$_7$ it$_8$. 6. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ in it$_1$,
at this place$_4$ a big snake$_6$ is lying$_{13}$. /is/ rattling$_7$, /is/
over them$_8$, there$_9$, over$_{14}$ along (a) big log$_9$ (it) was lying$_{15}$
(in the) middle of$_{12}$ that$_{10}$ cellar$_{11}$. 7. (He) was making$_4$
some kind of big$_3$ noise with$_4$ his$_1$ rattles$_2$. 8. These$_1$ In-
dians$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$, —Kill$_7$ that$_3$ very$_4$ dangerous$_5$ snake$_6$.—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_{2}$, —kʌa$_{3}$ ran$_{4}$,— me$_{5}$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{6}$. 539
10. —tamʌba?atu$_{1}$ ma?$_{2}$ pahitu?i$_{3}$,— me$_{4}$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{5}$.
11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_{1}$ wa?ihpʌ?$_{2}$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_{3}$ ma$_{4}$ ʌmaku$_{5}$, ma$_{6}$ baho?ʌmaku$_{7}$, tʌasʌ$_{8}$ kʌhtaa$_{9}$ ma$_{10}$ nʌeku$_{11}$, hunakwʌhi$_{12}$ ke$_{13}$ bʌkʌhu$_{14}$ to?iwa?i$_{15}$ nanakakukʌse?$_{16}$ surʌ$_{17}$, —nʌtsa?$_{18}$ to?itu?i$_{19}$,— me$_{20}$ yʌkwiiyu$_{21}$. 12. si?anetʌkʌse?$_{1}$ sitʌ$_{2}$ marʌʌhkutʌ$_{3}$, ma$_{4}$ tsahwihtsi$_{5}$, to?inu$_{6}$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ hunu?betu$_{2}$ nuhkínu$_{3}$. 14. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ ma$_{2}$ nʌena$_{3}$ u?ahru$_{4}$ ma$_{5}$ wanʌʌhkupa?eeyu$_{6}$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_{2}$ kuya?anu$_{3}$, si?ahru$_{4}$ hunu?matu$_{5}$ pohpínu$_{6}$, si?ana$_{7}$ tʌpanaruhka$_{8}$ karʌnu$_{9}$. 16. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ hunu?bi$_{2}$ pʌ$_{3}$ tʌhpe?ku$_{4}$ okwehkina$_{5}$. 17. pʌkʌ$_{1}$ ma$_{2}$ karʌna$_{3}$ sʌmʌbaaruanu$_{4}$. 18. si?anakʌse?$_{1}$ pibiakwasinaboo?$_{2}$ ma$_{3}$ okwema-?ai$_{4}$ mawakatu$_{5}$ pakwabihkwaina$_{6}$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ tʌbitsi$_{2}$ kuya?anu$_{3}$. 20. —noo$_{1}$ nʌ?$_{2}$,— mekʌse?$_{3}$ sitʌ$_{4}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{5}$, pʌʌ$_{4}$ kahnikʌhu$_{7}$ nuhkínu$_{8}$. 21. sitʌʌ$_{1}$ kwasinaboo?ʌʌ$_{2}$ ma$_{3}$ manukíkʌnu$_{4}$, pʌmʌwa?itisʌ$_{5}$ sukʌhu$_{6}$ hunu?matu$_{7}$ u$_{8}$ namanukika$_{9}$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_{1}$ wihnu$_{2}$ pʌʌ$_{3}$ wobikʌnikʌ$_{4}$

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9. Those$_{1}$ women$_{2}$ said$_{3}$ $_{4}$. —Let's$_{4}$ go out$_{5}$.— 10. —It$_{2}$ will fall$_{3}$ on us$_{1}$,— (they) said$_{4}$ $_{5}$. 11. As$_{3}$ it$_{4}$ rained$_{5}$ a lot$_{6}$, as$_{7}$ it$_{8}$ hailed$_{7}$, also$_{8}$ as$_{11}$ it$_{10}$ blew$_{11}$ hard$_{9}$, as (it) sounded$_{16}$ outside$_{12}$ (as) not$_{13}$ place$_{14}$ can't [to] go out$_{15}$, that /one$_{17}$/ one$_{1}$ woman$_{2}$ said$_{20}$ $_{21}$. —I$_{18}$ will go out$_{19}$.— 12. At this place$_{1}$ this one$_{2}$, opening$_{5}$ it$_{4}$, went out$_{4}$ from them$_{3}$. 13. This one$_{1}$ ran$_{3}$ towards the creek$_{2}$. 14. /This$_{1}$/ that$_{2}$ wind$_{3}$ along there$_{4}$ was knocking$_{4}$ her$_{5}$ down$_{4}$. 15. This one$_{1}$ was frightened$_{3}$ a lot$_{2}$, jumped$_{4}$ along here$_{4}$ on to the creek$_{5}$ sat$_{9}$ here$_{7}$ under the bank$_{8}$. 16. This$_{1}$ creek$_{2}$ its$_{3}$ fullness$_{4}$ came flowing$_{5}$. 17. Where$_{1}$ she$_{2}$ is sitting$_{3}$ is all under water$_{4}$. 18. Here$_{1}$ big snakes$_{2}$ with$_{4}$ its$_{3}$ flow$_{4}$ are swimming around$_{4}$ towards her$_{5}$. 19. This one$_{1}$ really$_{2}$ was scared$_{3}$. 20. Saying$_{3}$ $_{5}$, —I$_{2}$ must$_{1}$ (go),— this one$_{4}$, ran$_{8}$ to$_{7}$ their$_{6}$ house$_{7}$. 21. These$_{1}$ snakes$_{2}$ made$_{4}$ her$_{3}$ run$_{4}$, as$_{9}$ she$_{8}$ ran away from$_{9}$ one just like them$_{5}$ there$_{4}$ on to the creek$_{7}$. 22. This one$_{1}$ then$_{2}$ arrived and entered$_{3}$, in$_{4}$ their$_{3}$ wooden house$_{4}$ /is/ all 539 522

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Humor in Ridicule

539 ikʌhúpiitʌ̨₃, sʌmʌba?i̱soketʌ̨₄. 23. sitʌʌkʌ̨se?₁ ma₂ na-?nʌmʌnʌʌ₃, --hakʌ̨kia₄ urʌ₅ pihisi?apʌ̨₆ wa?ihpʌ?₇? -- me₈ niwʌnʌʌyu̱₉. 24. sitʌkʌ̨se?₁ si?ahru₂ marʌʌkʌ̨hu₃ to?inu̱₄, pʌ₅ kwasu?i₆ sʌmʌ̨sihwapʌ̨naihku̱₇. 25. sitʌʌ-kʌ̨se?₁ ma₂ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ₃ maaitʌ̨₄ nanihtokwe̱ka̱₅. 26. su-kʌ̨hu₁ sitʌ₂ tʌmarʌʌmoaku₃ urii₄ kʌhtánʌenu̱₅, pahoopima₆ tʌasʌ₇ urii₈ ʌmanu̱₉. 27. subetʌ̨₁.

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539 wet₄. 23. These₁ her₂ relatives₃ said₄ ₅. --Wonder where₄
522 that /one₅/ coward₆ woman₇ is₄?-- 24. This one₁ along here₂ went up₄, to them₃ as₇ her₅ dress₆ had been all torn₇.
25. These₁ her₂ relatives₃ were laughing₅ at her₄. 26. There₁ this₂ much₃ wind blew hard₅ (on) them₄ (and) hail₆ also₇ rained on₈ them₉. 27. That is all₁.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XV

539 1. soobe?sʌtsa?$_1$ rʌsa$_2$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ waahkusi?okwe?betu$_4$ mi-?anu$_5$. 2. tamutʌso?ihunu?ma$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$, —ʌbia$_3$. 4. hunu?betu$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ pomaakwa$_4$. — 5. surʌʌ$_1$ hunu?betu$_2$ mi-?anu$_3$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?a$_4$ wʌhpómi?inu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ uma$_7$ sohokʌahtsi$_8$, u$_9$ wʌyumi?i-nu$_{10}$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, --nʌtsa?$_3$ sohoro?itu?i$_4$, — me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu$_6$, sʌmʌ?ma$_7$ to?inu$_8$. 8. okoba?a$_1$ to-?itsi$_2$, suhka$_3$ huuhpihta$_4$ moke$_5$ tahkobʌtsi$_6$, pahihkitʌ$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ sʌmʌ?ma$_9$ u$_{10}$ mokama$_{11}$ tsaninu$_{12}$. 9. sohkotʌ$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tsanihkutʌ$_3$ wenuunukina$_4$. 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?nʌʌ$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went$_5$ towards grey flow-
522 ing cedar creek$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ camped$_3$ on Briar Creek$_1$. 3. Their$_1$ womenfolk$_2$ (said), —Oh$_3$, 4. let's$_1$ go to pick$_4$ pecans$_3$ on to the creek$_1$.— 5. Those ones$_1$ went$_3$ on to the creek$_2$. 6. These ones$_1$ cut down$_5$ some of$_4$ these$_2$ pecans$_3$, also$_6$ climbing$_8$ on it$_7$ [the tree], knocked$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them] down$_{10}$. 7. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$, —I$_3$ will climb up$_4$,— (and)went up$_8$ on one$_7$. 8. Climbing$_2$ on there$_1$, that$_3$ tree$_4$ limb$_5$ (is) breaking$_6$, (she) is coming-falling$_7$, again$_8$ (she) got hung$_{12}$ on one$_9$ (of) its$_{10}$ limb /on$_{11}$/. 9. From there$_1$, from$_3$ her$_2$ perch$_4$ (she) swung back and forth$_4$. 10. Those$_1$ her$_2$

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Comanche Texts

uhka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ tsapʌhetu?iha$_6$ mʌninu$_7$. 11. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ 539
tenahpʌ?$_2$ tʌhʌyakarʌrʌ$_3$, uba?a$_4$ wʌnʌhtsi$_5$, u$_6$ tsapʌhé-
nu$_7$. 12. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ poma-
nu$_4$. 13. wʌahkusi?okwe?kʌhi$_1$ uma$_2$ tʌmʌʌnu$_3$, tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_4$ puhíhwitsanu$_5$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sooko$_2$ narʌhka-
?rʌmʌʌnu$_3$. 15. wihnu$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌku$_3$ pitusʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
16. setʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ kohtoohtsi$_3$, tʌkʌhmaniiyu$_4$.
17. si?ahrukʌse?$_1$ waikinʌ$_2$ nanakwʌhʌnʌh$_3$ pʌpa?a$_4$ yʌkwi-
hkana$_5$ nuhkikitʌ$_6$, marʌʌkʌ$_7$ wʌnʌnu$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$, —kwʌʌpʌ$_3$. weehtsi$_4$, tahi$_5$ tʌkʌhmanikʌ$_6$. —
me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$
tʌkʌhtʌmʌʌpʌha$_5$ yaahtsi$_6$, urʌʌ$_7$ kohtoopʌkahtu$_8$ u$_9$
nʌʌhkwitubinikwʌsʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ wihínu$_{12}$. 20. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$
wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ u$_3$ su?uyaa?inu$_4$. 21. —soo$_1$ ma?$_2$ hibihka-
tʌ$_3$. — me$_4$ u$_5$ niikwiiyu$_6$. 22. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$,
—hipe?se?$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?$_5$ senihku$_6$ tʌkʌhmani?eeyu$_7$? —
23. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$, —pia$_3$ rʌa$_4$ noo$_5$ u$_6$
makwinumʌtsi$_7$. — me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.

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friends$_3$ they$_5$ will take down$_6$ that one$_4$ (but they) couldn't$_7$. 539
11. One$_1$ man$_2$ is on horseback$_3$, standing$_5$ on it$_4$ took$_7$ her$_6$ 522
down$_7$. 12. These$_1$ women$_2$ picked$_4$ a lot$_3$. 13. In Wichita
Falls$_1$ (they) traded$_3$ for it$_2$, got$_5$ much$_4$ money$_3$. 14. Those
ones$_1$ bought$_3$ lots of$_2$ groceries$_3$. 15. Then$_1$ that$_2$ mornings
(they) moved$_5$ back$_4$. 16. Those various$_1$ women$_2$, making a
fire$_3$, were cooking$_4$. 17. Along there$_1$ a wagon$_2$, (with) a
married couple$_3$ sitting$_5$ on it$_4$ is coming-running$_6$, (and)
stopped$_8$ among them$_7$. 18. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ her$_3$.
—Wife$_5$! Getting off$_4$, cook for$_6$ us$_8$.— 19. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$
taking$_6$ their$_4$ bought food$_5$ into$_8$ their$_7$ fire$_8$ threw$_{12}$ /it$_{11}$/
that$_9$ still wrapped package$_{10}$. 20. Those$_1$ women$_2$ laughed
at$_4$ her$_3$. 21. —Lots$_1$ she$_2$ has drunk$_3$,— said to$_{4\ 6}$ her$_5$.
22. That$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), —Since when$_4$ (does) woman$_5$
cook$_7$ in this way$_6$?— 23. Those$_1$ women$_2$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$.
—Must$_5$ /be/ because$_{3\ 4}$ /of/ having made$_7$ her$_6$ dizzy$_7$.—

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Oklahoma

XVI

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ wahahtʌh$_3$ nʌmʌrenanʌh$_4$ narʌmʌʌ-?kʌhu$_5$ puhíhwʌhimami?aayu$_6$. 2. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ kahnikatʌhʌwaka$_3$ bitʌnu$_4$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hina$_3$ mʌkwʌ$_4$?— me$_5$ uhri$_6$ niikwliyu$_7$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$, —mʌhʌwaka$_2$ nʌkwʌ$_3$ rabetʌhkaki?$_4$,— mekʌ$_5$. 5. sitʌʌ-kʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 6. tʌkʌtsi$_1$, oyetʌ$_2$ narʌmʌʌ?kʌhu$_3$ mi-?aayu$_4$. 7. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌwaka$_2$ mahri$_3$ tʌhka?inʌkwʌ$_4$ mahrʌmunakwʌ$_5$ nuraami?a$_6$. 8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ hunu?matu$_2$ weenu$_3$. 9. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ nanakwʌhanʌkwʌ$_2$ paatʌbinaa$_3$ tobo?inu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ pukuhnihi$_6$ hibikʌtu?i$_7$. 10. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌkwʌ$_2$ mahrʌbinakwʌ$_3$ ukʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ uhrʌmatʌ$_2$ pʌhi$_3$ tsahanitʌ$_4$ tʌpanabetu$_5$ pʌhʌ$_6$ pukuhnih$_7$ tsahkʌ́anu$_8$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ natsa?ani?$_3$ pʌnʌsu?a$_4$ tʌpanabá?a$_5$ to?ikwa$_6$. 13. sura$_1$ naahtsi$_2$, sitʌhi$_3$ tena-nih$_4$ paakʌhu$_5$ to?kwʌrianu$_6$. 14. mahrʌ$_1$ natsa?ani?$_2$ muhpa?araihtu$_3$ wʌhtʌ́kwanu$_4$, mahri$_5$ mana?koroominu$_6$.

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539 522 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, two$_3$ Indian man$_4$ went$_5$ to town$_6$ to get money$_7$. 2. These two$_1$ arrived$_2$ there$_3$ at a couple's home$_3$. 3. That$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_3$ them$_4$, —What$_5$ you two$_6$ (want)?— 4. These two$_1$ said$_2$, —To you$_3$ we$_4$ came to eat supper$_5$.— 5. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 6. (After) eating$_1$, all$_2$ were going$_3$ to town$_4$. 7. These two$_1$, they$_2$ [who] ate$_3$, with them$_4$ went moving$_5$ in front of them$_6$. 8. These ones$_1$ went down$_2$ on to the creek$_3$. 9. These two$_1$, the man and wife$_2$, stopped$_3$ in the middle of the water$_4$, (and) will water$_5$ their$_6$ horses$_7$. 10. These two$_1$ men$_2$ went down$_3$ to it$_4$ behind them$_5$. 11. This$_1$ one of them$_2$ [who] is driving for$_3$ them$_4$, made$_5$ their$_6$ horses$_7$ go up$_8$ on to the bank$_9$.
12. This$_1$ their$_2$ buggy$_3$ it also$_4$ went up$_5$ on the bank$_6$.
13. That way$_1$ happening$_2$, these two$_3$ men$_4$ were spilled out$_5$ in the water$_6$. 14. Their$_1$ buggy$_2$ fell$_3$ upside down$_4$, and

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Comanche Texts

15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ pʌhi$_2$ tsahanitʌ$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ narʌmuhki$_5$ ke$_6$ bʌa?i̲$_7$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ̲$_4$, su?ahru$_5$ kuro?inu̲$_6$. 17. sitʌ̲su?akʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pukuhnʌruhketʌ̲$_5$, pamukwarʌ?rʌkitʌ̲$_6$, su?ahru$_7$ kuro?inu̲$_8$. 18. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ haitsi$_3$, —yee$_4$. nʌnʌmʌni-tʌhtʌʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ tʌtsʌ̲haniku̲$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 19. si-tʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ mahrʌwakatu$_3$ tunetsʌ̲tsi$_4$, mahrʌ$_5$ natsa?ani?a$_6$ tsahkárʌkʌnu̲$_7$. 20. mahrʌ$_1$ tsowekwa?kʌ̲se?$_2$ okwenu̲kwa̲$_3$. 21. sitʌkwʌ̲$_1$ suni?yutʌ̲sʌ$_2$ puhihwikahnikʌ̲$_3$ wekwʌ̲húpiitʌ̲$_4$. 22. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ puhihwiparaiboo?$_2$, —mʌ-kwʌ̲kia$_3$ hakani$_4$ nahánu̲$_5$?— me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu̲$_8$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ uhrʌmatʌ$_3$, —paakʌ̲hutsa?$_4$ iitʌ$_5$ nʌhi$_6$ tsayuma?i̲$_7$.— mekʌ$_8$. 24. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ puhi-hwiparaiboo?$_2$ uhri$_3$ puhíhwimakanu̲$_4$. 25. —meeku$_1$ bʌ-kwʌ̲$_2$, haitsi̲nʌkwʌ̲$_3$, namʌ̲soapʌ̲rʌmʌʌkwa$_4$ pʌkwʌ̲$_5$.— me$_6$ uhri$_7$ niikwiiyu̲$_8$. 26. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ nʌʌmʌ$_3$, —tsaa-kumasʌ$_4$ nʌʌ$_5$ kwasú?u̲tʌmʌʌnu̲$_6$, puhihwiparaiboo?atsa?$_7$ haitsi̲katʌ$_8$.— mekʌ$_9$. 27. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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covered$_4$ them$_5$ up$_6$. 15. This one$_1$ [who] is driving for$_3$ them$_2$, (did) not$_4$ let go of$_7$ their$_4$ reins$_5$. 16. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ began making bubbles$_4$, bobbed up$_5$ along there$_5$. 17. This one also$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ gets out from under$_5$ their$_4$ horses$_5$ begins making bubbles$_6$, bobbed up$_5$ along there$_7$. 18. This$_1$ his$_2$ friend$_3$ said to$_5$ $_{10}$ him$_9$, —Oh$_4$! Surely bad$_5$ when$_7$ you$_6$ drive$_7$.— 19. This$_1$ man$_2$ running$_4$ towards them$_3$, set up$_7$ their$_5$ buggy$_4$. 20. Their$_1$ hats$_2$ floated off$_3$. 21. These two$_1$ are still that way$_2$ (when they) arrived and entered$_4$ in (the) bank$_3$. 22. This$_1$ banker$_2$ said to$_5$ $_8$ them$_7$, —What$_4$ happened$_5$ you two$_3$?— 23. This$_1$ one$_2$ of them$_3$ said$_5$, —In the water$_4$ this one$_5$ made$_7$ us$_6$ fall$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ banker$_2$ gave money to$_4$ them$_3$. 25. —Now$_1$ you two$_2$ friends$_3$, /you two$_3$/ go to buy clothes$_4$,— (he) said to$_5$ $_8$ them$_7$. 26. That$_1$ one$_2$ Indian$_3$ said$_5$, —I$_3$ did$_4$ buy$_5$ (a) good$_4$ suit$_4$, (I) have$_8$ (a) banker$_7$ friend$_9$.— 27. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XVII

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ pʌi$_3$ puhihwʌhimaru?ika$_4$, nʌmʌna-rʌmʌʌ?nʌʌkʌma?kʌ$_5$ nobitʌnu$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pʌetsʌ-ku$_3$ sʌ?sʌmʌhku$_4$ buhihwʌhimanu$_5$. 3. u$_1$ yʌihkakʌse?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ nanahtenanʌʌ$_4$ sookʌnikʌhu$_5$ hibimi?anu$_6$. 4. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ tukaninu$_2$, tsaa$_3$ mʌahtabeba?i$_4$. 5. yʌihtʌkʌtsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ kahnikʌ$_3$ marii$_4$ yʌkwihkaku$_5$, marʌʌ$_6$ kʌma?kʌrʌ$_7$ pibianiwʌnʌʌyu$_8$, rʌasʌ$_9$ pibiawaa?akiiyu$_{10}$. 6. marʌʌ$_1$ na?renahpʌ?kʌse?$_2$, —yee$_3$. urii$_4$ bunitu?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$,-- mekʌ$_7$ marii$_8$ bunihtsi$_9$, ikahki$_{10}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —usʌ$_4$ hakarʌ$_5$ hibihka$_6$?— mekʌ$_7$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ na?renahpʌ?$_3$, —namaka?mukitsika$_4$ taa$_5$ tʌrʌe?tii$_6$ betsʌ-

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539 522 1. Long ago$_1$, when$_4$ they$_3$ will receive money$_4$. Indians$_2$ camped$_4$ beside Indian stores$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ received money$_5$ one hundred apiece$_4$. 3. When$_2$ it$_1$ was night$_2$, their$_3$ menfolk$_4$ went$_6$ to town$_5$ to drink$_4$. 4. It$_1$ got dark$_2$, (but it) had$_4$ [was] good$_3$ moonlight$_4$. 5. Eating supper$_1$, as$_5$ they$_4$ are sittings$_5$ in$_3$ their$_2$ house$_3$, (there) are beside$_7$ them$_6$ many (who) are talking loudly$_8$, also$_9$ many are shouting loudly$_{10}$. 6. Their$_1$ man relative$_2$ said$_7$, —Oh$_3$! I$_4$ will look at$_5$ them$_4$,-- looking at$_9$ them$_8$, came in$_{10}$. 7. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ said$_7$, —Who is$_5$ that$_4$, (who) is drinking$_6$?— 8. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said), —Getting ready$_4$, our$_5$ children$_6$ taking along$_7$, to those ones$_8$ to

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Comanche Texts

htsi$_{7}$, orʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{8}$ motsotaiboo?ʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{9}$ nuraa$_{10}$.— 9. marii$_{1}$ 539
kʌakwʌ̲ka$_{2}$, sitʌʌ$_{3}$ hibipʌ̲nʌʌ$_{4}$ pibiatsuhniniwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{5}$, tʌasʌ$_{6}$
ta?kwʌ̲bainu̲$_{7}$. 10. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ wa?ihpʌ?$_{2}$ sʌmʌ?$_{3}$ rʌasʌ$_{4}$
pʌwa?iti$_{5}$ rʌrʌe?tʌkati$_{6}$ nimainu̲$_{7}$. 11. --kima$_{1}$. 12. orʌʌ-
kʌ̲hu$_{1}$ tanʌ$_{2}$ raiboo?ʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{3}$ nuraa$_{4}$.— mekʌ$_{5}$. 13. sitʌ-
kwʌ̲kʌse?$_{1}$ nahmetʌ̲$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ ohnáa?rʌrʌe?tihi$_{4}$ habikonokoko$_{5}$
tohímʌ̲ka$_{6}$. 14. si?anetʌ̲kʌse?$_{1}$ sitʌʌ$_{2}$ urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_{3}$ nuraanu̲$_{4}$,
marʌʌ$_{5}$ nʌʌhtʌmakʌ̲$_{6}$ wekwinu̲$_{7}$. 15. si?anakʌ̲se?$_{1}$ marʌʌ$_{2}$
huumasʌapʌ̲$_{3}$ ʌkʌ̲sʌ$_{4}$ soohpuhikatʌ$_{5}$ pʌtuhkati$_{6}$ tuhʌkia-
hkaku$_{7}$, wʌnʌʌyu̲$_{8}$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ mahrʌmatʌ$_{2}$, —iki$_{3}$
tanʌ$_{4}$ ituhka$_{5}$ piahuuhpa?a$_{6}$ yʌkwi$_{7}$.— mekʌ$_{8}$. 17. sitʌʌ-
kʌ̲se?$_{1}$ wohyaku$_{2}$ maba?a$_{3}$ yʌkwinu̲$_{4}$. 18. marii$_{1}$ yʌkwi-
hkakukʌ̲se?$_{2}$ sokʌ̲hʌ$_{3}$ marʌʌ$_{4}$ kahnikʌ̲$_{5}$ pibianiwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{6}$,
rʌasʌ$_{7}$ na?ʌ̲ruuyu̲$_{8}$. 19. pʌi$_{1}$ yʌkwihkakukʌ̲se?$_{2}$ sʌmʌ?$_{3}$
mahrʌmatʌna$_{4}$ tua?kʌ̲se?$_{5}$, —piah$_{6}$. hipa?a$_{7}$ tanʌ$_{8}$ yʌkwihka$_{9}$?—
mekʌ$_{10}$. 20. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ ma$_{2}$ pia?$_{3}$, --yuukar$_{4}$. keta?$_{5}$
rekwaarʌ̲$_{6}$.— 21. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_{1}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{2}$, —piah$_{3}$. ʌ$_{4}$
mo?e$_{5}$ nʌ$_{6}$ uhtu$_{7}$.— mekʌ$_{8}$. 22. ma$_{1}$ mo?e$_{2}$ yaahuniihtsi$_{3}$,

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those of 'bearded white man$_{9}$' (you) run$_{10}$.— 9. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ 539
went to go out$_{2}$, these$_{3}$ drunks$_{4}$ were talking very mean$_{5}$ also$_{6}$ 522
were shooting$_{7}$. 10. This$_{1}$ woman$_{2}$ called$_{7}$ one$_{3}$ (who) also$_{4}$
like her$_{5}$ has children$_{6}$. 11. --Come$_{1}$! 12. To those ones$_{1}$ to
(the) white people$_{3}$ let's$_{2}$ run$_{4}$,— (she) said$_{5}$. 13. These two$_{1}$
are together$_{2}$, are carrying in (their) arms$_{4}$ their$_{3}$ little ba-
bies$_{4}$ in night cradles$_{5}$. 14. At this place$_{1}$ these$_{2}$ ran$_{4}$ to
them$_{3}$, entered$_{7}$ in$_{6}$ their$_{5}$ fence$_{6}$. 15. Here$_{1}$ their$_{2}$ grown
tree$_{3}$ still$_{4}$ has many leaves$_{5}$ (and) was standing$_{8}$ (being)
darkly shaded$_{7}$ around under it$_{4}$. 16. This$_{1}$ /is/ one of them$_{2}$
said$_{3}$, —Let's$_{4}$ sit$_{7}$ here$_{5}$ under this$_{6}$ on (this) big log$_{8}$.—
17. These$_{1}$ in a row$_{2}$ sat$_{4}$ on it$_{3}$. 18. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ are sitting$_{3}$,
there$_{3}$ at$_{5}$ their$_{4}$ camp$_{5}$ (there) was loud talking$_{6}$ and$_{7}$ fighting$_{8}$.
19. As$_{2}$ they$_{1}$ are sitting$_{3}$, one$_{3}$ of them$_{4}$ (her) son$_{5}$ said$_{10}$,
—Mother$_{6}$. On what$_{7}$ are$_{9}$ we$_{8}$ sitting$_{9}$?— 20. This$_{1}$ his$_{2}$
mother$_{3}$ (said), —Sit still$_{4}$. Don't$_{5}$ talk$_{6}$!— 21. This$_{1}$ little
boy$_{2}$ said$_{4}$, --Mother$_{3}$! Give$_{7}$ me$_{6}$ your$_{4}$ hand$_{5}$!— 22. Fetching$_{3}$

Humor in Ridicule

539 —ihka$_4$ masukaa$_5$. — mekʌ$_4$. 23 sitʌk̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —hipa?atsa$_4$ ran̲se?$_5$ yʌkwik̲hutu?i$_6$? piahuuhpa?a$_7$ tanʌ$_8$ yʌkwihkatʌʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 24. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$ ke$_3$ narahkupar̲$_4$, —piah$_5$. itʌtsa?$_6$ taa$_7$ yʌkwihkana$_8$ yʌyʌ-mukʌ̲hʌniit̲$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 25. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —niyukarʌ$_4$. — me$_5$ ma$_6$ niikwiiyu$_7$. 26. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ tʌaaʌ$_2$, —piah$_3$. ʌ$_4$ mo?e$_5$ nʌ$_6$ uhtu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 27. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ mo?e$_3$ ma$_4$ mo?ok̲$_5$ mʌʌnu$_6$. 28. ma$_1$ mo?ek̲se?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, —ihka$_5$ masukaa$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 29. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ ma$_4$ masukaahtsi$_5$, ma$_6$ kwa-sima$_7$ tsaainu$_8$. 30. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ nanihkupʌ̲kat̲$_2$ suhka$_3$ hʌ$_4$ tʌi?a$_5$, —kwi?tanáai?$_6$. ʌ$_7$ manaa?nakwʌ̲hi$_8$ masukaa$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 31. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ masúkaanu$_3$, ma$_4$ na-kimʌ$_5$ tsaainu$_6$. 32. sitʌk̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ ma$_3$ nakimʌ$_4$ tsaaihtsi$_5$, yahnénu$_6$. 33. yahnet̲$_1$, yahnet̲$_2$, pʌ$_3$ tʌeti$_4$ sokoko$_5$ mahbénu$_6$. 34. sit̲su?ak̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌi?$_3$ nani-hkupʌ̲kat̲$_4$, yʌtsʌnu$_5$. 35. sʌmʌ?oyet̲$_1$ mariia$_2$ yorihka$_3$, sitʌ$_4$ motsotaiboo?a$_5$ pitsipʌ̲bimoróo?$_6$ yʌtsʌhtsi$_7$, marʌʌ?a-

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539 her$_1$ hand$_2$, (he) said$_4$, —Feel$_5$ this$_4$!— 23. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$
522 said$_{10}$, —On what should$_4$ we$_5$ be sitting$_6$? We$_8$ are sitting$_9$ on a big log$_7$.— 24. This$_1$ little boy$_2$ (does) not$_3$ give up$_4$, said$_{10}$, —Mother$_5$! This$_6$ our$_7$ seat$_8$ is moving much$_9$.— 25. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_5$ him$_4$, —Sit still and keep quiet$_4$!— 26. This one$_1$ again$_2$ said$_3$, —Mother$_3$! Give$_7$ me$_6$ your$_4$ hand$_5$!— 27. This one$_1$ placed$_6$ her$_2$ hand$_3$ in$_5$ his$_4$ hand$_5$. 28. This one$_3$, taking$_4$ her$_1$ hand$_2$, said$_7$, —Feel$_4$ this$_5$!— 29. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ feelings$_5$ it$_4$, took hold$_6$ on$_7$ its$_6$ tail$_7$. 30. This one$_1$ is laughing herself to death$_2$, said to$_{10}$ that one$_3$ her$_4$ friend$_5$, —kwi?tanáa?i$_6$, [her name] Feel$_9$ on$_8$ your$_7$ further side$_5$!— 31. This one$_1$ felt$_3$ it$_2$, took hold$_6$ on$_5$ its$_4$ ear$_5$. 32. This$_1$ woman$_2$ taking hold$_5$ on$_4$ its$_3$ ear$_4$, laughed$_6$. 33. (She) is laughing$_1$, is laughing$_2$, (she) dropped$_4$ her$_3$ little one$_4$ to the ground$_5$. 34. This one also$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ is laughing herself to death$_4$, (she) got up$_5$. 35. As$_5$ all of them$_1$ /they$_2$/ got up$_3$, this$_4$ bearded white man's$_5$ milk

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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tahpu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 36. sitʌkwʌkʌre?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, 539
—piahuuhpa?a$_3$ takwʌ$_4$ ta$_5$ yʌkwihkana$_6$ suatʌ$_7$, — mekʌ$_8$.
37. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhkutʌ$_3$ ta$_4$ rʌsu?naahka$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$
pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 38. subetʌ$_1$.

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cow$_6$ getting up$_7$, went$_9$ away from them$_8$. 36. These two$_1$ 539
women$_2$ said$_3$, —On a big log$_3$ we$_4$ thought$_7$ our$_5$ seat$_6$ (was).— 522
37. These$_1$ then$_2$ from there$_3$ when$_5$ it$_4$ was quiet$_5$, went$_9$ back$_6$
to$_8$ their$_7$ house$_8$. 38. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XVIII

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ hunu?bihta$_5$ kʌma?kʌ$_6$ kahníba?i$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌbehkanu$_2$, pimoróo?a$_3$. 3. su?anakʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ una?ru$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ kahníba?i$_7$. 4. marʌʌ$_1$ pia?kʌse?$_2$ sʌmʌ?ma?ai$_3$ tʌtaatʌma?ai$_4$ pʌ$_5$ petʌ?ma?ai$_6$ urʌʌkʌhu$_7$ kahnímí?anu$_8$. 5. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ bitʌnu$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ omomʌsʌ$_5$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ mahri$_3$ makanu$_4$. 7. pʌi$_1$ tʌkʌkakʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ tʌtaatʌ$_4$ ma$_5$ petʌ?$_6$ urʌʌ$_7$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌma?ai$_8$ nohímí?anu$_9$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ urʌʌma?ai$_4$ pʌnʌ$_5$ wanarohpetibʌni$_6$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —kima$_4$ petʌ$_5$. miaru?i$_6$ takwʌ$_7$. — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu$_9$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌehpʌ?rʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a camp$_7$ beside$_6$ (a) creek$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ killed$_2$ a cow$_3$. 3. There$_1$ along (the) other side of$_2$ them$_3$ some$_4$ Indians$_5$ also$_6$ had a camp$_7$. 4. Their$_1$ mother$_2$ with one$_3$ little one /with$_4$/ her$_5$ daughter /with$_6$/ went to visit$_8$ /to/ them$_7$. 5. These two$_1$ arrived$_2$ to them$_3$ on$_5$ their$_4$ feet$_6$ (walking). 6. These ones$_1$ fed$_4$ those two$_3$ much$_2$. 7. When$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_3$, this$_3$ little one$_4$ her$_5$ daughter$_6$ went to play$_9$ with$_8$ their$_7$ children$_8$. 8. This$_1$ her$_2$ mother$_3$ played cards much$_4$ with them$_4$ herself$_5$. 9. This$_1$ her$_2$ mother$_3$ said$_8$ $_9$. —Come$_4$ daughter$_5$. We$_7$ will go$_4$.-- 10. This$_1$ child$_2$ was playing$_8$ with (the) daugh-

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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muhyʌkʌ̨$_5$ kahnikatʌʌ$_6$ petʌ?ma?ai$_7$ nohíiyu̱$_8$. 11. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ 539
tʌehpʌ?rʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ pia?a$_4$ pʌmʌ$_5$ nimʌihkana$_6$ nakanu̱$_7$.
12. sitʌkwʌ̨kʌse?$_1$ tʌrʌehpʌ?rʌkwʌ̨$_2$ nanisuyʌketi$_3$ nohitʌeti$_4$
nohíhpʌni$_5$. 13. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ pia?a$_3$ nimaihkana$_4$ pʌ$_5$
ʌhʌruhkaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ pʌhʌ$_8$ nohitʌeti$_9$ yaahtsi$_{10}$. tunehtsʌ-
nu̱$_{11}$. pʌ$_{12}$ pia?waka$_{13}$ bitʌnu̱$_{14}$. 14. sitʌkwʌ̨$_1$ suhkutʌ̨$_2$
pʌʌ$_3$ kahnikʌ̨hu$_4$ sukʌ̨hu$_5$ una?rʌ̨ru$_6$ pitu̱sʌ$_7$ mi?anu̱$_8$
15. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ pia?binakwʌ̨$_3$ mi?ano?o$_4$. 16. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$
ma$_2$ pia?$_3$. --namʌ̨sohi$_4$.-- me$_5$ yʌkwiiyu̱$_6$. 17. sitʌkwʌ̨$_1$
suku̱$_2$ hunu?ma$_3$ pitʌnu̱$_4$. 18. sitʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ napʌ̨ha$_5$
tsahkwe?yu?itsi$_6$. sihka$_7$ pʌ$_8$ petʌ?a$_9$ pʌ$_{10}$ kwahikʌ̨ku$_{11}$
noomaninu̱$_{12}$. 19. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$. --namʌ̨sohitʌ$_4$
takwʌ̨$_5$. tukanihumi?arʌ$_6$ ma?$_7$.-- me$_8$ yʌkwihtsi$_9$. umuna-
kwʌ̨$_{10}$ mi?aayu̱$_{11}$. 20. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ ma$_2$ petʌ?$_3$ suhka$_4$
nohitʌeti$_5$ pʌ$_6$ yaapʌ̨ha$_7$ piahuuhpihta$_8$ kuwo?nepʌ̨ha$_9$ pu?e$_{10}$
kima?kʌ̨$_{11}$ wʌnʌku$_{12}$. sihka$_{13}$ nohitʌeti$_{14}$ siki$_{15}$ ma$_{16}$
tʌha?wokakʌ̨$_{17}$ tsahkárʌkʌnu̱$_{18}$. 21. suku̱$_1$ ma$_2$ bʌahtsi$_3$.
wihnu$_4$ mi?anu̱$_5$. pʌʌ$_6$ kahnikʌ̨hu$_7$ uhka$_8$ pʌ$_9$ yaahtsi$_{10}$.

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ter$_7$ (of the ones) camping$_6$ there$_3$ to (the) east$_5$ of them$_4$.
11. This$_1$ child$_2$ the one$_5$ her$_3$ mother$_4$ called$_6$, heard$_7$.
12. These two$_1$ children$_2$ were playing much with$_5$ (a) pretty$_3$ little doll$_4$. 13. This one$_1$, the one called by$_4$ her$_2$ mother$_3$, taking$_{10}$ under$_4$ her$_5$ blanket$_6$ this$_7$ their$_8$ little doll$_9$ ran$_{11}$, (and) arrived$_{14}$ to$_{13}$ her$_{12}$ mother$_{13}$. 14. These two from there$_2$ went$_8$ back$_7$ there$_5$ on to the other side of it$_6$ [creek] to$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$. 15. This one$_1$ is traveling$_4$ behind$_3$ her$_2$ mother$_3$ said$_5$ $_6$, --Hurry up$_4$.-- 17. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_2$ on (the) creek$_3$. 18. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ mother$_3$ taking off$_6$ her$_4$ shoes$_5$, carried across$_{13}$ /this$_7$/ her$_8$ daughter$_9$ on$_{11}$ her$_{10}$ back$_{11}$. 19. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ mother$_3$ was going$_{11}$ ahead of her$_{10}$ sayings$_9$. --We$_5$ are hurrying$_4$. It$_7$ is about to get dark$_4$.-- 20. As$_{13}$ big tree$_8$ burned hollow$_9$ stood$_{12}$ beside$_{11}$ (the) trail$_{10}$. /this$_1$/ her$_2$ daughter$_3$ set /it/ up$_{18}$ this$_{13}$ little doll$_{14}$ /that$_4$ little doll$_5$/ that$_7$ she$_6$ took$_7$ here$_{15}$ in$_{17}$ its$_{16}$ hollow$_{17}$. 21. Leaving$_3$ it$_2$ there$_1$ then$_4$ (she) went$_5$; (of) that$_8$ what$_{12}$ she$_{11}$ will go$_{12}$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Manner and Morals

539 pʌ$_{11}$ miaruʔiha$_{12}$ rʌʔʌyana$_{13}$, pʌ$_{14}$ ahpʌʔa$_{15}$ pʌ$_{16}$ tʌrʌhka-ruʔiha$_{17}$ ke$_{18}$ suwaaiku$_{19}$. 22. pʌmʌ$_1$ u$_2$ wʌhpaʔituʔiha$_3$ tʌʔʌyatʌ$_4$, surʌ$_5$ suhka$_6$ nohitʌeti$_7$ suku$_8$ nah$_9$ bʌanu$_{10}$. 23. subetʌ$_1$.

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taking$_{10}$ (with) her$_9$ to$_7$ their$_6$ house$_7$ is afraid$_{13}$. as$_{19}$ her$_{14}$ father$_{15}$ (does) not$_{18}$ want$_{19}$ her$_{14}$ to steal$_{17}$. 22. Being afraid$_4$ that$_3$ he$_2$ will whip$_3$ her$_1$, that one$_3$ (girl) just$_9$ left$_{10}$ that$_6$ little doll$_7$ there$_8$. 23. That is all$_1$.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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XIX

539 1. scobe'ʌkʌtsa'$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su'ana$_3$ u$_4$ toyakʌma'kʌ$_5$ pʌbʌehtʌʌ$_6$ kahníba'i$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse'$_1$ nah$_2$ kehena$_3$ ra'ʌyatʌ$_4$, yuukahníba'i$_5$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ piabaraiboo'kʌse'$_2$, —tuibihtsi-'anʌʌ$_3$. 4. toyamatuka$_1$ mi'atsi$_2$, u'ahri$_3$ ta'siwóo'a$_4$ mʌʌ$_5$ tʌbitsi$_6$ yuhuwehki'ha$_7$ tai$_8$ tʌbehkakʌ$_9$. 5. tai$_1$ wokwetʌhkaru'ika$_2$.— 6. sitʌʌkʌse'$_1$ tuibihtsi'anʌʌ$_2$ si'anetʌ$_3$ tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_4$, toyabetu$_5$ nuraanu$_6$ 7. sehka$_1$ ta'siwóo'a$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ sonitoohkaku$_4$, marʌʌkʌhu$_5$ kʌahupiitʌ$_6$. 8. sʌmʌ'a$_1$ ta'siwóo'a$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoari$_3$ yuhukati$_4$ sitʌʌ$_5$ si'ahru$_6$ tʌbehkanu$_7$, ma$_8$ rʌhanitsi$_9$, pʌʌ$_{10}$ tʌnoowapiha$_{11}$ tʌnookʌtsi$_{12}$, pʌʌ$_{13}$ kahnikʌhu$_{14}$ mi'anu$_{15}$. 9. marii$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse'$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ nanawa'ihpʌ-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ beside$_5$ that$_4$ mountain$_6$ old time Indians$_6$ had a camp$_7$. 2. Those ones$_1$, afraid of$_4$ nothing$_{2\,3}$, camped unconcerned$_5$. 3. Their$_1$ big chief$_2$ (said), —Young men$_3$. 4. Going$_2$ along there$_3$ on to the mountain$_1$, kill for$_9$ us$_8$ (a) buffalo$_4$, what$_7$ you$_5$ really$_6$ find (is) fat$_7$. 5. We$_1$ will eat peyote$_2$.— 6. These$_1$ young men$_2$ at this place$_3$ going out on horse back$_4$, ran$_4$ towards the mountain$_5$. 7. As$_4$ those various$_1$ buffalo$_2$ are grazing$_4$ much$_3$, (they) went up and arrived$_4$ to them$_5$. 8. These ones$_5$ along there$_6$ (having) killed$_7$ one$_1$ buffalo$_2$ having$_4$ much$_3$ fat$_4$, butchering$_9$ it$_8$, (and) loading$_{12}$ their$_{13}$ pack animals$_{11}$, (they) went$_{15}$ to$_{14}$ their$_{13}$ camp$_{14}$. 9. When$_2$ they$_1$ arrived$_2$, their$_3$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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ʔanʌʌ$_4$ sihka$_5$ tʌhkapʌha$_6$ tsaaku$_7$ makaʔmukinu$_8$. 10. si- 539
tʌʌkʌse ʔ$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ wokwekahni$_3$ karʌkʌnu$_4$. 11. sitʌkʌse ʔ$_1$
marʌʌ$_2$ paraiboo ʔ$_3$, —meekuka$_4$ tuibihtsi ʔanʌʌ$_5$. 12. sʌnʌ-
namaka ʔmukiika. 13. tai$_1$ wekwitu ʔika$_2$. — 14. setʌʌkʌse ʔ$_1$
pʌʌ$_2$ pikanamʌsoapʌha$_3$ sʌmʌ ʔoyetʌ$_4$ namʌsóanu$_5$. 15. tʌ-
bitsi$_1$ tsaakʌse ʔ$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ nabuniiyu$_4$. 16. sʌmʌ ʔ$_1$ ruibi-
htsi ʔ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ wokwekahnikʌhu$_4$ mi ʔatsi$_5$, pʌi$_6$ kohtóokʌnu$_7$.
17. sitʌkʌse ʔ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ paraiboo ʔ$_4$, —kimaka$_5$
meeku$_6$. tai$_7$ wekwitu ʔika$_8$. — me$_9$ urii$_{10}$ niikwiiyu$_{11}$.
18. sitʌʌkʌse ʔ$_1$ sʌmʌ ʔoyetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ puhanamaka ʔmukipʌha$_4$
himahtsi$_5$, wekwinu$_6$. 19. surʌʌkʌse ʔ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ urʌʌ$_3$
wobiwihtua$_4$ pikʌrʌʌki$_5$. 20. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tʌnikwʌmi ʔa$_3$.
21. suni$_1$ marii$_2$ nayʌkwibʌnikukʌse ʔ$_3$ so ʔana$_4$ marʌʌ$_5$
kwihne ʔnakwʌ$_6$ u$_7$ royakarʌku$_8$. su ʔana$_9$ uma$_{10}$ sʌmʌ ʔ$_{11}$
ruibihtsi ʔ$_{12}$ pʌ$_{13}$ notsa ʔka ʔma ʔai$_{14}$ pa ʔanai$_{15}$ urʌʌ$_{16}$ kahni$_{17}$
pia ʔekakuhtabéahkaku$_{18}$. urii$_{19}$ buninu$_{20}$. 22. sitʌkʌse ʔ$_1$
sihka$_2$ pʌ$_3$ na ʔwa ʔihpʌ ʔa$_4$, —yee$_5$. urʌʌkʌhu$_6$ nʌ ʔ$_7$

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women folk$_4$ prepared$_6$ this$_5$ meat$_6$ good$_7$. 10. These ones$_1$
set up$_4$ their$_2$ peyote teepee$_3$. 11. /This$_1$/ their$_2$ chief$_3$ (said)
—Now$_4$ young men$_5$. 12. Everyone get himself ready$_1$.
13. We$_1$ will go in$_2$.— 14. Those various ones$_1$, everyone$_4$
(of them) dressed in$_5$ their$_2$ buckskin clothes$_3$. 15. These
ones$_2$ were looking$_4$ very$_1$ good$_2$. 16. One$_1$ young man$_2$,
going$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ peyote teepee$_4$, made a fire for$_7$ them$_4$.
17. /This$_1$/ then$_2$ their$_3$ chief$_4$ said to$_{9\ 11}$ them$_{10}$. —Come$_5$
now$_6$. We$_7$ will go in$_8$.— 18. These ones$_1$, /everyone$_2$/
gettings$_5$ their$_3$ prepared medicine outfits$_4$, went in$_4$.
19. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ began to beat$_5$ their$_3$ drum$_4$. 20. These
ones$_1$ then$_2$ go on singing$_3$. 21. As$_3$ they$_2$ were continuing$_3$
that way$_1$, over there somewhere$_4$, as$_8$ [where] that$_7$ moun-
tain sits$_8$ north of$_6$ them$_5$, there$_9$ on it$_{10}$ one$_{11}$ young man$_{12}$
with$_{14}$ his$_{13}$ sweetheart$_{14}$ saw$_{20}$ them$_{19}$ from above$_{15}$, as$_{18}$ their$_{16}$
teepee$_{17}$ shows big red firelight$_{18}$. 22. This one$_1$ said$_{10\ 11}$
(to) this$_2$ /his$_3$/ woman$_4$, —Oh$_5$. I$_7$ want$_9$ to go$_8$ to them$_4$.—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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539 mi?apʌ̲ha$_8$ suwaaitʌ̲$_9$,— me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{11}$. 23. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —haa$_3$. nah$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ siki̲$_6$ urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_7$ ʌ$_8$ mi-?a̲ka$_9$, karʌru?i̲$_{10}$.— meka$_{11}$. 24. —noo$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ bʌetsʌ̲ku$_3$ nʌ$_4$ rʌhkaru?i̲ha$_5$ himahtsi$_6$, kimanu̲$_7$,— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwii-yu̲$_{10}$. 25. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ si?anetʌ̲$_2$ marʌʌkʌ̲hu$_3$ toyametʌ̲$_4$ weehtsi$_5$, pʌ$_6$ pukuba?a$_7$ to?i̲tsi$_8$, urʌʌkʌ̲hu$_9$ mi?anu̲$_{10}$, si?ana$_{11}$ marʌʌkʌ̲$_{12}$ ikʌ̲hupiitʌ̲$_{13}$, marʌʌma?ai$_{14}$ wokwetʌhka-nu̲$_{15}$. 26. ma$_1$ raahkakʌ̲se?$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ taarʌhkaru?i̲ha$_5$ sʌmʌ?a$_6$ nai?bihta$_7$ paama?aihku$_8$ tsawekwi̲ka$_9$, sitʌʌ$_{10}$ tʌhkánu̲$_{11}$, wihnu$_{12}$ kʌanu̲$_{13}$. 27. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tuibihtsi?$_2$ suhka$_3$ pʌ$_4$ na?wa?ihpʌ?a$_5$ tʌhkaru?i̲ha$_6$ himahtsi$_7$, —miaru?i̲$_8$ nʌ?$_9$.— me$_{10}$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{11}$. 28. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ mi?a̲tsi$_2$, pʌ$_3$ na?wa?ihpʌ?waka$_4$ bitʌnu̲$_5$, mahka$_6$ pʌ$_7$ tʌkʌ̲himakʌ-?i̲ha$_8$ ma$_9$ makanu̲$_{10}$. 29. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ rʌkʌ̲ka$_3$, pʌhʌ$_4$ pukunʌhba?a$_5$ kʌahtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_8$ mi?anu̲$_9$. 30. suni$_1$ u$_2$ nahaniikukʌ̲se?$_3$ sʌmʌ?$_4$ u$_5$ haitsi̲$_6$ atabi-tsi̲$_7$, —tsaati$_8$ nʌ?$_9$ nʌmʌna'nie$_{10}$ suwaaitʌ̲$_{11}$.— me$_{12}$

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23. This$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{11}$, —Yes$_3$. As$_9$ you$_8$ go$_9$ to them$_7$. I$_5$ will$_{10}$ just$_4$ stay$_{10}$ here$_6$.— 24. —You$_2$ must$_1$ (be) getting$_6$ what$_5$ I$_4$ will eat$_5$ (in the) morning$_3$, come$_7$,— (she) said to$_8$ $_{10}$ him$_9$. 25. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ going down$_5$ to them$_3$ away from the mountain$_4$ (having) mounted$_4$ on$_7$ his$_6$ horse$_7$ went$_{10}$ to them$_9$, here$_{11}$ (he) arrived and went in$_{13}$ to them$_{12}$, ate peyote$_{15}$ with them$_{14}$. 26. When$_2$ it$_1$ was morning$_3$, when$_9$ one$_4$ young woman$_7$ with water$_8$ entered carrying$_9$ what$_5$ they$_4$ /these ones$_3$/ will eat (in the) morning$_5$, these ones$_{10}$ ate$_{11}$, then$_{12}$ went out$_{13}$. 27. This$_1$ young man$_2$, getting$_7$ that$_3$ (which) his$_4$ woman$_5$ will eat$_6$, said$_{10}$ $_{11}$. —I$_9$ will go$_8$.— 28. At this place$_1$ going$_2$ (he) arrived$_5$ to$_4$ his$_3$ woman$_4$ and fed$_{10}$ her$_9$ what$_8$ he$_7$ got to eat for$_8$ that one$_4$. 29. These two$_1$ when$_3$ she$_2$ ate$_3$, mounting$_6$ on$_8$ their$_4$ horses$_5$ went$_9$ to$_8$ their$_7$ camp$_9$. 30. As$_3$ it$_2$ happened along$_3$ that way$_1$, one$_4$ (of) his$_5$ friend(s)$_6$ (from) another tribe$_7$ said to$_{12}$ $_{14}$ him$_{13}$. —I$_9$ want$_{11}$ (a) good$_8$ Indian name$_{10}$.— 31. This$_1$ young Indian man$_2$ (said),

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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539 u$_{13}$ niikwiiyu$_{14}$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌruibihtsi?$_2$. —nohi?$_3$ tsaaku$_4$ nʌʌ$_5$ ʌ$_6$ nahníamakʌhutu?i$_7$. — 32. —hakaise?$_1$ ʌnʌ$_2$ nʌ$_3$ niháhutu?i$_4$? — mekʌse?$_5$ surʌ$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 33. —tsaati$_1$ nʌ?$_2$ ʌ$_3$ nahniamakaru?i$_4$. — mekʌse?$_5$ surʌ$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 34. —toyama$_1$ karʌʌrʌ$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ nahniahkatu?i$_4$. — mekʌse?$_5$ suurʌ$_6$. 35. surʌ$_1$ usʌ$_2$ u$_3$ haitsi$_4$ sʌme$_5$ u$_6$ niha?i$_7$. ʌkʌsʌ$_8$ suhka$_9$ pʌmʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ nahniamaka?ihai$_{12}$ nahníaba?i$_{13}$ toyama$_{14}$ karʌʌri$_{15}$. 36. subetʌ$_1$.

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—I$_5$ will give$_7$ you$_4$ (a) very$_3$ good$_4$ name$_7$.— 32. —What$_1$ will$_4$ you$_2$ name$_4$ me$_3$?— that one$_6$ said to$_5$ him$_7$. 33. —I$_2$ will give$_4$ you$_3$ (a) good$_1$ name$_4$.— that one$_6$ said to$_5$ him$_7$. 34. That one$_6$ said$_5$, —You$_3$ will be named$_4$ 'Sits$_2$ on Mountain$_1$'. — 36. That one$_1$ /that$_2$/ his$_3$ friend$_4$ named$_7$ him$_6$ that way$_5$, still$_8$ that one$_9$ /what$_{12}$/ he$_{11}$ gave (a) name to$_{12}$ /him$_{10}$/ had a name$_{13}$ 'Sits$_{15}$ on Mountain$_{14}$'.— 36. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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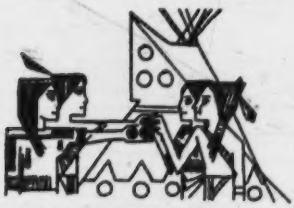

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539 1. su?anakʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$. 2. tʌtaatʌ$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ petʌ?kʌse?$_3$ hunu?betu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 3. su?ana$_1$ u$_2$ rʌehbasiwanoo?karʌkukʌse?$_3$ tʌtaatʌ$_4$ kʌ?rahúu?$_5$ uma$_6$ wʌnʌ$_7$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ tʌehtʌʌhka?a?ma$_3$ u$_4$ wʌhká?anu$_5$. 5. tʌtaati$_1$ wihtue$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tsayaahkaku$_4$, u$_5$ bomanu$_6$. 6. u$_1$ sʌmʌbomʌtsi$_2$, bʌʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 7. pitʌhtsi$_1$, bʌ$_2$ pia?a$_3$, —ihka$_4$ nʌ$_5$ bomapʌha$_6$ rayu?netsi$_7$, nʌmi$_8$ hanikʌ$_9$. — 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ huu?awokʌku$_5$ marii$_6$ tayu?nekʌnu$_7$, pʌ$_8$ tʌʌhtsohpe?a$_9$ kuhpitsunikʌtsi$_{10}$, uba?aihtu$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ ro?kwʌrianu$_{13}$ 9. tʌrʌehbarʌkwihtsipʌha$_1$ tsahkobi?huniihtsi$_2$, ukʌhi$_3$ yaa?etʌ$_4$, uma$_5$ u$_6$ matsʌbaki?etʌ$_7$, marii$_8$ himimi?a$_9$. 10. sitʌʌ-

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1. Somewhere$_1$ it is said$_2$ some$_3$ Indians$_4$ camped$_5$. 2. Their$_2$ little$_1$ daughter$_3$ went$_5$ towards the creek$_4$. 3. There$_1$ where$_3$ that$_2$ little sand hill sits$_3$, (a) little$_4$ hackberry$_5$ stood$_7$ on it$_6$. 4. This one$_1$ chopped$_5$ it$_4$ down$_5$ with$_3$ her$_2$ little axe$_3$. 5. As$_4$ she$_2$ is carrying$_4$ (a) little$_1$ bucket$_2$, (she) picked$_4$ it$_3$. 6. Picking all of$_2$ it$_1$, (she) went$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ home$_4$. 7. Arriving$_1$, /she/ said to$_4$ her$_2$ mother$_3$, —Pounding$_7$ this$_4$ my$_5$ pickings$_6$, fix (them) for$_9$ us$_8$.— 8. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ mother$_3$ pounded$_7$ them$_4$ in$_9$ her$_4$ wooden bowl$_5$, rendering$_{10}$ her$_8$ marrow fat$_9$, (she) poured$_{13}$ it$_{12}$ all over it$_{11}$. 9. Finding and breaking off$_2$ little switches$_1$, (she) takes$_4$ some of it$_3$, sticks$_7$ it$_4$ /on/ it$_6$, gives to$_9$ them$_8$. 10. These$_1$ children$_2$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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590 k^se?$_1$ tʌrʌshpʌ?rʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kohtoopʌba?a$_4$ u$_5$ ku?tsiyaa?eeyu$_6$. 11. nanisuyakeku$_1$ u$_2$ otʌkwaaʌkʌ?eeyu$_3$. 12. wihnu$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ u$_3$ rʌhká?eeyu$_4$. 13. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ rʌrʌshpʌ?rʌʌ$_2$, —tʌbitsi$_3$ tsaa$_4$ ma?$_5$ bihnakamatʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ bʌʌ$_8$ pia?a$_9$ niikwi?eeyu$_{10}$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌrʌshpʌ?rʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kʌhto-?ipʌha$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ kahtʌ́i?nʌʌ$_6$ tʌrʌe?tii$_7$ makama?eeyu$_8$. 15. urii$_1$ urii$_2$ makahkakʌse?$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ pia?$_5$, —nohi?$_6$ tsaaku$_7$ mʌnʌ$_8$ nʌ$_9$ rʌrʌe?tii$_{10}$ makanu$_{11}$. — mekʌ$_{12}$. 16. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ pia?$_3$, —nʌsu?atsa?$_4$ tsaa$_5$ mʌi$_6$ manʌʌsukaaru?i$_7$. — me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 17. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ oo?rʌns$_4$ narʌbakina$_5$ tsahtó?inu$_6$, ukuhpaku$_7$ bʌ$_8$ ta?siwóo?wana?ʌhi$_9$ tsahtó?inu$_{10}$. 18. suhka$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ tʌebatsi?a$_3$, —ihka$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ʌ$_6$ wana?ʌhʌmaka?i$_7$. — 19. surʌkʌse?$_1$ suhri$_2$ bihi?anih$_3$ wahabahtih$_4$ naropʌsi?iitih$_5$ uhri$_6$ napʌmákanu$_7$. 20. si-tʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$, pʌmʌ$_7$ u$_8$ sutaa?iha$_9$ bʌʌ$_{10}$ pia?a$_{11}$ tsahpúnikʌnu$_{12}$. pʌʌ$_{13}$ ahpʌ?a$_{14}$ bitʌhka$_{15}$, u$_{16}$ narʌmu?ikʌnu$_{17}$. 21. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$

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over$_4$ their$_3$ fire$_4$ roasts$_4$ it$_3$ on sticks$_4$. 11. Nicely$_1$ it$_2$ cooks brown$_3$. 12. Then$_1$ those ones$_2$ eat$_4$ it$_3$. 13. Those$_1$ children$_2$ say to$_7$ $_{10}$ their$_8$ mother$_9$. —It$_3$ really$_3$ tastes$_4$ good$_4$ (and) sweet$_4$.— 14. Those$_1$ children$_2$ went to feed to$_3$ their$_5$ neighbor's$_4$ children$_7$ their$_3$ left overs$_4$. 15. As$_3$ they$_2$ are feeding$_3$ them$_1$, their$_4$ mother$_5$ said$_{12}$. —You all$_8$ fed$_{11}$ my$_9$ children$_{10}$ very$_6$ good$_7$.— 16. /That$_1$/ their$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_3$ $_{10}$ them$_9$, —I also$_4$ will make$_7$ you$_4$ feel$_7$ good$_5$.— 17. At this place$_1$ that one$_2$ pulled out$_4$ her$_1$ clothes$_4$ (which are) bagged$_5$ [in a bag], from inside it [the bag] (she) pulled out$_{10}$ her$_8$ buffalo blanket$_9$. 18. (She said to) that$_1$ their$_2$ little sister$_3$, —I$_5$ give$_7$ you$_4$ this$_4$ blanket$_7$.— 19. That one$_1$ gave$_7$ /them$_4$/ those two$_2$ boys$_3$ two$_4$ beaded$_5$ moccasin$_7$. 20. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$, (and) arriving$_5$ at$_5$ their$_4$ home$_5$, (they) showed$_{12}$ their$_{10}$ mother$_{11}$ what$_9$ she$_8$ thought of$_9$ them$_7$, (and) when$_{15}$ their$_{13}$ father$_{14}$ arrived$_{15}$, (they) told$_{17}$ him$_{16}$. 21. That one$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ said$_9$, —Very$_4$ good (I think$_8$)

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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539 ahpʌ?$_3$, —nohi?$_4$ tsaakukia$_5$ tahʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?tii$_7$ hanikʌnu$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 22. pʌetaʌkusʌkʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ yʌtsʌhtsi$_3$, tʌhʌyaro-?itsi$_4$, urʌʌkʌhu$_5$ nuhkínu$_6$. 23. surʌkʌse?$_1$ urii$_2$ tekwʌ-níu$_3$, —namaka?mukika$_4$, tai$_5$ nʌhkaru?ika$_6$. 24. inakwʌ-tsa?$_1$ hayarokwetʌʌ$_2$ pimoróo?nʌʌ$_3$ yuupʌnʌʌ$_4$ tai$_5$ tʌkwʌ-sʌru?i$_6$. — 25. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ renahpʌ?$_2$, —hakani?yutʌ$_3$.ʌnʌ$_4$ sinihku$_5$ tai$_4$ hanitʌ́ni$_7$? — 26. —nah$_1$ nʌ?tsu$_2$ ohka$_3$ wa-?ihpʌ?$_4$ tʌtaa$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ naahkaku$_7$, nʌ$_8$ rʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_9$ ma$_{10}$ hanikʌ?iha$_{11}$ tsaa$_{12}$ wʌsukaatʌ$_{13}$, sunihku$_{14}$ rai$_{15}$ hani-kʌʌtʌ$_{16}$. — mekʌ$_{17}$. 27 sitʌʌ$_1$ nʌkʌtsi$_2$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_3$ tʌkwʌsʌ́nu$_4$. 28. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tʌhtʌ-taatʌʌ$_4$ tʌrʌehpʌ?rʌʌ$_5$ tai$_6$ tsaahtʌhkakʌnu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 29. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌkʌtsi$_3$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ oo?ri$_5$ nahí-minu$_6$. 30. u$_1$ yʌihka$_2$, bʌʌ$_3$ nʌhkana$_4$ bʌanu$_5$. 31. usʌ-kʌ$_1$ sunihku$_2$ suhka$_3$ tʌtaatʌna$_4$ tʌehpʌ?rʌna$_5$ pomapʌnai$_6$ uhka$_7$ urii$_8$ namakʌka$_9$, surʌʌ$_{10}$ usʌ$_{11}$ umetʌ$_{12}$ biahaninu$_{13}$. 32. subetʌ$_1$.

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our$_4$ children$_7$ (were) fixed for$_8$ (treated).— 22. Early morning$_1$ that one$_2$ getting up$_3$, mounting horseback$_4$, ran$_5$ to them$_6$, 23. That one$_1$ announced to$_1$ them$_2$, —Get ready$_4$, we$_5$ will dance$_6$. 24. In this direction$_1$ (are) four$_2$ fat$_4$ cattle$_5$ we$_6$ will butcher$_6$.— 25. One$_1$ man$_2$ (said), —Why are$_3$ you$_4$ in this way$_5$ telling$_7$ us$_6$ to do$_7$? — 26. —That$_3$ woman$_4$, when$_7$ we$_6$ happen to be$_7$ poor$_5$, what$_{11}$ she$_{10}$ did for$_{11}$ my$_8$ children$_9$ I$_2$ just$_1$ feeling$_{13}$ good$_{12}$ about$_{13}$ (it), in that way$_{16}$ (I) am fixing for$_{16}$ us$_{15}$,— (he) said$_{17}$. 27. These ones$_1$ dancing$_2$, butchered$_4$ a lot$_5$. 28. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ said$_3$, —Very$_3$ little$_4$ children$_5$ fed$_7$ us$_4$ good$_7$.— 29. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ dancing$_3$, gave each other$_4$ much$_4$ clothing$_5$. 30. When$_2$ it$_1$ was evening$_2$, their$_3$ dancing$_4$ left off$_5$. 31. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ from$_4$ that$_3$ little$_4$ child's$_5$ pickings$_6$ as$_8$ they$_8$ fed each other$_9$ that$_7$, those ones$_{10}$ /that$_{11}$/ because of that$_{12}$ had a big doings$_{13}$. 32. That is all$_1$.

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XXI

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ tuhkanáai?nʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ tʌrʌni?inu$_3$, hanibihta$_4$, kamúuta?a$_5$, puhibihnáa?a$_6$, taiboo?bihnáa?a$_7$, tʌasʌ$_8$ nakwʌ-si?a$_9$. 3. sunihku$_1$ urii$_2$ naahkakukʌse?$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ urʌʌkʌ$_5$ nobitʌnu$_6$. 4. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ nʌmʌhanihne$_3$ atakwa?ʌʌ-?ai?etʌ$_4$, rʌasʌ$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ nakwʌsi?a$_7$ wʌhtsito?a?etʌ$_8$, pahpa-?aku$_9$ u$_{10}$ koo?i?etʌ$_{11}$, u$_{12}$ rohtsáni?i?eeyu$_{13}$. 5. u$_1$ wʌhta-kʌmi?eku$_2$, u$_3$ kwisi?eeyu$_4$. 6. surii$_1$ nʌmʌnii$_2$ suma$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ atakwa?ʌʌ?aipʌma$_5$ tʌasʌ$_6$ pʌʌ$_7$ nakwʌsi?ma$_8$ nakwʌ-sipʌma$_9$ surii$_{10}$ nʌmʌnii$_{11}$ tʌmʌʌ?eeyu$_{12}$. 7. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ nahbi?anʌʌ$_3$, —ohka$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?a$_6$ tʌmʌsʌapʌkahti$_7$ noohtsi$_8$, oko$_9$ hunu?matu$_{10}$ mi?atsi$_{11}$,

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (the) Wichitas$_4$ had a home$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ planted$_2$ much$_3$ corn$_4$, sweet potatoes$_5$, watermelons$_6$, cantaloupes$_7$, and$_8$ pumpkins$_9$. 3. As$_1$ they$_2$ are living$_3$ in that way$_1$, Indians$_4$ camped$_5$ by them$_6$. 4. Those ones$_1$ make parched corn of$_4$ their$_3$ Indian corn$_3$ also$_5$ (they) peel$_6$ their$_7$ pumpkins$_7$, cut$_{11}$ it$_{10}$ up$_{11}$ long$_9$, (and) hang$_{13}$ it$_{12}$ up$_{13}$. 5. When$_2$ it$_1$ partially dries$_2$, (they) braid$_4$ it$_3$. 6. Those$_1$ Indians$_2$ with that$_3$ (and) with$_5$ their$_4$ parched corn$_3$ also$_6$ with$_8$ their$_7$ pumpkin$_8$ with prepared pumpkin$_9$ those$_{10}$ Indians$_{11}$ trade with$_{12}$. 7. Those$_1$ Indian$_2$ boys$_3$ said$_{17}$, —Carrying off$_8$ some of$_7$ that$_4$ Wichita man's$_6$ crop$_7$ (and) going$_{11}$, there$_9$ on to the creek$_{10}$, we$_8$ cooking

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hanikwasʌkʌtsi$_{12}$, tʌasʌ$_{13}$ puhibihnáa?a$_{14}$ tanʌ$_{15}$ piarʌhkane$_{16}$. — mekʌ$_{17}$. 8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$ si?anetʌ$_{2}$ mi?anu$_{3}$, sukʌ$_{4}$ hunu?ma$_{5}$ pitʌnu$_{6}$, pʌʌ$_{7}$ pabi?a$_{8}$, —tai$_{9}$ kohtookʌ$_{10}$, — mekʌ$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu$_{13}$. 9. si?anetʌkʌse?$_{1}$ sitʌʌ$_{2}$ kohtoohtsi$_{3}$, hanikwasʌkʌnu$_{4}$. 10. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_{1}$ marʌʌmatʌ$_{2}$, —tsaati$_{3}$ nʌ?$_{4}$ su?ura?i$_{5}$. — mekʌ$_{6}$. 11. sitʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$, —hini$_{2}$ usʌ$_{3}$? — me$_{4}$ u$_{5}$ niikwiiyu$_{6}$. 12. surʌkʌse?$_{1}$, —tamʌwitsa$_{2}$ ruhkanáai?niwʌnʌkatʌ$_{3}$, ihka$_{4}$ raa$_{5}$ hanikwasʌkʌpʌha$_{6}$ tʌkʌbʌʌni$_{7}$. — mekʌ$_{8}$. 13. surʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$, —yee$_{2}$. haa$_{3}$. tsaatʌ$_{4}$ u?$_{5}$. tuhkanáai?niwʌnʌbʌnika$_{6}$. — mekʌ$_{7}$. 14. —sube?tsa?$_{1}$ urʌ$_{2}$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?$_{3}$ taa$_{4}$ tuhkanáai?bihi?anii$_{5}$ tai$_{6}$ suatʌ$_{7}$, ke$_{8}$ tamʌmatu$_{9}$ musasuawa?itʌ$_{10}$. — 15. surʌkʌse?$_{1}$ urʌʌmatʌ$_{2}$, —namʌsohihtsika$_{3}$ namisituhkanáai?niwʌnʌ$_{4}$. tamʌmatu$_{5}$ u?$_{6}$ ro?itu?i$_{7}$. — mekʌ$_{8}$. 16. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_{1}$ urʌʌmatʌ$_{2}$, —yee$_{3}$ haitsi$_{4}$. ma$_{5}$ ma?oome$_{6}$. ma$_{7}$ nakwʌsi?tsa?nikakʌtsi$_{8}$, ma$_{9}$ ma?oome$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 17. sʌme$_{1}$ u$_{2}$ ʌkʌyʌkwikakʌse?$_{3}$ surʌ$_{4}$ tuhkanáai?tenahpʌ?$_{5}$ urʌʌkʌhu$_{6}$ kimaayu$_{7}$. 18. surʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$, —yee$_{2}$. ikise?$_{3}$ ihka$_{4}$ hani-

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corn$_{12}$ (and) also$_{13}$ watermelons$_{14}$ we$_{15}$ will eat much$_{16}$.— 8. These ones$_{1}$ went$_{2}$, to this place$_{3}$ there$_{4}$ on the creek$_{5}$ arrived$_{6}$, (and they) said to$_{11\ 13}$ /him$_{12}$/, their$_{7}$ older brother$_{8}$, —Make a fire for$_{10}$ us$_{9}$.— 9. At this place$_{1}$ these ones$_{2}$ making a fire$_{3}$, cooked corn$_{4}$. 10. One$_{1}$ of them$_{2}$ said$_{6}$, —I$_{4}$ thought of$_{5}$ a$_{4}$ good thing$_{3}$.— 11. These ones$_{1}$ said to$_{4\ 6}$ him$_{5}$, —What$_{2}$ it that$_{3}$?— 12. That one$_{1}$ said$_{6}$, —We ought to$_{2}$ talk Wichita$_{3}$ (and of) this$_{4}$ our$_{5}$ cooked corn$_{6}$ eat much$_{7}$.— 13. Those ones$_{1}$ said$_{7}$, —Oh$_{2}$. Yes$_{3}$. It$_{5}$ is good$_{4}$. All talk Wichita$_{4}$.— 14. —That way$_{1}$ that$_{2}$ Wichita man$_{3}$ '(They are) our Wichita boys$_{5}$,' will think$_{7}$ us$_{6}$ (to be), (and)/not$_{8}$/ won't be concerned$_{10}$ over us$_{9}$.— 15. That one$_{1}$ of them$_{2}$ said$_{6}$, —All hurrying up$_{3}$, quickly talk Wichita$_{4}$. On to us$_{5}$ he$_{6}$ will come up$_{7}$.— 16. One$_{1}$ of them$_{2}$ said$_{11}$, —Oh$_{3}$, friend$_{4}$. It$_{5}$ [the fire] stir up$_{6}$. Sticking pumpkin in$_{8}$ it$_{7}$, stir$_{10}$ it$_{9}$ up$_{10}$.— 17. As$_{2}$ he$_{3}$ just said$_{3}$ that$_{1}$, that$_{4}$ Wichita man$_{5}$ was coming$_{7}$ to them$_{6}$. 18. Those ones$_{1}$ (were) saying$_{8\ 9}$, —Oh$_{2}$. Here$_{3}$

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539 bihta$_5$ naraami?$_6$ kimaayu$_7$. — me$_8$ niwanatsi$_9$, surAA$_{10}$ tunehtsAnu$_{11}$. 19. surAkase?$_1$ urAA$_2$ pabi?$_3$, —ma$_4$ pamutsaa?matuka$_5$ tunehtsA$_4$. — mekA$_7$. 20. sitAkase?$_1$ tenahpA?$_2$ marii$_3$ miakAnu$_4$. 21. urii$_1$ miakatsi$_2$, sAmA?$_3$ ku?nikakAnu$_4$. 22. sita$_1$ tAmarAAmoaku$_2$ u$_3$ wAhpá?inu$_4$, —nanaAA?maikuka$_5$ nA$_6$ rAmasAa?ena$_7$ po?sabihi?anAA$_8$ ahi?hAniyAhka$_9$. — mekA$_{10}$. 23. sitAkase?$_1$ si?anetA$_2$ sitA$_3$ nAmabihi?anAA$_4$ kahnikahu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, urAAka$_7$ bitAhtsi$_8$, —mAA$_9$ tua?nAAtukutsa?$_{10}$ nA$_{11}$ rAmasAspAha$_{12}$ tAmarAAmoaku$_{13}$ ahi?hAni?nAA$_{14}$. — mekA$_{15}$. 24. sitAkase?$_1$ nAmabihi?anAA$_2$ ahpA?nAA$_3$, —usA$_4$ tanA$_5$ mAA$_6$ po?sahanipakahtu$_7$ mAA$_8$ pukunii$_9$ uhka$_{10}$ tuhkanáai?tenahpA?a$_{11}$ rAmakaru?i$_{12}$. — mekA$_{13}$ 25. sAmA?kase?$_1$ urAAmatAna$_2$ samohpA?$_3$, —nAtsa?$_4$ nah$_5$ suhka$_6$ renahpA?a$_7$ tua?a$_8$ kuhmaruru?i$_9$. — mekA$_{10}$. 26. surAkase?$_1$ u$_2$ samohpA?$_3$ tsaati$_4$ hA$_5$ puki$_6$ narAnoo?rAkitsi$_7$, wihnu$_8$ suhka$_9$ hA$_{10}$ samohpA?a$_{11}$ uba?a$_{12}$ u$_{13}$ rohtó?inu$_{14}$. 27. si?anetA$_1$ sitAkwA$_2$ suhka$_3$ tuhkanáai?tenahpA?wakatu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$, mawaka$_6$ bitAnu$_7$. 28. sita$_1$ ma$_2$ samohpA?$_3$

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this$_4$ corn$_5$ owner$_6$ is coming$_7$.— (and) /those ones$_{10}$/ ran$_{11}$. 19. That one$_1$ their$_2$ older brother$_3$ said$_7$, —Run$_4$ onto$_5$ its$_6$ [the river's] bend$_8$.— 20. This$_1$ man$_2$ chased$_4$ them$_3$. 21. Chasing$_2$ them$_1$, (he) roped$_4$ one$_3$. 2. This one$_1$ [man] beat$_4$ him$_3$ a lot$_2$, (and) said$_{10}$, —(I) worked$_5$ hard (on) my$_6$ crop$_7$ (but) crazy boys$_8$ go around destroying$_9$.— 23. This one$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_4$ to$_5$ these$_3$ boys'$_4$ homes$_5$, (and) arriving$_8$ /to them$_7$/ (he) said$_{15}$, —Your$_9$ sons$_{10}$ destroyed$_{14}$ my$_{11}$ crop$_{13}$ much$_{13}$.— 24. These$_1$ Indian boys'$_2$ fathers$_3$ said$_{13}$, —(For) /that$_4$/, for$_7$ your$_6$ crazy doings$_7$, we$_8$ will pay$_{12}$ that$_{10}$ Wichita man$_{11}$ your$_8$ horses$_9$.— 25. One$_1$ sister$_2$ of theirs$_3$ said$_{10}$, —I$_4$ will$_9$ just$_8$ marry$_9$ that$_4$ man's$_7$ son$_8$.— 26. /That one$_1$/ her$_2$ brother$_3$, saddling up$_7$ his$_8$ good$_4$ horse$_6$, then$_9$ that one$_9$ helped$_{14}$ /her$_{13}$/ his$_{10}$ sister$_{11}$ on it$_{12}$. 27. At this place$_1$ these two$_3$ went$_5$ towards$_4$ that$_3$ Wichita man$_4$, to him$_4$ (they) came$_7$. 28. This$_1$ her$_2$ brother$_3$ said to$_{11}$ this$_4$ man$_5$, —My$_6$ sister$_7$ your$_8$ son$_9$ will have in marriage$_{10}$.—

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sihka$_4$ renahpʌ?a$_5$, —nʌ$_6$ samohpʌ?tsa?$_7$ ʌ$_8$ tua?a$_9$ kuhma- 599
baitu?i$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 29. sitʌ$_1$ nai?bi$_2$ suhka$_3$ u$_4$ tua?a$_5$
tsaati$_6$ tuibihtsi?a$_7$ kuhmárunu$_8$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tuhkanáai?-
tenahpʌ?$_3$ rʌsú?naanu$_5$, surʌʌ$_6$ pihi?anʌʌ$_7$ pʌmʌ$_8$ ai?ku$_7$
hani?ha$_8$ sukʌhu$_9$ nasúwatsinu$_{10}$. 31. subetʌ$_1$.

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29. This$_1$ young woman$_2$ married$_3$ /that$_3$/ his$_4$ son$_5$, (a) good$_6$ young man$_7$. 30. This$_1$ Wichita man$_2$ quieted down$_3$ (and) forgot about$_{10}$ what$_3$ those$_4$ boys$_5$ themselves$_6$ did$_8$ bad$_7$ there$_9$. 31. That is all$_1$.

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XXII

539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ manakwʌhi$_2$ tuu?eeyu$_3$. 3. u$_1$ yʌihumi?akukʌse?$_2$ surʌ$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ pia?$_5$ sʌmʌ?a$_6$ pʌ$_7$ petʌ?a$_8$ nahnapʌhi$_9$. —tai$_{10}$ tʌkʌhmaniʌni$_{11}$ nʌʌ?$_{12}$. — mekʌ$_{13}$. 4. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌtaatʌma?ai$_2$ pʌ$_3$ tua?ma?ai$_4$ pʌi$_5$ tuukʌmi?anu$_6$ 5. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ suku$_2$ parʌ-tsohpekʌ$_3$ pʌkʌhʌna$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ tuu?ekʌ$_6$ bitʌnu$_7$. 6. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌhi$_4$ tuukʌnu$_5$. 7. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌh$_2$ pitusʌ$_3$ miahutu?i$_4$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ u$_3$ tua?$_4$, —tahi$_5$ muhne$_6$. nah$_7$ nʌ?$_8$ ʌpinakwʌ$_9$ mi?anooro?i$_{10}$.— mekʌ$_{11}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌhi$_4$ muhnehtsi$_5$, mi?anu$_6$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ hʌnʌ$_2$ tʌtaatʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ tua?$_5$ mabinakwʌ$_6$ nanaa-mʌano?o$_7$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ ma$_4$ nabitʌbuninu$_5$.

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ some$_4$ had a camp$_5$. 2. Those ones$_1$ carried water$_3$ far$_2$. 3. When$_2$ it$_1$ is almost evening$_2$, /that one$_3$/ their$_4$ mother$_5$ said to$_{13}$ /one$_4$/ her$_7$ oldest$_9$ daughter$_8$, —You$_{12}$ cook much for$_{11}$ us$_{10}$.— 4. This one$_1$ with$_2$ her$_3$ little$_2$ son /with$_4$/ went to get water for$_4$ them$_5$. 5. These two$_1$ arrived$_7$ there$_2$ at (the) spring$_3$ (the) place$_4$ they$_5$ get water at$_4$. 6. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ got water for$_5$ them$_4$. 7. At this place$_1$ these two$_2$ are about to go$_4$ back$_3$. 8. That$_1$ little$_2$ (one) her$_3$ son$_4$ said$_{11}$. —Lead$_4$ us$_5$. I$_8$ will$_{10}$ just$_7$ travel$_{10}$ behind you$_9$.— 9. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ went$_4$ leading$_5$ them$_4$. 10. This one$_1$ himself$_2$, her$_4$ little$_3$ son$_5$, dallied$_7$ behind her$_6$. 11. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$

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12. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ u$_3$ tua?$_4$ ke$_5$ kimarʌ̲$_6$, su?ana$_7$ pu?ekʌ̲$_8$ wʌnʌnu̲$_9$. 13. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$, —namʌ̲sohi$_4$. tukanihumi?arʌ$_5$ ma?$_6$. — me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu̲$_9$. 14. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ u$_3$ pia?$_4$ wahábiṣuahupiitʌ̲$_5$, —hakani?yutʌ̲kia$_6$ nʌ$_7$ rua?$_8$ nʌhi$_9$ muhnehtsi$_{10}$, nʌmunakwʌ̲$_{11}$ nuhkinoo?etʌ̲$_{12}$, nʌbinakwʌ̲$_{13}$ nanaamʌnoo?o̲$_{14}$. — mekʌ$_{15}$. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ ma$_3$ pia?$_4$ ma$_5$ wʌhtúinu̲$_6$. 16. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌtaatʌ$_2$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_3$ mawakatu$_4$ kimarʌ̲$_5$, wʌnʌ̲húpiitʌ̲$_6$. 17. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ tuupʌ̲ha$_5$ ma$_6$ tsahtʌkika$_7$, —hina$_8$ ʌnʌ$_9$ ʌpinakwʌ̲ku$_{10}$ yaahka̲$_{11}$?— me$_{12}$ u$_{13}$ niikwiiyu̲$_{14}$. 18. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$, —kehena$_3$. — mekʌ$_4$. 19. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$, —isa?aitʌ$_4$ ʌnʌ$_5$. noo$_6$ ʌnʌ$_7$ hina$_8$ ʌpinakwʌ̲ku$_9$ yaarʌ$_{10}$. — me$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu̲$_{13}$. 20. ke$_1$ bʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ tsahpunikʌku$_4$, uwakatu$_5$ mi?anu̲$_6$. 21. pina$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_3$ tʌtaati$_4$ nohi?wobipuki$_5$ bʌpinakwʌ̲ku$_6$ yaahka̲$_7$. 22. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —isʌ$_4$ hakʌ̲ku$_5$ ʌ$_6$ yaa?i$_7$?— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 23. surʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$, —okoko$_3$ nʌ?$_4$

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looked back at$_5$ him$_4$. 12. That one$_1$ her$_3$ little$_2$ son$_4$ is$_6$ not$_5$ coming$_6$, (but) stood$_9$ there$_7$ in the path$_8$. 13. /That one$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{7\ 9}$ him$_8$. —Hurry$_4$. It$_5$ is about to get dark$_5$.— 14. Then$_2$ /that$_1$/ his$_3$ mother$_4$ became suspicious$_5$, (and) said$_{15}$. —Wonder why it is$_6$ my$_7$ son$_8$ [when] leading$_{10}$ us$_9$, runs on$_{13}$ ahead of me$_{11}$, [while] behind me$_{13}$ (he) dallies$_{14}$.— 15. Then$_2$ /this$_1$/ his$_3$ mother$_4$ waited for$_6$ him$_5$. 16. This$_1$ little$_2$ boy$_3$ is coming$_5$ towards her$_4$, (and) came to a stop$_6$. 17. When$_7$ he$_6$ set down$_7$ his$_4$ water load$_5$, /this$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{13\ 14}$ him$_{12}$, —What$_8$ you$_9$ taking$_{11}$ behind you$_{10}$?— 18. That$_1$ boy$_3$ said$_4$, —Nothing$_3$.— 19. /That$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{11\ 13}$ him$_{12}$, —You$_5$ are lying$_4$. You$_7$ must$_6$ be taking$_{10}$ something$_8$ behind you$_9$.— 20. As$_4$ he$_3$ showed$_6$ her$_5$ not$_1$, (she) went$_4$ towards him$_3$. 21. There$_1$ this$_2$ boy$_3$ is taking$_7$ (a) little$_4$ play wagon$_5$ behind him$_4$. 22. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$, —Where was$_5$ this$_4$ you$_6$ took$_7$?— 23. That$_1$ boy$_2$ said$_{13}$, —(At) that place$_3$, as$_{10}$ it$_9$ lay$_{10}$ beside$_8$

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● 539 pʌkʌhʌna$_5$ tahʌ$_6$ tuuihkahtʌna$_7$ kʌma?kʌ$_8$ ma$_9$ habiku$_{10}$, ma$_{11}$ yaa?i$_{12}$.— mekʌ$_{13}$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ siki$_2$ tobo?ikatʌ$_3$, mahri$_4$ nanitsuwahpʌniku$_5$, tukaninu$_6$. 25. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ sihka$_4$ ruinʌhpʌ?a$_5$, —ma$_6$ yaahtsi$_7$, pitusʌ$_8$ mi?atsi$_9$, nʌʌ?$_{10}$ pʌkʌku$_{11}$ mahka$_{12}$ ʌ$_{13}$ yaaihkasʌ$_{14}$ ma$_{15}$ rʌkinu$_{16}$.— mekʌ$_{17}$. 26. sitʌhtsi?kʌse?$_1$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_2$, —piah$_3$. tʌ?ʌyatʌ$_4$ nʌ?$_5$.— mekʌ$_6$ yʌkwitʌ$_7$, yakeeyu$_8$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$ —ke$_4$ yaketʌ$_5$, pitusʌ$_6$ mi?atsi$_7$, ma$_8$ rʌkikwa$_9$.— mekʌ$_{10}$. 28. surʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ u$_3$ yaahtsi$_4$, bitusʌ$_5$ nuhkínu$_6$. 29. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ pia?$_3$ ke$_4$ ma$_5$ nabuniku$_6$, —tʌtaatʌ$_7$ nʌ$_8$ rua?$_9$ tʌ?ʌyatʌwee?$_{10}$.— me$_{11}$ yʌkwitʌ$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ napʌhu$_{14}$ mi?anu$_{15}$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ napʌhu$_3$ pʌ$_4$ pia?$_5$ mi?aku$_6$, tunehtsʌmi?arʌ$_7$, su?ahru$_8$ suhka$_9$ rʌtaati$_{10}$ nohi?waikina$_{11}$ suhka$_{12}$ barʌtsohpe?a$_{13}$ kʌma?ku$_{14}$ u$_{15}$ wihitsi$_{16}$, pitusʌ$_{17}$ tunehtsʌnu$_{18}$. 31. ma$_1$ nuhkikiku$_2$, si?ana$_3$ bu?ekʌ$_4$ ma$_5$ pia?$_6$ ma$_7$ wʌhtúuihka$_8$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ pia?$_3$, —keta?$_4$ kwasikʌ$_5$ sinihku$_6$ u?ahrʌna$_7$ atʌhʌna$_8$

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(the) place$_5$ we$_6$ get water$_7$ I$_4$ took$_{12}$ it$_{11}$.— 24. As$_5$ they$_4$ are standing$_3$ here$_2$ arguing much with each other$_3$, it$_1$ got dark$_4$. 25. This$_1$ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{17}$ this$_4$ boy$_5$, —Taking$_7$ it$_4$ (and) going$_9$ back$_8$, you$_{10}$ put$_{16}$ it$_{15}$ (in the) place$_{11}$ you$_{13}$ took$_{14}$ it$_{12}$.— 26. This little$_1$ boy$_2$ is saying$_{6\ 7}$. —Mother$_3$. I$_5$ am afraid$_4$.— (and) was crying$_8$. 27. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said$_{10}$. —Cry$_5$ not$_4$, going$_7$ back$_6$, go to put$_9$ it$_8$.— 28. That one$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_4$ it$_3$, ran$_4$ back$_5$. 29. When$_6$ it$_5$ (was) not$_4$ seeable$_6$, /that$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ is saying$_{11\ 12}$. —My$_8$ little$_7$ son$_9$ is afraid$_{10}$ (poor thing),— his$_{13}$ trail$_{14}$ (she) followed$_{15}$. 30. As$_4$ his$_4$ mother$_5$ follows$_6$ his$_2$ trail$_3$, this one$_1$ goes running$_7$, along there$_8$ throwing$_{14}$ /it$_{15}$/ that$_9$ little$_{10}$ play wagon$_{11}$, beside$_{14}$ that$_{12}$ spring$_{13}$ (and) ran$_{18}$ back$_{17}$. 31. As$_2$ he$_1$ came running$_2$, here somewhere$_3$ in the trail$_4$ his$_5$ mother$_6$ is waiting for$_8$ him$_7$. 32. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ mother$_3$ said to$_{11\ 13}$ him$_{12}$. —Next time$_5$ don't$_4$ take$_{10}$ in this way$_6$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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nohi?a$_{9}$ yaar$\underline{\wedge}_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu$\underline{u}_{13}$. 33. sunihku$_{1}$ ra$_{2}$ hani?ekutsa?$_{3}$ ai?$_{4}$ hina$_{5}$ hanitʌ$_{6}$ tenahpʌ?$_{7}$ nʌmi$_{8}$ na?ruinʌhpʌ?rua?eet$\underline{\wedge}_{9}$. — mekʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$\underline{u}_{12}$. 34. suzʌk$\underline{\wedge}$se?$_{1}$ tʌtaatʌ$_{2}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{3}$ tʌbitsi$_{4}$ ke$_{5}$ u$_{6}$ nasúwatsiiyu$\underline{u}_{7}$, suhka$_{8}$ pʌ$_{9}$ pia?a$_{10}$ pʌ$_{11}$ tʌrʌk$\underline{\wedge}$ka$_{12}$, pʌmʌ$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ hani?h$\underline{a}_{15}$. 35. surʌ$_{1}$ tuinʌhpʌ?$_{2}$ kwasik$\underline{\wedge}_{3}$ bʌ$_{4}$ haits$\underline{i}$nii$_{5}$ ai?ku$_{6}$ nohi-?eku$_{7}$, pʌ$_{8}$ pia?wakatu$_{9}$ mia?et$\underline{\wedge}_{10}$. —nʌtsa?$_{11}$ orʌʌma?ai$_{12}$ ke$_{13}$ nohiwa?$\underline{it}$ʌ$_{14}$. — me$_{15}$ yʌkwi?eeyu$\underline{u}_{16}$. 36. subet$\underline{\wedge}_{1}$.

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anyone's$_{7}$ a stranger's$_{8}$ toy$_{9}$.— 33. When$_{3}$ one$_{2}$ does$_{3}$ in that way$_{1}$, (a) man$_{7}$ does$_{6}$ bad$_{4}$ things$_{5}$ (that) person$_{8}$ will have for a son$_{9}$,— (she) said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ him$_{11}$. 34. That$_{1}$ little$_{2}$ boy$_{3}$ really$_{4}$ never$_{5}$ forgot$_{7}$ it$_{6}$, that$_{8}$ his$_{9}$ mother$_{10}$ what$_{15}$ she$_{16}$ did to$_{15}$ him$_{13}$ when$_{12}$ he$_{11}$ stole$_{12}$. 35. That$_{1}$ boy$_{2}$ next time$_{3}$ when$_{7}$ his$_{4}$ friends$_{5}$ play$_{7}$ badly$_{6}$, goes$_{10}$ to$_{9}$ his$_{8}$ mother$_{9}$ (and) says$_{15}$ $_{16}$. —I$_{11}$ won't$_{13}$ play$_{14}$ with those ones$_{12}$.— 36. That is all$_{1}$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

XXIII

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ su?ana$_3$ ʌsʌma?nʌʌ$_4$ kahníba?i$_5$. 2. urʌʌ$_1$ tua?kʌse?$_2$ mahímí?anu$_3$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ mo?obʌ?kaa$_2$ u$_3$ mi?a?i$_4$ tomonu$_5$. 4. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$, —tanʌwitsa$_4$ nah$_5$ u$_6$ wehkinukwa$_7$. — me$_8$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_9$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ makʌhuyʌkʌtsi$_4$, tʌkʌnoohtsi$_5$, sootʌʌma?ai$_6$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌma?ai$_7$ u$_8$ wehkínukwa$_9$. 6. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ mi?anoorʌ$_2$, soo$_3$ kwabinukwa$_4$. 7. soo$_1$ u$_2$ royabaihku$_3$ sitʌʌ$_4$ uhtu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$. 8. u$_1$ biahunu?baihku$_2$, —ma$_3$ una?ru$_4$ tanʌ$_5$ nobitʌru?inʌʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —namʌsikohtoohtsika$_3$ tai$_4$ maaka$_5$. — me$_6$ bʌʌ$_7$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anii$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 10. ma$_1$ rabe?ikʌhumi?aku$_2$ marii$_3$ tʌhkakukʌse?$_4$ sʌma?$_5$, —ikitsa?$_6$ una?rurʌ$_7$ hini$_8$ paratsihkwe?eetʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 11. sʌma?kʌse?$_1$ tuibihtsi?$_2$, —namʌsohiika$_3$. 12. u$_1$ buni$_2$ tanʌ$_3$. — 13. me$_1$ u$_2$ ʌkʌyʌkwika$_3$, una?rurʌ$_4$ piawoinu$_5$ pipikúuyu$_6$. 14. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anii$_4$, —tʌhʌyakʌa-

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ some$_4$ had a camp$_5$. 2. Their$_1$ son$_2$ went to fight$_3$. 3. That one$_1$ /he$_2$/ went$_4$ five$_2$ years$_5$. 4. /Those$_1$/ his$_2$ relatives$_3$ said$_{8\ 9}$. —We ought to$_4$ just$_5$ go look for$_7$ him$_6$.— 5. These ones$_1$ driving up$_4$ their$_2$ horses$_3$, carrying food$_5$, with many$_6$ /with/ young men$_7$ went looking for$_9$ him$_8$. 6. These ones$_1$ travel on$_2$, (and) went$_4$ many$_3$ sleeps$_4$. 7. Where$_1$ it$_2$ had$_3$ many$_1$ mountains$_2$, these ones$_4$ went$_6$ through$_5$. 8. Where$_1$ it$_1$ had (a) big creek$_2$, (they) said$_{7\ 8}$. —Along other side of$_4$ it$_3$, we$_5$ will camp$_6$.— 9. These$_1$ men$_2$ said to$_{4\ 9}$ their$_7$ women folk$_8$, —Quickly making a fire$_3$, feed$_5$ us$_4$.— 10. As$_2$ it$_1$ was about sundown$_2$, as$_4$ they$_3$ ate$_4$, one$_5$ said$_{10}$. —Here$_6$ (on the) other side of it$_7$ something$_8$ is shining$_9$.— 11. One$_1$ young man$_2$, [said] —Hurry up$_3$. 12. Let's$_3$ see$_2$ it$_1$.— 13. As$_3$ he$_2$ just spoke$_{1\ 2}$, on the other side of it$_4$ [creek] (a) big bugle$_5$ was sounding$_6$. 14. Those$_1$ men$_2$ said to$_{9\ 10}$ their$_3$ women folk$_4$, —Mounting horses$_5$, run$_6$! It (is a) white soldiers$_7$!—

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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htsika$_2$, turunehts^$_4$. taiboo?ek^sahpana?ruku$_7$ ma?$_8$. — me$_9$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_{10}$. 15. marii$_1$ ʌkʌniwʌn^ka$_2$, sik^hu$_3$ marʌʌk^hu$_4$ pʌmʌmatʌna$_5$ we?kwiyanuna$_6$ kʌahkiy. 16. sitʌk^se?$_1$ suhka$_2$ tuibihtsi?a$_3$ ahpʌ?$_4$ marʌʌk^hu$_5$ tunehtsʌnu$_6$. 17. surʌʌk^-se?$_1$ ek^sahpana?nʌʌ$_2$ sihka$_3$ renahpʌ?a$_4$ su?ahru$_5$ u$_6$ tsipéhkwa$_7$. 18. surʌk^se?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ urii$_3$ tsipehka$_4$, habi-t^$_5$, sʌmʌ?$_6$ urʌʌmatʌ$_7$ mawaka$_8$ nahábiit^$_9$. 19. sitʌk^se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —isʌkia$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ tuah$_5$?— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 20. sitʌk^se?$_1$ ma$_2$ tua?$_3$, —at^hi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ mʌi$_6$ suat^$_7$.— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 21. suk^hu$_1$ suhka$_2$ bʌ$_3$ ahpʌ?a$_4$ surii$_5$ taiboo?ek^sahpana?nii$_6$ pʌmi$_7$ kwʌhʌp^katii$_8$ pʌ$_9$ ahpʌ?a$_{10}$ pehkákʌnu$_{11}$, surii$_{12}$ bʌ$_{13}$ na?nʌmʌniisʌ$_{14}$ soo$_{15}$ wasʌ́nu$_{16}$. 22. sʌmʌ?k^se?$_1$ tuibihtsi?$_2$ u$_3$ suabetainu$_4$. 23. —nohi?$_1$ tʌtaaku$_2$ ʌnʌ$_3$ ʌ$_4$ ahpʌ?a$_5$ ʌmi$_6$ wekikihka$_7$, ʌnʌ$_8$ u$_9$ nabehkakʌnu$_{10}$.— mekʌ$_{11}$. 24. sitʌk^se?$_1$ tuibi-htsi?$_2$, —ke$_3$ takw^$_4$ tsaaku$_5$ hina$_6$ haniwa?i$_7$ nʌʌsukaa-tʌkw^$_8$.— me$_9$ yʌkwihtsi$_{10}$, sihka$_{11}$ ruibihtsi?a$_{12}$ bʌʌ$_{13}$

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15. As$_2$ they$_1$ just spoke$_2$, here$_3$ to them$_4$ something bright$_5$ on one of them$_6$ came out in sight$_7$. 16. /This$_1$/ that$_2$ young man's$_3$ father$_4$ ran$_5$ to them$_6$. 17. Those$_1$ soldiers$_2$ along there$_3$ unhorsed (with lance$_7$) this$_3$ man$_4$ /him$_4$/. 18. As$_4$ they$_3$ unhorsed$_4$ him$_5$, (as) that one$_1$ is lying$_6$, one$_4$ of them$_7$ happened on$_9$ to him$_8$ suddenly$_9$. 19. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_{6\ 8}$ him$_7$, —Is this$_3$ you$_4$, son$_5$?— 20. /This$_1$/ his$_2$ son$_3$ said to$_{8\ 10}$ him$_9$, —I$_5$ thought$_7$ you all$_4$ were another tribe$_4$.— 21. There$_1$ /that$_2$ his$_3$ father$_4$/ (by) those$_5$ white soldiers$_6$, those that captured$_8$ him$_7$, caused$_{11}$ his$_9$ father$_{10}$ to be killed$_{11}$ (and) killed$_{16}$ many$_{15}$ (of) those$_{12}$ his$_{13}$ very own relatives$_{14}$. 22. One$_1$ young man$_2$ recognized$_4$ him$_3$. 23. —When$_7$ your$_4$ father$_5$ came looking for$_7$ you$_4$, you$_3$ very$_1$ pitifully$_2$ /you$_3$/ caused$_{10}$ him$_9$ to kill himself$_{10}$.— (he) said$_{11}$. 24. This$_1$ young man$_2$ (was) saying$_{9\ 16}$—/Not$_3$/ we$_4$ can't do$_7$ anything$_6$ (and) feel$_8$ good$_5$,— this$_{11}$ young man$_{12}$ they$_{13}$ went finding$_{14}$ (and) shot$_{15}$. 25. One$_1$ white soldier$_2$ running$_7$ on to him$_{6\ 7}$ that one$_3$ (who)$_1$ killed$_5$ /that one$_4$/, unhorsed$_{11}$ him$_{10}$ with$_9$

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539 wekikwa?iha$_{14}$ ta?wo?inu$_{15}$. 25. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ taiboo?ekʌsa-hpana?$_2$ suhka$_3$ uhka$_4$ behka?iha$_5$ umatu$_6$ tunetsʌtsi$_7$, bʌ$_8$ wihima$_9$ u$_{10}$ tsipʌhénu$_{11}$. 26. surʌ$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ tua?$_3$ pʌmi$_4$ ta$_5$ kwʌhʌhkaruku$_6$ sunihku$_7$ sehka$_8$ bʌ$_9$ na?nʌmisʌ$_{10}$ ekapiti$_{11}$ tuhkukati$_{12}$ wasʌ́niina$_{13}$. 27. sitʌʌ$_1$ ekʌsahpana?-nʌʌ$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ sʌmʌkutsitowakanu$_5$. 28. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ marii$_4$ mʌʌhtsi$_5$, su?anetʌ$_6$ urʌʌ$_7$ paraiboo?$_8$ pʌʌ$_9$ woinui$_{10}$ muyakenu$_{11}$. 29. sitʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ wʌhabinukwa$_3$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_4$ surʌsʌ$_5$ urʌʌ$_6$ tua?$_7$ urii$_8$ nakwʌsʌ́kʌnu$_9$.

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his$_8$ sword$_9$. 26. When$_4$ they$_5$ (soldiers) captured$_6$ him$_4$. /that$_1$/ their$_2$ son$_3$, in that way$_7$ those various ones$_8$, his$_9$ own people$_{10}$, having$_{12}$ red$_{11}$ flesh$_{12}$, killed$_{13}$ here and there$_{14}$. 27. These$_1$ soldiers$_2$ set$_5$ their$_3$ teepees$_4$ all on fire$_5$. 28. These$_1$ then$_2$ doing to$_5$ them$_4$ that way$_3$, at that place$_6$ their$_7$ leader$_8$ sounded$_{11}$ their$_9$ bugle$_{10}$. 29. These$_1$ then$_2$ marched off$_3$, that very one$_5$ their$_6$ son$_7$ caused$_9$ many$_4$ (of) them$_8$ to be killed$_9$.

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12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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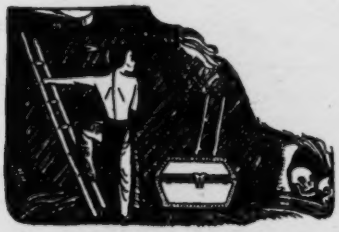

XXIV

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ ʌʌa$_2$ nʌmʌruibihtsi?$_3$ pʌ$_4$ sarii?nii$_5$ betʌʌhtsi$_6$, tʌhóinukwa$_7$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ kahni$_3$ kwihne?naiki$_4$ u$_5$ esitoyabaihku$_6$ ukʌhu$_7$ tʌhóinukwa$_8$. 3. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ sarii?nʌʌ$_3$ tʌnayaarʌ$_4$, nurahkwaina$_5$. 4. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ sarii?nʌʌ$_2$ suma$_3$ toyama$_4$ kʌanu$_5$. 5. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌruibihtsi?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ napʌhu$_4$ to?inu$_5$. 6 pʌmʌkʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_3$ sʌmʌ?$_4$ ma$_5$ sarii?$_6$ sokokʌ$_7$ u$_8$ raiku$_9$ uhkutʌ$_{10}$ okʌho$_{11}$ pohpínu$_{12}$, piaraitʌkʌhu$_{13}$ pohpínu$_{14}$. 7. makʌhi$_1$ ma$_2$ bunihka$_3$, si?ana$_4$ piapʌhʌ$_5$ tʌpi$_6$ tahibatʌ$_7$ habiiyu$_8$. 8. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ tuibihtsi?$_3$ sihka$_4$ tʌpihta$_5$ ubu$_6$ tsahwínu$_7$. 9. sikʌhi$_1$ taitʌkʌhi$_2$ ma$_3$ bunihkakʌse?$_4$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, (an) Indian young man$_3$, taking along$_4$ his$_4$ dogs$_5$, went off hunting$_7$. 2. Those ones$_1$ went off hunting$_2$ from the north of$_4$ their$_3$ house$_3$ where there was a grey mountain$_{5\ 6}$ /there$_7$/. 3. /These$_1$/ his$_2$ dogs$_3$ are running around$_5$ /are/ trailing$_4$. 4. These$_1$ dogs$_2$ went up$_3$ on that$_3$ /on/ mountain$_4$. 5. This$_1$ Indian young man$_2$ went up$_3$ their$_3$ trail$_4$. 6. As$_3$ he$_3$ came up$_3$ to them$_1$, one$_4$ /his$_5$/ dog$_6$ jumped$_{12}$ where there was a hole$_{8\ 9}$ in (the) ground$_7$ from there$_{10}$ to there$_{11}$ jumped$_{14}$ in (the) big cave$_{13}$. 7. As$_3$ he$_3$ looked at$_3$ it$_1$, here$_4$ (a) big$_5$ rock$_6$ was lying$_8$ /is/ flat$_7$. 8. /This$_1$/ this$_2$ young man$_3$ turned over$_7$ this$_4$ rock$_5$ that way$_6$. 9. As$_4$ he$_3$ looked$_4$ in this$_1$ /in/ cave$_2$, this$_3$ was

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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sitʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ kahnibe?ku$_7$ ha?wokanu$_8$. 10. huunaro?i?kʌse?$_1$ mahtu$_2$ namahtowʌnʌka$_3$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ maba?a$_2$ ukʌhu$_3$ weenu$_4$. 12. pina$_1$ makʌhi$_2$ ma$_3$ buihwʌnʌka$_4$, si?ana$_5$ piapʌhʌ$_6$ wobi?awo$_7$ kahtʌ$_8$, tʌasʌ$_9$ wahahtʌkwʌ$_{10}$ pahpa?atʌkwʌ$_{11}$ ta?wo?i?nʌkwʌ$_{12}$ namahtowʌnʌka$_{13}$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌasʌ$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ u$_4$ kahnitaiku$_5$ ukʌhi$_6$ wihtenu$_7$. 14, pina$_1$ si?ana$_2$ nʌmʌtsuhni$_3$ hanika$_4$. 15. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ kuya?anu$_2$. 16. pitusʌkʌse?$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ sukʌhu$_3$ naro?i?kʌhu$_4$ kimanu$_5$. 17. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ uhtu$_2$ to?ikwa$_3$, ekʌhu$_4$ hunakʌhu$_5$ to?inu$_6$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ piarʌpihta$_3$ pitusʌ$_4$ tʌkinu$_5$. 19. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ sarii?nii$_3$ pianimainu$_4$. 20. sihkutʌ$_1$ marii$_2$ betsʌhtsi$_3$, pitusʌ$_4$ bʌʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$.

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hollow$_8$, just$_6$ as a room$_7$. 10. A ladder$_1$ stood leaning$_3$ along it$_2$. 11. This one$_1$ went down$_4$ on it$_2$ there$_3$. 12. As$_4$ he$_3$ was inspecting$_4$ it$_2$, there$_1$ (at) this place$_5$ is sitting$_6$ (a) big$_6$ wooden trunk$_7$, also$_9$ two$_{10}$ long$_{11}$ guns$_{12}$ were standing leaning$_{13}$. 13. This one$_1$ also$_2$ peeped$_7$ in /it$_4$/, in$_5$ one (of)$_3$ its$_4$ room caves$_5$. 14. There$_1$ (in) this place$_2$ were$_4$ human bones$_3$. 15. This one$_1$ got scared$_2$. 16. This one$_2$ came$_3$ back$_1$ to that$_3$ /to/ ladder$_4$. 17. This one$_1$ through there$_2$ went up out$_3$, there$_4$ outside$_5$ climbed out$_6$. 18. This one$_1$ put$_5$ back$_4$ that$_2$ big rock$_3$. 19. This one$_1$ loudly called$_4$ his$_2$ dogs$_3$. 20. From this place$_1$ taking$_3$ them$_2$ along$_3$, (they) went$_7$ back$_4$ to$_6$ their$_5$ houses$_6$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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XXV

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ hayarokwetʌʌ$_3$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_4$ mahíko?ika$_5$. 2. urii$_1$ kimanooko$_2$, su?ana$_3$ urʌʌmunakwʌ$_4$ pia?ʌmahpaaba?i$_5$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ paa$_2$ tʌmarʌʌmoaayu$_3$. 4. su?ahrukʌse?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ pa?ati$_3$ kwasikatʌ$_4$ to?ihupiitʌ$_5$. 5. paakukʌse?$_1$ surʌ$_2$ kimanu$_3$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$ paakʌhu$_2$ weenu$_3$. 7. u$_1$ kwasikʌse?$_2$ ubinakwʌ$_3$ paaru$_4$ okwemi?a$_5$. 8. —ohkaka$_1$ puuni$_2$,— mekʌse?$_3$ surʌʌ$_4$. 9. paakʌhi$_1$ urii$_2$ bunihka$_3$, su?ana$_4$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_5$ pahábimi?a$_6$. 10. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ suhka$_2$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?a$_3$, —otsa?$_4$ ʌmʌ$_5$ nʌmʌ$_6$ maka?i$_7$.— me$_8$ u$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ uwakatu$_3$ pahábikinu$_4$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_2$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, four$_3$ young men$_4$ were returning from fighting$_5$. 2. As$_2$ they$_1$ came traveling$_3$, there$_3$ ahead of them$_4$ was a big lake$_5$. 3. That$_1$ water$_2$ was much$_3$. 4. Along there$_1$ (a) panther$_2$ (having$_4$) long$_3$ tail$_4$, appeared$_5$. 5. That one$_2$ came$_3$ to (the) water$_1$. 6. That one$_1$ went down$_3$ in water$_2$. 7. His$_1$ tail$_2$ went floating$_3$ behind him$_3$ through the water$_4$. 8. —Look at$_2$ that one$_1$,— said$_3$ those ones$_4$. 9. As$_3$ they$_2$ looked$_3$ in the water$_1$, there$_4$ (an) alligator$_5$ went swimming$_6$. 10. Those ones$_1$ said to$_2$ $_{10}$ /it$_9$/, that$_3$ alligator$_3$. —That is (what$_4$) we$_4$ fed$_7$ you$_5$.— 11. That$_1$ panther$_2$ came swimming$_4$ towards it$_3$. 12. This$_1$ alligator$_2$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
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maatu$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ sihka$_3$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_4$ tsoapʌka$_5$ marʌkinu$_6$ 14. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, u$_4$ tsapʌtsánu$_5$. 15. surʌkʌse?$_1$ obo$_2$ okwemi?$_3$, surʌ$_4$ nʌnʌyʌ́wi?$_5$. 16. —orʌtukutsa?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ taa$_3$ maka?ih$_4$ tsimiakʌ?i$_5$, — mekʌse?$_6$ surʌʌ$_7$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌmahkupa?$_2$ pʌnʌsu?$_3$ paahkutʌ$_4$ ro?itsi$_5$, paakʌma?kʌ$_6$ habihúpiitʌ$_7$, pʌnʌsu?$_8$ tʌyaainu$_9$. 18. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tuibihtsi?anʌʌ$_2$, —nakwʌsʌ?ituku$_3$marʌkwʌ$_4$. — me$_5$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_6$. 19. surʌʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhkutʌ$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, sunihku$_5$ uhri$_6$ bunihtsi$_7$. 20. subetʌ$_1$ u?$_2$.

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ran$_4$ towards him$_5$. 13. This$_1$ panther$_2$ put his paw$_4$ on$_5$ this$_3$ alligator's$_4$ shoulder$_5$. 14. Doing to$_3$ him$_2$ that way$_1$, (he) ripped$_5$ it$_4$ open$_5$. 15. /That one$_1$/, that$_4$ alligator$_3$ over that way$_2$ goes floating$_5$. 16. —That one$_1$ missed getting$_5$ what$_4$ we$_3$ fed$_4$ him$_2$.— said$_4$ those ones$_7$. 17. That$_1$ panther$_2$ himself also$_3$ coming out$_5$ from the water$_4$ suddenly laid down$_7$ beside the water$_6$, himself also$_8$ died$_9$. 18. Those$_1$ young men$_2$ said$_5$ $_6$. —They$_4$ killed each other$_3$.— 19. Those ones$_1$ then$_2$ from there$_3$ went$_4$, seeing$_7$ them$_6$ in that way$_5$. 20. That$_2$ is all of that$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXVI

539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ renahpʌ?$_4$ tʌhóinukwa$_5$. 2. huuhkʌma?ru$_1$ u$_2$ mi?akukʌse?$_3$ su?anetʌ$_4$ umunahkwetʌ$_5$ arʌka?$_6$ runehtsʌnu$_7$. 3. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ miakʌnu$_3$. 4. uhka$_1$ u$_2$ miakʌkukʌse?$_3$ sʌmʌ?$_4$ renahpʌ?$_5$ rʌhayakarʌrʌ$_6$, yu?anamʌsoarʌ$_7$. umunai$_8$ umatu$_9$ to?inu$_{10}$. 5. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —hina$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ haniniina$_5$?— me$_6$ u$_7$ niikwiiyu$_8$. 6. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —tʌhoiniitʌ$_2$ nʌ?$_3$. — mekʌ$_4$. 7. surʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —ʌtakʌha$_3$ nʌmiiyu$_4$?— mekʌ$_5$. 8. surʌkʌse?$_1$, —kee$_2$. sootʌ$_3$ nʌ$_4$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌtsa?$_5$ inakwʌ$_6$ ma$_7$ noo?yahne$_8$ kahnikatʌʌ$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 9. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ taiboo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ nʌma?ai$_5$ mia$_6$. nʌma?ai$_7$ nʌʌ?$_8$ hubebinu$_9$.— me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 10. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mama?ai$_2$ mi?anu$_3$, marʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌ$_5$ mama?ai$_6$ pitʌnu$_7$. 11. marʌʌ$_1$ kahnikuhpati$_2$ ma$_3$ witekakʌse?$_4$ hayarokwetʌʌ$_5$ pahpa?atʌʌ$_6$ ta?wo?i?nʌʌ$_7$ su?ana$_8$ namahtowʌni?ika$_9$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌrenahpʌ?$_2$ sitii$_3$ marʌʌ$_4$ ta?wo?i?nii$_5$ bunihtsi$_6$, kuya?anu$_7$. 13. sitʌkʌse?$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, one$_3$ man$_4$ went off huntings. 2. As$_3$ he$_2$ went$_3$ along the edge of the timber$_1$, at that place$_4$ away from in front of him$_5$ (a) deer$_6$ ran$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ chased$_2$ it$_3$. 4. As$_3$ he$_2$ chased$_3$ that one$_1$, one$_4$ man$_5$ is on horseback$_6$, (who) is wearing warm clothes$_7$, (he) came out$_{10}$ from in front of him$_8$ on to him$_9$. 5. This$_1$ white man$_2$ said to$_{3\ 8}$ him$_7$, —What$_3$ you$_4$ doing around$_5$?— 6. That one$_1$ said$_4$, —I$_3$ am hunting around$_2$.— 7. That$_1$ white man$_2$ said$_3$, —Are you by yourself$_3$ moving around$_4$?— 8. That one$_1$ said$_{10}$, —No$_2$. Many$_3$ (of) my$_4$ relatives$_5$ (in) this direction$_6$ on /its$_7$/ the other side of the hill$_8$ have a camp$_9$.— 9. This$_1$ white man$_2$ said to$_{10\ 12}$ him$_{11}$, —Go$_6$ with me$_3$ to$_4$ my$_5$ house$_6$. With me$_7$ you$_8$ drink coffee$_9$.— 10. This one$_1$ went$_3$ with him$_2$, to$_3$ their$_4$ house$_5$, (and) arrived$_7$ with him$_6$. 11. As$_4$ he$_3$ looked$_4$ around inside$_2$, their$_1$ house$_2$, four$_3$ long$_4$ guns$_7$ stood leaning$_9$ there$_8$. 12. This$_1$ Indian man$_2$ seeing$_4$ these$_3$ their$_4$ guns$_5$, got scared$_7$. 13. This

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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wihnu$_2$, —yee$_3$. nʌkia$_4$ rʌrʌkʌraiboo$^{?}$nʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$?— mekʌ$_7$. 14. me$_1$ suahtsi$_2$, suhka$_3$ raiboo$^{?}$a$_4$, —haitsi$_5$. miaru$^{?}$i$_6$ nʌ$^{?}$$_7$.— mekʌ$_8$. 15. sitʌkʌse$^{?}$$_1$ taiboo$^{?}$$_2$, —yee$_3$. keta$^{?}$$_4$ mi$^{?}$arʌ$_5$. nʌ$_6$ hipʌha$_7$ nʌ$^{?}$$_8$ ʌ$_9$ tsahpunikʌtu$^{?}$i$_{10}$.— mekʌ$_{11}$. 16. si$^{?}$ahru$_1$ pʌ$_2$ piawobi$^{?}$awe$_3$ tsatuwánu$_4$. 17. sitʌkʌse$^{?}$$_1$ tosahpuhihwima$^{?}$ai$_2$ ekahpuhihwi$_3$ tʌasʌ$_4$ wanabuhihwi$_5$ sihka$_6$ ma$_7$ wobi$^{?}$awe$_8$ tʌbinaa$^{?}$weki$_9$ tʌhpé$^{?}$kʌahka$_{10}$. 18. surʌkʌse$^{?}$$_1$ taiboo$^{?}$$_2$, —ke$_3$ nʌnʌ$_4$ mʌmi$_5$ nʌmʌnii$_6$ ke$_7$ hakani$_8$ mʌʌwa$^{?}$itʌʌ$_9$. keta$^{?}$$_{10}$ nʌ$_{11}$ kuya$^{?}$akʌtʌ$_{12}$.— mekʌ$_{13}$. 19. sitʌkʌse$^{?}$$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ pukuwakatu$_4$ mi$^{?}$anu$_5$. 20. —miaru$^{?}$i$_1$ nʌ$^{?}$$_2$.— me$_3$ yʌkwiiyu$_4$. u$_5$ hunu$^{?}$bihta$_6$ una$^{?}$rʌru$_7$ maninu$_8$. 21. si$^{?}$anakʌse$^{?}$$_1$ tʌhʌyanʌʌ$_2$ tʌasʌ$_3$ wahahtʌkwʌ$_4$ ku$^{?}$simúura$^{?}$nʌkwʌ$_5$ piarʌnoorʌ$_6$, pʌha$_7$ natsanʌhkʌ$^{?}$a$_8$ pʌhʌ$_9$ sapʌma$^{?}$aihku$_{10}$ narukʌsʌapʌnaihku$_{11}$ si$^{?}$ana$_{12}$ rooyʌhka$_{13}$. 22. sitʌkʌse$^{?}$$_1$ tenahpʌ$^{?}$$_2$ sihka$_3$ mahrʌ$_4$ tʌnoopʌha$_5$ tsapʌhesuwaaitʌ$_6$, u$_7$ mʌninu$_8$. 23. sitʌkʌse$^{?}$$_1$ wihnu$_2$ hunu$^{?}$bihta$_3$ bitusʌ$_4$ maninu$_5$. 24. si$^{?}$ana$_1$ hunu$^{?}$ma$_2$ paakuhpa$_3$ wahahtʌkwʌ$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ waikina$_6$ na$^{?}$omonʌkwʌ$_7$ hani$_8$ka$_9$. 25. mani$_1$tsi$_1$, sitʌ$_2$ pʌ$_3$ kahnibetu$_4$ pitusʌ$_5$ mi$^{?}$anu$_6$.

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one$_1$ then$_2$ said$_7$, —Oh$_3$. Have I$_4$ arrived$_4$ to white robbers$_5$?— 14. Thinking$_{1\ 2}$, [thus](he) said to$_8$ that$_3$ white man$_4$. —Friends$_5$, I$_7$ will go$_6$.— 15. This$_1$ white man$_2$ said$_{11}$, —Oh$_3$. Don't$_4$ go$_5$. I$_8$ will show$_{10}$ you$_9$ my$_6$ belongings$_7$.— 16. Along here somewhere$_1$ (he) opened$_4$ his$_2$ big wooden trunk$_3$. 17. This$_1$ /this$_6$/ his$_7$ wooden trunk$_8$ was filled up$_{10}$ half full$_9$ with silver money$_2$, gold money$_3$ and$_4$ paper money$_5$. 18. That$_1$ white man$_2$ said$_{13}$, —/Not$_3$/ we$_4$ won't do to$_7$ you$_5$ Indians$_6$ in any way$_8$. Don't$_{10}$ be afraid of$_{12}$ me$_{11}$.— 19. This$_1$ Indian$_2$ went$_5$ towards$_4$ his$_3$ horse$_4$. 20. —I$_2$ will go$_1$.— (he) said$_{3\ 4}$, (and) crossed$_8$ to the other side of /it$_7$/ that$_6$ creek$_4$. 21. Here$_1$ horses$_2$ and$_3$ two$_4$ /grey/ mules$_5$ are carrying big packs$_6$, (and) as$_{11}$ their$_7$ girths$_8$, in with$_{10}$ their$_9$ stomach$_{10}$, had grown (into) flesh$_{11}$ here$_{12}$ (they) were grazing around$_{13}$. 22. This$_1$ man$_2$ tried to throw off$_4$ /this$_3$/ their$_4$ packs$_5$ [but] failed to do$_6$ it$_7$. 23. This one$_1$ then$_2$ crossed$_8$ back$_4$ (across the) creek$_3$. 24. Here$_1$ on the creek$_2$ in the water$_3$ were$_6$ two$_4$ /their$_5$/ wagon$_4$ wheels$_7$. 25. Having crossed$_1$, this

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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● 529 26. su?anakʌse?$_1$ huuhkabaiki$_2$ u$_3$ mi?aku$_4$, wahahtʌkwʌ$_5$ raiboo?nʌkwʌ$_6$ u$_7$ ra?uranu$_8$. 27. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$, —inakwʌtsa?$_2$ nʌhʌ$_3$ tʌbehkapʌ$_4$ habitʌ$_5$. kima$_6$. umati$_7$ nʌʌ?$_8$ noohtsi$_9$, mi?anu$_{10}$. — me$_{11}$ u$_{12}$ niikwiiyu$_{13}$. 28. sitʌkʌse?$_1$, —yee$_2$. yʌihumi?arʌ$_3$ ma?$_4$. miaru?i$_5$ nʌ?$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$, uhri$_8$ tʌ?ʌyatʌ$_9$. 29. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$, —keta?$_2$ nʌhi$_3$ tʌ?ʌyatʌh$_4$. nah$_5$ nʌkwʌ$_6$ u$_7$ tohobematitaka$_8$ tʌtsihka?aru?i$_9$. ubuti$_{10}$ ʌnʌ$_{11}$ sʌmʌnooro?i$_{12}$. — me$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ niikwiiyu$_{15}$. 30. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ mahrʌma?ai$_3$ mi?anu$_4$, makʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 31. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ suwaihpeti$_4$ umati$_5$ tsihka?atsi$_6$, mi?anu$_7$. 32. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌrenahpʌ?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ tsaaku$_4$ orʌkwʌ$_5$ tʌrʌkʌraiboo?nʌkwʌ$_6$ nʌ$_7$ hanikʌnu$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 33. sitʌʌ$_1$ taiboo?nʌʌ$_2$ tʌbehkapʌha$_3$ sʌmʌnoohtsi$_4$, pʌ$_5$ kahnikʌhu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 34. ma$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ setʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌ$_5$ sihka$_6$ ma$_7$ noopʌha$_8$ na?nʌbe?ku$_9$ himahkwaitʌ$_{10}$, u$_{11}$ tsahtsú?manu$_{12}$. 35. surʌh$_1$ tʌrʌkʌraiboo?nʌh$_2$ sunihku$_3$ sihka$_4$ marʌʌ$_5$ na?nʌʌmi$_6$ makahtsi$_7$, marii$_8$ tsaahtʌhkanu$_9$. 36. subetʌ$_1$.

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one$_2$ went$_4$ back$_5$ towards$_6$ his$_3$ camp$_4$. 26. There$_1$ as$_4$ he$_3$ went$_4$ among the trees$_2$, two$_3$ white men$_4$ met$_5$ him$_7$. 27. Those two$_1$ said to$_{11}$ $_{13}$ him$_{12}$. —In this direction$_2$ our$_3$ killing$_4$ is lying$_5$. Come$_6$. Carrying$_9$ some of it$_7$ you$_8$ go$_{10}$.— 28. This one$_1$ said$_7$, —Oh$_2$. It$_4$ is about evening$_3$. I$_6$ will go$_9$,— (for he) is afraid of$_5$ them$_8$. 29. These two$_1$ said to$_{13}$ $_{15}$ him$_{14}$. —Don't$_2$ be afraid of$_4$ us$_3$. We$_6$ /just$_4$/ will cut off$_9$ only some of$_8$ its$_7$ hindquarter$_5$. The rest of it$_{10}$ you$_{11}$ will haul all off$_{12}$.— 30. This one$_1$ then$_2$ went$_4$ with them$_3$, (and) arrived$_6$ to it$_5$. 31. These two$_1$ then$_2$ cutting$_6$ off from it$_5$ their$_3$ part (that they) wanted$_4$ (they) went$_7$. 32. This$_1$ Indian man$_2$ said$_9$, —Those two$_3$ white robbers$_4$ did for$_8$ me$_7$ very$_5$ good$_6$.— 33. Carrying off all$_4$ these$_1$ white men's$_2$ killing$_3$ to$_6$ his$_5$ house$_6$ (he) went$_7$. 34. When$_3$ he$_1$ arrived$_2$, /those various ones$_3$/ his$_4$ relatives$_5$, evenly dividing$_9$ /this$_6$/ his$_7$ load$_8$, came and went taking it off$_{10}$, finished$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ up$_{13}$. 35. Those$_1$ white robbers$_2$ in that way$_3$ feeding$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_5$ relatives$_6$, fed$_9$ them$_8$ good$_5$. 36. That is all$_1$.

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Oklahoma

XXVII

589 1. soobeʔsʌkʌtsaʔ$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌmʌʔ$_3$ renahpʌʔ$_4$ pʌ$_5$ kwʌhʌmaʔai$_6$ pʌhʌ$_7$ tʌeʔtʌmaʔai$_8$ pʌʌ$_9$ naʔnʌmʌnʌʌʔatahpu$_{10}$ nomiʔanu$_{11}$.
2. surʌʌkʌse$_1$ suʔana$_2$ u$_3$ hunuʔbihta$_4$ kʌmaʔkʌ$_5$ nobitʌnu$_6$.
3. sitʌkʌse$_1$ tenahpʌʔ$_2$ tʌhóinukwa$_3$. 4. surʌkʌse$_1$ yuupʌ-ha$_2$ nʌmʌkuhtsuʔa$_3$ tʌbehkanu$_4$. 5. siʔanetʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ rʌhanitsi$_3$, pʌ$_4$ tʌnoowapiha$_5$ nookʌtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ miʔanu$_9$.
6. sitʌkʌse$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$. 7. sitʌkʌse$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌhi$_3$, —kohtoo-htsi$_4$, tai$_5$ kuʔinakʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ u$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 8. sitʌʌkʌse$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 9. sitʌkʌse$_1$ tukaninu$_2$. 10. sitʌkʌse$_1$ tenahpʌʔ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ norʌnapʌka$_4$ paʔarai$_5$ habilitʌ$_6$, pʌ$_7$ eetʌmaʔaihku$_8$ pʌ$_9$ pake$_{10}$ himahkatʌ$_{11}$, natsahpuniʌʌni$_{12}$. 11. marʌʌ$_1$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, one$_3$ man$_4$ with$_4$ his$_5$ wife$_6$ with$_8$ their$_7$ children$_8$ moved$_{11}$ away from$_{10}$ their$_9$ relatives$_{10}$.
2. Those ones$_1$ camped$_4$ there$_2$ beside$_3$ that$_3$ creek$_4$. 3. This$_1$ man$_2$ went off hunting$_3$. 4. That one$_1$ killed$_4$ (a) fat$_2$ buffalo$_3$.
5. At this place$_1$ butchering$_3$ it$_2$, (and) loading up$_4$ his$_4$ pack animals$_5$ (he) went$_9$ to$_8$ their$_7$ houses$_8$. 6. This one$_1$ arrived$_2$.
7. This one$_1$ said to$_7$ $_9$ /her$_8$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$, —Making a fire$_4$, roast for$_4$ us$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 9. It$_1$ got dark$_2$.
10. This$_1$ man$_2$ is lying$_4$ in$_4$ their$_3$ bed$_4$ on (his) back$_3$, is holding$_{11}$ /with$_8$/ his$_7$ bow$_8$ /and/ his$_9$ arrow$_{10}$ (and) is testing (them) much$_{12}$. 11. As$_3$ their$_1$ teepee$_2$ sat$_3$, (a) big tree$_4$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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nʌmʌkahni$_2$ karʌʌkukʌ̨se?$_3$ piahuuhpi$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ kahniba?aiki$_6$ mupi̱hábiiyu̱$_7$. 12. siba?akʌ̨se?$_1$ u$_2$ mupi̱habihpa?a$_3$ wasáasi?$_4$ habiiyu̱$_5$. 13. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ siki$_3$ habitʌ̨$_4$, natsa-hpuni̱hʌnitʌ̨$_5$, sihka$_6$ wasáasi?a$_7$ pʌʌ$_8$ kahniku?ekʌ̨ku$_9$ pʌmi$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ kuhiyʌ̨kaku$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ buninu̱$_{14}$. 14. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌ-hi$_3$, —taa$_4$ kahku?ekʌ̨$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ kwʌhtitu?i̱$_7$.— me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu̱$_9$. 15. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ pʌ$_2$ pakamaku$_3$ tsahtúnehtsʌnu̱$_4$, pʌʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ ku?etu$_7$ wʌhkínu̱$_8$. 16. suni$_1$ u$_2$ naahkakʌ̨se?$_3$ hunakwʌ̨$_4$ piawʌnʌ?yʌ?i̱$_5$. 17. súrʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ u$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —hini$_4$ uʌ̨$_5$?— 18. sitʌkwʌ̨kʌse?$_1$ kʌahkwa̱$_2$. 19. sitʌ$_1$ wasáasi?$_2$ ma$_3$ kwʌhti?$_4$ si?ana$_5$ hahpi̱$_6$. 20. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —namʌ̨-sohi$_3$. taa$_4$ pukunii$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ umaru?i̱$_7$. namʌ̨sohi$_8$. nomiaru?i̱$_9$ tanʌ̨$_{10}$,—c mekʌ̨se?$_{11}$ surʌ$_{12}$ yʌkwiiyu̱$_{13}$. 21. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ narʌnoo?rʌkinu̱$_3$. 22. si?anetʌ̨$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_3$, pitu̱sʌ$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌkʌ̨hu$_6$ nuraanu̱$_7$, soko$_8$ bitʌnu̱$_9$. 23. sitʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —okʌ̨ho$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ pʌhkutʌ̨$_5$ nʌmʌ$_6$ kima?i̱kutʌ̨$_7$ wasáasi?a$_8$ pehka?i̱$_9$. nama-

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was lying bent$_7$ over$_6$ their$_5$ teepee$_4$. 12. /On this$_1$/ on$_2$ that$_3$ lying bent (limb$_3$), (an) Osage$_4$ was lying$_5$. 13. This$_1$ man$_2$ is lying$_4$ here$_3$, testing (bow) much$_5$, as$_{12}$ /he$_{11}$/ this$_6$ Osage$_7$ was spying on$_{12}$ them$_{10}$ through$_9$ their$_8$ teepee top$_9$. (he) saw$_{14}$ him$_{13}$. 14. This one$_1$ said to$_{8,9}$ his$_2$ wife$_3$, —I$_4$ will shoot$_7$ through$_5$ our$_4$ teepee top$_5$.— 15. This one$_1$ with$_3$ his$_2$ arrow$_3$ stretched (his) (bow)$_4$, (and) shot$_8$ through$_7$ their$_5$ teepee$_4$ top$_7$. 16. As$_3$ he$_2$ acted$_3$ that way$_1$, outside$_4$ (there) was a big thud$_5$. 17. /That one$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$, (said), —What is$_4$ that$_5$?— 18. These two$_1$ went out$_2$. 19. This$_1$ Osage$_2$ he$_3$ shot$_4$ was lying$_6$ here$_5$. 20. This$_1$ man$_2$, (said) —Hurry$_3$. I$_4$ will fetch$_7$ our$_4$ horses$_5$. Hurry$_6$. We$_{10}$ will move away$_9$,— said$_{11\ 13}$ that one$_{12}$. 21. This one$_1$ saddled up [the horses] for$_3$ them$_2$. 22. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ mounting horseback$_3$, ran$_7$ back$_4$ to$_6$ their$_5$ relatives$_4$, over there$_8$ (they) arrived$_9$. 23. This$_1$ man$_2$ (said), —Over there$_3$ from the place$_8$ we$_4$ came from$_7$ I$_4$ killed$_9$ (an) Osage$_8$. Get

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599 ka?mukika$_{10}$. tai$_{11}$ nomiaru?ika$_{12}$.— mek^se?$_{13}$ sur^$_{14}$ y^kwiiyu$_{15}$. 24. sit^^k^se?$_{1}$ nomi?anu$_{2}$, sunihku$_{3}$ suhka$_{4}$ wasáasi?a$_{5}$ namaro?inu$_{6}$. 25. suhkak^se?$_{1}$ tenahp^?a$_{2}$ sur^^$_{3}$ u$_{4}$ na?n^m^n^^$_{5}$, —nohi?$_{6}$ o?ana$_{7}$ atahpu$_{8}$ nomi?ar^ni$_{9}$.— me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 26. subet^$_{1}$.

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ready$_{10}$. We$_{11}$ will move away$_{12}$.— that one$_{14}$ said$_{13}$ $_{15}$.
24. These ones$_{1}$ moved away$_{2}$, in that way$_{3}$ (they) escaped from$_{6}$ that$_{4}$ Osage$_{5}$. 25. Those$_{3}$ his$_{4}$ relatives$_{5}$ said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ /him$_{11}$/ that$_{1}$ man$_{2}$, —Very (good$_{4}$) away$_{8}$ over there somewhere$_{7}$ (he) told (us) to move$_{9}$.— 26. That is all$_{1}$.

[p. 102 is blank]

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XXVIII

589 1. su?anakʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ ta$_3$ sookʌnibaihku$_4$, sʌmʌ?$_5$ renahpʌ?$_6$ pʌ$_7$ kwʌhʌma?ai$_8$ u$_9$ pia?ma?ai$_{10}$ tʌasʌ$_{11}$ tʌtaatʌ$_{12}$ tua?$_{13}$ tʌasʌ$_{14}$ tʌtaatʌ$_{15}$ petʌ?ma?ai$_{16}$ urii$_{17}$ noka?inu$_{18}$. 2. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ mi?anoorʌ$_2$, so?ana$_3$ nobitʌnu$_4$. 3. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$ bʌ$_3$ kwʌhi$_4$, —namaka?muki$_5$. tʌbehkakwatu?i$_6$ takwʌ$_7$.— mekʌ$_8$. 4. suhka: bʌʌ$_1$ kaku?a$_2$ bʌhʌ$_4$ tʌrʌe?-tʌhʌma?aihku$_5$ sukʌhu$_6$ bʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ urii$_9$ bʌahtsi$_{10}$, pʌkwʌ$_{11}$ mi?anu$_{12}$, wihnu$_{13}$ tʌkenukwa$_{14}$. 5. su?anakʌse?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 6. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ su?ahru$_4$ hunu?matu$_5$ ta?siwóo?a$_6$ tʌmarʌʌmoari$_7$ yuhukati$_8$ tʌbehkanu$_9$. 7. si?anetʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ noohtsi$_3$, pʌ$_4$ kwʌhʌwakatu$_5$ mi?anu$_6$.

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, where$_4$ we$_3$ had many houses$_4$, one$_5$ man$_6$ with$_8$ his$_7$ wife$_8$ with$_{10}$ his$_9$ mother$_{10}$ also$_{11}$ (his) little$_{12}$ son$_{13}$ also$_{14}$ with$_{16}$ (his) little$_{15}$ daughter$_{16}$ moved away from$_{18}$ them$_{17}$. 2. This one$_1$ is traveling$_2$, (and he) camped$_4$ over there somewhere$_3$. 3. This$_1$ man$_2$ said to$_6$ his$_3$ wife$_4$, —Get ready$_5$. We two$_7$ will go off to kill$_6$.— 4. Leaving$_{10}$ /that$_1$/ their$_2$ grandmother$_3$ with$_5$ their$_4$ two children$_5$ /them$_9$/ there$_6$ in$_8$ their$_7$ teepee$_8$, they two$_{11}$ went$_{12}$, then$_{13}$ went off hunting$_{14}$. 5. There$_1$ these two$_2$ camped$_3$. 6. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ along there$_4$ /on to/ [by] the creek$_5$ killed$_7$ (a) buffalo$_6$ /having$_8$/ much$_7$ fat$_8$. 7. At this place$_1$ carrying$_2$ it$_3$, he went$_4$ towards$_5$ his$_4$ wife$_5$. 8. When$_2$ he$_1$ arrived$_2$,

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8. ma$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ kwʌhʌ$_5$ ma$_6$ tsayumi?itsi$_7$, pʌhi$_8$ makanu$_9$. 9. pʌhi$_1$ tʌhkamaahka$_2$, pʌhʌ$_3$ tʌhkapʌ-ha$_4$ inanu$_5$. 10. sitʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$ ma$_3$ ina?etʌ$_4$, ma$_5$ ro-htsani?imi?a$_6$ hunakwʌ$_7$. 11. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$, —inakwʌhi$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ ma$_6$ noo?yahnehti$_7$ bunikwatu?i$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 12. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —namʌsohihtsi$_4$, nʌʌ?$_5$ pituʌ$_6$ kimanu$_7$. — mekʌ$_8$. 13. si?anetʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ mi?aka$_3$, waha-htʌ$_4$ wasáasi?tenanʌkwʌ$_5$ mawaka$_6$ bitʌnu$_7$. 14. surʌkwʌ-kʌse?$_1$, —hakʌse?$_2$ ʌ$_3$ kumahpʌ?$_4$? — mekʌ$_5$. 15. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —ibu$_3$ u?$_4$ mi?a?i$_5$. — mekʌ$_6$. 16. pʌ?atahpu$_1$ u$_2$ mi?a?iha$_3$ uhri$_4$ tʌ?awekʌnu$_5$. 17. surʌkʌse?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$, —mawaka$_3$ nʌ?$_4$ karʌru?i$_5$. ʌnʌ$_6$ ma$_7$ kumahpʌ?$_8$ weki-kwa$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 18. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ sihka$_2$ hʌwaka$_3$ karʌ?iha$_4$, —ihka$_5$ nʌ?$_6$ rʌhkapʌha$_7$ hunakwʌ$_8$ rohtsanaru?i$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$, ma$_{11}$ yaahtsi$_{12}$, to?inu$_{13}$. 19. pʌ$_1$ puki$_2$ narʌnoo?rʌkitʌ$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnimiihtsi?$_5$ nʌʌtsʌkʌnaaku$_6$, uwakatu$_7$ tʌbitsi$_8$ tunehtsʌnu$_9$, uba?$_{10}$ to?itsi$_{11}$, pʌ$_{12}$ kumahpʌ?$_{13}$ pʌpetu$_{14}$ mi?a?ibetu$_{15}$ nuhkínu$_{16}$, pʌ$_{17}$ kumahpʌ?$_{18}$ ra?uranu$_{19}$.

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this$_3$ his$_4$ wife$_5$ unloading$_7$ it$_6$, fed$_9$ them$_8$. 9. When$_2$ they$_1$ finished eating$_2$, (they) jerked$_5$ their$_3$ meat$_4$. 10. This$_1$ woman$_2$ jerks$_4$ it$_3$, (and) goes hanging$_6$ it$_5$ up$_6$ outside$_7$. 11. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ said$_9$, —I$_5$ will go to look$_8$ (in) this direction$_4$ along the other side of$_7$ this$_6$ hill$_7$.— 12. This$_1$ his$_2$ wife$_3$ said$_8$, —Hurrying up$_4$, you$_5$ come$_7$ back$_4$.— 13. At this place$_1$ as$_3$ he$_2$ went$_3$, two$_4$ Osage men$_5$ arrived$_7$ to her$_6$. 14. These two$_1$ said$_5$, —Where is$_2$ your$_3$ husband$_4$?— 15. That$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_6$, —He$_4$ went$_5$ this way$_5$.— 16. (She) told$_6$ them$_4$ (a direction) away from him$_1$ that$_3$ he$_2$ went$_3$. 17. That one$_1$ /one$_2$/ said$_{10}$, —I$_4$ will sit$_5$ with her$_3$. You$_4$ go look for$_9$ her$_7$ husband$_8$.— 18. This one$_1$ said to$_{10}$ this one$_2$ /what/ [who] is sitting$_4$ with her$_3$, —I$_6$ will hang up$_9$ this$_5$ meat$_7$ outside$_8$.— Taking$_{12}$ it$_{11}$, (she) went out$_{13}$. 19. As$_4$ her$_1$ horse$_2$ is saddled$_3$, (and) is tied$_4$ near$_5$ their$_4$ teepee$_5$ (she) really$_8$ ran$_9$ towards it$_7$, climbing up$_{11}$ on it$_{10}$, (she) ran to$_{16}$ her$_{12}$ husband$_{13}$, /towards him$_{14}$/ towards the way (he)

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● 539 20. surʌkʌse?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hakanikia$_3$ ʌnʌ$_4$ nahánu$_5$?— mekʌ$_4$. 21. —wahahtʌkwʌ$_1$ wasáasi?tenanʌkwʌ$_2$ nʌwaka$_3$ bitʌ?i$_4$.— mekʌ$_5$. 22. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ si?anetʌ$_4$ uhri$_5$ kuhíyami?anu$_6$. 23. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?anetʌ$_2$ uhrʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ muhyʌhkutʌ$_5$ ku?inʌhani$_6$. 24. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pitusʌ$_2$ pitʌnu$_3$. 25. —ʌkʌsʌ$_1$ urʌkwʌ$_2$ tahʌ$_3$ kahnikʌ$_4$ yʌkwihkatʌkwʌ$_5$,— mekʌ$_1$. 26. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ su?ana$_2$ u$_3$ bianoo?karʌku$_4$ u$_5$ manaa?nakwʌhu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 27. surʌ$_1$ u$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ suma$_4$ u$_5$ noo?ma$_6$ to?i?etʌ$_7$, uhri$_8$ kuhíya?-eeyu$_9$. 28. surʌkʌse?$_1$ u$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$, —tʌmarʌʌmoakutsa?$_4$ surʌ$_5$ sʌmʌ?$_6$ nʌwaka$_7$ karʌ?i$_8$ nʌ$_9$ bukuba?a$_{10}$ to?itsi$_{11}$, nʌ$_{12}$ runetsʌka$_{13}$, nʌ$_{14}$ miakʌ?i$_{15}$. noha$_{16}$ u?$_{17}$ nʌ$_{18}$ kwʌhʌru?i$_{19}$. ʌnʌse?$_{20}$ nʌmatu$_{21}$ to?itsi$_{22}$. nʌ$_{23}$ makwitso?-ainu$_{24}$.— 29. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ u$_4$ rukaniika$_5$, uhrʌwakatu$_6$ mi?anu$_7$. 30. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ wasáasi?-nʌkwʌ$_2$ hunai$_3$ bʌhi$_4$ u$_5$ nakʌkaku$_6$, pia?ʌsuakihʌni$_7$. 31. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ tʌhkapʌha$_3$ hunaiki$_4$ narohtsani?iku$_5$, ma$_6$ tsayumi?itsi$_7$, ma$_8$ noohtsi$_9$, bʌ$_{10}$ kwʌhʌwakatu$_{11}$

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went$_{15}$, (she) met$_{19}$ her$_{17}$ husband$_{18}$. 20. That$_1$ man$_2$ said$_4$, —Wonder what$_3$ happened to$_5$ you$_4$?— 21. —Two$_1$ Osage men$_2$ arrived$_4$ to me$_3$.— (she) said$_5$. 22. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ at this place$_4$ went to spy on$_5$ them$_6$. 23. Those two$_1$ at that place$_2$ to the east of$_3$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$ were roasting much (meat)$_4$. 24. This one$_1$ arrived$_2$ back$_3$. 25. —Those two$_2$ still$_1$ are sitting$_5$ in$_4$ our$_3$ teepee$_4$, (he) said$_4$. Those two$_1$ there$_2$ where that big hill site$_3$ $_4$ went$_5$ further from it$_5$ $_6$ [camp]. 27. That$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ climbs up$_7$ on that$_4$ /that$_5$/ hill /on$_6$/, and was spying on$_9$ them$_8$. 28. /That$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$, said$_{23}$, —That one$_5$ /one$_6$/ [who] sat$_8$ with me$_7$ chased$_{15}$ me$_{14}$ much$_4$, when$_{13}$ I$_{12}$, climbing$_{11}$ on$_{10}$ my$_9$ horse$_{10}$, ran$_{13}$. He$_{17}$ nearly$_{16}$ caught$_{19}$ me$_{18}$. You$_{20}$, coming out$_{22}$ /on/ to me$_{21}$, saved$_{24}$ me$_{23}$.— 29. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$, when$_5$ it$_4$ got dark$_5$, went$_7$ towards them$_4$. 30. These$_1$ Osages$_2$, as$_4$ he$_5$ listened to$_4$ them$_4$ from outside$_3$, are snoring much$_7$. 31. As$_5$ their$_2$ meat$_3$ is hanging$_5$ around outside$_4$, this one$_1$, taking$_7$ it$_4$

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bituʌ$_{12}$ miʔanu$_{13}$. 32. sitʌkwʌkʌseʔ$_1$ siʔanetʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ tʌnoowapiha$_4$ tsakʌtsi$_5$, miʔanú$_6$, soʔana$_7$ surʌʌkʌ$_8$ pʌʌ$_9$ kakuʔwaka$_{10}$ bʌʌ$_{11}$ tʌrʌeʔtʌʌwaka$_{12}$ bitʌnu$_{13}$. 33. sitʌʌkʌseʔ$_1$ siʔanetʌ$_2$ bʌʌ$_3$ naʔnʌmʌnʌʌkʌhu$_4$ pituʌ$_5$ nomiʔanu$_6$. 34. soko$_1$ ra$_2$ soohkahnibaihku$_3$ urʌʌkʌ$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$. 35. subetʌ$_1$.

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down$_7$, /and/ carrying$_9$ it$_8$, went$_{13}$ back$_{12}$ towards$_{11}$ his$_{10}$ wife$_{11}$. 32. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ leading$_5$ their$_3$ pack animals$_4$, went$_6$, (they) arrived$_{13}$ over there$_7$ /to those ones$_8$/ to$_{10}$ their$_9$ grandmother$_{10}$ (and) to$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ children$_{12}$. 33. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ moved$_4$ back$_5$ to$_4$ their$_3$ relatives$_4$. 34. There$_1$ where we had many teepees$_2$ $_3$, among them$_4$ (they) camped$_5$. 35. That is all$_1$.

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XXIX

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ nʌmʌkahnikʌ$_3$ nʌmʌnaahkatʌʌ$_4$. 2. nʌ$_1$ bia?se?$_2$ pibiapʌhi$_3$ waawatayʌkwi?eeyu$_4$, nʌmʌ$_5$ kahni$_6$ pʌmatu$_7$ pʌ$_8$ karʌkʌtu?iha$_9$. 3. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suni$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_5$, u$_6$ karʌkʌ?eeyu$_7$, kʌhtaaku$_8$ u$_9$ rawʌni?i?eeyu$_{10}$. 4. ukuhpa$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ ʌmakʌni?aikʌ?eeyu$_3$. 5. surʌse?$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?etʌ$_4$, pahibahku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ wʌhtaráa?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$, pʌpa?a$_8$ nʌmʌ$_9$ ʌhkooitu?iha$_{10}$. 6. surʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ kutʌhó-rakʌ?eeyu$_4$, bʌkʌku$_5$ bʌ$_6$ tʌkʌhmanitu?iha$_7$. 7. surʌse?$_1$ ukuku$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ saakʌ?etʌ$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ ku?inakʌ?etʌ$_6$, nʌmi$_7$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌ?eeyu$_8$. 8. surʌse?$_1$ pianohko?awobaaitʌ$_2$, ukuku$_3$ nʌmi$_4$ nohkókʌ?eeyu$_5$. 9. sʌsʌ?ana$_1$ nʌmi$_2$ yuhúnohkokʌ?-

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1. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ lived$_4$ in (a) teepee$_3$. 2. My$_1$ mother$_2$ sets up$_4$ long$_3$ cedar poles$_4$ [then] she$_5$ will set up$_9$ our$_5$ house$_4$ on to it$_7$. 3. That one$_1$ then$_2$ does$_3$ it$_4$ that way$_3$, sets$_7$ it$_4$ up$_7$, (and) tightly$_8$ stakes$_{10}$ it$_9$. 4. Inside it$_1$ (she) makes a rain house for$_3$ us$_2$. 5. That one$_1$ does$_4$ it$_1$ that way$_2$, three separate$_5$ bed steads (she) makes for$_7$ us$_4$, what$_{10}$
539 we$_9$ will sleep$_{10}$ on it$_8$. 6. That one$_1$ then$_2$ digs a fire hole
252 for$_4$ us$_3$, where$_5$ she$_6$ will cook$_7$. 7. That one$_1$ in that$_2$
262 [fire hole] boils for$_4$ us$_3$, roasts for$_6$ us$_5$, (and) cooks on coals for$_8$ us$_7$. 8. That one$_1$ has a big biscuit oven$_2$, in it$_3$ (she) bakes biscuits for$_5$ us$_4$. 9. Sometimes$_1$ (she) cooks

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eeyu$_3$, tʌasʌ$_4$ ukuku$_5$ nʌmi$_6$ huba?aikʌ?eeyu$_7$. 10. sur^se?$_1$ nʌ$_2$ bia?$_3$ kʌ?rahúu?a$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ boma?eku$_6$, u$_7$ rayu?ne?eeyu$_8$. 11. wihnu$_1$ suni$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, u$_5$ yuhuma?aihku$_6$ nʌmi$_7$ ku?tsiyaakʌ?eeyu$_8$. 12. sur^se?$_1$ pʌmi$_2$ u$_3$ kwasʌkʌ?eku$_4$, tsaa$_5$ wihkámanu$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tsaa$_8$ pihnákamanu$_9$. 13. sur^se?$_1$ pʌewatsi?kʌke$_2$ nʌmi$_3$ tsahani?eku$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ kusíwʌhpimakʌ?eeyu$_6$. 14. nʌn^se?$_1$ onama?ai$_2$ tʌhkap^ma?aihku$_3$ u$_4$ rʌhká?eeyu$_5$. 15. sur^se?$_1$ tsaa$_2$ kamanu$_3$. 16. nʌn^se?$_1$ tuhpokóo?huuhpihta$_2$ po?ai$_3$ wʌsibo?a?et^$_4$, u$_5$ sanahkena$_6$ sibe?et^$_7$, u$_8$ hima?et^$_9$, hunu?betu$_{10}$ mia?eeyu$_{11}$. 17. nʌn^se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ suhka$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ sibep^ha$_5$ kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_6$. 18. u$_1$ kʌyu?ne?et^$_2$, paak^$_3$ wihnu$_4$ u$_5$ kotsémia?eeyu$_6$. 19. suni-se?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ mʌʌ?et^$_4$, tut^tsaiwai$_5$ u$_6$ naha?eku$_7$, u$_8$ sanahkóo?kʌyu?ne?eeyu$_9$. 20. sur^se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaa$_3$ sanahkóo?$_4$ kamanu$_5$. 21. usʌse?$_1$ bʌnihku$_2$ nʌmʌ$_3$ sanahkóo?-ai?ena$_4$. 22. subet^$_1$. 539

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fry bread for$_3$ us$_2$, also$_4$ in it$_5$ [the fire hole] (she) makes coffee for$_7$ us$_6$. 10. /That$_1$/ my$_2$ mother$_3$, when$_4$ we$_5$ pick$_6$ hackberries$_4$, (she) pounds$_8$ it$_7$ [them]. 11. Then$_1$ (she) does to$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_2$, with$_6$ /that$_5$/ fat$_4$ (she) roasts (it) on a stick for$_8$ us$_7$. 12. When$_4$ she$_3$ cooks for$_4$ us$_2$, that$_1$ tastes$_6$ good$_5$ (and) oily$_6$, also$_7$ tastes$_9$ good$_8$ (and) sweet$_9$. 13. When$_4$ we$_3$ pull up$_4$ wild onions$_2$, that one$_1$ cooks (it) in ashes for$_6$ us$_5$. 14. We$_1$ eat$_5$ it$_4$ with salt$_2$ (and) with meat$_3$. 15. That$_1$ tasted$_3$ good$_2$. 16. We$_1$ strip off$_4$ bark of$_3$ (a) tree$_2$ (bearing black berries), shave off$_7$ its$_5$ sap$_6$, take$_9$ it$_8$, (and) go$_{11}$ on to the creek$_{10}$. 17. We$_1$ then$_2$ chew$_6$ /that$_3$/ our$_4$ shavings$_5$. 18. Chew$_2$ it$_1$, then$_4$ wash$_6$ it$_5$ in water$_3$. 19. We$_2$ do$_4$ it$_3$ that way$_1$, (and) when$_7$ it$_6$ becomes$_7$ clean$_5$, (we) chew$_9$ it$_8$ as chewing gum$_9$. 20. That$_1$ chewing gum$_4$ tasted$_5$ really$_2$ good$_3$. 21. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ (we) make$_4$ our$_3$ chewing gum$_4$. 22. That is all$_1$. 539 252 262 539 261

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539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ Fort Sill-kutʌ$_3$ wahahtʌh$_4$ nʌmʌrenanʌh$_5$ tʌwoonukwa$_6$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soo$_2$ u$_3$ royabaihku$_4$ nanisuyake$_5$ u$_6$ rʌrʌehbaahunu?baihku$_7$ ukʌhu$_8$ nobitʌnu$_9$. 3. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌkwʌ$_2$, —nah$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ ke$_5$ kahni?aiwa?itʌʌ$_4$. 4. ihka$_1$ ranʌ$_2$ waahpihta$_3$ toponiwekiku$_4$ robo?iti$_5$ kahnibaitu?i$_6$. — 5 surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ tenanʌkwʌ$_2$, —tsaatʌ$_3$ ma?$_4$. — me$_5$ niwʌnʌ$_6$. 6. surʌh$_1$ bʌhʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ urii$_4$ narʌnoo?ro?yanu$_5$, pʌhʌ$_6$ tʌnoopʌha$_7$ tsayumi?inu$_8$. 7. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌi$_2$ norʌnʌ́kʌnu$_3$. 8. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ tuuhunii$_2$. 9. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ konoohonii$_2$. 10. sʌmʌ?$_1$ u$_2$ tʌi?$_3$ toyamatu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 11. surʌkʌse?$_1$ wihtua$_2$ tʌhpe?ku$_3$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, from Fort Sill$_3$ two$_4$ Indian men$_5$ went hunting$_6$. 2. Those ones$_1$ where$_4$ it$_3$ had$_4$ many$_2$ mountains$_4$, where$_7$ it$_4$ had$_7$ pretty$_5$ little creeks$_7$, there$_8$ (they) camped$_9$. 3. Those two$_1$ women$_2$ (said) —We$_4$ just$_3$ won't$_5$ make a house$_4$. 4. We$_2$ will have a house of$_4$ these$_1$ cedars$_3$ standing$_5$ in a circle$_4$.— 5. Those two$_1$ men$_2$ said$_5$ 6. —It$_4$ is good$_3$.— 6. Those two$_1$ unsaddled$_6$ their$_2$ horses$_3$ for$_5$ them$_4$, took down$_8$ their$_6$ packs$_7$. 7. Those two$_1$ made beds for$_3$ them$_2$. 8. One$_1$ went to fetch water$_2$. 9. One$_1$ went to fetch firewood$_2$. 10. One$_1$ her$_2$ friend$_3$ went to
[262] pick$_5$ [huckleberries] on /to/ the mountain$_4$. 11. That one$_1$

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huabokóo?a$_{4}$ bomanu$_{9}$, wihnu$_{4}$ bʌ$_{7}$ kahnikʌhu$_{8}$ bituʌ$_{9}$ mi?anu$_{10}$. 12. u$_{1}$ bitʌhkakʌse?$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ pomapʌha$_{4}$ uhri$_{5}$ tʌkʌbaniku$_{6}$, uhrʌ$_{7}$ kumahpʌ?nʌkwʌ$_{8}$ noohpitʌnu$_{9}$. 13. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_{1}$ mahrʌ$_{2}$ noopʌha$_{3}$ tsayumi?inu$_{4}$. 14. sitʌkwʌ$_{1}$ puhipʌba?a$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ kohtoopʌha$_{4}$ kʌma?kʌ$_{5}$ ma$_{6}$ rahni?inu$_{7}$. 15. sitʌkwʌ$_{1}$ bʌi$_{2}$ saakʌnu$_{3}$, tʌasʌ$_{4}$ huba?ainu$_{5}$, wihnu$_{6}$ rʌasʌ$_{7}$ yuhúnohkonu$_{8}$. 16. ma$_{1}$ sʌmʌkwasʌhka$_{2}$, sitʌʌ$_{3}$ puhipʌha$_{4}$ rʌkʌsónanu$_{5}$, wihnu$_{6}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{7}$, tʌhkánu$_{8}$. 17. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_{1}$ pʌi$_{2}$ tʌhkamaahka$_{3}$, pʌhʌ$_{4}$ awe$_{5}$ tahni?-inu$_{6}$ 18. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_{1}$ wihnu$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ ta?siwóo?rʌhkapʌka$_{4}$ tʌasʌ$_{5}$ pʌhʌ$_{6}$ arʌka?rʌhkapʌka$_{7}$ yʌkwinu$_{8}$. 19. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_{1}$ ma$_{2}$ inanu$_{3}$. 20. tʌasʌkʌse?$_{1}$ sitʌkwʌ$_{2}$ bʌhʌ$_{3}$ pomapʌkahti$_{4}$ tʌhká?eyu$_{5}$. 21. surʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$ tsaa$_{2}$ pihnákamanu$_{3}$. 22. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_{1}$ si?anetʌ$_{2}$ inahpʌni$_{3}$, nanaarʌmu?ikatʌ$_{4}$. 23. sitʌʌkʌse?$_{1}$ nanisuyakeku$_{2}$ waahpihta$_{3}$ puhipʌha$_{4}$ yʌ?yʌkaku$_{5}$ norʌnánu$_{6}$. 24. sitʌkwʌ$_{1}$ wihnu$_{2}$ pʌhʌ$_{3}$ inana$_{4}$ marʌkanu$_{5}$, tʌasʌ$_{6}$ hubébinu$_{7}$, tʌasʌ$_{8}$ tʌkwʌsʌ́kʌnu$_{9}$. 25. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_{1}$

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picked$_{5}$ a bucket$_{2}$ full$_{3}$ (of) huckleberries$_{4}$, then$_{6}$ went$_{10}$ back$_{9}$ to$_{8}$ her$_{7}$ camp$_{8}$. 12. When$_{2}$ she$_{1}$ arrived$_{2}$, as$_{4}$ they$_{5}$ are eating much$_{4}$ (of) their$_{3}$ pickings$_{4}$, their$_{7}$ husbands$_{8}$ arrived packing$_{9}$. 13. These two$_{1}$ took$_{4}$ their$_{2}$ load$_{3}$ down$_{4}$. 14. These two$_{1}$ put$_{7}$ it$_{4}$ on leaves$_{2}$ besides$_{5}$ their$_{3}$ fire$_{4}$. 15. These two$_{1}$ boiled for$_{3}$ them$_{2}$, also$_{4}$ made coffee$_{5}$, then$_{6}$ also$_{7}$ made fry bread$_{8}$. 16. When$_{2}$ it$_{1}$ all was cooked$_{2}$, these ones$_{3}$ made a table of$_{5}$ leaves$_{4}$, then$_{6}$ sitting down$_{7}$, ate$_{8}$. 17. When$_{5}$ they$_{2}$ finished eating$_{3}$, these two$_{1}$ put away$_{6}$ their$_{4}$ dishes$_{5}$. 18. These two$_{1}$ then$_{2}$ sat down$_{8}$ at$_{4}$ their$_{3}$ buffalo meat$_{4}$ also$_{5}$ at$_{7}$ their$_{6}$ deer meat$_{7}$. 19. These two$_{1}$ jerked$_{3}$ it$_{2}$. 20. Also$_{1}$ these two$_{2}$ were eating$_{3}$ from$_{4}$ their$_{3}$ pickings$_{4}$. 21. Those ones$_{1}$ tasted$_{3}$ good$_{2}$ (and) sweet$_{3}$. 22. These two$_{1}$ at this place$_{2}$ jerked much$_{3}$, (they) are telling stories$_{4}$. 23. These$_{1}$ made a bed of$_{4}$ nice$_{2}$ soft$_{3}$ cedar$_{3}$ limbs$_{4}$. 24. These two$_{1}$ then$_{2}$ finished$_{6}$ their$_{3}$ jerking$_{4}$, also$_{4}$ made coffee$_{7}$, also$_{8}$ cooked on coals$_{9}$. 25. These two$_{1}$ fin-

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[59] tʌhkamaahtsi$_2$, pʌhʌ$_3$ inapʌha$_4$ pʌhʌ$_5$ inawatapa?aiki$_6$ rohtsáni?inu$_7$. 26. wihnukʌse?$_1$ sitʌkwʌ$_2$ kwabinu$_3$, ʌhkóinu$_4$. 27. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌnakiku$_2$ taanu$_3$. 28. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ yorihtsi$_2$, kohtoohtsi$_3$, huba?ainu$_4$. 29. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ tʌhkánu$_2$. 30. surʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kumahpʌ?nʌkwʌ$_3$, —pitusʌ$_4$ tanʌ$_5$ nomiaru?i$_6$.— me$_7$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$. 31. sitʌkwʌkʌse?$_1$ mahrʌ$_2$ kwʌbʌnʌkwʌ$_3$, —nohi?$_4$ tsaaku$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌʌyu$_7$. 32 sitʌkʌse?$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ pukunii$_3$ tsakʌhuyʌkʌtsi$_4$, urii$_5$ narʌnoo?rʌkitsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ tʌnoowapinii$_8$ tʌnookʌnu$_9$. 33. tʌhʌyakʌahtsi$_1$, bʌʌ$_2$ tʌnoowapinii$_3$ tsakʌtsi$_4$, pitusʌ$_5$ pʌʌ$_6$ na?nʌmʌnʌʌkʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 34. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$. 35. setʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_2$ nah$_3$ noo$_4$ marʌʌkʌhi$_5$ ta?óo?himahkwaina$_6$. 36. subetʌ$_1$.

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[25] ished eating$_2$, hung$_7$ their$_3$ jerked meat$_4$ over$_4$ their$_5$ meat poles$_6$. 26. Then$_1$ these two$_2$ lay down$_3$, (and) slept$_4$. 27. This$_1$ was$_2$ (a) quiet$_2$ morning$_3$. 28. These two$_1$ getting up$_2$, making a fire$_3$, made coffee$_4$. 29. These ones$_1$ ate$_2$. 30. Those ones$_1$ their$_2$ husbands$_3$ said$_7$ a$_8$, —We$_3$ will move$_4$ back$_4$.— 31. /These two$_1$/ their$_2$ wives$_3$ said$_4$ $_7$, —Very$_4$ good$_5$.— 32. These ones$_1$ rounding up$_4$ their$_2$ horses$_3$, saddling$_4$ them$_5$ up$_4$, loaded$_7$ their$_7$ pack animals$_8$. 33. Mounting horses$_1$, (and) leading$_4$ their$_2$ pack animals$_3$, (they) went$_5$ back$_5$ to$_7$ their$_6$ relatives$_7$. 34. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 35. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ /just$_3$/ must$_4$ come and go getting pounded meat$_4$ from them$_5$. 36. That is all$_1$.

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539 1. soobe?sʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌmʌ?$_3$ wa?ihpʌ?$_4$ sʌmʌ?ma?ai$_5$ tʌehpʌ?rʌma?ai$_6$ toyabetu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 2. waikin̲ba?akʌ$_1$ urʌkwʌ̲$_2$ mi?a?i$_3$. 3. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ natsamukwe?a$_3$ hani̲kaku$_4$, makʌ̲$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ waikin̲ʌkutʌ̲$_2$ makʌ̲hu$_3$ weenu$_4$, pʌhʌ$_5$ wihtue$_6$ himanu$_7$. 5. sitʌkwʌ̲$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌhpe?ku$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ wihtuaku$_5$ sihka$_6$ natsamukwe?a$_7$ pomanu$_8$. 6. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ sukʌ̲hu$_2$ wihtuaku$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pomana$_5$ nʌʌ?mainu$_6$. 7. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ pʌhʌ$_2$ waikin̲ʌkahtu$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ pomapʌ̲ha$_5$ to?wʌ?wenimi?a$_6$. 8. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ sinihku$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ pomana$_4$ nʌʌ?mainu$_5$. 9. sitʌkwʌ̲kʌse?$_1$ tʌtaati$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ tʌʌhka?a?a$_4$ yaanu$_5$, wihnu$_6$ sihka$_7$ natsamukwe?a$_8$ sʌki$_9$ wʌhpómi?inu$_{10}$, pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikin̲ʌkahtu$_{12}$

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, one$_3$ woman$_4$ with one$_5$ child /with$_6$/ went$_8$ towards the mountains$_7$. 2. On a wagon$_1$ those two$_2$ went$_3$. 3. These two$_1$ arrived$_4$ there$_5$, where there were$_6$ much$_2$ grapes$_3$. 4. These two$_1$ went down$_4$ from (the) wagon$_2$ to it$_3$, (they) took$_7$ their$_8$ buckets$_6$. 5. These two$_1$ picked$_3$ /that$_2$/ their$_4$ buckets$_5$ full$_3$ /in$_6$/ (of) these$_6$ grapes$_7$. 6. These two$_1$ there$_2$ tired of$_4$ their$_4$ pickings$_5$ in buckets$_3$. 7. These two$_1$ kept on dumping$_4$ their$_4$ pickings$_5$ into$_3$ their$_2$ wagon$_3$. 8. These two$_1$ tired of$_5$ their$_3$ picking$_4$ in this way$_2$. 9. These two$_1$ took$_8$ their$_3$ little$_2$ ax$_4$, then$_6$ these$_7$ grapes$_8$ vines$_9$ (they) chopped down$_{10}$. (they)

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ma$_{13}$ betinu$_{14}$. ma$_{15}$ rʌhpé'kʌanu$_{14}$. 10. mahka$_1$ mahri$_2$ tʌhpe'kʌahkakʌse'$_3$ si'ana$_4$ pimoróo'a$_5$ piakuhma$_6$ tuhubʌhkapʌ$_7$ mahrʌwakatu$_8$ nuhkíkina$_9$. 11. sitʌkʌse'$_1$ tʌehpʌ'rʌ$_2$, —itʌtsa'$_3$ narʌ'ʌyatʌ$_4$ pimoróo'$_5$ tahʌwakatu$_6$ kimaarʌ$_7$ — mekʌse'$_8$ sitʌ$_9$ yʌkwihtsi$_{10}$. pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikinʌkahtu$_{12}$ pohpínu$_{13}$. 12. sitʌkʌse'$_1$ ma$_2$ kaku'$_3$ pʌnʌsu'a$_4$ makʌ$_5$ tʌhʌ́yaro'inu$_6$. 13. sitʌkwʌ$_1$ sihkutʌ$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ nuraanu$_5$. 14. mahri$_1$ bitʌhkakʌse'$_2$ mahrʌ$_3$ na'nʌmʌmʌ$_4$ sihka$_5$ natsamukwe'a$_6$ tsayumi'inu$_7$. 15. sitʌʌkʌse'$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ pibiarʌsone$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, makʌhu$_6$ ma$_7$ tsahpómi'inu$_8$, ma$_9$ kotsenu$_{10}$. pʌʌ$_{11}$ huu'awokʌ$_{12}$ ma$_{13}$ rahni'inu$_{14}$. 16. pʌʌ$_1$ tʌrayu'ne'a$_2$ yaahtsi$_3$, uma$_4$ u$_5$ rayu'nenu$_6$. 17. u$_1$ sʌmʌrayu'netsi$_2$, u$_3$ maroponi'inu$_4$. 18. wihnu$_1$ pʌʌ$_2$ hʌkiba'aiki$_3$ pibiawobihta$_4$ tahni'itsi$_5$, sihka$_6$ natsamukwe'a$_7$ pʌʌ$_8$ maroponi'ipʌha$_9$ uba'aiki$_{10}$ pasáhtahni'inu$_{11}$. 19. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, muhpóo'wanapʌha$_4$ uba'aiki$_5$ wʌhpári'inu$_6$. 20. hayarokwe$_1$ u$_2$ habihka$_3$, sunihku$_4$ narʌni'itʌ$_5$, 539

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threw$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ into$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$, it$_{15}$ filled up$_{16}$. 10. As$_3$ they$_2$ filled up$_3$ that$_1$, here somewhere$_4$ (a) big bull$_4$ cow$_5$ (an) angry one$_7$ came running$_9$ towards them$_8$. 11. This$_1$ child$_2$ (said), --This$_3$ dangerous$_4$ cow$_5$ is coming$_7$ towards us$_6$.— This one$_9$ saying$_{8\ 10}$, jumped$_{13}$ into$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$. 12. This$_1$ his$_2$ grandmother$_3$ herself also$_4$ mounted up$_6$ in it$_5$. 13. These two$_1$ from there$_2$ ran$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$ house$_4$. 14. When$_3$ they$_1$ arrived$_2$, their$_3$ relatives$_4$ unloaded$_7$ these$_5$ grapes$_6$. 15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ taking$_5$ their$_3$ big dishpans$_4$, in it$_6$ (they) stripped$_8$ it$_7$, washed$_{10}$ it$_9$ [them], (and) placed$_{16}$ it$_{13}$ [them] in$_{12}$ their$_{11}$ wooden bowls$_{12}$. 16. Taking$_3$ their$_1$ pestle$_2$, with it$_4$ (they) pounded$_4$ it$_5$. 17. Completely pounding$_2$ it$_1$, (they) made balls of$_4$ it$_3$. 18. Then$_1$ placing$_5$ big boards$_4$ over$_3$ their$_2$ arbor$_3$, (they) placed$_{11}$ these$_6$ their$_8$ balls$_9$ of grapes$_7$ over it$_{10}$ to dry$_{11}$. 19. Doing$_3$ it$_2$ that way$_1$, (they) spread$_4$ mosquito netting$_4$ over it$_5$. 20. As$_3$ it$_2$ lies$_3$ four (days$_1$), (it) stays$_5$ in that way$_4$, /and/ when it is 539 252

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539 u$_6$ rʌbitsibasahka$_7$, pibianarʌ̨sokʌ̨$_8$ u$_9$ rʌbakinu̱$_{10}$. 21. sitʌʌkʌ̨se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tomo$_3$ u$_4$ karʌkʌ?etʌ̨$_5$, tsaa$_6$ u$_7$ bihnakamaku$_8$, u$_9$ rʌhká?eeyu̱$_{10}$. 22. usʌse?$_1$ pʌnihku$_2$ pʌewatsl?$_3$ natsamukwe?a$_4$ urʌʌ$_5$ tʌkʌ?ai?ena̱$_6$. 23. subetʌ̨$_1$.

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539 really dry$_6$ $_7$, (they) load$_{10}$ it$_9$ in big sacks$_8$. 21. These
252 ones$_1$ then$_2$ in winter$_3$ cook$_5$ it$_4$, as$_5$ it$_7$ tastes$_8$ good$_6$ (and) sweet$_8$, (they) eat$_{10}$ it$_9$. 22. That$_1$ in that way$_2$ they$_3$ fix$_4$ wild$_3$ grapes$_4$ to eat$_4$. 23. That is all$_1$.

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539 1. su?anakʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_3$ kahníba?i$_3$. 2. surʌʌ-
k̲se?$_1$ ke$_2$ tsihánabeni?eeyu$_3$. 3. surʌʌk̲se?$_1$ urʌʌ$_2$ nana-
wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$, —hina$_4$ ranʌ$_5$ taa$_6$ tʌrʌc?tii$_7$ tʌhkák̲hutu-
?i$_3$?— mekʌ$_4$. 4. surʌk̲se?$_1$ sʌmʌ?$_2$ urʌʌmatʌ$_3$, —tsaati$_4$
nʌ?$_5$ su?ura?i$_6$,— mekʌ$_7$. 5. —tanʌwitsa$_1$ ma$_2$ yʌihka$_3$,
raa$_4$ nanahtenanʌʌma?ai$_5$ ok̲ho$_6$ huuhkabatu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$.—
6. sʌmʌ?k̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$, —hina$_3$ hanitu?i$_4$ mia$_5$?— mekʌ$_4$.
7. surʌk̲se?$_1$, —ehka$_2$ kuyunfi?a$_3$ huuhkabanai$_4$ tahkʌaru?i$_5$,—
mekʌ$_4$. 8. —suni$_1$ urii$_2$ tai$_3$ mʌʌhkase?$_4$ taa$_5$ nanahtena-
nʌʌ$_6$ pʌʌ$_7$ ta?wo?i?a$_8$ himahtsi$_9$, ohto$_{10}$ ma$_{11}$ huuhkʌma?ru$_{12}$
wihnu$_{13}$ robo?ihutu?i$_{14}$.— 9. —soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ sunihku$_3$
puhitóo?a$_4$ rʌkʌwasʌ?etʌʌ$_5$.— 10. surʌʌk̲se?$_1$ oyet̲$_2$ si?a-
net̲$_3$ bʌʌ$_4$ kahnikut̲$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ omom̲sʌ$_8$ surʌʌ$_9$
uku$_{10}$ bitʌnu$_{11}$. 11. sitʌʌk̲se?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ wa?ihpʌ?a$_4$
pʌmʌ$_5$ u$_6$ ni?atsi?nihku$_7$, huuhkʌma?ku$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 12. sitʌʌ-

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1. Somewhere$_1$, it is said$_2$, some$_3$ had a camp$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ became hungry$_{2,3}$. 3. /Those$_1$/ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$ said$_9$, —What$_4$ (are) we$_5$ going to feed$_6$ our$_4$ children$_7$?— 4. /That one$_1$/ one$_2$ /is/ of them$_3$ said$_7$, —I$_5$ thought of$_4$
539 something good$_4$.— 5. —When$_3$ it$_2$ is evening$_3$, we ought to$_1$
2236. with$_5$ our$_4$ menfolk$_5$ go$_6$ over there$_4$ in among the trees$_7$.— One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_4$, —What$_3$ will (we) do$_4$, go$_5$?— 7. That one$_1$ said$_4$, —(We) will drive$_5$ those various$_2$ turkeys$_3$ from among the trees$_4$.— 8. —As$_4$ we$_3$ do to$_4$ them$_3$ that way$_1$, then$_{13}$ our$_5$ menfolk$_4$, taking$_9$ their$_7$ guns$_8$, will stand$_{14}$ along there$_{10}$ along /its$_{11}$/ the timber's edge$_{12}$.
9. Long ago$_1$ we$_2$ in that way$_3$ killed$_5$ turkeys$_4$ to eat$_5$.— 10. All$_2$ those ones$_1$ at this place$_3$ went$_4$ from$_5$ their$_4$ camp$_3$ on$_8$ their$_7$ feet$_8$ those ones$_9$ arrived$_{11}$ there$_{10}$. 11. These$_1$ men$_2$, in the way$_7$ that$_3$ woman$_4$ /she$_4$/ advised$_7$ them$_9$, went$_9$

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Comanche Texts

kʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ huuhkabaiki$_5$ mi?anu$_6$, 539
si?ana$_7$ pʌma$_8$ sehka$_9$ kuyunΐ?a$_{10}$ yʌkwi?ena$_{11}$ piaba?sa-
hpunΐ?tuhka$_{12}$ yʌkwinu$_{13}$. 13. marii$_1$ yʌkwihkakukʌse?$_2$
setʌ$_3$ kuyunΐ?$_4$ sooyorikitʌ$_5$, sima$_6$ pa?sahpunΐ?ma$_7$ yʌ-
kwinu$_8$. 14. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ maa$_2$ yʌkwihkatʌ$_3$, wihnu$_4$ sokoko$_5$
pohbΐanu$_6$. 15. sitʌʌ$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_2$ marʌʌmatu$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$.
16. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ kuyunΐ?nʌʌ$_2$ huuhkʌma?ku$_3$ tunehtsʌnu$_4$.
17. huuhkʌma?ku$_1$ ma$_2$ kʌahka$_3$, sitʌʌ$_4$ tenanʌʌ$_5$ tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_6$ marii$_7$ wasʌ́nu$_8$. 18. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$
wasʌpʌha$_4$ wa?wahku$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, pitusʌ$_7$ bʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$
mi?anu$_{10}$. 19. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ$_2$ bʌi$_3$ bitʌhka$_4$, setʌʌ$_5$ marii$_6$
no?inu$_7$. 20. wihnu$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ maka?-
mukitsi$_5$, kohtoohtsi$_6$, sehka$_7$ kuyunΐ?a$_8$ sooko$_9$ kwasʌ́kʌnu$_{10}$.
21. sitʌʌ$_1$ sukʌhu$_2$ sunihku$_3$ kuyunΐ?a$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ wasʌ?ima$_6$
tsihákwitso?ainu$_7$. 22. subetʌ$_1$.

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to the edge of the timber$_8$. 12. Then$_2$ these$_1$ women$_3$ went$_4$ 539
through$_5$ that$_4$ timber$_5$ here$_7$ (they) sat down$_{13}$ under (a) 223
big oak$_{12}$ on /it$_9$/ [which] those various$_9$ turkeys$_{10}$ perch$_{11}$.
13. As$_2$ they$_1$ were sitting$_2$, many$_5$ (of) those various$_3$ tur-
keys$_4$ came flying$_5$ (and) perched$_6$ on this$_6$ /on/ oak$_7$.
14. These$_1$ (turkeys) are perching$_3$ on it$_2$, then$_4$ jumped$_6$
to the ground$_5$. 15. These$_1$ women$_2$ ran$_4$ on to them$_3$.
16. These$_1$ turkeys$_2$ ran$_4$ to the edge of the timber$_3$. 17. As$_3$
it$_2$ [they] came out$_3$ to the edge of the timber$_1$, these$_4$ men$_5$
killed$_8$ much$_6$ [many] (of) them$_7$. 18. These$_1$ then$_2$, carrying$_4$
two each$_5$ (of) their$_3$ killings$_4$, went$_{10}$ back$_7$ to$_9$ their$_8$ camp$_9$.
19. When$_4$ they$_3$ arrived$_4$ (at) their$_1$ camp /to$_2$/, those var- 539
ious ones$_5$ [the women] picked$_7$ them$_6$ [the turkeys]. [251]
20. Then$_1$ their$_2$ womenfolk$_3$ preparing$_5$ it$_4$, making a fire$_6$,
cooked$_{10}$ those$_7$ many$_9$ /various$_7$/ turkeys$_8$. 21. These ones$_1$
there$_2$ in that way$_3$ with$_4$ (the) turkeys$_4$ [which] they$_5$ killed$_4$
[were] saved from hunger$_7$. 22. That is all$_1$.

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XXXIII

599 1. soobe?ɛʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌs$_2$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_3$ tamutʌso?ihunu?betu$_4$ pomami?anu$_5$. 2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ soohuuhkaba$_2$ nobitʌnu$_3$. 3. uku$_1$ bʌi$_2$ kwabihkakʌse?$_3$ surʌʌ$_4$, —soohtuku$_5$ ma?$_6$ bʌewatsi?$_7$ mubipó?roo?katʌ$_8$. taa$_9$ muhyi$_{10}$ nʌʌ?ka$_{11}$ kʌhtaaku$_{12}$ rahtʌmi?inu$_{13}$.— mekʌse?$_{14}$ surʌʌ$_{15}$. 4. —etʌtsa?$_1$ bʌewatsi?$_2$ mubipó?roo?$_3$ taa$_4$ narʌhka?a$_5$ tai$_6$ tʌhkakʌtu?i$_7$,— mekʌ$_8$. 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ pomami?anu$_2$, na?kʌhtaba?i?a$_3$ sooko$_4$ bomanu$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tuhpokóo?a$_7$. 6. pʌʌ$_1$ pomapʌha$_2$ pibianarʌsokʌ$_3$ rʌbakinu$_4$. 7. si?anetʌ$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahnikʌhu$_4$ mi?anu$_5$. 8. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ$_2$ mari$_3$ bitʌhks$_4$, setʌʌ$_5$ marʌʌ$_6$ nanawa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_7$, —etʌʌtukutsa?$_8$ bʌewatsi?$_9$ mubipó?roo?$_{10}$ taa$_{11}$ narʌhka?a$_{12}$ sʌmʌrʌhka?i$_{13}$.—

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1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, Indians$_3$ went to pick$_5$ along Briar Creek$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ camped$_3$ among much timber$_2$. 3. When$_3$ they$_2$ slept$_3$ there$_1$, /those ones$_4$/ those ones$_{15}$ said$_{14}$, —There is$_6$ (are) many$_5$ wild$_7$ pigs$_8$. You all$_{11}$ shut$_{13}$ our$_9$ doors$_{10}$ tightly$_{12}$.— 4. —Those various$_1$ wild$_2$ pigs$_3$ will
[222] eat$_7$ our$_4$ groceries$_5$ for$_7$ us$_6$,— (they) said$_8$. 5. These ones$_1$ went to pick$_2$, (they) picked$_5$ much$_4$ (many) pecans$_3$, also$_6$ a black berry (tree)$_7$. 6. (They) loaded$_4$ their$_1$ pickings$_2$ in big sacks$_3$. 7. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ went$_3$ to$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$. 8. When$_4$ they$_3$ came$_4$ to$_2$ their$_1$ camp$_2$ /those various$_3$/ their$_4$ womenfolk$_7$ said$_{14\ 15}$. —Those various$_1$ wild$_9$

Comanche Texts

mekʌ$_{14}$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{15}$. 9. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —mʌʌ$_3$ 539
ta?wo?i?aka$_4$ maka?muki$_5$, urii$_6$ nubipó?roo?nii$_7$
tai$_8$ wasʌru?i̲ka$_9$.— mekʌ$_{10}$. 10. —ke$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ hina$_3$ rʌhka$_4$.—
11. ma$_1$ yʌihkakʌ̲se?$_2$ urʌʌ$_3$ kahnitutʌ$_4$ ta?kwʌ̲ba?i̲$_5$, surʌʌ$_6$
sehka$_7$ mubipó?roo?a$_8$ sooti$_9$ wasʌ́nu̲$_{10}$. 12. suhka$_1$ mubipó-
?roo?a$_2$ u$_3$ pʌhʌma?aikusʌ$_4$ u$_5$ tsihpomi?i̲tsi$_6$, u$_7$ rohtsʌ́ni-
?inu̲$_8$. 13. u$_1$ tukanikʌ̲se?$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ tomoahupiitʌ̲$_4$, tʌmarʌʌ-
moaku$_5$ urii$_6$ ʌmanu̲$_7$, ʌmarʌ̲sʌ$_8$ taanu̲$_9$. 14. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$
tenahpʌ?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahnihkutʌ̲$_4$ ro?i̲tsi$_5$, hunu?betuti$_6$ buninu̲$_7$.
15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tenahpʌ?$_2$, —hakani$_3$ mʌi$_4$ naahkaku$_5$ ma?$_6$
tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_7$ baro?i̲kitʌ̲$_8$. tsaaku$_9$ mʌnʌ$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ supana?-
itʌʌ$_{12}$ sihka$_{13}$ tamutʌ̲so?i̲hunu?bihta$_{14}$ atabaro?ina̲$_{15}$. — mekʌ$_{16}$.
16. —namʌ̲sohiika$_1$. ikʌ̲hu$_2$ ma?$_3$ bʌesʌ$_4$ to?i?$_5$.— mekʌ$_6$.
17. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ bʌʌ$_2$ oo?ri$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ waikinʌ̲kahtu$_5$ petinu̲$_6$.
18. u$_1$ noo?matu$_2$ sitʌʌ$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ oo?ri$_5$ noohtsi$_6$, tunehtʌʌnu̲$_7$.
19. marii$_1$ nabitʌ̲bunihkakʌ̲se?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ oo?rʌ$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$
marʌʌ$_6$ kahni$_7$ o?okwenuna̲$_8$. 20. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$ wa?ihpʌ?$_2$,

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pigs$_{10}$ ate up all$_{13}$ our$_{11}$ groceries$_{12}$.— 9. Those$_1$ men$_2$ said$_{10}$,
—Get ready$_5$ your$_3$ guns$_4$. We$_8$ will kill$_9$ those$_6$ pigs$_7$.
10. We$_2$ (have) not$_1$ (a) thing$_3$ to eat$_4$.— 11. When$_2$ it$_1$ was
evening$_2$, those ones$_6$ were shooting$_5$ about$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$,
(and) killed$_{10}$ /those various$_7$/ many$_9$ pigs$_8$. 12. Cutting$_6$
/it$_5$/ up$_4$, those$_1$ pigs$_2$ still in$_4$ its$_3$ skin$_4$, (they) hung$_8$ it$_7$ [251]
up$_8$. 13. That$_1$ night$_2$ it$_3$ suddenly clouded up$_4$, (and) rained
on$_7$ them$_4$ much$_5$, (and) is still raining$_8$ [when] morning came$_9$.
14. One$_1$ man$_2$, going out$_5$ from$_4$ their$_3$ camp$_4$, looked$_7$ along
towards creek$_4$. 15. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{16}$. —As$_8$ you all$_4$ were
continuing$_5$, in some way$_3$ it$_4$ [water] is come up$_8$ much$_7$.
You all$_{10}$ know$_{12}$ it$_{11}$ well$_9$, (that) this$_{13}$ Briar Creek$_{14}$ over-
flows easily$_{15}$.— 16. —Hurry up$_1$. It$_3$ already$_4$ came up$_5$
here$_2$.— (he) said$_6$. 17. These ones$_1$ threw$_6$ their$_2$ clothes$_3$
into$_5$ their$_4$ wagons$_5$. 18. These ones$_3$ carrying$_5$ their$_4$ clothes$_3$,
ran$_7$ onto$_2$ that$_1$ hill$_2$. 19. As$_2$ they$_1$ looked behind them-
selves$_2$, their$_3$ clothes$_4$ (and) also$_5$ their$_6$ teepees$_7$ are float-

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Obtaining and Preparing Food

539 —nʌ$_3$ rʌʌhka$^{?}$a$^{?}$a$_4$ tʌasʌ$_5$ nʌ$_6$ kukʌ̲me$^{?}$awetuku$_7$ nʌ$^{?}$$_8$ nasu-watsi$^{?}$$_9$. — mekʌ$_{10}$. 21. sʌmʌ$^{?}$kʌ̲se$^{?}$$_1$ tenahpʌ$^{?}$$_2$ pʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ wʌhpiwokʌ̲kat̲ʌ̲$_5$, tʌhʌyaba$^{?}$a$_6$ urʌʌkʌ̲$_7$ bitʌnu̲$_8$. 22. surʌ-kʌ̲se$^{?}$$_1$ wa$^{?}$ihpʌ$^{?}$$_2$ sukʌ̲hu$_3$ pʌʌ$_4$ kahnipʌ̲kahtu$_5$ pahábinukwa$_6$. 23. si$^{?}$anʌ̲ku$_1$ bʌ$_2$ tʌʌhka$^{?}$a$^{?}$a$_3$ tʌasʌ$_4$ pʌ$_5$ kukʌ̲me$^{?}$awe$_6$ uranu̲$_7$, u$_8$ batu̲tsani̲kaku̲$_9$. 24. urʌʌ$_1$ nanahtenanʌʌkʌ̲se$^{?}$$_2$, —taa$_3$ mubipó$^{?}$roo$^{?}$rʌhkapʌ̲rukutsa$^{?}$$_4$ sʌmʌ$^{?}$okwehkwa$^{?}$i̲$_5$. — mekʌ$_6$. 25. —ma$_1$ basahka$_2$ ranʌ$_3$ taa$_4$ pomapʌ̲ha$_5$ ehtuti$_6$ bamʌ̲tso$^{?}$noti$_7$ tso$^{?}$metu$^{?}$i̲$_8$. — 26. sitʌʌkʌ̲se$^{?}$$_1$ u$_2$ basanuahka$_3$, hunu$^{?}$ru$_4$ mi$^{?}$anu̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ pomapʌ̲ha$_7$ ehtu$_8$ huuma$_9$ ma$_{10}$ tsahni$^{?}$i$^{?}$etʌ̲kaku$_{11}$, ma$_{12}$ u$^{?}$u̲ruhkunu̲$_{13}$. 27. sitʌʌ$_1$ tenanʌʌ$_2$, —ai$^{?}$ku$_3$ ranʌ$_4$ hani$^{?}$nʌʌ$_5$. taa$_6$ pomapʌ̲ha$_7$ sooti$_8$ tanʌ$_9$ watsikʌ$^{?}$i̲nʌʌ$_{10}$. — mekʌ$_{11}$. 28. sitʌʌ$_1$ su$^{?}$anetʌ̲$_2$ sʌmʌnomi$^{?}$-anu̲$_3$, tʌwooyʌkarʌʌ$_4$. 29. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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ing$_8$. 20. One$_1$ woman$_2$ said$_{10}$. —I$_3$ forgot$_9$ my$_3$ ax$_4$ and$_5$ my$_6$ skillet$_7$.— 21. One$_1$ man$_2$ /is/ dragging$_3$ his$_3$ teepee$_4$ on horseback$_4$, came$_8$ to them$_7$. 22. That$_1$ woman$_2$ swam off$_4$ there$_3$ towards$_5$ their$_4$ camping place$_5$. 23. Here$_1$ (she) found$_7$ her$_2$ ax$_3$ and$_4$ her$_5$ skillet$_4$, as$_9$ it$_8$ was caught in water$_5$. 24. Their$_1$ menfolk$_2$ said$_4$, —Our$_3$ pig meat$_4$ all floated off$_5$. 25. When$_3$ it$_1$ dries$_2$, we$_3$ our$_4$ pickings$_5$ along these various$_6$ drifts /along$_7$/ will gather up$_8$.— 26. When$_3$ it$_2$ went down and dried$_3$, these ones$_1$ went$_2$ along the creek$_4$ (and) found$_{13}$ /it$_{12}$/ their$_6$ pickings$_7$ here and there$_{13}$ at various places$_8$ as$_{11}$ /it$_{10}$/ each one hung$_{11}$ on trees$_9$.
27. These$_1$ men$_2$ said$_{11}$. —We$_4$ did$_5$ badly$_3$. We$_9$ lost$_{10}$ lots of$_8$ our$_6$ pickings$_7$.— 28. These ones$_1$ at that place$_2$ all moved away$_3$, (and) are moving around hunting$_4$. 29. That is all$_1$.

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XXXIV

539 1. soobeʔʌkʌtsaʔ$_1$ rʌa$_2$ suʔrna$_3$ nʌmʌnʌʌ$_4$ kahníbaʔi$_5$.
2. urʌʌ$_1$ ahpʌʔkʌse$_2$. —taa$_3$ kunatsaʔ$_4$ tsuʔmaʔi$_5$. —
3. surʌkʌse$_1$ pʌ$_2$ kwʌhi$_3$, —tahi$_4$ nomohkakʌtuʔi$_5$ nʌʔ$_6$.
tahi$_7$ konookwatuʔika$_8$. — mekʌ$_9$. 4. sitʌkwʌkʌse$_1$ siʔanetʌ$_2$
miʔanu$_3$, hunuʔbetu$_4$. 5. sitʌkwʌkʌse$_1$ hunuʔbetu$_2$ miʔanu$_3$,
siʔana$_4$ tobooʔihupiitʌ$_5$. pʌhʌ$_6$ waikinʌkahtu$_7$ pʌhʌ$_8$ tsoʔ-
mepʌha$_9$ tʌbakimiʔa$_{10}$. pʌhʌ$_{11}$ waikina$_{12}$ tʌhpéʔkʌakʌnu$_{13}$.
6. sitʌkʌse$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌʔ$_3$, —ikʌhi$_4$ nʌʔ$_5$ ma$_6$ pamʌ-
tsoʔnikʌhi$_7$ punituʔi$_8$, — mekʌse$_9$ surʌ$_{10}$ yʌkwihtsi$_{11}$.
ukʌhu$_{12}$ miʔanu$_{13}$. piahuuma$_{14}$ ukʌhi$_{15}$ tsiwainu$_{16}$. 7. siʔana-
kʌse$_1$ pamʌtsoʔnikaaba$_2$ parúukuʔ$_3$ haahpi$_4$. 8. sitʌkʌse$_1$
ma$_2$ wʌhkúpanu$_3$. 9. surʌkʌse$_1$ yuupʌ$_2$. 10. sitʌkʌse$_1$
tenahpʌʔ$_2$, —nohiʔ$_3$ tsaahtʌkʌhútuʔi$_4$ tanʌ$_5$. — me$_6$ yʌkwii-
yu$_7$. 11. pʌhʌ$_1$ waikinʌkahtu$_2$ sitʌ$_3$ ma$_4$ wihínu$_5$. 12. si-
tʌkwʌkʌse$_1$ siʔanetʌ$_2$ miʔanu$_3$, pʌʌ$_4$ kahnikʌhu$_5$. 13. si-

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539 262 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, somewhere$_3$ Indians$_4$ had a home$_5$.
2. Their$_1$ father$_2$ (said), --Our$_3$ firewood$_4$ is used up$_5$.—
3. That one$_1$ said to$_2$ his$_3$ wife$_3$, —I$_4$ will hitch up for$_5$ us$_4$.
We two$_7$ will go to get firewood$_8$.— 4. These two$_1$ at this
place$_2$ went$_3$ towards (the) creek$_4$. 5. These two$_1$ went$_3$ to-
wards (the) creek$_2$, (and) here$_4$ came to a stop$_5$, (they) went
on loading$_{10}$ their$_8$ gatherings$_9$ into$_7$ their$_6$ wagon$_7$, (and)
their$_{11}$ wagon$_{12}$ filled up$_{13}$. 6. /This$_1$/ her$_2$ husband$_3$ (said),
—I$_5$ will look$_6$ in this$_4$ /this$_4$/ drift /in$_7$/,— that one$_{10}$ (was)
saying$_{9,11}$, (and he) went$_{13}$ there$_{12}$, (and) poked around$_{14}$ in
this$_{15}$ with (a) big stick$_{14}$. 7. Here$_1$ among the drifts$_2$ (a)
raccoon$_3$ was lying$_4$. 8. This one$_1$ killed$_3$ it$_2$. 9. That one$_1$
was (a) fat one$_2$. 10. This$_1$ man$_2$ said$_{4,7}$. —We$_5$ are about
to eat$_4$ very$_3$ good$_4$.— 11. This one$_3$ threw$_5$ it$_4$ into$_2$ their$_1$
wagon$_2$. 12. These two$_1$ at this place$_2$ went$_3$ to$_3$ their$_4$ houses$_5$.

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tʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kumahpʌ?$_3$ pʌhʌ$_4$ konoopʌ̲ha$_5$ tsayumí?inu̲$_6$, wihnu$_7$ piakohtoonu̲$_8$, sihka$_9$ parúuku?a$_{10}$ pʌhátsahkwe?yanu̲$_{11}$. 14. sitʌ́kʌ̲se?$_1$ ma$_2$ kwʌhʌ$_3$ sukʌ̲hu$_4$ ma$_5$ kohtoopʌ̲ka$_6$ ma$_7$ ku?inanu̲$_8$. 15. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ rʌhkánu̲$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahpʌ?a$_6$ pʌmʌ$_7$ tʌbehkakʌ?i̲ha$_8$ u$_9$ ku?inʌ̲tsi$_{10}$, tsaahtʌhkanu̲$_{11}$. 16. sitʌ́kʌ̲se?$_1$ marʌʌ$_2$ ahpʌ?$_3$, —tʌbitsi$_4$ tsaaku$_5$ tamʌ$_6$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_7$ tʌhka?i̲nʌʌ$_8$. — me$_9$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_{10}$. 17. pʌi$_1$ tʌkʌ̲-kakʌ̲se?$_2$ marʌʌ$_3$ tʌrʌe?tʌʌ$_4$ nohínuraahkwainu̲$_5$, pʌʌ$_6$ tʌhka?i̲ha$_7$ tʌbitsi$_8$ tsaa$_9$ wʌsukaatʌ̲$_{10}$. 18. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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13. This$_1$ her$_2$ husband$_3$ unloaded$_4$ their$_4$ firewood$_5$, then$_7$ (he) made a big fire$_8$, (and) (they) skinned$_{11}$ this$_9$ raccoon$_{10}$. 14. /This one$_1$/ his$_2$ wife$_3$ roasted$_8$ it$_7$ there$_4$ in$_6$ his$_5$ fire$_6$. 15. These ones$_1$ then$_2$ ate$_3$, roasting$_{10}$ /it$_9$/ this$_4$ what$_8$ their$_9$ father$_6$ killed for$_8$ them$_7$. (They) ate good$_{11}$. 16. This$_1$ their$_2$ father$_3$ said$_{9,10}$. —Our$_4$ children$_7$ really$_4$ ate$_8$ good$_5$.— 17. When$_2$ they$_1$ ate$_2$, their$_3$ children$_4$ ran around playing$_5$, /and/ really$_6$ felt$_{10}$ good$_9$ about$_{10}$ what$_7$ they$_4$ ate$_7$. 18. That is all$_1$.

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XXXV

539 1. soobe?ʌʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌʌ$_2$ atabitsinʌʌ$_3$ su?ana$_4$ nobitʌnu$_5$.
2. surʌʌkʌse?$_1$ narʌhka?tsu?manu$_2$. 3. urʌʌ$_1$ nanawa?ihpʌ-
?anʌʌkʌse?$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ kahni$_4$ yʌkwinu$_5$. 4. urʌʌmatʌkʌse?$_1$,
—tanʌwitsa$_2$ ohʌhi$_3$ ma$_4$ pisʌʌmahpaakʌhi$_5$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_6$
taa$_7$ yʌihtʌhkaru?iha$_8$ ahwemi?anu$_9$.— 5. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si-
?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ku?wʌhora?a$_4$ himahtsi$_5$, sukʌhu$_6$ ʌmahpaa-
kʌhu$_7$ mi?anu$_8$. 6. tahkwe?yu?itsi$_1$, pʌʌ$_2$ muhpe?ma?ai$_3$
makʌhu$_4$ weenu$_5$, tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_6$ sihka$_7$ kʌrʌ?atsiha$_8$
ahwénu$_9$. 7. sʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ urʌʌmatʌ$_2$, —keta?ka$_3$ mubisi-
tʌʌ$_4$ mahka$_5$ tai$_6$ ahweku$_7$.— me$_8$ urii$_9$ niikwiiyu$_{10}$.
8. sitʌʌkʌse?$_1$ si?anetʌ$_2$ pʌʌ$_3$ ahwepʌha$_4$ narʌsokoko$_5$
noohtsi$_6$, pʌʌ$_7$ kahnikʌhu$_8$ mi?anu$_9$. 9. sitʌʌ$_1$ pitʌnu$_2$.
10. pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌku$_2$ kohtoo?etʌtsi$_3$, sihka$_4$ pʌʌ$_5$ ahwe-
pʌha$_6$ tʌkʌhmaninu$_7$. 11. sʌsʌmʌ?$_1$ marʌʌkʌ$_2$ tsuhnipʌma?-
aihku$_3$ ma$_4$ karʌkʌnu$_5$. 12. sʌsʌmʌ?kʌse?$_1$ pʌmʌ$_2$ u$_3$

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, other tribe of Indians$_3$ camped$_5$
222 there somewhere$_4$. 2. Those ones$_1$ ran out of groceries$_2$.
3. Their$_1$ women/ɔlk$_2$ set up$_3$ their$_3$ teepee$_4$. 4. One of
262 them$_1$ (said), —We ought to$_2$ go dig$_3$ water lily roots$_4$ in
that$_5$ /this$_4$/ big lake$_5$ /in/ /what$_6$/ [which] we$_7$ will eat for
supper$_8$.— 5. These ones$_1$ at this place$_2$ taking$_3$ their$_3$ hoes$_4$,
went$_5$ there$_6$ to (the) lake$_7$. 6. Taking off (their) shoes$_1$,
with$_3$ their$_3$ hoes$_3$ went down$_5$ in it$_4$, (and) dug up$_9$ a lot of$_6$
these$_7$ water lily roots$_8$. 7. One$_1$ of them$_2$ said$_3$ to them$_9$,
—Don't$_3$ blow your noses$_4$ as$_7$ we$_6$ dig$_7$ this$_5$.— 8. These ones$_1$
at this place$_2$, carrying$_4$ their$_3$ diggings$_4$ in sacks$_5$, went$_9$ to$_2$
539 their$_7$ camp$_8$. 9. These ones$_1$ arrived$_2$. 10. Each one mak-
262 ing a fire$_3$ in$_3$ their$_1$ homes$_2$ (they) cooked$_7$ /this$_4$/ their$_3$
diggings$_4$. 11. Some$_1$ of them$_2$ boiled$_5$ it$_4$ with bones$_3$.
252 12. Some$_1$ /themselves$_2$/ fried$_4$ it$_3$ in$_4$ that$_3$ fat$_4$. 13. One$_1$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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yuhukʌ̲$_4$ u$_3$ kwasʌ́kʌnu̲$_4$. 13. sʌmʌ?kʌ̲se?$_1$, —nʌtsa?$_2$ nah$_3$ nʌ$_4$ ahwepʌ̲ha$_5$ kusiwʌhpimaru?i̲$_6$. — mekʌ$_7$. 14. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ huba?ainu̲$_2$. 15. sʌmʌ?oyetʌ̲$_1$ tʌmarʌʌmoaku$_2$ yuhúnohkonu̲$_3$. 16. marʌʌ$_1$ nanahtenanʌʌkʌ̲se?$_2$, —tai$_3$ makaaka$_4$. — me$_5$ urii$_4$ niikwiiyu̲$_7$. 17. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌkʌ̲sonʌ̲tsi$_2$, pʌʌ$_3$ tʌkʌhmanipʌ̲ha$_4$ tsawʌni?inu̲$_5$. 18. sitʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —nohi?$_2$ tsaaku$_3$ mʌnʌ$_4$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_5$ tai$_4$ tʌkʌ?ahwekʌnu̲$_7$. 19. tanʌ̲se?$_1$ tʌbitsi$_2$ tsaaku$_3$ ma$_4$ rʌhkánu̲$_5$. 20. pʌetsʌ̲ku$_1$ tanʌ$_2$ itʌʌmati$_3$ pimoróo?taiboo?nʌʌ$_4$ kuhtsu?kʌ̲hi$_5$ tʌbehkaru?i̲nʌʌ$_6$, — mekʌ̲se?$_7$ surʌʌ$_8$ tenanʌʌ$_9$ niwʌnʌʌyu̲$_{10}$. 21. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$, —ke$_2$ tanʌ$_3$ nah$_4$ tsihakooiwa?i̲tʌʌ$_5$, ihka$_6$ sokokuhpaiki̲$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ sʌa?eku$_{10}$. — mekʌ̲se?$_{11}$ surʌʌ$_{12}$. 22. surʌʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ u$_2$ bʌetsʌ̲ku$_3$ suhka$_4$ piayuupʌ̲ha$_5$ pimoróo?a$_6$ tʌbehkanu̲$_7$. 23. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ sitʌʌ$_2$ ma$_3$ inanu̲$_4$, ma$_5$ basahka$_6$, nomi?anu̲$_7$. 24. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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said$_7$, —I$_2$ will$_4$ just$_3$ cook$_4$ my$_4$ diggings$_5$ in ashes$_6$.— 539
14. These ones$_1$ made coffee$_2$. 15. All of them$_1$ made$_3$ lots 262
of$_2$ fry bread$_3$. 16. Their$_1$ menfolk$_2$ said to$_5$ them$_6$. —Feed$_4$ [252]
us$_3$.— 17. These ones$_1$ spreading a cloth$_2$, set out$_3$ their$_3$ cooked things$_4$. 18. These ones$_1$ (said), —Very$_3$ good$_3$ [that which] you$_4$ women$_5$ dug for$_7$ us$_4$ to eat$_7$. 19. We$_1$ really$_2$ ate$_5$ it$_4$ good$_3$. 20. Tomorrow$_1$ we$_2$ will kill$_4$ one of these$_3$ coyboys'$_4$ cattle /one of$_5$/,— said$_7$ those men$_8$. 21. Those ones$_1$ (said), —We$_3$ just$_4$ won't$_2$ starve$_5$, as$_{10}$ our$_9$ food$_8$ grows$_{10}$ inside$_7$ this$_6$ earth /about$_7$/,— said$_{11}$ those ones$_{12}$. 22. Those ones$_1$ that$_2$ morning$_3$ killed$_7$ that$_4$ big fat$_5$ cow$_6$. 23. At this place$_1$ these ones$_2$ jerked$_4$ it$_3$, (and) when$_4$ it$_5$ dried$_6$, (they) moved away$_7$. 24. That is all$_1$.

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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XXXVI

539 1. soobe?ʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ tʌa$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$. 2. okuse?$_1$ Lawton-a$_2$ kwihne?nakwʌ$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ paraiboo?$_5$ kahníba?i$_6$. 3. sukukuse?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ kahnikʌku$_4$ waha$_5$ u$_6$ kahnitaikʌku$_7$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_8$. 4. surʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$ tʌhimʌrabeni$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nobitʌrʌni?eeyu$_6$. 5. setʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tabeni$_4$ ukʌhu$_5$ sʌmʌnokima?etʌ$_6$, nobitʌ?eeyu$_7$. 6. wihnu$_1$ tʌehbuharabeni$_2$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$, nah$_5$ hina$_6$ oyo?kʌsʌ$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ wanakotse?a$_{11}$. 7. surʌʌse?$_1$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ wanakotse?a$_5$ petihtai?eeyu$_6$. 8. tʌasʌse?$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ wo?arʌhkapʌha$_3$, —wo?abi$_4$ ma?$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌrʌ$_7$, u$_8$ betihta?eeyu$_9$. 9. nʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?se?$_2$ suhka$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ tʌhimana$_5$ urii$_6$ hanikʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_3$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_4$. 2. There
657 to$_1$ (the) north of$_3$ Lawton$_2$ our$_4$ agent$_5$ had a house$_6$.
262 3. There$_1$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_8$ to$_4$ that$_3$ house$_4$ to$_7$ two$_5$ /that$_6$/ rooms$_7$. 4. /That$_1$/ our$_2$ agent$_3$ (on) ration day$_4$ tells$_6$ us$_5$ to camp$_6$. 5. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ that$_3$ day$_4$ all come moving$_6$ there$_5$, (they) camp$_7$. 6. Then$_1$ early$_3$ Saturday$_2$ morning$_3$ (we) get rations$_4$, just$_5$ what$_6$ /all$_7$/ one$_8$ eats$_9$ also$_{10}$ soap$_{11}$. 7. /Those$_1$/ some$_2$ women$_3$ throw away$_6$ that$_4$ soap$_5$. 8. Also$_1$ those ones$_2$ (are) saying$_6$ $_7$ (of the) rices$_3$, —It (is)$_5$ worms$_4$,— (and) throw$_9$ it$_8$ away$_9$. 9. My$_1$ father$_2$ /that$_3$/ their$_4$ rations$_5$ fixes for$_7$ them$_6$. 10. Those

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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ʔeeyu$_7$. 10. surʌʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ wihnu$_2$ tabetʌkʌtsi$_3$, pimoróoʔa$_4$ tʌkwʌsʌʔeeyu$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnaahkanʌse$^{ʔ}_2$ sʌmʌʔa$_3$ pimoróoʔa$_4$ naʔnʌbeʔku$_5$ tʌhániʔeeyu$_4$. 12. tʌasʌ-se$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌ$^{ʔ}_3$ suhka$_4$ urii$_5$ hanikʌʔeeyu$_4$. 13. setʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhkaʔruaʔetʌ$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tʌhka-pʌruaʔetʌ$_7$, pʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$ pituʌ$_{10}$ nomiaʔeeyu$_{11}$. 14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimiaʔeeyu$_4$. 15. nʌmʌ$_1$ sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatuwahka$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌnu$_6$. 16. subetʌ$_1$.

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ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kill$_5$ cattle$_4$. 11. Four$_1$ families$_2$ butcher$_6$ one$_3$ cow$_4$, dividing (it) evenly$_5$. 12. Also$_1$ my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_6$ that$_4$ for$_6$ them$_5$. 13. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_5$ lots of$_4$ groceries$_5$, also$_6$ (they) get meat$_7$. (then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$ those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_6$ us$_5$. 16. That is all$_1$.

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262
[829]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

for the fox, the buffalo for the ox, the falcon for the kite, the quail for the dove, while the enemy of all, the banned wolf, plays the same part for the Comanche fabulist he has performed for all other fabulists. 538 177

The Comanches have, also, lodge-fire legends of their race, and of notable men, and incidents in their history which have been handed down through many generations. One or two of these may prove interesting. 538

"A long time ago there was a great drought. The streams dried up. The grass withered on the plains, then in the valleys. The heavens rained heat, and the dry grass took fire and burned over the whole earth. The animals all fled away, or died. There was nothing to eat. Qua-co-che-bitche was chief of a band. Among them there were many women and children. They lay upon the ground, and their hearts were weak. The sky was yellow with the heat, and all famished, for there was no shade and they had nothing to eat nor water to drink. Qua-co-che-bitche was a great hunter, and he prayed to the Great Spirit to send the buffalo back to the plains. Being strong, he took his bows and arrows and left the camp, saying that he would be back with food in six days. He traveled toward sunrise. It was two days after he left the lodges. He was wearied by journeying and fasting. The sun was sinking in the West, and Qua-co-che-bitche's heart was weak. He was ready to fall down. But he went a little further toward a clump of trees that were green, as if they grew by water. He saw a great stream flowing from under a hill side. His heart grew strong. He approached the crystal waters. He beheld the tracks of an innumerable herd of buffaloes. There were old ones and young ones—a great multitude. The trail was fresh. He quenched his thirst with the cool water, and was strong. He followed the trail rapidly. He soon came in sight of a great object, which he at first thought was a mountain. But on coming nearer it moved. Qua-co-che-bitche was alarmed. His heart grew weak. It was a great buffalo. It had a thousand feet and was very high and covered a large place. When it moved the earth trembled. A voice came to Qua-co-che-bitche, from the waters, bidding him slay the buffalo. Thus encouraged, he attacked it. He was surprised that his arrows were so effective. The great buffalo soon fell, making a noise like thunder and causing an earthquake. He cut a great quantity of flesh from the hump, and after strengthening his heart by eating, he started with some meat for his tribe. He went toward the setting sun. He had not traveled far when he met them, all coming at the command of a voice in the air to feast of the great buffalo. They went forward to the stream of clear water and feasted, for four moons, on the flesh of the great buffalo, and drank water from the pure stream. Their hearts became strong. They made shields of the hide of 539

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

539 the great buffalo, and it was found that arrows would not go into them. They were thus provided with invulnerable shields, and went against their enemies, the Lipans, and were successful, for the Lipans were weak when they saw the Neum, and offered no resistance, but allowed themselves to be killed. The tribe got much plunder, and were happy. It was at the time of the great buffalo. It all happened a long time ago."

"Once Quirts-coo-tchat was chief of the Quo-ha-dee band. Then they were at war with the Cheyennes. It was a long time ago. One day Quirts-coo-tchat was pursuing an elk alone. He was a long way from his people. Suddenly he was surrounded by his enemies. Quirts-coo-tchat spoke in their language, but they would not believe him. They talked to him in the *Neum* tongue, but he seemed not to know what they said. He spoke in the tongue of the *Wichitas*, but they would not believe that he was not a *Neum*. They prepared to kill him, for he showed that he was a warrior. They determined to have a feast, and so they took him to the lodges and waited until the next day, when all the chiefs of the tribe came. Quirts-coo-tchat was very wise, and a great medicine man. He could cause his words to travel in the air. It was the hour when the hunters had come in and the warriors were taking their rest. He sent his words to all the Quo-ha-dees. He was at a certain place in the hands of the Cheyennes. The words came quick on the breeze and Koot-eth-che, who was a great warrior, gathered the men of war together and led them toward their enemies. They were met by Quirts-coo-tchat, who had made the warriors who guarded him fall asleep, and the straps which bound him he caused to fall in pieces, and then he rose and went out to meet his warriors. When the sky in the East grew red the next morning, the Qua-ha-dee warriors fell upon their enemies and took more scalps than two ponies could bear away. The path of the Cheyennes was stained with much blood. Quirts-coo-tchat also went against the Mexicans, and because he was a great medicine, they fled, and left their thunder [cannon] which the Quo-ha-dees buried so that the Mexicans could not find it any more, and to this day the Mexicans have no big thunder. He met a greater medicine man than he was, however, in the person of a venerable white man with a long beard, who had with him two daughters. They were fair as the white flowers of the prairie. The old man came in peace, and was received as a messenger, from the Great Chief of Washington. The Quo-ha-dees treated him well. Quirts-coo-tchat desired that the man with the white beard should give him one of his daughters to be his wife. On one condition. He said that Quirts-coo-tchat should go to Texas with him. He went, but he never came back again. A Quo-ha-dee, however, had it revealed to him by the Great Spirit, that

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 776 765 181

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Lyon's Katheiron

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 124 101

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

W 539 171

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

C 539 171

W 825

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

C W 539 171 113

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236–302).

[p. 265]

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C W 539 171 occurs in the same combination as in the Wind River version; the union of these two elements seems to be peculiar to these Shoshonean groups. In one myth, the widely diffused story of the hoodwinked dancers precedes Coyote's defeat in a handicap race as told at Lemhi. "The Deserted Children" joins a familiar Prairie tale with an ogre story. C 539 171 Coyote's humiliation of a white fellow-trickster is exactly paralleled in Lemhi mythology. The account of the liberation of hoarded buffalo for the benefit of mankind has rather close homologues among the Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre. In an interesting composite myth, both the regulation of the seasons and the origin of death are accounted for. W [539] [171] The first part is a somewhat more elaborate parallel of published Lemhi and Wind River narratives. As in Blackfoot mythology, the mortality of man is determined by the sinking of a rock.

1. THE BUNGLING HOST[1]

(*Shoshone Story*)

W 539 [171] (The animals visited are Beaver, Owl, and Elk. The only noteworthy peculiarity of this version, as compared with that from Lemhi, is the resuscitation of Beaver's children when their bones are thrown into the water.)

2. PORCUPINE AND COYOTE[2]

(*Shoshone Story*)

(One of Coyote's children takes the place of Coyote's excrement as his guardian.)

3. COYOTE'S FLIGHT

(*Shoshone Story*)

Coyote was walking along. He saw a bear digging. Coyote looked at him through the grass. "You bob-tailed bear!" he cried. The bear charged on him, but Coyote ran off. Then he cried, "You crop-eared bear!" The bear ran towards him. Coyote said, "You are a bear, you cannot catch me." The bear pursued him. When he was close to him, Coyote cried, "You cannot run through the brush," and took to the brush; but the bear followed him through the brush. When he was close to the fugitive, Coyote cried, "You are a bear, you cannot swim." He jumped into the water. The bear followed in; Coyote got to the other side, and ran on. "You are a bear, you cannot run on the prairie." But again the bear was gaining on him. Coyote got to a buffalo. "O brother-in-law! the bear is after me." — "Well, stand behind me!" The bear caught up to them. The buffalo advanced, hooked and killed him. Thus he saved Coyote.

Coyote walked on. He met a stranger. The man told him, "Over there on that hill there is a bad rock. If any one takes any of the pile of beads

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 265. [2] *Ibid.* p. 267.

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W 539

the crane, the chief of the birds, the big black eagle, the white-tailed bald eagle, the chicken-hawk (gi'ni) and the hŏ'mara, the owl, the crow, the magpie, and the dogo'a-rŭ'ka (snake-eater). Our Father made everything; he made us.

Our Father sent the Crow, who was sitting on a high mountain, to bring earth. "Get earth! I will once more create the drowned people." Then the Crow flew away, and after a while came back to the creator. "You must have been eating the drowned people. You stink. Go back! — Now, you, little Chickadee, bring dirt! Then I'll create all the people again." When the Chickadee returned with dirt, our Father made the earth and sky. We now walk on the ground he made. He said, "Now, my children, pray to me; then I will listen to you, and take pity on you."

The whole earth was covered with water. Only on a high mountain there was a dry spot.[1] Our Father sent the Crow to get earth in order to make our land. Then the Crow came back stinking. "You are crazy," said the Father; "you have eaten the drowned people. Now, go back, and go around homeless. You will eat whatever any one has killed. Go, now! You will be black." Then he said to the small birds, "Come, I will now hear which one of you has a good heart and good sense." He found that the Chickadee was the only one that had any sense and was good-hearted. Then he bade it bring earth. It brought it. Our Father made the earth out of it. "It will be small," he said, "for little hands brought it. You will have six moons. You will not lose track of tongues. You have good thoughts."[2]

II. THE HOODWINKED DANCERS

(Comanche Story)

C 539

Coyote met a Skunk. "Halloo, brother! I am very hungry. Let us work some scheme to get something to eat! I will lead the way, do you follow." — "Well, I will do whatever you propose." — "Over there is a prairie-dogs' village. We will stay here until daylight. In the morning you will go to the prairie-dog village and play dead. I will come later and say to the prairie-dogs, 'Come, let us have a dance over the body of our dead enemy!' Well, go there, puff yourself up, and play dead." Skunk followed his directions. Coyote got to the prairie-dogs. "Come, we will have a dance. Stop up your holes tight, let every one come here. Our enemy lies dead before us. Do you all stand in a big circle and dance with closed eyes. If any one looks, he will turn into something bad." As they were dancing, Coyote killed one of them. "Well, now all open

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 247.

[2] The last sentences are obscure. There seems to be a reference to the connection between months and tongues, as indicated in one of the Comanche tales (p. 280).

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539 your eyes! Look at this one; he opened his eyes and died. Now, all of you, close your eyes and dance again; don't look, or you will die!" They began to dance once more, and Coyote commenced to kill them. At last one of them looked. "Oh, he is killing us!" Then all the survivors ran for their holes. While they were trying to get in, he killed them. Coyote and Skunk gathered all the corpses and piled them up by a creek. They built a fire and cooked them.

"Well," said Coyote, "let us run a race for them! The one that wins shall have all the good fat ones." [1] — "Oh"! replied Skunk, "you are too swift; I am a slow runner, and can never beat you."— "Well, I will tie a rock to my foot." — "If you tie a big one, I will race with you." They were to run around a hill. Coyote said, "Well, go on ahead! I will catch up to you." Skunk began to run. Coyote tied a rock to his foot, and followed. Coyote said, "The one that is behind shall make a big fire, so there will be lots of smoke, and we shall be able to see where he is." Skunk got far ahead, and turned aside to hide. When Coyote had run past him, Skunk turned back to the meat-pile. Looking back, he saw a big column of smoke rising on the other side of the hill. He took all the meat and carried it home. He cut off all the tails and left them sticking out, with two poor little prairie-dogs for Coyote. Coyote thought Skunk was ahead of him. As he ran along, he said to himself, "I wonder where that fool is! I did not know he could outrun me." He got back to the pile, and saw the tails sticking out. He seized one, and it slipped out. He tried another one. "Oh, they are well cooked!" He tried another one. Then he got suspicious. He took a stick and raked up the fireplace, but could only find the two lean prairie-dogs. He thought some one must have stolen the meat. He ate the two lean prairie-dogs. Skunk, lying in his den, was watching him. As Coyote was standing to look around, Skunk threw one of the prairie-dog bones at him. Coyote then espied him lying in his camp. He saw all the meat around him. "Give me some of them!" — "No, we have run a race for them. I beat you, I am going to eat them all." Coyote begged him in vain for some food. Skunk ate it all. He was a better trickster than Coyote.

Another Version. — Coyote was knocking about on the prairie. There was a prairie-dog village there. Coyote got there. "Well, a bad disease is coming to us," he announced. The chief of the prairie-dogs, who was named Elk-Meat, went among his people, saying, "Coyote says a bad disease is coming to us." Coyote said, "Oh, tell your people we are going to dance." The chief told his people. "We will have it right in the centre of the camp." Then they gathered a lot of wood. Towards nightfall Coyote said, "Well, we are going to dance, a bad disease is coming." Then they gathered there and began to dance. While they were dancing,

[1] Compare Lowie, *l. c.* p. 274.

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Coyote developed a scheme. As they came around to one side, he killed them with a stick while standing at the far end. Two little ones had just lost their mother. The younger of the two, peeping at Coyote, said, "O brother! they are killing us. What are we going to do? Let us run away!" He took the lead, and they fled. Looking back, one of them said, "Why, he is destroying all of us! He was merely deceiving us."

12. THE DESERTED CHILDREN [1]

(*Comanche Story*)

Long ago the Indians were camping in a certain place. Four children were playing by a creek. An older girl with a baby on her back came to join them. In the mean time all the Indians moved away without the children noticing it, as they were still playing by the creek. At last one of them happened to look up towards the camp and could not see the lodges. He called out to his mates, telling them the camp was broken. They called him a liar, and sent another one to look. He reported the same way. They did not believe him, either. A third one went to look, and also reported that all were gone. It was getting late in the evening. All left the creek and tried to follow the Indians' trail.

While they were going along, Coyote met them and warned them. "Right by the side of the road a big Owl has his house. Don't talk loudly when passing there, or he will hear you." They got to the house, and the little child began to cry. Owl heard him. "Bring my nephew here!" he said. The child thought it was really his uncle, and wanted to go to him. His older sister objected, but he persisted. At last she said, "Well, let us go over there!" Then all went to the Owl. The oldest girl was afraid. "The big Owl will eat us," she said. They got there. Owl immediately wanted to eat the child. The children began to plan how to escape. They said they wanted to wash by the creek. Owl permitted them to go, but bade them hurry back. They met a Frog there. "Frog, we are in trouble, and call upon you to help us. That Owl wants to eat us." — "Yes, I will help you." — "We are going to run off," they said. "When Owl calls us, do you answer for us, 'No, we are still washing.' Just continue fooling him, so that we will have a big start before he finds out." Owl called the children. Frog answered, "We are still washing." He repeatedly gave the same reply, fooling him. Owl at last thought they had run off. He went looking for them, and every few paces he called them as he went along. Frog continued to answer, "We are still washing." At last Owl came up to him. Frog said, "For once I have fooled you. The children went away a long time ago." Owl said, "You thin-legged rascal, you have been fooling me! You have let my game run away. I will kill you." He struck at him with his cane. Just as the

[1] Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, p. 102; Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 50.

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539 cane descended, the Frog jumped into the water, leaving him standing on the bank.

Owl followed the children's trail. He had never been known to lose anything. After a short time he came in sight of them. They were fleeing as fast as they could. He was holding his stone club in his hand. They got to a big creek. There they saw a Fish-Crane sitting. "We are coming to you. That big Owl is after us. Help us!" He took a louse from his head, gave it to the oldest girl, and said, "Put this into your mouth. Though it tastes bad, do not spit it out before you get across to the other side. If you do this, I will make a bridge of my leg, so you can go across." She took the louse in her mouth, they crossed over, and then she spat out the louse. Owl got to Crane. "O Crane! there goes my game. Help me across! I want to catch them." Crane offered to let him cross on the same conditions as before. Owl spat out the louse in mid-stream, and fell into the river. He got out, and again pursued the children. He detected them in the open prairie. Seeing him, they were frightened. "What are we going to do?" A Buffalo-Calf was lying in front of them. "Buffalo-Calf, protect us!" — "I do not know whether I can help you, but I will try. Stand behind me!" Owl came up with his maul. "Oh, you're foolish! You know I won't retreat from you. That is my game, I will kill you." Calf stood still, pawing the ground. As Owl approached him, Calf charged on him, and threw him straight up to the moon. Hence the Owl is still sitting in the moon with its maul.

13. THE INDIAN AND THE BEAR
(Comanche Story)

An Indian was knocking about all by himself. A bear found him and gave chase. The Indian fled to the prairie. There he stood, not knowing what to do. Then he painted all his body green. "I will let him catch me." The bear caught up to him. The man stood still. Mentulae glandem retraxit(?). The bear said, "Ah, well! I guess he died yesterday or to-day." He went away, but after a while he came back and stood there, smelling the man. "He must have been dead for two days. Judging by the smell, he must have been dead longer than one day," he said.

14. TRICKSTER TALES
(Comanche Story)

Coyote was thinking how he might get some money. A great many soldiers were following his trail. Coyote took his kettle and dug out a place in the bank. There he made a fire and placed the kettle over it. He put in water, which began to boil. The soldiers were coming near. Their captain approached Coyote, asking him how he was. Coyote just continued cooking. The captain said, "You have a mighty good kettle!" — "Yes, it is a good one." — "Can't I buy it from you?" — "Oh, I

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think a great deal of it." The captain said, "Well, I will give you my horse for it." — "Oh, no! You must offer something I care for very much." — "Well, I will give you two horses." — "My kettle is a mighty good one." — "Well, select whatever two horses you wish for it." Coyote then picked out two very fine horses, and departed. The soldiers left with their kettle. When they camped, they set the kettle down, poured in water, and sat watching to see it boil. They had to wait a very long time. "Evidently Coyote has got the better of us," they said. From that time on, the whites have always traded with the Indians. Coyote taught us to do so.

Second Version.[1] — One white man had heard a great deal about Coyote's trickery. He said, "Oh, I want to see him! Did you ever hear of any person getting cheated right before his eyes? Go, bring him here! I'll see whether he can beat me that way." Coyote was walking along a short distance away. One of them spied him. "There is Coyote, who always cheats everybody." The white man got out to look at him. He put on very fine clothes, mounted a good horse, and loped after Coyote until he caught up to him. "Hold on, my friend! I have heard how you always cheat people." Coyote answered, "Oh, you are mistaking me!" — "Oh, no! Go ahead and cheat me out of something." Coyote said, "My stuff for scheming is not here." — "Where is it, then, the stuff you cheat people with?" — "I have it at my house." — "Well, go fetch it and fool me!" Coyote said, "Lend me your horse." — "Where is your house?" — "Over the hill." The white man dismounted and lent him his horse. The horse was afraid of Coyote. Coyote said, "Give me all your clothes, or he will be afraid of me." So the white man gave Coyote all his clothes. Coyote put them on, mounted, and loped off. "I have fooled you already. You certainly are easily cheated." The white man stood there, waving to him to return; but Coyote did not mind him, and galloped away.

Third Version. — A short while after this adventure, Coyote was sauntering along a creek. He saw many people moving along with mules and horses. Coyote was eager to get some of them. He addressed the people, telling them they could camp by a certain clump of trees. They were small trees, which he had already cut into. The people followed his advice, and staked their horses to those little trees. In the night all the mules and horses broke loose. Coyote, who was watching at a distance from the camp, then drove them off. This is why Indians long ago always used to steal so many horses.

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 278.

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15. THE EYE-JUGGLER[1]

(Comanche Story)

539 Coyote was always knocking about hunting for something. He came to a creek, where there was nothing but green willows. Two little yellow-birds were playing there. He came up to them. Laughing, they pulled out their eyes and threw them on the trees, while they stood below. "Eyes, fall!" they said. Then their eyes fell back into their sockets. Coyote went to them. He greatly admired their trick. "O brothers! I wish to play that way, too." — "Oh, we won't show you, you are too mean. You would throw your eyes into any kind of a tree and lose them." — "Oh, no! I would do it just like you." At last the birds agreed to show him. They pulled out his eyes, threw them up, and said, "Eyes, fall!" Then his eyes fell back again. Coyote was well pleased. He pulled out his eyes himself, threw them up, and said, "Eyes, fall!" They returned to their places. "Let us all go along this creek!" said the birds. "Other people will see us and take a fancy to us." They went along playing. Coyote said, "I am going over there. I know the trick well now." He left them. He got to another creek. A common willow-tree was standing there. "There is no need to be afraid of this tree. I'll try it first." He pulled out his eyes, and threw them at the tree. "Eyes, fall!" he shouted. His eyes did not fall. He thus became blind. He tied something around his eyes, and left.

Walking along the creek, he met two young girls. "What kind of girls are you?" — "We are Ya'yaru girls." — "We all belong to the same people, then; I am a Ya'yaru young man." The two girls did not know he was blind. He asked them, "Where are you going?" — "We are going over there." — "Well, we will all go together." They debated the matter, then all went together. One girl said, "Just look at the buffaloes there!" Coyote laughed. "I was wondering how soon you would catch sight of them, that's why I would not tell you about them." When they had gone a little farther, one of the girls asked the other, "Why does he not kill one of those buffaloes for us?" Coyote laughed, "I was wondering how long it would take you to think of that, that's why I would not tell you before. Go around that way to the other side of the buffalo, then they won't see you. Then they will run here, and I will kill one for us." They followed his directions. The buffaloes, seeing them, ran towards Coyote. When they came nearer, he shot at them and killed one by chance. When the girls ran up, they said, "He has really killed one." Coyote laughed. "I was wondering how soon they would see it, that's what I was thinking about you." They were skinning and cutting up the buffalo. One of the girls exclaimed, "Oh, is n't he fat!" Coyote said, "Why, certainly, I was looking for a fat one. I strained my eyes mightily hunting for a fat one." The two girls said,

[1] Compare the Wind River variant, p. 269.

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"Does n't he know well how to look for a fat one?" Coyote said, "Do you two cut it up, I will build us a house by the creek." He went off to make them a lodge. There were big holes in it everywhere, because he was blind. He made it of brush. The two girls came with the meat. They said, "This must be a house built by a blind man, there are holes all over." Coyote laughed. "Oh, you two don't understand. Why, I built it this way so that if lots of enemies charge on us, we might go out in any direction. There is no danger here of our being hemmed in." The girls said, "We did not think of that." They made their home there, both becoming Coyote's wives.

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Once Coyote said to them, "Louse me." The women sat down, and Coyote placed his head on one, and his feet on the other. For a while they loused him, then he fell asleep. One of the women said, "Let us pull off this rag from his head! He won't know anything about it, he's asleep. Let us look at his eyes." She raised the cover. "Why, he is blind! There are lots of worms in his eyes." The one on whose lap his head was resting bade her companion bring a stump with lots of ants on it. "Put it under his head, and fetch another one without ants for his feet." After they had fixed the stumps, one of them said, "Let us go now!" The older sister said, "Take hold of those bells!" They got some distance away from Coyote. Shortly after they had left, the ants began to bite him. He began butting with his head. "Oh, be easy, you two, louse me!" He tried to butt them, but only struck the ground. He woke up, and looked for their trail. Looking back, the women saw him coming. They began to run. "That is surely Coyote there. Let us beat him by that big red bluff." The older sister said, "Tear off those bells of yours." She pulled them off. "He can't see us, he is just following the bells. When we get to the red bluff, drop your bells, and he will fall over it." Coyote was pursuing them. The woman's bells were jingling as they ran along. When they got to the cliff, she dropped them. Coyote, hearing the bells, followed after them, and was crushed to pieces. The women went home.

16. REGULATION OF THE SEASONS;[1] ORIGIN OF DEATH[2]

(*Comanche Story*)

Coyote called all the people together to decide how many winter months and how many summer months there ought to be. They set up a large council lodge. Coyote sat down in the centre on the west side. He said, "Well, listen to me! We are to decide how many winter and summer months there are to be." One man said, "Well, let us have six cold months; let the seventh be cold in the first half, and the remainder

[1] Lowie, *l. c.* p. 274. Cf. Boas, "Eine Sonnensage der Tsimschian" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, pp. 781–797).

[2] Wissler and Duvall, *l. c.* p. 20.

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539 warm." Coyote said, "Six cold months would be too much, we should suffer from the cold. Ten summer months would be good." Another man said, "If we had ten summer months, our meat would spoil, we should suffer from heat." Then they debated. One little man sitting by the door, who was named Snow-Bird, said, "Well, let us have six cold months, with one month half cold and one half cool." Coyote was in favor of ten hot months, because he wished to play a trick on them. They were debating. The little man by the door got up, and said, "Six cold months is plenty for us." Saying, "Six months," he went out. All the assembly rose and followed him, repeating, "Six months." Coyote bade them wait. "What makes you pay any attention to that little man?" But the people did not listen to Coyote, who was thus unable to work his scheme on them. He went out last of all, saying, "We shall have six winter months." All the people laughed at him. "This is the first time you have failed to have your way," Coyote said, "Now we shall have six cold months. Now, then, let us have another council to name the months." When they had gathered, he announced, "The little man shall have just as many tongues as there are cold months." Then he named the months: "October, November, December, January, February, March, April." All agreed. "The little man will have seven tongues; every month one of his tongues will pass away until but one is left."[1]

After the council was over, Coyote said, "Now, do all of you go over there! I shall join you, and we will decide whether our dead should return after the lapse of four days. Long ago that was our way. To-day I object to our dead coming back." They met. He called them all to the edge of the water. He picked up a rock, held it in his hand, and spoke as follows: "Behold, our dead people shall do as this rock!" He cast it into the water. "This rock will not come back. Similarly, our people will not return. This earth is very large; but if the dead were to come back, it would get crowded. That is why I object to it." All the [778] people agreed with him. Since then our dead have not returned.

17. THE LIBERATION OF BUFFALO[2]

(*Comanche Story*)

Long ago two persons owned all the buffalo. They were an old woman and her young cousin. They kept them penned up in the mountains, so that they could not get out. Coyote came to these people. He summoned the Indians to a council. "That old woman will not give us anything. When we come over there, we will plan how to release

[1] Compare Culin, *Free Museum of Science and Art, Bulletin*, 1901, p. 90 (Wind River Shoshone).

[2] Grinnell, *l. c.* p. 145; Kroeber, *l. c.* p. 65; Dorsey and Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho*, p. 5[illegible].

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the buffalo." They all moved near the buffalo-inclosure. "After four nights," said Coyote, "we will again hold a council as to how we can release the buffalo. A very small animal shall go where the old woman draws her water. When the child gets water, it will take it home for a pet. The old woman will object; but the child will think so much of the animal, that it will begin to cry and will be allowed to keep it. The animal will run off at daybreak, and the buffalo will burst out of their pen and run away." The first animal they sent failed. Then they sent the Kill-dee (dŏ'ĭ).

When the boy went for water, he found the Kill-dee and took it home. "Look here!" he said to his cousin, "this animal of mine is very good." The old woman replied, "Oh, it is good for nothing! There is nothing living on the earth that is not a rascal or schemer." The child paid no attention to her. "Take it back where you got it," said the woman. He obeyed. The Kill-dee returned.

The people had another council. "Well, she has got the better of these two. They have failed," said Coyote; "but that makes no difference. Perhaps we may release them, perhaps we shall fail. This is the third time now. We will send a small animal over there. If the old woman agrees to take it, it will liberate those buffalo; it is a great schemer." So they sent the third animal. Coyote said, "If she rejects this one, we shall surely be unable to liberate the game." The animal went to the spring and was picked up by the boy, who took a great liking to it. "Look here! What a nice pet I have!" The old woman replied, "Oh, how foolish you are! It is good for nothing. All the animals in the world are schemers. I'll kill it with a club." The boy took it in his arms and ran away crying. He thought too much of his pet. "No! this animal is too small," he cried. When the animal had not returned by nightfall, Coyote went among the people, saying, "Well, this animal has not returned yet; I dare say the old woman has consented to keep it. Don't be uneasy, our buffalo will be freed." Then he bade all the people get ready just at daybreak. "Our buffalo will be released. Do all of you mount your horses." In the mean time the animal, following its instructions, slipped over to the pen, and began to howl. The buffalo heard it, and were terrified. They ran towards the gate, broke it down, and escaped. The old woman, hearing the noise, woke up. The child asked, "Where is my pet?" He did not find it. The old woman said, "I told you so. Now you see the animal is bad, it has deprived us of our game." She vainly tried to hold the buffalo back. At daybreak all the Indians got on their horses, for they had confidence in Coyote. Thus the buffalo came to live on this earth. Coyote was a great schemer.

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18. THE SEVEN STARS[1]

(Comanche Story)

539 A very long time ago there lived a family of seven. The parents got angry at their children, four of whom were boys, and the youngest a girl. The father declared to them, "We are going to call a council of all the people. You cannot stay here. We are going to have a council to decide what all of you are to become. I am angry at you. All of you will go far off. Make up your minds as to what you wish to become." Then the oldest brother asked the other children to give their advice as to what they were to become. One of them said, "Our father is angry at us. Let us all become stars. Would that all of us might become stars! Whatever we choose, that we shall turn into. Let us wait for our father, and tell him as soon as he returns." When their father returned, he consented to let them become stars. Then they left. That is how they became stars. That is why there are seven stars looking down upon us from above. The one in the rear is the youngest child, while the young men are in front.

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[1] In a more elaborate Assiniboine tale, a group of brothers debate what they are to turn into, and ultimately become stars.

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They were Mangey Coat and Atsaçi. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her. 627x 684

"They answered, 'We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched With A Closed Fist and this woman is his wife.'

"I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

" 'No,' she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

"I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

"They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.*

"I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

"Atsaçi answered, 'We want that horse or none.'

"I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, 'All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough.' I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaçi I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

" 'What?' he said.

"I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my 'daughters' (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. 'If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love.' [595] [602]

"Then Mangey Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaçi wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

"That was what I wanted. Atsaçi was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

"He mumbled, 'Well, it's up to Mangey Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say.'

"Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a grey mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that grey horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money." [541]

Here is one of the few cases in which the *danger* of sending intermediaries appears. But ill-advised choice of counsel is a risk, even with us. Note also that a breach even of the levirate bites, though the brother-tie be purely classificatory; and that rights of the wife's "father," though but of the "father"-group, are available after marriage. 627x 602

* In strict form it was customary to ask for four different articles in damages.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
● 541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group 796
returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the tri- 541
umph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling [203]
on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front 796
of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the 701
lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his [411]
war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct 796
approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all 535
finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors when they were the lords of the Southern Plains. 157 181 701

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business-like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of it than they like. This characteristic of the people is apparent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a commercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the old-time war and victory dances. 181 178 541 181 [726] [727]

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleasure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge. 571 181 [796]

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life. 157

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 178 177

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

WHO WAS MO-CHO-ROOK?

IT WAS a hot, sunshiny Saturday in the late summer of 1902, and it was 000 the Saturday that they were holding horse races. They were white man's races. That is to say, each horse owner had to pay an entrance fee for any horse he wished to run in any particular race. This fee money was added to the prize money the racing committee was offering on this particular race. In an Oklahoma Indian race, anyone could 541 enter a horse, and then everyone raced for the prize money.

A very old Indian, Mo-cho-rook, who owned two fine racing stallions and always rode his own horses whenever he raced them, was standing near the finish line, in the shade of a saloon building, holding the reins of his large sorrel stallion. He was entered in a half-mile race, on the straightaway track, and from a standing start.

When the call came for all horses in the race Mo-cho-rook had entered to proceed to the starting line, the old Indian prepared to mount. He was the focal point for all eyes. Most people, white and Indian, knew he was very old, even if they did not know that the Comanche roll showed him to be seventy-seven.

He was small, possibly five feet two or three inches tall and weighing around 110 pounds. He always rode bareback. When, with his 492 hands on the sorrel's withers, he attempted to vault onto the horse, it quickly sidestepped. Mo-cho-rook came down on his feet and did not [571]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Its place was in the rear of the wagon bed. That way, if it leaked, it 000
wouldn't damage the other merchandise.

The trip home took about six to seven hours. If the roads were muddy, it took longer. Dad was generally gone from home about fourteen hours, but the team had at least three hours to rest in Lawton. They couldn't make these trips day in, day out. We planned at least a day's rest between trips.

This particular morning Dad was ready to leave by the time I had the team hitched up, and I went in, hoping Mother had my breakfast ready. As I ate, she asked me if I had heard anything about Albert [164]
Martny's falling from a horse, catching his foot in a stirrup, and being dragged.

The Jim Martny family, one of the more prosperous Comanche families, was one of my own family's favorites. Jim was larger than most Comanches; many folks called him Big Jim. He was a multiple- [595]
wife Indian, and his favorite wife was the mother of two boys—Albert, then in his fourteenth year, and Earny, who was twelve. Jim's other wives' children were girls.

Indirectly, the way Mother learned about Albert's accident was that ours was one of the luckier towns—we had a doctor. Dr. McLain, just out of medical school, settled in our town with his young wife only a few days before we arrived. He built a combination office and residence across the street, and a bit east, from where Dad built our store building.

Mrs. McLain was expecting a baby before long; and when the doctor made an out-of-town call, Mother or Mrs. Cudyback, the wife of a saloonkeeper living directly across the street from the store, would sit with her. Occasionally Mrs. McLain would go to the Cudyback home or sit in our store until the doctor returned. The night before, both Mother and Mrs. Cudyback had visited with Mrs. McLain, and Mother was full of the story about Albert's accident. Mr. Cudyback picked up a good deal of gossip at the saloon he and his brother Will ran, and Mrs. McLain told what she learned from her doctor husband.

Jim Martny owned two well-bred racing stallions, and his other 492
horses were of superior quality compared to the horses owned by most 541
of his Comanche neighbors. I don't know how long Albert had been riding his father's horses in races, but early in 1902, when our town began holding races each first and third Saturday, Albert was his

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

492 father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the
541 horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

492 Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and
177 Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.)
492 This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stal-
164 lion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

000 He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

763 When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned di-
124 rectly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

000 With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [457] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cranny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mistreated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood brother's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Comanches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women. And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and purchase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered, gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

APPENDIX C

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION OF INDIAN NAMES

(International Phonetics Association Symbols)

Comanches

A Big Fall By Tripping	piáɹɜpsima
Barking Buttocks	wítawɔwɔki
Bay Mare	óhapia
Bone	tsúnip
Been To See His Son	patuáwunikwai
Blow It Away	pɔ'aika
Breaks Something	tʃikova
Brother-in-law	ʈɜ:tɜ:
Brown Robe	ɔ'tiahɜ
Buffalo	ʈásiwɔ
Buffalo Robe	yóniakʌt
Bull Roarer	wɜ'kɜβuβi
Bull Elk	páɹuakum
Carrying Something Under Her Belt	saídja
Chew Up	kútskwip
Cliff	tɜ'panai
Cooks Dried Meat	kúkap
Coals In A Wood Fire	kútu
Crazy Bear	ísawɜɹa
Crowds Somebody	wútsuki
Dry Tipi	pákikani
Eagle Tail Feather	kwásia
Echo Of The Wolf's Howl	ísɛnanika
Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man	ʈénɛβɜkə
Grey Flat Lying Object	ésihaβit
Holding For Fun	ʈʌ'sʌtsai
Holding Her Sunshade (Carrying Her Sunshade)	hɜ'kiyani
Little	ʈɜ':ta
Little Medicine	tɜ'βowakʌt
Looking	púnita
Looking For Fun	ʈɜ'sɜtsaponi
Mangey Coat	tásiaβɔkuɹawa

551●
104

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6●
Northern Shoshone NR14

●C 551 104

Narrow Gut	kóhi
No Bed	kápewat
Pepper	tʃíeɹa
Red Young Man	ékawɔkani
Robe On His Back	kwáhiɜa
Rocky Creek	ʈɜ'piwnɜ
Salt Worn Out	ɔ̃nawia
Short Dress	cítaɹa
She Invites Her Relatives (Geṭs Her Neighbors)	nɜ'mɜɹuiβɛts
Skinny and Wrinkled	ʈɛ'kwitʃi
That's It	ʈásuɹa
Thunder	pɔ'tsensuap
Touch With A Closed Fist	tɔ'kwia
Tongue	ékon
Traveller's Road	nɔ'βɔik

N *Shoshone*
551 104

Climber	tɛ'ndoi
Coyote Droppings	húgwidʌp
Dunking	tɔ'stagwa
Dry Head Of The Penis	pásakant
Knocking Over	ʈɔ'ani
Little Cottontail Rabbit	ʈáβutsi
Little Gulping As If Swallowing	kúnutsi
Little Old Man	wúwutsi
Lost	wáʃiki
Noseless	múβiwʌt
No Testicles	nɔ'yɔwʌt
Red Son	ɛ'ngaʈua
Red Round Object	ɛngaβɔ'nɛkɔ
Water Plant	paínaitɔ
Whispering Voice	sɔ'yɔkant
White Man's Son	taíβoanduá

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left [591]
the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 On the return, which was by a different route from that
574 we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a
622 friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their
[55] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the
[622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his
727 people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

584 posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new [302] moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily [291] embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, • [551] the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space 476 of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws 585 generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter 588 made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

The Comanches

174 619 rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yampatikə*) and Antelope bands (*Kwəhatɛnə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyɛka*), or *Nɔkoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief [765] who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔkoni*), because of the tabu ●551 forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyɛka* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsuɛka*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

From Cradle to Grave

cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back. 854 [482]

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was 553 [551] 753 551

The Comanches

753 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given
551 one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his
753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be *ɔβɔγβita*—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » »

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

the father. It might be named after its grandfather, uncle, or some other near relative. The person for whom the child, boy or girl, was named was expected to contribute a gift to his or her namesake. A good name was always chosen, though the child might be called by a nickname in common parlance. 551

Nicknames were obtained in the most haphazard way and might change at the will of associates. Greyfoot was called so because a woman got her feet covered with gray clay while crossing a creek. Even the most noted warriors were sometimes unable to control the disposition to nickname. Any unusual physical aspect or peculiar trait of character was almost certain to be seized upon. Thus Face Wrinkles Like an Old Man is an appropriate appellation for one informant. Frequently a nickname was given not because of the prospective bearer's idiosyncrasies, but after the behavior of his parental kinfolk. Such a name a boy retained until he had made a successful journey to war, a plundering expedition, or a hunt, when he received another name selected by himself or by a close friend as evidence of his newly won status as a man. Girls, however, did not regularly change their names at puberty.

Girls were unlikely to be named after the relatives of the mother, but rather after a relative of the father. Names thus remained in the family. The mother generally selected the name, which might be in commemoration of something she thought worthy. Girls, like boys, were called by nicknames. Married women did not take the names of their husbands, nor was there any equivalent of "Miss" or "Mrs." to indicate whether a woman was married or single. The name of a dead person was avoided and was not spoken in the presence of relatives for a long time, usually several years, other words conveying the same idea being substituted.

The training of children consisted almost entirely of precept, advice, and counsel. A baby soon learned that he would not have his whims gratified by crying. He was told to do, or warned to refrain from doing, certain things, not because they were right or wrong, but because they were to his advantage or disadvantage. He was taught that he would benefit by acting in a certain way. His pride and ambition were appealed to, and worthy examples among living men in the tribe were pointed out for emulation. Of abstract principles of 854

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one [582] [184] informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

● [551] She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms. 601 55 576 [794]

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain 593

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias. [124]

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is
representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa?
103 *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*

Place names from English:[24] ?ahpaícI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksīn *Faxon;* posto·kĪ *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* teksīs *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sinaíri? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rīs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarīmī·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarīmī·? *Fletcher* (*sand town*); tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·*many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre?
●551 (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tīhá·no? (tejano) *Texan;* tīrássa (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *Maria*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahcí·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Feliz;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nī? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* mení·? *Minnie;* mīru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 A list of tribal names might also be given
552 here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

[24] All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

[p. 230-B]

192 *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice
[262] from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĬ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; nĭepI *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wĭ·yu? *awl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed* (*back-bone medicine*) woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural
825 tradition. Also, animal names were fre-
551 quently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the
825 language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

Bear: parua?; wasape?; wĭra?;[37] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow* [*feces*] *smeared on his nose*; piarśhpanakatĬ *has big soles*; pĭhĭsoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĬ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kĭhwria? *drooler*; narĭmiwahtĬ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tĭehtavu?kina? *little rabbit* (*jackrabbit*); hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivĭhĭ? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?sĭnó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[37] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

[p. 240-A]

191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and
195 there has been a direct extension of English
[177] word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipĪ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pĪ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĪ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kĩhtavicipĪ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipĪ *groin milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, [551] the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

[113] [142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

[p. 242-B]

128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

553 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time. Little distinction was made between male and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics. Women's names, however, tended to be more permanent.

551 [553]

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, pihia?, or *girl*, nai?A. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name. However, a youngster would usually receive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old. A child's parents in modest ceremony would customarily call in an elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

553 551 [553]

In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

Nicknames derived from physical peculiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle from babyhood on. In line with the insti

553 551 [602]

[p. 243-B]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was required to give the name he preferred and he was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

177 657 [434]

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[113]

[p. 241-B]

551 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals
[162] listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, ta?koni? *one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, naiviwá·? *one with no beauty*,
162 73. Of these 175 persons,[148] 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44–103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41–85 years. The average age for both men and
551 women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, tuinī?pī? *young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvochuky, mavicu?ki? *one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, ?ī?kivetī? *new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, tisoyó·? *one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wahbitty, wihtikwavi?tī?
[553] *arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, tanísutai? *one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

[148] Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

[p. 245-A]

551 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from tĭtarihci? *wee little one*, and namakweyui? *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, pa?kahwi? *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wikâ·? *crow*, and pĭhimahmsu? *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 [128] Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[147] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

[113] [147] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

[p. 245-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-S (1940) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
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177
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TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40–44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45–49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50–54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55–59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60–64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65–69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70–74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75–79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

[p. 246-A]

551 fathers or grandfathers of those who bear these newly established surnames. In no case does a surname stem from farther back than the third generation. Occasionally the surname is taken from the maternal line, from an aunt in one instance, but this is not the rule except in cases of illegitimacy or divorce. The adoption of a person's own Comanche given name as a surname along with an American first name is quite common, e.g., Casper Tis so yo, in which tīsoyó·ʔ *one who has confidence in someone else*, is the Comanche given name of this man of 69. Family names are usually kept in their full original form, but with the agency's rendition of them in English spelling appearing on the rolls; for example, Harry Tobits eer kumah, tivicikumaʔ *real male, or husband*; Lena Suah rah o lah, suarǎʔura ʔ *one who meets somebody intentionally*; Carmelita Delphine Atetewuthtakewa, ʔetiwīhtikwaʔ *one who strikes with a bow*; Olive Chahtoeiebitten, cahtoʔivitīn, *one who pulls something out on his arrival*; and Cecil Ahtoowoosserahle, ʔotiwīsarǎ·kiʔ *brown ears pricking up*.

(848) (586)

Comanche names are only infrequently translated into English and these are for the most part medicine-animal names: Frank Redelk, Violet Yellowfish, Vincent Red Bird, Olive Black Otter, Lelia Yellowwolf, Thuma (from Therma) Chicken, and Philip

[p. 246-B]

551 Lookingglass may be cited. Among the Indians themselves the Comanche form is usually in more common usage.

The length in translation of many of the names, their common sexual reference, and their frequent unflattering or cryptic meanings would tend to preclude translation in a good many instances. Geanell Yokesuite, yoksuwaitī *one who attempts to have intercourse*; Strudwick Tahsequaw, tasikwana? *vagina smell*; Ella Nahdooanipah, na?-ruinīhpī? *only boy in the family*; Julia Monoessy, monáˑsi? *son-in-law*; Rachel Noyobad, noyowahtĪ *no testicles*; Kenneth Milton Sapkat, sapkatĪ *has a belly*; Delpha Zoe Topetchy, topehci? *after . . . he . . .*; Peggy Ann Keithtahroco, kīhtaruhku? *one with hard flesh*; Rita Jane Wauahdooah, wo?arua? *wormy young one*; and Randlett Pahkekumah, pahkikīma? *edge of an old dry hide*, are names that could hardly stand
[553] translation. Due also to the new morality a few possessors of more outspoken Comanche names have altered them to convey a blander meaning and these nicer forms are used in addressing them. Connywerdy, originally, ka?nawīa? *one with a slender penis*, was changed to kahnawĪ?rī? *tall and slender one*; Ahah, a woman of 70, whose name comes from ?a?h, the baby word for feces or something nasty, and is pronounced

[p. 246-C]

551 ?ahá·?, is also called ?e?há·wi?, a meaningless word.

551 White surnames liberally sprinkle the
563 Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.
[162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White
[641] ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche.
551 Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralls, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tīrasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener,
[563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (poʔoʔ, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tĭmo·ʔ, (from English, *Tim, Tom, Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pĭhĭrĭsohpeʔ *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ʔamaruʔ. Paul Pausu (Paul), 69; and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menĭ·ʔ, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwĭkitĭ *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarĭhkaʔ *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcĭ·tO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupá·reʔ, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tĭhá·noʔ, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

[p. 247-8]

SS1 177 writer has the impression, abetted by a checklist of the names of 335 Indiahoma school children, that the change is more pronounced among the Indians than the Whites.

SS1 The plainness of the names of older persons is attested by the following list of given names of 51 men 55 years old or over (figures in parentheses indicate plural occurrences): Andrew, Albert (3), Alexander, Baldwin, Ben, Bert, Casper, Charles, Codose or Crose (from Spanish, cruz *cross*), David, Edward, Eli, Emerson, Ernest, Eugene, Frank, Fred, George, George E., Grover, Gus, Herman, Howard, Jack, Jesse, John, Johnson, Joseph, Joshua, Mat, Millet, Nathan, Oscar, Otto, Paul, Reuben, Robert D., Rudolph, Samuel, Terrence, Thomas, Tim, Timbo (see above), Tom, Wahnee (from wane? *fox*), Walter, Willie, Wilson, and Mike.

The given names of 86 women of 45 or over are likewise old-fashioned and simple: Ada, Alice (3), Annie, Bertha, Bernice, Bessie, Betty, Birdie, Clou (see above), Cynthia, Daisy, Dorothy, Eliza, Ella (3), Elsie, Emily, Emma (2), Erma, Esther, Eva, Faith, Fern, Grace, Helen, Helen Rose, Ida, Ione, Jane, Josie, Julia, Kate, Kitty, Laura B., Lena, Lillie, Linn, Lucy (5), Lulu, Mabel, Maggie, Mamie, Mary (8), Mary Ellis, Mary P., Mattie, Maude, Minnie, Mollie, Nanny, Nellie, Nora (4), Ophelia, Pearl, Polly, Rachel, Rose (3), Roxie, Ruth, Sallie, Sarah (2), Susan, Susie, Thuma (Therma), and Woonardy.

The giving of two first names seems to have come into vogue within the past few decades. Only a small number of the many persons who have double given names are over 16 years old. If the middle name is written simply as an initial, the individual is usually over 17 years old. Except for the fact that such girls' names as Ann, Jean, Mae or May, and Joyce, and boys' names such as Lee, Allen, and Wayne occur more often as second middle names than first names, middle names are not very different

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551 from first names. Family names are taken as middle names in only a few instances. The bearers of these double names are often called by them both. This is especially true for girls having such hyphenated names as Anna Lee, Betty Mae, Barbara Ann, Carol May, Delores Ann, Ella Fay, Geneva Joe, Ida Lura, Linda Joy, Norma Lou, Phoebe Ann, and Sandra Jean.

Comanche given names show a great deal of individuation. For a total of 1989 Comanche with first names there are 1196 individual names (including double names), or a different name for each 1.66 Comanches. There are 587 names for 985 males, or a ratio of 1.68 persons per name; and 609 names for 1004 females, a ratio of 1.64. Of the total number of names there are 551 double names (259 male, 292 female). From these figures we see that the female names are slightly more individualized than those of the males, and judging from the greater number of double names, more elegant. One may adduce several possible explanations for this diversity of names. It may reflect the old Comanche pattern of a distinctive name for each person as well as the taboo on using the name of a dead person. Given names rather than family names may have been used to distinguish different persons, especially in the early reservation days, since family names were so hard for the Whites to cope with. Or it might simply be the result of a fashion of choosing names that are different and rather fancy.

The following first names, listed by the number of times they occur, are the ones most frequently bestowed on males: Frank 18, James 18, George 17, John 16, Samuel 16, Albert 14, Robert 13, Henry 12, William 12, Edward 11, Bert 8, Ralph 8, Charles 7, Kenneth 7, and Raymond 7. If middle names are included, the ranking is changed; some new names are added and others are dropped: James 29, Lee 25 (the commonest middle name, occurring 18 times), George 24, William 24, John 23, Frank 22, Edward 22, Robert 21, Albert 20, Henry 20, Charles

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55 16, Samuel 16, Kenneth 13, Wayne 11, Raymond 10, Harold 9, and Bert 9.[148]

For females the commonest single first names are: Mary 24, Alice 12, Marie 9, Lena, May and Rachel 8, Dorothy, Ida, Mabel and Velma 7, and Bertha, Bessie, Elsie, Lucy, Maude, Pearl and Sarah 6. If both first and second names are included, the order again is changed: Mary 39, Ann 35, Jean 34, Marie 31, May 19, Ruth 15, Alice 15, Dorothy 13, Joyce and Betty 12, Frances and Mae 11, Ida and Barbara 10, Rachel, Lena and Mabel 9, and Lee 8. As middle given names the following are the most frequent: Ann 34, Jean 32, Mae 11, May 10, Marie 19, Joyce 9, Lee and Ruth 8, Frances 7, Jo, Lou and Rose 6, Joy and Lois 5, and June, Kay and Fay 4. It may be noted that there is less variety in middle names than in first names.

Given names derived from Comanche are few in number. For males there are *Gary Mahesuh*, mahisua? *one who thinks of war*; Vernon Tabbytosavit (a middle family name), tavetosavItĪ *white sun*; Wahnee, wane? *fox*. Hovarithka, huvarihka? *coffee eater*; and Weckeah, wehki? *hunter*, are feminine examples. All told there are about

[113]
[171]

[148] Simon Newton (The World Almanac, 1921, p. 150) sought to determine the most popular American given names by examining 100,000 names in biographical dictionaries, Army and Navy registers, Masonic rosters, and the Detroit City Directory. For comparative purposes the 20 most popular names are listed:

1. John 8280	11. Samuel 1628
2. William 7611	12. Frank 1570
3. James 4259	13. Harry 1112
4. Charles 4253	14. Richard 1027
5. George 4171	15. Francis 1003
6. Thomas 2710	16. Frederick 1000
7. Henry 2366	17. Walter 970
8. Robert 2303	18. David 967
9. Joseph 2266	19. Arthur 904
10. Edward 1997	20. Albert 862

For the Comanche the ten most popular single first names make 15% of the total, including double names 23%, while the ten most frequent American names make 42% of the total. It may also be noted that the order of preference differs.

[p. 249-A]

● 551 twelve such names on the census rolls. The only Comanche with three given names is Jewel Ann Waumaconnie Wallace. The Comanche name comes from the given name of a woman of 80, wimako·ni? *one who chases someone back with a club.*

With the more prosaic names listed above, the following examples give a representative selection of Comanche given names:

Male first names: Adrian, Amos, Algernon, Archie Dean, Arron, Arvol, Augusta Norman.

Baby, Belindo, Bertrand Eugene, Bobbie Jewel, Bruner, Bucky, Bud, Buntin, Burnell.

Capps, Caudolario, Celso, Charles Malong, Clay, Cleatis, Cleveland, Clyde Berlyle, Cokey (Cookie), Conny Coffee.

Darrell, Delrio, Donell, Dumas, Dyson K.

Elbus, Eldridge, Elgin, Elroe, Errol Kent, Eustace.

Fay, Ferrell, Forrest.

Galvus, Garrison, Given, Givens Rain, Guy Tucker.

Haddon, Hawk, Herschel, Hezekiah, Hoke Smith, Hollis, Honey, Horace, Hugh.

Ike, Inman C.

Jamison Redith, Jeriyah Dedodge, Jerome Chester, Jester, Joshua, Joubert, Joy, Joyce Lee.

Kelly Waddell, Kelton, Kent Orval, Kermit, Knox, Kye.

Lamont, La Rue, Laverne, Lemuel, Lewellyn, Lincoln, Linn, Lovell, Luepp, Lumer, Lupe Anderson, Luther, Lyon.

Madison Berkley, Major, Malcolm, Mark, Matthew, Max, McEvans, Mead, Meech, Menno, Merrill, Mikey, Moffett, Montgomery, Moran, Moses.

Napoleon, Nesler, Nickolas.

Oliver Hinson, Oscar.

Pernell, Pierson Page.

Rafey, Randlett Cragg, Reaves, Reuben, Riley, Roe, Roderick Parrish.

Schley, Scott Ferris, Silcott, Stacy Lee, Stanford Walker, Strudwick, Sunrise.

Tennyson Berry, Terrance, Thurman Ray.

Vandal, Vidale, Videll, Voris.

[p. 249-B]

551 Weldon, Wellington, White, Whitt, Willerton, Woodrow Joyce.

Women's names offer the following: Aldeen, Alverta, Angelia, Ardena Mae, Anona A., Ardis, Arrillia Mae, Avis Nadine.

Beattie, Belva Ann, Benal Lou, Berdenia, Blossom.

Caleda, Camille, Carla Dorena, Charlene, Chequita Ann, Cicily, Claudettia, Cleta Ruth, Cody, Colleen, Corrine.

Darling Virginia, Delpha Zoe, Dixie Dean, Dorcas, Dorphus.

Easter, Eilena Floy, Electa Mary, Eloise Lavena, Elva Jean, Emmet Ruth, Ethel Yvonne, Etheline, Eudora, Eula, Exie, Eyeta.

Fanchon Willene, Floy Juanita, Francella Ann.

Garnett, Geniece, Goldie, Greta, Gwendolyn.

Happy, Hazel, Hester, Hilda, Hope Maurine, Hulda.

Imogene, Ioleta, Iris Dawn, Isa, Ivarine.

Jacqueline Violet, Joebnya, Joeleen Frances, Johnson Louise, Judea, Jueretta.

Kathleen.

La Denna Vita, Ladora Fay, Lahoma, La Nell, Lavona, Leilani, Lottsee, Lucreta, Luetta.

Mada Louise, Margerine, Marylyne May, Melva Joe, Metzie Madeline, Mona.

Nada, Nemah, Neomi Lorene, Normal Jean.

Oma Jean, Oneda, Opal Pearl, Opaletta, Ozie.

Pasquenta, Patsy Mozelle, Pauline Zella, Phoebe Ann.

Quanah Kay.

Reba Joe, Rechandle, Richenda Jean, Reona, Ruby Fern, Ruth Odella.

Sharon Rose, Sophia.

Thedoshia, Theone Maxine.

Vellarine, Venee Lois, Verbena, Verneta Ruth, Veronica, Vida, Vinita.

Wanada, Werta Jean, White Rose, Wilhelmina Jean, Willene, Winona, Wynema, Wywena May.

Yvonne, Zelma, Zenia Mae, Zona.

[p. 250-A]

551 There are several Comanche who are named after illustrious people: Garner Roosevelt Atetewuthtake, Kit Carson Farwell, Charles Lindbergh Ticeahkie, Calvin Coolidge Pohapatchako, Franklin D. Parker, General Scott Tonemah (General Scott was stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma for many years), and Bennie Leonard Caddo (Bennie Leonard was a champion prizefighter). Three persons have the name Quanah, kwana? *odor*, which was the first name of the Comanche chief and warrior, Quanah Parker.

White given names, as has been suggested above, suffer some phonetic distortion when pronounced by Comanche with little or no knowledge of English. These mispronunciations quite frequently become generally accepted. The following are examples: nere? *Nelly*; mīru? *Myrtle*; menī·? *Minny*; maikI *Mike*; to·me? *Tommy*; ?ombre? *Audrey*; pesa? *Bessie*; and ?estī? *Esther*.

The given names of persons having Mexican blood or a mixture of White and Mexican ancestry include the following names derived from Spanish: Anacleto, Antonio, Boniface, Caudolario, Cicario, Cruz, Felipe, Gilberto, Hepardo, Jesus, Lorenzo, Louis, Migel, Ricardo, Sostenes, Sotaro, Tomaso, all masculine names. Feminine names include the following: Carlotta, Carmen, Christabelle, Clemencia, Delores, Devita, Florentina, Guadaloupe, Herlinda, Isabelle, Juanita, Juana, Kalora, Lorenza, Marie, Octaviana, Refugia, Rosetta, and Speranze.

There is apparently a recent tendency for persons of Mexican-Comanche ancestry to give their children American names instead of Spanish ones and most of these names are quite indistinguishable from the others on the rolls. The following are names of males who are listed as having Mexican blood: Adrid John, Archibald, Ben, Clarence, Donovan Earl, Eribert, Franklin D., Hillarie, J. P.,[149] Leon, Michael, Nabor, Peairs

[149] The practice of giving only initials for a

[p. 250-B]

551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurania Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local 551 178 Southern White naming patterns. There is little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the 551 177 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the 551 177 178 culture of the Whites. The older, relatively less acculturated Comanche still bear individual names, while the younger generations have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

[p. 251-A]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who, because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Comtatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.
[551]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange[34] of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco.	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego. Yam:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

175
551
701
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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

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726

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 701 648 726 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 701 551

Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral: Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.	
Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo: He raises his hands; second son	
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero: Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.	
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[36]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[37]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
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[36] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[37] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabébo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

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out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a.* Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

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123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1883. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name
736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood
[597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo,
726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing
648 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[736] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
● 551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 177
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money. 609 191 571

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City. 609 191 797 [794] [551]

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature. 657 191 609

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds. 609

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the 648 657

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124 agonizing time came after he had told me who Mo-cho-rook was, where he came from, and many of his peculiarities when I asked him, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook?" placing the emphasis on Mo-cho-rook. In other words, what does Mo-cho-rook mean? Without going through the painful steps we used to arrive at it, this was his explanation. "White man say, Comanche so cruel he makes white man's blood run [551] cold. Mo-cho-rook means, he is so cruel, he makes Comanche's blood run cold."

This, then is the story of Mo-cho-rook, after placing all the frag-
721 ments together, and with the editing of the squaw man. Sometime in the middle twenties of the last century, an unusually well-planned raid was made into Old Mexico. It was made by a leader of excellent re-
[702] pute. His raids had always been successful, and he always picked out a select group from the volunteers. This time he selected about a hundred young but proven warriors. Each was to provide himself with two good horses, one to have a pack saddle. The end of the raid was to be the capture of a town that had never been raided from north of the river.

It was well protected on north, east, and west by unhospitable land. It was fifty miles from the nearest water, on those three sides. This rather large ranch town sat near the head of a fertile, well-watered valley. It was twenty-odd miles to the next nearest town, with only ranches lying in between.

These people were very rich in good horses and cattle. Upward of a hundred or more families lived in the town. As the plans were laid out the Comanches would move in to well-concealed hideouts in the hills below the town. The town was too large to be taken by direct attack. At siesta time, part of the warriors would make an attack on the horse herders and stampede the horses to the west out onto the desert. After the pursuit was well away from town, the herd would be headed to the north.

As many of the pursuers as possible would be ambushed, as they would be presumably strung out. But the pursuit was not to be discouraged, and they were to be led as far away from town as possible.

Once the pursuit was well away from town, the rest of the warriors were to attack the town, where the only opposition was supposed to be the old men and the boys. The available horses would have been taken by the able-bodied men of the town for the pursuit. All the old

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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 [595] [842]

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 [555]

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. [171] [551] [881] [787]

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

The Comanches

for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieḳa*), a reddish brown (*ɛḳakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*ʈɔsa*), a blue (*epixʈuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔtɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*eḳaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛḳasənaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsənato*), or black (*ḍuu:tsənato*). And finally there were the red (*ɛḳanaḳi*), yellow (*ohanaḳi*), and black (*ḍuunaḳi*) ears.

Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 862.

192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa? 103 *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*

Place names from English:[*] ?ahpaícI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksīn *Fazon;* posto·kĪ *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* tekās *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sinaírī? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rīs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarīmī·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarīmī·? *Fletcher* (*sand town*); tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·- *many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre? 551 (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tīhá·no? (tejano) *Texan;* tīrásas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *Maria*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahcí·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Felix;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nī? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* mení·? *Minnie;* mīru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 A list of tribal names might also be given 552 here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

[*] All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

[p. 230-B]

192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* cikso·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); sarituka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

[p. 231-A]

825 pacikwasi? *bare tail*; pĩwiya?ino·hr *carries his own rope* (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: parú·kU *water animal* (?); tu?pa?wehni? *black hanging down (from the cheeks)*; cuhniwĩ?A *bone penis*.

Mourning Dove: ?eka?omo? *red legs*; pasahó·? (Possibly related to pasapĨ *dried up*. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); ku?ewó·?; na?yanimaitĨ *lazy one* (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, wo?woki? *barker*, in addition to the usual [552] word for *dog*, sari·?, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named.

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: po?ro? (from Spanish, *puerco*); ho·kI (from English, *hog*); *muvipo?ro? (*nose* + po?ro?); munua? *nose mover*.

Mule: mu·ra? (from Spanish, *mula*); to?moci? (from to?mocI *sharp-pointed hoof*); mĩ·warĩ?ipĨ (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.)

Elephant: ?esi?inĩ·? *grey animal*; mu?kwipuna? *nose curled up*; mú·pichatinó·wapI *carries things for mupic*[128] (a legendary giant).

Chicken: ko·ko?; ko·korá?a·?; ta·ya?ke? *dawn crier (rooster)*; ?ona?ai? *use salt* (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

191 **5.1.** Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

[128] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only mupic for elephant.

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553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
552 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for
177 word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

From Cradle to Grave

cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back. 854 [482]

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was 553 [551] 753 551

The Comanches

753 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given
551 one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his
753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
●553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be *ɔβɔyβita*—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » »

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

553 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time. Little distinction was made between male and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics. Women's names, however, tended to be more permanent.

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[553]

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, pihia?, or *girl*, nai?A. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name. However, a youngster would usually receive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old. A child's parents in modest ceremony would customarily call in an elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

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In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

553 Nicknames derived from physical peculiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle from babyhood on. In line with the insti

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[602]

[p. 243-B]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.
553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
657 children by count, as early as 1875, the first formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

551 practices can be noted in the list of Comanche names. First, there are 175 individuals
[162] listed on the rolls by Comanche given names only. Thus, Tahkony, ta?koni? *one who heads something off*, a man of 72, is married to Ni he vah, naiviwá·? *one with no beauty*,
162 73. Of these 175 persons,[148] 107 are women with an average age of 67.9 years and an age range of 44–103 years; 68 are men with an average age of 63.9 and a range of 41–85 years. The average age for both men and
551 women is 66.3 years. Fourteen of the men have alternative Christian given names or given names and a surname after the father. Tooahnipah, tuinī?pī? *young man*, 57, also has the name Wilson Simmons; Mahvochuky, mavicu?ki? *one who rubs with the flat of the hand*, a man of 50, is also known as Wylie Yellowfish after his father. Which of these alternative names is preferred by either Indians or Whites differs from case to case. A few women also have additional names. Ukapitty, ?ī?kīvetī? *new daughter*, a woman of 56, has the alternative name Yellowback, which belonged to her father. It is probable that more persons have such supplementary names, especially first names by which they are known to Whites, but these do not appear on the agency rolls. Conversely, a great many younger people also have Comanche names though they are seldom used and are not recorded.

The names of a considerable number of women, as they are given on the census list, reflect the process of change in some detail. Nellie Tis so yo, tīsoyó·? *one who has confidence in someone else*, 59, is the married name of Wuth take wahbitty, wīhtīkwavi?tī?
[553] *arrives and strikes*. This is probably one of the earliest instances of a woman officially assuming the name of her husband at marriage, although among her friends and relatives, as is often the case, she is known by her own Comanche name. Josie Tanishoti, tanīsutai? *one who is loved*, is the married name of a woman of 47. Her maiden name

[148] Females constitute 51.5% of the 1940 Comanche population of 2394.

[p. 245-A]

551 Lookingglass may be cited. Among the Indians themselves the Comanche form is usually in more common usage.

The length in translation of many of the names, their common sexual reference, and their frequent unflattering or cryptic meanings would tend to preclude translation in a good many instances. Geanell Yokesuite, yoksuwaitĭ *one who attempts to have intercourse*; Strudwick Tahsequaw, tasikwana? *vagina smell*; Ella Nahdooanipah, na?-ruinĭhpĭ? *only boy in the family*; Julia Monoessy, monǎ·si? *son-in-law*; Rachel Noyobad, noyowahtĭ *no testicles*; Kenneth Milton Sapkat, sapkatĭ *has a belly*; Delpha Zoe Topetchy, topehci? *after . . . he . . .*; Peggy Ann Keithtahroco, kĭhtaruhku? *one with hard flesh*; Rita Jane Wauahdooah, wo?arua? *wormy young one*; and Randlett Pahkekumah, pahkikĭma? *edge of an old dry hide*, are names that could hardly stand translation. Due also to the new morality a few possessors of more outspoken Comanche names have altered them to convey a blander meaning and these nicer forms are used in addressing them. Connywerdy, originally, ka?nawĭa? *one with a slender penis*, was changed to kahnawĭ?rĭ? *tall and slender one*; Ahah, a woman of 70, whose name comes from ?a?h, the baby word for feces or something nasty, and is pronounced

[553]

[p. 246-C]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

CA-VO-YO, GIVER OF NAMES

I NEVER KNEW but one of the old Comanches that carried the distinction of being a Name-Giver. He was Ca-vo-yo. When the Comanche roll was made out, soon after the surrender in 1876, he was given the birth year of 1840. That only meant the government clerk figured he looked to be thirty-six years old. I remember that when I finally sorted him out as an individual, I judged him to be about the age of my father, a Civil War veteran crowding seventy. 553 127 657

I must have seen Ca-vo-yo first in March, 1902, but then he was one of a large number of older Comanches, whom I termed, for my own convenience, the "old fellows." That meant to me that they were old enough to have been warriors who probably had fought at the battle of Adobe Walls and been present when the surrender took place at Fort Sill. 123

In due time most of the old fellows became individuals to me. I learned their names, where their camps were located, the number of wives each had, if any, and their dispositions toward the white man; and being a trader's son, I learned of their bill-paying reliability, in the event credit was extended to them between Grass Money payments. If a trader extended credit, he needed to know all the wives by name and keep a record of what each wife purchased, though he charged the total bill to the husband.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and respected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a [553] [555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 [114] I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the 701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 411 224 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of arrows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo, so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But 778 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to 726 492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra- 778 492 224 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry biv-
ouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 778
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without 726
waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and con- 778
genial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his [595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes.
A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving
115 came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
552 177 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

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342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 "The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds.
727 They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a
[126] raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

624 "The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'

"Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two
● [554] rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, 'This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends.'

"The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

"Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him."[9]

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[9] One has more than a sneaking suspicion that this story has been embellished with its portion of heroic ornament. But it was told to illustrate how a war bonnet was obtained, and that it does very well.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Post Oak Jim described the details of the process as he remembered it in his band, the Antelope, in slightly different terms. The novice collected his own feathers—one for each coup claimed and one for each successful raid participated in. After his first four notable deeds had drawn the attention of the ţékniwap class, he was nominated for ceremonial distinction. The special tipi was raised and the warriors sat as before. The candidate was invited to come to the meeting by the announcer. He sat beside the chief and was told the duties and dangers of a war leader. Then he smoked before the chief gave him four feathers from the tail of the eagle. "From that point on his rank is raised." But he did not yet wear his feathers; they were carefully hoarded until by forty-eight coups he had stripped the tails of four eagles. The feathers were then made into a war bonnet. In a second and more important ceremony it was conferred upon the fighter. He was thereafter considered ţékniwap, a true war chief. 624 554

Friends could help a comrade along by transferring to him war honors which were theirs by right. Nothing could more clearly attest both the legal and the property aspects of accorded honor-claims. The gracious act was not unusual. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be there. At the end of a dance the host called for a halt. Then he walked to the center of the dance ring. There, in the presence of all people, he swore before the Sun and the Earth, who had witnessed the killing of the enemy, that the deed was his. He concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ————————." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness ye that it is mine. *I* killed this man." The drum was struck a resounding blow. Turning to the people, he then called upon them to recognize his coup, and the transfer was complete. 624 425

But the transfer of war honors had a wise limitation. They could be neither sold nor inherited. They might be bestowed only as a gift, in the above manner. They were given only to brave men to help them towards the war leader status, or to a peace chief who had no war honors.[10]

Even in bands in which formal installation was established, there was also a much less official alternative open for attaining a war bonnet, though of a lower order. This was the buffalo scalp hat, which could be worn by a 624 554

[10] Professor Ralph Linton suggests that this practice may have emerged only since the advent of reservation days, when the restrictions upon fighting, imposed by the whites, made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanche devised the technique here described. We are unable to pass upon the question of the specific antiquity of the custom.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with
554 a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave
431 who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ţékniwap. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen, so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ţékniwap. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimud-
701 ya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

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except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem under the tutelage of a man who possessed one. They put a tassel on their left shoulder and one in their hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. There were never many such—two to four fighters in each generation. Men of two distinct backgrounds took this road of life. There were those who had the family tradition, and those who had no surviving family. For the latter the career of the Tassel-wearer was the road to death or tribal prestige. They had little to lose and much to gain. For the former it was the means of keeping high a family reputation.[12] It was the peak of all men's war activities.

554 701

The few Crow Tassel Wearers formed an intimate association. They ran in their own lonely pack. By their way of life they could not spend more than one night at any time in the camp with their people. "They were gone and gone and gone—so long that Red Young Man, who had been a young man when he first went, was now middle-aged." War was their business. If they were approaching camp ay any time, should they meet a war party on the out-path, they turned their steps—again to the enemy.

An excellent history of a group of Crow Tassel Wearers among the Comanches was given to Dr. Mirsky. Part of it follows:

Case 2. History of Crow Tassel Wearers
Informant: Talker

"While they (the Crow Tassel Wearers) had been gone all these years Red Young Man's father had died. His mother and grandmother (kaku) were living. None of the party was married. As they came to the camp look-out, this man told Red Young Man that his father had died not a year since. Because of this the men cancelled their plans to parade; they entered the camp quietly—without fanfare or pomp.

"That night his friends, the Tassel Wearers, came to see him in his tipi. They mourned and wailed with him for his father. When they had ceased crying, his mother spoke, 'Now that I can see you, it makes my heart heavy that you have taken up this role. I have not seen you for many years. You were young; now you are a grown man. And I hope you will agree to what I propose.' Therewith, she begged him no longer to wear his emblem of the Crow Feather Tassel. Would he honor her wishes? 'You have put in time enough to have had your fill of it,' the mother urged.

Our informants spoke vaguely of certain men who went continuously to war, who were a "stage beyond the war bonnet." We found no one who could give us facts, however.

[12] It reminds one of those American lineages who glory in a record of participation in every war of our country's history.

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554 701 "Red Young Man turned to his friends and said, 'You have heard the request of my mother. To it I now agree. After you eat—all of you—bring your fathers here.'

"They did as he asked; they brought their fathers to his tipi. Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'You are all familiar with what we have been doing—you know our rules. Look upon us all! My father did not live to see me. I missed him. I have called you here because I have something to say to you. I entered this order when I was young, when I was without ties. These friends joined me under the same circumstances.'

"A father said, 'You speak truly.'

"In this group of young men was Red Young Man's nephew (aza), whose father was Red Young Man's brother-in-law (tcts). The brother-in-law said, 'My wife's brother, you have been in this from your youth; now you are of middle-age. Even so is your nephew, my son. I speak as your mother spoke. I wish both of you would discontinue this. This is my opinion and desire.'

"The father of one of the others agreed with the mother and the brother-in-law. The father of the youngest put in his word for it, too—'because we are so happy to have you back after so many years.'

"Then Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'Today, at this very instant you finish with us, we will take off our tassels. We will disband forever. Before we come to that I wish that you well-seasoned men of wise counsel would give us your advice and blessing. That is all. Let us fill our pipe.'

[788] "They filled the pipe to bless the dissolving of the band. There was silence as the pipe was lit. The brother-in-law took the pipe; he presented it to Sun, the Father and to Earth, the Mother. 'Accept this, Father,' he said, 'today in a few moments these young men shall be broken asunder.' He passed the pipe to the next father who did the same and said the same. Then to the third father. He finished the prayer with these words, 'They have devoted their whole youth to this cause. Now that they are middle-aged they are going to lead a quiet, stay-at-home life.' They did not pass the pipe to the mother—but she spoke and voiced her happiness at the outcome of the decision.

"Red Young Man spoke again, 'We have come to dissolve,' He speared out a black kerchief. 'We are going to take the tassels from our shoulder and our head.' He prayed He prayed, saying how in his youth he had followed the dictates of his heart—a Crow Feather Tassel Wearer. He had lived alone without regard to family ties. The Great Power Which Pervades All Things be his witness! By taking off the emblem he was now ready to devote himself to family obligations.

"He then called his nephew. 'We started out with only one thought, you and I: that we would be killed together. I, who put this emblem on you, now take it off.'

"Then he called the older friend to do the same with him. At last he called the younger one. 'Behold our younger brother (tâmi), who tirelessly performed all the duties we placed on him! You be witness that I take from him his emblem.' All the tassels were laid on the kerchief.

"When night came the obligations were done. Then Red Young Man tied up the kerchief. He said to the father, 'Tomorrow we do what we have not yet done

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with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children." [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[13] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

[13] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

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701 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to
158 the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ʈénapa).
[555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special in-
●554 signia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to
726 retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ʈékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ʈékniwʌp to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man siting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

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*627 556 The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

*627 231 Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

*627 231 554 The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

*627 684 Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impinging attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

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The institutionalized champion we see as a purely social device. None of the ordinary inducements used to lead a person to assume a difficult obligation or responsibility were operative for him. Unlike kin or friends, he received no material compensation for his pains. This is borne out both by the word of the informants and by the evidence of the cases. Nor did the principle of reciprocity of services operate for him. Men chosen to act as champion were always warriors of great renown. They could look to themselves; they had no need to ask for return of favors. It was a sense of *noblesse oblige* and self-esteem which forced the champion into the legal lists on behalf of weaker persons to whom he had no personal ties. A war leader who refused to accept the request for aid in prosecution was to be deemed unworthy of his rank, for it was imputed that he feared the defendant. No war leader could admit fear. The institutional capitalization of these factors for the legal protection of the weak is an amazing piece of social engineering.[16]

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[16] One has only to contrast the Roman *patronus* and early medieval infeudation of free land. Those "muscle men" exacted pay for protection as does a modern gangster. No matter that it was not with money. For favorable comparison to the Comanche consider the Ifugao *monkalun*, or Icelandic *lawman*.

Each of these functionaries was reponsible to both parties in dispute, though the *monkalun* was evoked by the plaintiff. He (the *monkalun*) was at most a distant relative to the litigants. He was a *kadangyang* (man of wealth belonging to the first rank of society) and a man with a head-hunting reputation, as well as a successful settler of disputes. His method was suasion, threat, wheedling, scolding, according to the arts of fine diplomacy. He worked between the disputants (they keeping rigidly from each other's sight) until he could bring them to stand on a plank of settlement acceptable to both. For his pains he received payment in pigs or other commodity from the plaintiff. This was compensation for his efforts, but as Barton tells us, the main drive which spurred him to work for a peaceful settlement was the desire to build his reputation as a mediator. As in Comanche society the true reward was prestige. The *monkalun*, like the Comanche intermediary, was ready to fall back on force if need be. But he did not stand so ready with knife in hand. When he felt that he had exhausted his ability to bring the parties to a settlement, he declared a truce of a month's duration. Whichever party broke the truce by an act of violence had the *monkalun* and his family to reckon with in addition to his adversary. Thus the *monkalun* fell on either side if process degenerated to force, while the Comanche mediator always stood by his protege. R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, 1919), pp. 97 ff.

The Icelandic *lawman* presents a similar comparison. A plaintiff lodged suit by airing his grievance before all men on the Hill of Laws at the Thing, or in-gathering of citizens. The attempt was made to bring both parties to agree to accept whatever judgment might be given by a selected *lawman* or a council of his ilk. The alternative (legally) was wager of battle on the *Isle*. Outside of these legal paths were strife and murder. The *lawmen* derived honor and prestige for their efforts and seem also to have been feed in a modest way.

("After that men went away, and all thought things looked like the greatest tangle . . .

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In action the champion was not an arbitrator. It was not his purpose to serve as a go-between. He went to demand damages. The bare fact is that he confronted the defendant as a "tough guy" who could take as well as give it. He was ready, if need be, to close the matter, not with damage settlements, but with physical combat. 627x 624 554

It is in the champion that we can see most clearly the social policy of balancing the opposing forces so as to clear the way for a bargain settlement. This phase of the Comanche legal system is therefore to be viewed as a not so badly balanced mechanism, which operated without the organization of government. Making certain that action was taken when an offense was made publicly known, it made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

There were no officials in the picture. The peace chief could not act in damage suits, because he had no social authority to do so. As an old and gentle man he lacked the physical prowess to enter an affair in a personal capacity. The champions who participated in actions, because they were the bravest men, were also war chiefs. But the role of champion which they played was a function of their bravery, not of their rank as a chief.

It is possible that if the evolution of Comanche society had continued under aboriginal conditions, the war chief would have taken on the police functions for the society, and have become, thereby, the administrator of justice.

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but Hall went to Thorgier, the priest of Lightwater, who was the old Speaker of the Law, and gave him three marks of silver to utter what the law should be." . . . "This was no bribe, but his lawful fee.") 171

But Eyolf Bolverk's son was sued to be condemned to lesser outlawry for having received a gold armlet to press Flosi's defense before the Althing. Flosi was given the same sentence for giving the trinket as an inducement. G. W. Dasant, *The Story of Burnt Njal* (A translation from the Icelandic Njal Sagen, New York, 1911), pp. 184 and 283.

361 acquainted, and a description of it in this place will suffice for all. It consisted, I should say, of four hundred tents, and covered a space of six or seven acres. In the center of the village was a capacious square, perhaps one acre, and in the center of the square stood a lodge, the largest in the town, being the business tent of the civil chief. Around the square the wigwams were arranged with great particularity. Leading into it on the four sides were regularly laid out streets, the tents standing in line on both sides. Those of [354] the principal men were the largest, and fronted the square; those of their inferiors, according to their rank, diminishing in size, and extending backwards.

342 The tents are constructed of prepared buffalo skins, the flesh side outward, and, from a distance, an Indian town like this, to the eye of a white man, is novel and attractive. The manner of their construction is as follows: Poles, from ten to twenty feet in length, are driven diagonally into the ground in the line of a circle, at the distance of three or four feet from each other, and at such an angle that their tops will nearly meet. These poles serve the purpose of rafters over which the buffalo hides, firmly sewed together, are drawn and fastened by stakes on the ground, thus forming an impervious cone. The door does not turn on hinges, but is simply an extra pelt, fastened at the top, with a heavy weight at the bottom, and which, when raised or turned aside sufficiently to admit an entrance within, falls directly and closely to its place. Around the outside is dug a narrow and deep ditch, rendering the floor dry and hard, [354] and the smoke of the fire, which is always kindled in the center of the wigwam, escapes through a hole at the apex.

361 These villages are always located near running water, and in thinly timbered groves, which break the force of the

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He [551]
had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left [591]
the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
554 The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

fringe on sleeves and hems and colorfully beaded designs marked the dress of fashion. The dressmaker carefully worked the skins of the deer until they were soft and pliable—sometimes a muted lemon yellow and sometimes a buff color. The skirt was made in two pieces, with the legs of the deer skin making an uneven hemline reaching to the ankles. The skirt was sewed up the sides with buckskin thongs, and heavy fringe finished the hem and extended up the sides above the knees, with lighter fringe up the seams to the waist. The slightly flared skirt was broken above the knee by a narrow band of beading with long pieces of fringe at intervals below the beading. A scalloped band of narrow beading was attached just above the hem. The blouse was made poncho-style from the skin of a single animal. A slit was cut horizontally in the center, creating a high, straight neckline, which was brilliantly banded with beading extending across the shoulders to the elbow-length sleeves. Blouse and skirt were laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, hidden beneath an ornamental skin peplum hanging in deep points to mid-thigh. Geometric medallions were beaded across the peplum in a band, and medallions of varied size and color were sewed across the front and back of the blouse. Just below these brilliant designs and continuing across the blouse were clusters of round beads, from which hung long leather and beaded thongs. A wide butterfly sleeve was formed by the loose ends of the skin. Colorful beads were scattered along the edge of the deep fringe line which finished the sleeves. Additional skin bands hung from the front and back of the sleeves, the fringed ends extending below the long, heavy fringing of the sleeves.[31] 291

The number-one wives of brave warriors wore an additional special decorative device, according to She Invites Her Relatives. A tongue-like appendage hung down from the neck, front and back. In the front it was fringed, while the back tongue, which was unedged, carried a painted symbol J in dark blue for each war honor of her husband. 291 554

The costume was completed by beautiful beaded moccasins. In winter highly ornamented leggings were worn to the knees, with only a knee-length buckskin dress above. In very cold weather the woman added a buffalo robe for warmth. The dress was comfortable 291

[31] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 342; museum specimens.

The Comanches

411 A shield with power not only gave its owner the general protec-
509 tive influence due to its sacred character, but also endowed him with those qualities attributed to heavenly bodies, birds, mammals, and other living creatures from whom the design-giving vision came. It also might afford protection from the elements, for some shields were sacred to thunder and lightning.

411 The lance was another favorite weapon of certain Comanches. The use of the war lance has been associated with the horse, but it is evident that the tribes who came to occupy the plains in historic times were acquainted with the stone-headed lance as a hunting implement before they entered the plains. Two types of lances were used by the Comanches. One was a hooked lance, so called because the shaft was bent somewhat in the shape of the conventional shepherd's crook. The other was the ordinary lance, six to seven feet in length. It had a wooden shaft of bois d'arc armed in modern times with an iron or steel point in any shape which was convenient and easily made from the material at hand. Some lance heads were as much as thirty inches long by one inch wide, tapering to a point at the end away from the shaft. Previous to the acquisition of metal, the lance head was of chipped stone, often leaf-shaped. In either case, the head was bound to the shaft with sinew of rawhide thongs and glue in much the same way that the arrow point was bound to the shaft. The shafts of old-time spears were decorated only by a feather or a bunch of feathers attached near the butt end. Beaded shafts like the one on Quanah Parker's spear were a late fashion. Sheaths, which might or might not be decorated, were sometimes made for lances.

411 The battle spear was not a weapon for any ordinary man to carry.
● 554 It was never hurled javelin-wise but was always thrust from under the arm. If thrust overarm, it might hit a bone and break the point or frighten the rider's horse, according to Breaks Something. Only a brave man carried a spear, because it meant hand-to-hand combat. More than this, a spear carrier could never retreat and live to face his fellow warriors. There was no alternative for him but victory or death. In Breaks Something's opinion, the war lance ranked higher as a symbol of a war chief than any headdress, and warriors who carried the spear went without a war bonnet. His own brother, after the Battle of Adobe Walls, gave up his spear, and all his family was glad.

At Work and Play

"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office.

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wɜpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon.

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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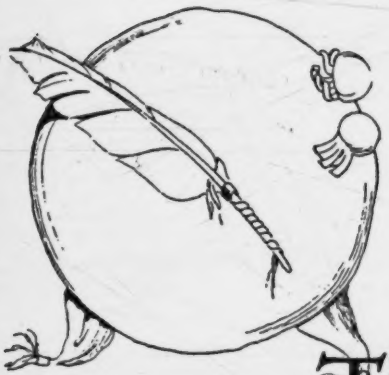
Warfare



THE motives which led the Comanches to go to war were plunder, love of fighting, a desire for glory as a means of achieving personal status, eagerness for revenge, and a determination to take and afterwards to hold free from all trespassers, both white and red men, the hunting grounds of the South Plains. Their bravery and their desire to win prestige for themselves inspired them to take many risks. Prior to the introduction of the horse, Plains warfare was sporadic and not bloody; but the introduction of the horse furnished all the Plains tribes a new and strong motive for war, for by war men might acquire something of great value and they now had the mobility with which to strike at each other. Concomitantly with the horse came another new factor: the pressure of the whites on the eastern frontier, setting in motion a chain reaction of tribal displacements that caused group after group to fight for a place under the western sun. War became the pattern of life; the military cult became the ideal of the aspiring young man. The old peace chief ideal still survived, but it was destined to be overshadowed by the ideal personality type of warrior.

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War honors provided the basis of the whole system of rank and social status in Comanche society. Consequently, the life of the male came to be centered around warfare and raiding. The men were all warriors. War was regarded as the noblest of pursuits, one which every man should follow; and from earliest youth boys were taught

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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to excel in it. They were taught that success in war brought in its train the respect and admiration of the men, women, and children of the tribe, and that the most worthy virtue for a man was bravery. They were taught that death in battle, aside from being glorious, protected one from all the miseries which threatened later life and were inevitable to old age.

The Comanches, in conformity with the general Plains pattern, adhered to institutionalized procedure in giving social recognition of war honors: the practice of counting coup. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, after it had been socially and publicly recognized as worthy of distinction. In some respects it was a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement. It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him at a distance with an arrow or a bullet. Since the quality most highly esteemed was courage, striking an enemy thus gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not necessarily do so. To scalp an enemy was not especially creditable, for anyone could scalp a dead man; hence scalping was only of secondary importance. But if the scalping were done under danger, it was considered worthy. How much of the scalp a Comanche took depended upon circumstances. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he were pressed for time or the situation were very dangerous, he seized only what he could get. The scalp was a trophy, proof of success to be used in the Victory Dance, and it was also desirable as a decorative fringe for shirts, shields, and tomahawks.

The bravest act that could be performed was to count coup on a live enemy. When hunting, if a dangerous animal was killed or wounded, boys and young men might race to see who could be the first to touch it, just as women sometimes raced to see who could be the first to touch the first fallen animal in a buffalo hunt. The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines or as drawing blood from an enemy in hand-to-hand combat. In addition to the standardized honors, any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by the Comanches.

Contemporary Comanches tell a tall tale of two warriors who

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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went on a coup-seeking expedition to see which was the better man. They traveled until they came to a Ute camp.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said one.

After dark, he drew his blanket over his head and sauntered into the Ute encampment. From within one of the lodges he heard the songs of a hand game in progress. Protected by his disguise, he walked right through the door to join the spectators. Nobody paid any attention to him. Casually and slowly moving about, he touched one after another of all the Utes in the lodge. When he had touched them all, he strolled out and rejoined his friend.

"He had counted coup on twenty enemies at one time. It was a great deed," said Post Oak Jim.

His friend was put to a real challenge. They traveled on, it is said, until late the next day they came to a lone ranch homestead.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said the second Comanche. When the lights were out in the cabin, he crept forward. He entered the little house and found the rancher and his wife sleeping together in their bed. With all the stealth he would have used in untethering a picketed horse before the lodge of an enemy chief, he lifted the sleeping woman from the side of her unsuspecting husband. Without wakening her, he brought her to the side of his friend. Together they took her back to the main camp. The People said this was the greatest coup of all. No Comanche had ever done anything like that before!

It sometimes happened that a man, if he had been ill for long without hope of recovery or if some misfortune of such significance that he no longer wished to live had befallen him, determined to give his life by some daring act of bravery against the enemy. This was suicide, but a socially recognized way of ending one's life in a most honorable manner. He went out in one grand coup.

A daring exploit was not of itself in the strictest sense a coup. Rather it was the raw material for one. If unrecognized, the deed remained only a matter of individual memory, for only recognition in due "legal" form turned the deed into a coup. It often happened that an exploit claimed by an individual was unwitnessed, not believed, or claimed by one or more other warriors. The man who believed he had a right to claim a coup made a strong fight for recog-

721 nition of his deed. Other than securing witnesses or presenting cir-
554 cumstantial evidence in support of his claim, he might take a formal oath that what he claimed was true. It is evident that in the confusion of battle a man might believe himself entitled to honors claimed by others. At the first opportunity after the fight, the chief called the war-
727 riors together, preferably before they arrived at the main camp.[1] But
554 the procedure varied from band to band and according to circumstances. One account has the leading warriors seat themselves in a semicircle. Near the opening of the circle was placed a buffalo hide. Some of the Indians danced to the beat of drums. A warrior rode into the circle, stopped suddenly, and plunged his spear in the buffalo hide. Music and dancing stopped, and the warrior under oath narrated in detail the circumstances connected with the deed which he claimed as a coup. When he had finished, he dismounted and joined his comrades in the semicircle, and the dancing and drumming were renewed. Then a second warrior was called upon. The same procedure was continued until each claimant for honors had told his story. Those seated in the semicircle either publicly recognized the deed as a coup or rejected the claim.

A scout who was out alone sometimes ran unexpectedly into an enemy, perhaps killing or counting coup on one. In such a situation there was no one to witness his deed; it was necessary for him to attest its truth. If he was a member of the Water Horse band, he did so by taking the buffalo-chip oath. On returning to the band, he signaled that he had important news. Before entering the camp, he waited for all the warriors to assemble. They all lined up in a row behind three or four buffalo chips, which were stacked on end, tipi wise. When they were ready, the scout rode in and speared a chip for each man he had killed or struck. With each blow he cried, *"A:he!"* If he had counted no coup, he merely walked around the pile and then
[T17] scattered it as a sign that the news he was bringing was true. The false asseveration of a coup brought bad luck and death.

554 The Comanches recognized two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Cheyennes counted coup on an enemy three times, while the Arapahos touched four times. In battle, members of one tribe counted coup

[1] Informant: Yellowfish.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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without reference to what had been done by those of another allied tribe in the same fight. Recognition of plural coups on the same victim was, of course, an efficient way of providing enough coups to meet the cultural demands of the society. It is worth noting that the warlike Comanches engaged sufficient enemies to make unnecessary as great an inflation of the currency of war prestige as that of their neighboring tribes, but in later days they devised a method to spread their coups around. The first man to touch a fallen enemy with his weapon or hand uttered the cry, *"A:he"* ("I claim it"), thus receiving credit equal to or greater than that which accrued to the man who had done the actual killing. If a bow or a gun had been used to bring down the enemy, the second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.[2]

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Opinions are somewhat at variance as to why the Plains Indians counted coup. Robert Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. From one angle, he says, Plains Indian warfare "loomed as an exciting pastime played according to established rules, the danger lending zest to the game. The primary goal was to score, only the loss of kindred prompting reprisals on a major scale. Whenever men fight for glory, practical ends become secondary."[3] George Bird Grinnell sees in it a cultural survival of the old feeling that prevailed before the Indians had missiles, when they were obliged to fight hand-to-hand with sticks, clubs, and stones. Under such conditions only those who actually came to grips with the enemy could inflict injury and gain glory. "After arrows came into use," he continues, "it may still have been thought a braver and finer thing to meet the enemy hand-to-hand than to kill him with an arrow at a distance."[4] The game aspect and the survival elements are both a part of the complex, but more important is the functional adjustment of an institution to a social end. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed, and the numberless opportunities afforded for coup-counters to boast of their exploits were strong ego builders and the sort of social device that could not but encourage men to fight and fight recklessly.

[2] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 22.

[3] R. H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, 222.

[4] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, II, 36.

The Comanches

554 424 A coup was regarded as a type of incorporeal property, which could be transferred by the owner to a comrade in public ceremony. The practice may have emerged only since the advent of the reservation, when the restrictions upon fighting imposed by the whites made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanches devised the transfer technique. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be present. After the dance had continued for a time, the host, walking to the center of the ring, called a halt. There, in the presence of all the people, he narrated the details of a coup, swearing to the powers that the deed was his, and concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ———." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness that it is mine." The drum was struck a resounding blow. If those present gave their assent, the transfer of the coup was complete. The coup was bestowed only upon brave men; it could be neither sold nor inherited.[5]

721 The prosecution of warfare was a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war or raiding party, for there was no legal authority to restrain him. Although a vision was not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, it was in many cases the effective stimulus. Should a man inexperienced in warfare and without an established reputation attempt to organize and lead a party, he would be unlikely to secure a following. A young warrior was usually content to serve under others until he had gained experience. He must know when and how to attack and how to retreat without loss of men when the fighting went against him. On the other hand, a man whose qualities of bravery and leadership had been demonstrated in combat seldom found any difficulty in mustering a following when he announced his intention to go on the warpath. Nobody would risk leading a party without power. He may have received it through a vision or a dream. When a man declared that he knew how, he certainly felt that he did, else he would be afraid to say so. It was for each individual to determine for himself whether his own and the leader's power was working for success.

727 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.
535 On the fourth day of *Mʌmsɜkə's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated
554 part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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who felt worthy and desired to accept the responsibility it imposed upon the wearer. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Usually the bonnet was made by friends of the warrior and presented to him as a token of esteem. The acceptance of a buffalo-scalp bonnet was a serious matter, for the people afterwards expected him to prove himself really worthy of their confidence. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. After the surrender of the Comanches at Fort Sill, Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man hung his buffalo-scalp bonnet in a tree, never to wear it again. "A man who is beaten has no right to wear such a thing," he said.

Women sometimes made a war bonnet in secret to bestow upon a braggart whose words spoke louder than his deeds, and the presentation was made in public at an opportune moment. The recipient of such a war bonnet had to live up to the obligations of that war bonnet or else lose it and become an object of ridicule and scorn.

The Comanche war leader was under obligation never to retreat except under certain conditions which were well understood, and then only when the other warriors were safe first. He protected the rear as they retreated. The war bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanches to be protected at all costs, "just like the flag." The mere fact that he assumed such responsibility made the war leader a rallying point for all other fighters. The war-bonnet wearer could be rescued with honor by a fellow warrior who dared to dash in and carry him from the field. It was also the duty of a war leader to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and thereby cause him to lose his status and right to wear the war bonnet if judged guilty. If a war-bonnet wearer cast off his bonnet and fled, he lost his right to wear it, and all other men would address him as *paßi*, "elder sister." An aspirant brave who wished to obtain the status of war leader might immediately do so by dashing in and recovering the bonnet. He hung it on a bush and protected it all day in the face of the enemy. At sundown, if he charged the enemy four times, the bonnet and all its honors and obligations were his. The lower-rank bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto.

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet

The Comanches

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet
701 wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military
554 fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less de-
575 scending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

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Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi.*

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Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi,* because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

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There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 70] "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ɪ̄'rɪ̄ʔaiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

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855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child
[595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry
[158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pa'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service,
[727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend-
[554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper
[835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

[p. 251-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874. 648 [657]

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities. 177 178 [551] [829] [224] [825]

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One 648

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (3 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,470; leases, $830,806; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,153 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,506.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 619 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701 726 701 624 622 624 554

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

622 [ca. 1870]
624 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his
554 reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of
701 a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes
623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally
[622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in con-
203 travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all
685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which,
684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour,
682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him.
673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn eve-
nings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own
538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables.
177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the
[797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking
[175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two
most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643] given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 480; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 381; September 16, 1858, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 382.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
554 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
701 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures
701 represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinc-
554 tion, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight
[171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche.
171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21]

175 Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent
212 in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs
701 the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his
[648] command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

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[113] [21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders. appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

/page 35 continued/

K 665 most of the well known families of the tribe, descendents of chiefs, prominant preachers, and some families made prominant by the army in the past hundred years. The opposition includes Peyotists as Christians. The slogans used by them are anti-graft and hucksterism for the most part. The party in power has, to my knowledge, made no defense campaign except that of a name calling variety in a disorganizing way. They have tried to convince Peyotists that the opposition group is anti-Peyote but this has had no effect as some prominant peyotists are in the opposition. Leaving the whys of factionalism K 554 aside, the present conflict can be seen as a further breakdown of traditional status and power held by a certain few families. In the furor many accusations are flung about which would seem to reflect the above mentioned split between acculturationist and traditionalist but which in reality are tags to cover up the real intent of both sides.

My own opinion, colored perhaps by the partisanship of my informants, my own background etc., is that at the moment the opposition aristocracy does have the more able leadership. Of course this is never a permanent situation.

C 665 The picture presented by the Comanches is not only different but /36/ also more difficult to grasp. The Comanches have also objected to the present business council and have withdrawn from the C 554 federated tribal council entirely. But the Comanches do not have a traditional group of good families which have provided leadership in the past. The present leaders of the move to separate are mainly young men of "no family" with a sprinkling of respected older leaders. But even the older leaders of the Comanches cannot be traced back to prominent families. In general, the prestige due to descent is not active among the Comanches. In fact, with the exception of the Parker family (lionized by the Whites) it is difficult to find out who the descendants of the chiefs are.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945. 115 159 756

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming. 115 159 484

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk abour us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society. 115 159 756 562 559

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last 115 159 756

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 561 754 561 551 558 578 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to continue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the postreservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 lose his balance, but the larger Indian boys, and some of the younger
571 Indian men, began to give him a bad time.

It was as though they had been waiting for him to make a mistake.
[888] They were telling him he was too old even to get on a horse, let alone ride one. Some of the remarks were much less polite and even ribald. The old Indian turned his angry gaze on them and spat out an invective that tended to silence them. What he said was not in my vocabulary, and I never learned what he called them.

492 Then he turned back to his horse, shortened up his hold on the reins, and vaulted completely over the stallion, landing lightly on his feet, and then vaulted onto the horse's back. Then he proceeded to the starting line and won himself a horse race.

I have stood near this horse's shoulders, and his withers were higher than my eyes—possibly as high as the top of my head, five feet ten and a half inches. In other words, this horse stood seventeen to eighteen hands high.

554 The old fellow was almost too fabulous to be believed in. As nearly as I was able to discern, he was already a Comanche legend, though he still lived. Mostly he was held in awe by the other Indians, especially by the younger ones. Maybe he was the bogeyman the elders threat-
571 ened the children with. This one time was the only time I ever saw anyone try to take liberties with him. I doubt that those young Indians would have done so then but for the presence of many white people, U.S. marshals, and Indian police.

000 Almost any version of the story of the one-eyed man at the three-ringed circus could have been applied to me when I hit the Comanche country in the early days of March, 1902. I had had my fourteenth birthday in January. Everything was new. Everything was wonderful. I would not have changed a single thing.

Since I am Scotch, the love of the land is as much a part of me as the color of my skin or my hair. I am not trying to sound poetic when I say that the sweep of the grass-covered Comanche prairies was soul-satisfying. West Cache Creek, then the most beautiful of prairie streams, furnished the finest fishing and swimming that I have ever enjoyed, anywhere, any time.

136 There were wild ducks most months of the year, snipe, kildee, plover, doves, curlew, and some bobwhite for my gun. The young of a small variety of cottontail rabbits that lived in the prairie dog towns and were called prairie dog rabbits fell to my rifle. They were superior

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

128 727 555 primitive legal thinking, the fact and its legal recognition tend to fuse, and either is spoken of as the whole; the modern layman, e.g., still speaks of "my money in the bank" to describe what is neither his money, nor any money, nor in the bank, but a debt the bank owes him. So with this matter of the coup. The exploit is in strictness no coup, but the new material for 727 one. If unrecognized, the exploit becomes a matter of individual memory, 555 perhaps of individual grievance. *Only recognition in due "legal" form turns deed into coup.*[2] But as soon as recognized, the recognition aspect fades from thought, and the deed that was its reason and justification *seems* to stand alone. As in all cases where legal rights are accurately tailored to the facts, it is enough to deal with the facts. But that does not mean that the legal phases can be overlooked. The minute they are lacking, or are in dispute, they will become important, and may become crucial.[3] This is the case with an exploit accomplished, unwitnessed, and not believed, or of one claimed by each of two or several as his own.

The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not nearly so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines, or drawing blood from an enemy in hand to hand combat.

The Comanche honored two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. This arrangement was an efficient way of providing sufficient coups to meet the cultural demands of the society—an inflation of the currency of war prestige. The first man to reach the body of a fallen enemy struck it with his weapon and uttered the cry, "*ahé*" ("I claim it"), gaining thereby equal honor with the man who had done the killing. But if a bow or gun had been used to bring down the enemy, this second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.

182 The problem of adjustment of institution to social end is interesting. 727 Superficially, skill at long-distance killing would seem of more immediate 555 social value to a fighting people. But the stress on hand-to-hand valor or dangerously close approach to the enemy is more than shallow glorification of wolf over fox. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed. Grinnell, on the other hand, sees in it merely a cultural survival of the traditional days when the Cheyenne, for instance, fought perforce with sticks and stones because they had no bows or guns.[4]

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[2] Note the ritual formula for the transference of a recognized coup by its owner-performer when the coup is given to a friend as a gift. See p. 29.

[3] Cf. Ritual Evidence, pp. 103–106.

[4] George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1924), vol. 2, p. 36.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. "Obviously," he writes of the Crow, "the idea was not primarily to reduce a hostile force but to execute a 'stunt'; to play a game according to whimsical rules."[8] 727 555

In addition to the standardized honors any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by a Shoshone or Comanche.

WAR INITIATIVE

The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party. There was no chief or power which could say him nay. Were the individual not, however, a man of proved reputation or the possessor of potent medicine, his raid would remain strictly personal and private. He would simply be unable to muster a following. Nevertheless, no one would object to his going out alone. It was quite a different matter, on the other hand, if a man whose qualities had been attested in combat let his intention to take the war path be known. All fighters who wished to do so came to signify their desire to join his party. Dreams about a successful raid were not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, but in most cases such dreams were the effective stimulus. 721 [787]

There were two primary motivations for organizing a war party. The first was an entirely personal matter, depending simply upon desire for action, honors, or horses. Merely to feel the urge was to be at liberty to muster such men as would volunteer to go. On the other hand, a war party instigator might bind himself to avenge the death of a fellow tribesman by enemy hands. A slain man's father carried a heavy weight upon his heart while his dead son remained unavenged. "His conscience is not clear." There was but one thing for him to do. He must seek out the lodge of a brave warrior who had compassion for his suffering and whom people would trust and follow. Carrying his sacred pipe, the father or relative of the dead man offered smoke. The warrior knew what was wanted. If he accepted the pipe, smoking with the emissary, he bound himself in contract to take out a party which would not return until it had taken an enemy scalp. (We were unable to discover a single instance in which the pledge was unfulfilled.)

The warrior made known to the camp that he was going forth. He was to avenge the death of "their" slain friend. He exhorted. He said the young men would join him; he told the people that braves did not care, though it meant death. The Vengeance Dance was held before departure. The dancers were those who were going to join the war party. This sort of war party

[8] R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 158 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ţénapa). [555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 554 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special insignia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 726 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ţékniwap mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ţékniwap to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

to be the way it was done, though no case describing such a situation was collected. 558

A war chief whose nerve failed him in a dangerous position *could* retreat—by giving up his right to wear the bonnet. He could cast it off and flee for his life. But he was a man without status thenceforth, for he could never again regain the bonnet and its rank. Life certainly would have been miserable from that point onward. Men hailed him as "elder sister."[15]

But what a chance this disaster opened for an ambitious brave to gain the war leader's status in one stride! He could dash into the danger spot to pick up the abandoned hat with his spear or bow. Turning his horse, he would bring it back and put it on a pole behind his lines. If the fight still continued when the sun was about to set, he then went to the pole and put on the hat. Thus arrayed he charged the enemy four times and struck an adversary on each foray. If he was successful in this and came through alive, the hat was his with all the privileges, honors, obligations and dangerous duties which went with it. This was the practice in the Those Who Move Often and Antelope bands. The lower rank war bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto. For it, the use of the bow or spear was not necessary, according to Becomes A Middle-Aged Man.[16] 555 726

PEACEMAKING

The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a prerogative only in the hands of the war chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own raiding party on his own authority. Such a peace, however, had no binding effect upon other members of the band and not at all upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon unanimous consent of the warrior class, i.e., the meeting of the tɛ́kniwapnə. The historical making of peace with the Kiowas has been noted on page 12. All Comanche bands agreed to this with the result that it has remained unbroken since 1790. A permanent peace with the Cheyenne was effected in 1840.[17] 728 624

Relations with other tribes were more in the nature of truces than peace,

[15] According to a generalized observation by Neighbors (*The Comanches*, p. 130): "He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a single defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe." It is not so much that he was deprived of his office, as that he no longer could gain a following.

[16] The above rules are formulated principles for which no histories in action were obtainable.

[17] The Comanche version of the details of this occasion is lost. Its setting in the Cheyenne picture will be included in the author's forthcoming study of Cheyenne Law-ways.

687 than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

623 While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, head-
● 555 men, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

624 War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won
701 leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

701 The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton. "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 69 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701 726 701 624 622 624 554

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
133 from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
439 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
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[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.
[551]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all their Nation and the following which they have; in the councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the rest of the Nation does not oppose them. 175 643 623 555

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have in the Negotiations of the Nation? 175 157 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the governor has not been able to learn their character, but if the experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging], they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them more subordination than they do their own chiefs. [728] 175 648

With respect to the rest of the observations that the governor has made of this nation, he has come to understand that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harshness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in dealing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always 175 648 181 175 648

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a
701 band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute,
721 Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days, the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized
701 it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed.
624 He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

72] Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their [59] captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that 62] only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new [57] instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

62] The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance 555 to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

62] The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

68] Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And [62] this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse [59]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[114] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
492 411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 [595] [842]

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 [555]

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. [171] [551] [881] [787]

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 556 The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

x627 231 Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

x627 231 554 The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

x627 684 Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impinging attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

The Comanches

177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

● 556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

into the timbered area. The Shoshones of Idaho had obtained their horses by the route west of the continental divide about 1690 to 1700, or approximately twenty years before horses had reached the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. 231 174

Ponca tradition credits the Comanches with having the first horses seen by the people of their tribe. According to it, the Comanches at the time fought on horseback, using the long-handled stone battle-axe as their principal weapon. Furthermore, the Poncas claim that the Comanches had thick covers of overlapping pieces of rawhide to protect the breasts and sides of their animals. The Comanches taught the Poncas how to ride and to use the horse as a beast of burden. Soon afterwards they left the country, and the Poncas knew not where they went.[8]

The Comanches probably acquired horses as early as, or before, the Shoshones. They certainly had them by the time they moved into the South Plains. They were raiding in New Mexico in 1705. The next year, the Apaches in the northeastern part of that province suffered from Comanche horse-raiding expeditions. Comanche raiding in New Mexico apparently became progressively more frequent, for in 1719 the governor of the province sent a punitive expedition against the Comanches in an attempt to check the forays.

How many horses the Comanches accumulated is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Clinton Smith reported that his band had about 6,000 head, about one-half of which were the property of the chief; and that sometimes within a single night horses by the thousands were captured or stolen.[9] Captain Marcy estimated that the most successful warriors owned from fifty to two hundred animals each. By comparison, a Sioux considered himself wealthy if he owned thirty to forty.[10] The Antelope band, with a population of less than two thousand, had about 15,000 horses and 300 to 400 head of mules in 1867. Modern Comanches say that A Big Fall By Tripping owned 1,500 horses at the time of his death, although he was so fat he could not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. 231 174 556 [492]

[8] Alice C. Fletcher and Frances La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," B. A. E. *Bulletin No. 27*, 79–80.

[9] Clinton and Jeff D. Smith, *The Boy Captives*, 50–51.

[10] Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of America* (vol. I of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*), 160.

The Comanches

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
●556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's 70] tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size. 595 [556]

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it. 607

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *talêʔcɪ*, and for tarantula, *pɪ'hīreʔcɪ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. [195] [522]

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche cul-
561 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were
at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
559 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone,
this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-
561 reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
556 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
578 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and
social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position
rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits
of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and
with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps
born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older
and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a
younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a
561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
844 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
578 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche inform-
ants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and
her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose
children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree
of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the
act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
571 the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that
band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the
reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

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701 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to
158 the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ʈénapa).
[555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special in-
554 signia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to
726 retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ʈékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

● 558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ʈékniwʌp to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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to be the way it was done, though no case describing such a situation was collected. 558

A war chief whose nerve failed him in a dangerous position *could* retreat—by giving up his right to wear the bonnet. He could cast it off and flee for his life. But he was a man without status thenceforth, for he could never again regain the bonnet and its rank. Life certainly would have been miserable from that point onward. Men hailed him as "elder sister."[15]

But what a chance this disaster opened for an ambitious brave to gain the war leader's status in one stride! He could dash into the danger spot to pick up the abandoned hat with his spear or bow. Turning his horse, he would bring it back and put it on a pole behind his lines. If the fight still continued when the sun was about to set, he then went to the pole and put on the hat. Thus arrayed he charged the enemy four times and struck an adversary on each foray. If he was successful in this and came through alive, the hat was his with all the privileges, honors, obligations and dangerous duties which went with it. This was the practice in the Those Who Move Often and Antelope bands. The lower rank war bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto. For it, the use of the bow or spear was not necessary, according to Becomes A Middle-Aged Man.[16] 555 726

PEACEMAKING

The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a prerogative only in the hands of the war chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own raiding party on his own authority. Such a peace, however, had no binding effect upon other members of the band and not at all upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon unanimous consent of the warrior class, i.e., the meeting of the tɛ́kniwapnɔ. The historical making of peace with the Kiowas has been noted on page 12. All Comanche bands agreed to this with the result that it has remained unbroken since 1790. A permanent peace with the Cheyenne was effected in 1840.[17] 728 624

Relations with other tribes were more in the nature of truces than peace,

[15] According to a generalized observation by Neighbors (*The Comanches*, p. 130): "He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a single defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe." It is not so much that he was deprived of his office, as that he no longer could gain a following.

[16] The above rules are formulated principles for which no histories in action were obtainable.

[17] The Comanche version of the details of this occasion is lost. Its setting in the Cheyenne picture will be included in the author's forthcoming study of Cheyenne Law-ways.

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×627 556 The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

×627 231 Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

×627 231 554 The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

×627 684 Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impingimg attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

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x627 595 Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."[10]

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff
Informant: That's It

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

887 558 It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

x627 684 *Case 11. Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior*
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

[10] Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131–132.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

start back with them, but she cried pitifully to have to leave her young lover. After they had started, she lagged behind sullenly. 627x

"They had gone. The young absconder broke camp. He mounted and rode on past them. As his horses ran by, Red Crooked Nose killed one of them and called upon his party to take the meat he had shot for them. Then the owner of the dead horse scorned him, 'My feelings aren't hurt. *I* can get plenty of horses—like the grass, so many!' And he rode on.[15] 684 581

"He knew that Red Crooked Nose would not have dared to kill his horse without the warrior as protector.

"While stopping one night they heard that enemies were coming. The women were sent on. The men prepared for war. Before the battle started, the young man donned his best war paraphernalia. With his feathers flying he rode past the camp of Red Crooked Nose. He fought conspicuously and was killed.

"The champion saw him go down.

"He called to Red Crooked Nose, saying, 'It was we who caused him to be killed. I know you are a coward, but you have to go and walk in front of the enemy to protect us while I carry off his body.'

"Thus they took the young man off the field, and put his body on a horse. When the woman saw his body brought back, she tore her dress apart, slashed her body all over with her knife, and cut her hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

"Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way."

Though it is the activities of the intermediary which we must here examine, the fine devices of sarcasm and ridicule which make this history so rich in intrinsic sanctions deserve attention. The woman mocks her husband. The lover mocks. These are expressions of rage, or attempts to egg him into overreaching his position. The latter occurs. Again the lover mocks. But the combination of grief and shame works in him as his mockery seems to have worked in the husband. He seizes the occasion for a protest-sacrifice equivalent to suicide, save that it serves his tribe. The champion turns upon the championed. Red Crooked Nose's mourning is a penance. And one may be certain that his later repute suffered. The people told *her* to keep her jewelry in remembrance of a "wrong-doer," who, over-penalized, had made himself a hero. 627x 558

[15] No empty boast for the young man. And it cut two ways. In itself this killing of a horse, over and above taking back the woman, is wholly proper. The overdoing lies in these points: the woman had brought double a heavy indemnity, the adjustment was over, and the strength of the husband was not equal to the deed he was performing. He was over-reaching and the young man's disdainful ignoring of his act showed him up in just that way.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

*627 684 pressure on her, she owned up that the bead belonged to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist. When these words escaped her mouth, the friend, Little Medicine, shot her dead. Yellow Bear turned away with his friend, and they walked off leaving the dead woman to be sought after by her mother. Later they went over to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist and got the three horses from him.

[562] Such techniques of procuriug evidence, so effective with women, could not be applied to men. Procedure had to rest on the evidence forthcoming from the woman's confession or upon definite knowledge possessed by the husband. When the defendant denied complicity in sexual transgression there could be no suit. Acceptance of guilt by the accused was a necessary basis to legal action. In only one instance were we able to get an example of denial maintained.

Case 29. Adultery: Defendant Denies Guilt and Is Shamed
Informant: Slope

"Early one evening a young man came to see a married woman. Unfortunately for them, the woman's husband came home early and saw the two near the tent. Startled, the young man ran off before the husband recognized him. But the husband questioned his wife to discover the boy's name. She told him who it was: a young fellow still living with his father. Her husband decided to go over the next morning to demand damages. When day came, the husband left for the boy's home. There he found that the offender was still in bed, so he called to his father saying, 'I want to see you. I've come to collect damages.'

"The father answered, 'Who's it on?'

" 'That boy of yours.'

"By this time the culprit had appeared, and they all sat down to talk the matter over. The husband asked the young man to sit next to him, and calling him 'brother,' declared that he didn't want much. Four horses would satisfy him.

"At this the boy spoke up. 'Who are these four horses on?'

" 'You.'

"The youth acted surprised. 'Why you must be mistaken,' he said. Then his father asked him whether it was true or not that he had wronged this man, and the boy denied it flatly.

"This denial enraged the husband. He pulled his knife and slashed off one of the young man's long braids of hair. Throwing it at his feet he cried, 'I was not going to do this, but if you insist on lying like a coyote, I'll sure make you look funny!' The boy and his father sat silent while the husband continued, 'That's all I'll do. I won't take any horses—but you sure do look funny.' And with that he stalked out."

*627 684 ● 558 This was a grievous insult—doubly so. To be minus a braid of hair made one conspicuous. Everyone would ask what had happened. To be compared

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch. 627x 684 558

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic approaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath. 627x 782

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ʇaβéβekʌt. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[8] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in. 627x 177 562

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

[8] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

627 754 684 522 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

[558]

606 581 562 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered. As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

684 762 who had been out hunting, returned with meat at the same time they arrived in camp. The next morning at breakfast both Rocky Creek and Thunder asked their sister to add some more fat to their meat. 'I did not endanger my life on the hunt in order that you should enjoy the best of it all,' their brother-in-law muttered. When he said this mean thing, Thunder pushed his meat aside.

" 'Sister,' he requested, 'take this food away.' She obeyed him. The brothers washed their hands; Thunder motioned to the door, 'Come,' he said to Rocky Creek, 'let us go outside.'

"They left the camp to go up into the mountains; there they stayed all day even though it was winter. Towards evening another young man came along. He hailed them. 'What is the meaning of this? Why are you here? I know you have been here since early morning.'

"Thunder answered him, 'We are just thinking things over.'

" 'What things?' the stranger asked.

" 'I have no father or mother,' Thunder replied. 'There is only one thing left for me. Tomorrow I start out to seek death.'

" 'Where then?'

" 'In the white man's territory. I shall probably not return from there either.'

"The stranger said he would join them.

"As they started slowly on their way, they were met by several others in the same plight—young men without a place to go—tákapana. They travelled for days and days. Then they were being trailed by some soldiers who were led by an Indian scout. The young men stopped and killed some cattle for meat which they carried into a ravine to cook. Just as they sat ready to eat, one saw a cloud of dust. 'It is a whirlwind, I think,' he remarked to the others.

" 'No,' said another. 'It is the soldiers on our trail.'

"Thunder spoke up then. 'Listen to me, brothers,' he commanded. 'Those of you who care to can still escape. Go now! I stay here. Here by this fire, for I have come seeking this very thing.'

"They waited. The soldiers were upon them. Here and there a man was picked off as the firing began. Rocky Creek approached his brother. 'I am shot,' he said. 'A bullet has wounded me.'

" 'You can still escape. There is a way out down the creek. Go! But I am staying.'

" 'Brother, come with me,' Rocky Creek pleaded.

"Thunder only answered, 'I am not leaving our fire.' The guns rattled on.

"By noon all the tákapana save one were dead. The firing ceased. Of all the young men this one alone lived to tell the story of what had happened to this homeless group.

"The brother-in-law who had begrudged food to his wife's brothers was an exception. When he acted so, it wounded their prides so that they went out to seek death. Many young men in the same circumstances courted death at enemy hands."

[558] So, too, did lovers who had lost face when a braver husband forced them to give up a stolen woman. Cases will be remembered from previous sections.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected 597
with adoption.

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and 848
especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection
of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it [558]
would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to
marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him
teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship [551]
at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate
happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older
man.

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the 845
mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially
true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the
child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of power- [184]
ful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together,
but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and [847]
offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone
invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died,
all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried
with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what
was offered in the way of other clothes.

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's 604
side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even 593
if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother
is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly
major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a
girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and
uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any
children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with
her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in
the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this ex-
tended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even
distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost
continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and
uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother,
incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized
patterns.

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-hus- 593
bands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of 684
children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they
chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encum- 175 726
brance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness [492]
of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Span- [714]
ish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet 175
long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For 411
defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buf- 175
faloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which 714
fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or [237]
circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not [558]
attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the 175
use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the 411
weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and 175
their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which
enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert 721
Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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578 754 561 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the 754 561 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to continue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the 554 558 578 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the postreservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

in his tipi, for menstrual blood nullifies all power. If she had no tipi of her own, she moved in with her parents ("the medicine of old people was too weak to be harmed"). When an article in her tent was needed by someone, it was set or pitched out the door, and no one entered against the occupant's will. During the time, she ate no meat; it would make her sick at the stomach and cause her to flow more. She could not wash her face because that would make her get wrinkled before her time; nor could she touch or comb her hair because it would cause her to get gray young. At the end of her period she had to bathe in a running creek, no matter how cold, even if it was frozen over, before she could go back to her husband's tipi. No man could eat from the same dish or drink from the same cup as she until this had been done. An unmarried girl had to observe approximately the same restrictions. After menopause all female tabus were removed; the woman was now physiologically equal to man.

All societies recognize at least three age groupings, child, adult, and old person. The Comanches, for their part, recognized five age groups:

ona:—a baby	*ona:*—a baby
ʈuinɜp'—a boy up to adolescence	*tuepɜt*—a girl up to adolescence
ʈuiβitsi—a young, unmarried brave	*naiβi*—an adolescent girl
ʈɛnap'—a grown man; also *muwɔ:* (a substitute term used by some people who had to observe the tabu on the use of the name of a dead relative when *ʈɛnap'* had been used as a personal name.	*hɜβi*—a grown woman
tsukup'—an old man; also, *naraβɜ*, a joking term of familiarity.	*pu'stɜ*—an old woman

The physical difference between child and adult is easily recognizable, and the passage from childhood to maturity is marked by physiological events which make it possible to date it, exactly for

The Comanches

561 girls and less definitely for boys. However, the physical passage from childhood to maturity does not necessarily coincide with the social transfer of the individual from one status to the other. Although the actual transition was made more quickly in Comanche society than in our own, where both men and woman remain legally children until long after they are physically mature, clear-cut lines of division between the various groupings were lacking. Age classes were lacking. In the change from boyhood to manhood, for instance, the real test was whether the boy was able to follow the strenuous life of a warrior.

888 The tendency for societies to emphasize the individual's first change in age status and largely ignore the change from adult to old age is due in part to the difficulty of determining the onset of old age. But in certain societies the change from the adult to the old status is made more difficult for the individual by the fact that the patterns for the new status require a different personality. This was true in Comanche society. Although society provided for old people fairly well and treated them with respect, there is abundant evidence that the transition was a difficult one for most individuals. "A brave man," said the Comanches, "dies young."

Women were able to make the change with less difficulty than men, and the line was more clearly discernible. During and before the menopause there were a number of social tabus or restrictions. They could not remain in the same room with a medicine man. Afterwards they were released from restrictions pertaining to the supernatural, and henceforth could handle sacred objects, obtain power through dreams, and practice as shamans.[24]

887 In the case of men, the ascribed status for old age differed radically
888 from that for adults. The adult male was a warrior, vigorous, self-reliant, and aggressive. He took what he could get and held what he had without much regard for the abstract rights of those weaker than himself. A ready willingness to arbitrate differences or to ignore slights was a sign of weakness resulting in loss of prestige. The old man, on the other hand, was expected to be wise and gentle, willing to overlook slights, and, if need be, to endure abuse. It was his task to work for the welfare of the tribe, giving sound advice, smoothing down quarrels, and even preventing his tribe from making new

[24] Informant: Medicine Woman; see also Linton, *The Study of Man*, 119.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few
191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is
[191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
[177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[130a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [130a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185–202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

[p. 241-A]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount 174
of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife.

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically 175
able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced 178
an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche 561
lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine 175
man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people 178
at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly 624

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

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754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

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32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1] 684 183 671

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law. 562 671 581

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed. 581 578 183

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627x
that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602
personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562
band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682
in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their [684]
husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581
band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562
true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602
marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587
establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562
not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682
was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

*627 684 pressure on her, she owned up that the bead belonged to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist. When these words escaped her mouth, the friend, Little Medicine, shot her dead. Yellow Bear turned away with his friend, and they walked off leaving the dead woman to be sought after by her mother. Later they went over to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist and got the three horses from him.

[562] Such techniques of procuriug evidence, so effective with women, could not be applied to men. Procedure had to rest on the evidence forthcoming from the woman's confession or upon definite knowledge possessed by the husband. When the defendant denied complicity in sexual transgression there could be no suit. Acceptance of guilt by the accused was a necessary basis to legal action. In only one instance were we able to get an example of denial maintained.

Case 29. Adultery: Defendant Denies Guilt and Is Shamed
Informant: Slope

"Early one evening a young man came to see a married woman. Unfortunately for them, the woman's husband came home early and saw the two near the tent. Startled, the young man ran off before the husband recognized him. But the husband questioned his wife to discover the boy's name. She told him who it was: a young fellow still living with his father. Her husband decided to go over the next morning to demand damages. When day came, the husband left for the boy's home. There he found that the offender was still in bed, so he called to his father saying, 'I want to see you. I've come to collect damages.'

"The father answered, 'Who's it on?'

" 'That boy of yours.'

"By this time the culprit had appeared, and they all sat down to talk the matter over. The husband asked the young man to sit next to him, and calling him 'brother,' declared that he didn't want much. Four horses would satisfy him.

"At this the boy spoke up. 'Who are these four horses on?'

" 'You.'

"The youth acted surprised. 'Why you must be mistaken,' he said. Then his father asked him whether it was true or not that he had wronged this man, and the boy denied it flatly.

"This denial enraged the husband. He pulled his knife and slashed off one of the young man's long braids of hair. Throwing it at his feet he cried, 'I was not going to do this, but if you insist on lying like a coyote, I'll sure make you look funny!. The boy and his father sat silent while the husband continued, 'That's all I'll do. I won't take any horses—but you sure do look funny.' And with that he stalked out."

*627 684 558 This was a grievous insult—doubly so. To be minus a braid of hair made one conspicuous. Everyone would ask what had happened. To be compared

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch. 627x 684 558

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic approaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath. 627x 782

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ʇaβéβekʌt. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[3] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in. 627x 177 562●

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

[3] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

627 "But you listen, I deny this thing. Now look out! I am going to smoke too.
177 If you are putting the lie on me, the sun will get you instead." That put a
562 different complexion on the situation; the husband was not begging for such a bargain. "So," as That's It put it, "he called off his sun-killing and gave his wife sugar-words."

Later another husband called the deal and paid the price. A man named Brother-in-law, according to Holding Her Sunshade, tried his wife on false evidence. When he put her to the curse, she made her denial and ended by calling to the supernaturals, "If he cuts off my nose, grant that he shall not live long." Brother-in-law accepted the challenge. He did cut off her nose, and within a month he was dead.

x 627 In earlier days when such notions had not yet occurred to women, there
688 were, nevertheless, other escapes, if the aid of a powerful practitioner could be enlisted. For in the case of Looking For Fun, we have one fortunate woman who was able to dodge death through the invocation of strong counterpowers.

Case 30. Adultery, Conditional Curse: Looking For Fun
Informant: That's It

"Her husband suspected her of adultery. This Looking For Fun denied. So her husband made sun-killing. Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the sun saying, 'You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall.'[9] Then to the earth he said, 'You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you.' Whereupon he gave the pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.

Even though she was guilty and knew it, she swore to the powers, 'Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true!'

"That ended the ceremony.

"After a few months Looking For Fun had fainting spells and began to waste away. She was frightened and went to a medicine man for help. He told her to wait to see what his powers offered. After three or four days he came to her and said he believed that the husband's charge was true! The great powers were punishing her. At this she owned up. She told the medicine man she had not confessed because she was afraid of what her husband would do to her. As for the curse, she said she didn't believe in its power and so had lied about it. The medicine man told her that that being the situation, it was too dangerous a matter for him to handle. His power was not strong enough to cope with the sun. He recommended that she take her case to another medicine man who was a specialist in such matters. Looking For Fun was eager and asked her adviser to tell her mother of the situation. The medicine man

[9] Compare this wording with the Crow Indian conditional curse in coup-counting disputes—"It was I struck the enemy. Sun, as you looked down, you saw me. May the one who lies die before winter." R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 217.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections. 422 562

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of private property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride. 422 231

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself. 672 231

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make 574 224

627 other individual within the same group was not punishable in the same way as a wrong done by an out-grouper. Public opinion might be strongly antagonistic to the wrongdoer, but the settlement of even murder was not considered a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore, murder was essentially a wrong and only vaguely a crime. The family group or kin could punish a member of their own group. There does not appear to have been any definite custom. What happened inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on personality and temperament.

627 One variation of the in-group character of in-group action was the privilege-right of the husband to kill his wife. For this, retaliation ● 562 appears to have been abnormal. The legal position of woman was largely that of chattel, and upon marriage she passed from the original family to the husband. That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a husband killed his wife—their genetic relative—can mean nothing else than a true relinquishment of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme marital bond. The kin of the erring wife might plead with the husband or offer him gifts to prevent the killing, but there was nothing to compel him to accept them and forego meting out punishment. Furthermore, society recognized the right of a brother to kill his sister who, disregarding the recognized social pattern of brother-sister avoidance, came into his presence in violation of his wishes. The brother-in-law of Kills Something shot his sister for such an offense.[10] Apparently, in such a case the killer suffered no social disgrace.

The privilege-right of a husband to kill his wife was paralleled by his privilege to handle her most cruelly in an attempt to force her to name a suspected lover. He could take her out to a lonely spot and choke her until she informed. Or he might prefer to hold her prone over a fire, slowly lowering her closer and closer to the flames, until she in anguish confessed and named her lover. There was no device in Comanche law by which a husband with a grievance could seek an impartial judgment on the alleged male miscreant in the case. Guilt had to be certain before the legal suit could begin. When there was doubt as to the facts, the hapless women were the goats.

[10] Informant: Kills Something.

Government and Law

Men also killed their wives at times when they suffered chronic ailments and medicine cures had failed. A case is reported of a chief who cut the throat of his wife, who had been ill for a long time, to avoid the inconvenience of caring for her. After making "medicine of preparation" to fit her for a happy reception in the land of spirits, he took her life, though mourning her untimely death. Such deeds were rare, however. 627 734 562

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered "mean" by the people. Yet, if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through coups, there was little to stop him, except that new wives became more difficult to get. On the other hand, attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare indeed. 627 562

Of acts taking on a criminal tinge there was only one category—excessive sorcery. Among other Plains tribes violation of the communal buffalo-hunt rules, i.e., going out to hunt alone or beating the signal for the mass charge, was one of the most severe public offenses. The military society police in charge of the hunts were wont to handle any such miscreant roughly. But the Comanches were the great exception. 627 [754]

Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easy to come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of violation of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride.

Sorcery that got out of hand was another matter. The Comanches were only slightly plagued by witchcraft. As Ruth Benedict once observed, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."[20] Ralph Linton has emphatically reiterated that only old men, who could no longer compete on a warrior basis, turned to 754

[20] In conversation with Hoebel.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224] he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, [462] to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the publication of it to these poor heathen do them some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed females, could they be brought to bear upon their cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818- 819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of government, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal concerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche N06
Texas

The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the [462] women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with 562 feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 562 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni- 593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter 583 in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice 562 in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks. 721 178 [181] 671 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men. 562

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother. [593]

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [895]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [776]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable. 577

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

31: Jones ,E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her. 121

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia. 123

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia, [562]

[114]
[115]
[142]

Sanapia and the author.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

123 562 being a *puhakut*, considered herself equal to a male. However, I did notice that females who interviewed Sanapia were able to gather information of a much different nature than I was able to obtain. The differences were not crucial, but mainly differences of tone and level. Because of the social position in which she felt herself to be, she tended to "talk down" to females, while she would converse with me as a social equal.

123 The fact that I was so closely associated with Sanapia and her family also tended to affect my relationship with other Comanches. I was not reacted to as a harmless and innocuous outsider. I was Sanapia's "friend" or "son." Consequently, Sanapia's sympathizers would be overly gracious in discussions, while her enemies would be unduly harsh. It was often difficult to retain control in an interview. This entire situation was aggravated because Sanapia, perhaps because of her role as a *puhakut*, was more apt to draw an emotional rather than a rational reaction.

Naturally, because of my close association with the northern bands, I was found highly suspect by the southern Comanche bands. I must admit that I had less personal sympathy for the southern band members, possibly because of my initial enculturation by the northerners. This may have made me more susceptible to identify the cleavage in Comanche society between northern and southern "tribes." I attempted to guard my emotions in this area by establishing historical roots for the divisions in Comanche society and by offering rationalizations for my major use of northern informants. The bulk of my data comes from *Yapai* and *Kwahada* band members; for the most part, these are the Comanches of whom I speak.

Sanapia is approaching the last days of her career as doctor and is beginning to prepare for the training of her successor. She views this study as the book of her Medicine way and feels that if she should die before she is able to complete the training of her successor, this book will act to complete the training.

> I'm going to give him [Sanapia's grandson] all that. He might not keep it up, but he'll have those medicines to work with. I'm going to make him understand too. You [referring to the author] got to write down all those medicines what I tell you . . . write it on a book and keep it until he gets old enough. If I'm still living two or three years, well, if I pass away then you could just tell him that . . . just give him what you taking down.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[776] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[715] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[754] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
72 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[223] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945. 115 159 756

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming. 115 159 484

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk about us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society. 115 159 756 562 559

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last 115 159 756

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Precipitating Factors

186 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally
775 dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors
154 dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved.
156 The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means
775 by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses
154 which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation.
156 It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a
184 Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to
177 the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women
775 could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of inde-
154 pendence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence
156 of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively con-
184 trolled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men"
177 in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize
562 them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to
775 the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with
154 one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—
156 total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-
184 oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner
177 considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [492]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 491
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na*.

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling [563] existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [318]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 604 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 516 [352] The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

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452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 829 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to 292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would 302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore 301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the 292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

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The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and 442
boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and [493]
bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt.
I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade 562
like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At
least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't
have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away 292
for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the
men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a
ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I 595
had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the 578
workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the
older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal ar-
rangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—
the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I
never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mis-
treat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation
to either husband or child.

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to chickens for frying, and there were few chickens in the country. 136

Even the great multitude of new tasks was soul-inspiring. I went 000 ahead with the freight wagons to the little inland town later to be known as Faxon, near where the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma, is. There was the freighting of lumber for the trading store my father planned to establish, the erection of the store building, and the freighting of the merchandise. I was clerking in the store, seeing all the new faces, continually meeting new people, and learning new names.

But none of these wonders was equal to seeing, meeting, and know- 123 ing the Comanche Indians. This was especially true when I sensed that one group of the Indians was inclined to be especially friendly toward me, and they made me feel that I was, in effect, one of them. This group was made up of the older men—the warrior group. They ranged in age from the late forties upward. I remember that in my mind I classed most of them as being in their fifties. Men obviously sixty and over were very scarce.

Since apparently all primitive people are attracted by large men, it may well be that my size helped me with my Comanche friendships. In my fifteenth year I largely had my growth. I was bigger than most men, and my muscles were well developed. Within my skills, I could do a man's work, and did. I continued to grow some until I was sixteen and was actually taller than I am now. I knew only three old Comanches that were taller than I. Quanah Parker and Comanche Jack were two of them.

I was properly thrilled. Here was living history. Here were men that had ridden the war trails to the bitter end: Adobe Walls, Palo Duro Canyon, the retreat to the Big Springs Mountains, and then the surrender at Fort Sill in June, 1875.

I had nothing in common with the teenagers near my age. They didn't work, fish, or hunt, as I did. There was no common meeting ground. What I called the Carlisle group, the older young people who had been to the Pennsylvania school and were much better educated than I, by and large ignored me. I have thought since that perhaps they were a trifle jealous of the attention the old fellows gave me. There was a conscious emotional gap between these educated Indians and the old fellows.

Soon after I arrived, an old squaw man gave me some very valu- 123 able information and advice. It summed up about like this: "If a white 609 man wants to gain the friendship and respect of the Comanche, he 562

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123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

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273 of our store with a recessed double doorway at the front. Old Warrior and his woman would take possession of this setback, spread down the blanket they rode on, sit down and pretend they didn't see anyone passing or hear anyone who spoke to them.

276 Once they were seated comfortably in the setback, they would have a ritualistic smoke. Mrs. Warrior would produce a baking-powder can from the folds of her blanket, take out a dried and trimmed oak leaf, hand it to her husband, then hide the can. After wetting the leaf with his tongue, Old Warrior would rub the moisture into the leaf with his thumb and forefingers.

During the leaf-softening and limbering process, the wife brought out a sack of Bull Durham smoking tobacco. When Old Warrior decided the leaf was properly conditioned, he took the tobacco sack and carefully poured the proper amount into the curved leaf. Care was exercised not to spill a grain of the precious weed.

Rolling tobacco into a cured leaf for a smoke is an art, or at least an accomplishment. There probably never was a white boy in all Comanche land who didn't try it at least once. When the leaf was rolled, it was necessary to hold it in place with thumb and finger to keep it from unrolling again.

By the time Old Warrior finished preparing the smoke, his wife, having caused the Bull Durham sack to disappear, produced a match. This ceremonial consumed even more time than my telling. Everything was done in slow motion. Maybe slow rhythm is a truer description. The ritual continued after the leaf cigarette was lighted; the husband took a few puffs and handed the cigarette to his wife; the wife had her puffs and handed it back. This exchange continued until the cigarette was too short to hold. They made the smoke last a surprisingly long time, but they never smoked a second cigarette, regardless of how late they had to wait for their whiskey.

276 562 I saw the same ritual performed a number of times by other old couples, and I have seen old men smoke by themselves, but I have no recollection of ever seeing a Comanche woman smoke by herself or with other women. We often had as many as a dozen wives sitting in the back of the store, but none of them ever smoked.

276 782 I questioned frontier friends about the old people's smoking. They said the plains Indians never used tobacco like the white man. Tobacco to the older Comanches was never a solace or a dissipation;

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553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

552 Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
177 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
[871] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
[701] battles.

192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kIt̃ĩhkapĨ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tĨ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s [191] [563] noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. [563] At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tie?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[113] [108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

[p. 232-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few
191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any individual Comanche provides what is
[191] probably a fairly reliable index of his rela-
[177] tive acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[138a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [138a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

[p. 241-A]

SSI ?ahá·?, is also called ?e?há·wi?, a meaningless word.

SSI White surnames liberally sprinkle the
SS3 Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.
[162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White
[641] ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche.
SSI Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener,
[563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know..

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K 601 177 602 [167] 582 588 684 The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, [562] [191] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by into-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of [563] school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

643 choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and
595 build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass
657 Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

[186] It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company.
[563] In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

32: Gilles : O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwʌp.* A man joined the tɛ́kniwʌp class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1. The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

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[197] * The word tɛ́kniwʌp, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tɛ́gwəni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called nagɛ́dink tɛ́gwəni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pʌraiço, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

522 575 887 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

575 887 182 One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case histories reveal that horse meat was eaten on occasion and relished. In food-getting Comanche culture was basically a buffalo culture. [262]

As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. In this respect the horse was a [492] capital good. But the single individual could not effectively utilize more than a dozen horses in his personal string for use in war and hunting.

Beyond this, horses were exceedingly acceptable as gifts and tokens of 431 esteem. As gifts given in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to 422 medicine men, they served as an informal medium of exchange. As objects demandable in settlement of damage suits at law, they were a tangible form of material wealth endowed with legal and monetary significance.

In spite of all this, the great value of horses to the Comanche was a [554] fiduciary value of inflated worth as prestige tokens, a value rooted in socio-psychological rather than economic factors.

Though captured Mexican youths and children purchased from poverty- 233 stricken Shoshone Indians served as herdsmen, and the increase of herds 556 through selective breeding was practiced by the Comanches, the basic fac- [567] tor in the acquisition and retaining of a large herd was the military skill of the owners. Thus it is that the possession of horses figured in the prestige competition which so constantly and vigorously activated the life of the Comanche male.

The size of Comanche herds was immense. Probably no Indians were more richly supplied than they. Upon the count of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Antelope band alone surrendered one thousand five hundred horses to the United States at the time of the capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[17] A single Comanche, Big Fall By Tripping, is reputed among the Indians to have owned more than a thousand horses at one time.

The great communal hunts of the buffalo occurred during the summer 224 months after the seasonal moulting was done and hides were in their prime. This was the season for the in-gathering of the bands. Sporadic and uncontrolled hunting of buffalo occurred whenever they were available during other seasons.

The time of the hunt was determined in democratic assembly at which everybody was welcome to listen, but in which the war leaders took the important part. The date for departure being set, the young and able-bodied men with their women left the main camp. Children and old persons remained behind. The expedition travelled light, taking very small and undecorated tipis and what weapons and tools were necessary.

[17] Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Annual Report, Washington, 1875), p. 273.

Government and Law

Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics, the institution of land tenure, the disposition and inheritance of property, the treatment of chattels, and the obligations of contract form the most important aspects of civil law. Yet among the Comanches these had almost no significance. The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly, nor communally. One may speak of their country as being merely communally occupied. There are no records of any disputes between the bands over hunting grounds. The external boundaries of the Comanchería were not firmly fixed, but vaguely felt. Allies and friends were welcome to hunt and visit, but other outsiders entered on peril of their lives. 423 674

Wealth for the Comanches centered largely in horses, as has already been shown; horses were individually owned by both men and women. They were acceptable as a medium of exchange and could be used as payment of obligations in damage suits. Women, too, might be listed in the category of chattel property—first of father and brother and later of husband. Dogs must also be included under the heading of private property. They abounded, but after the acquisition of the horse had little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and sentries. The idea of liability for the acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite; nor could damages be collected for injuries received from a kicking horse. 674 422 [672]

The Comanches owned a number of captives who were chattel property until adopted as brothers by their owners if they were boys or married by their captors if they were girls. There were a few personal slaves held by blood covenant by individual warriors. They were generally captives, Mexicans forming the bulk of the number. A blood ceremony, according to Josiah Gregg, was performed with blood taken from a vein on the back of the captive's hand or arm. The ceremony was repeated whenever ownership of the slave changed. The slave had the right of life, food, and protection, since no one dared molest the property of another, and the owner could sell or transfer him at any time to whomever he chose.[25] There are indications that the Comanches captured and sold slaves merely as articles 422 567 [675]

[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

567 [422] of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

641 [727] Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test 422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made, 424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation, 428 their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche 6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
727 complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around in tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon
[567] him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him,
[178] where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.
[113] 21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

545 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 567 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [548]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 953 N06 Comanche N06

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of government, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal concerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

sively uncomfortable in cold or wet weather, and are at best 175 342
but miserable shelters. The interior furniture consists altogether of the skins of different animals, principally Buffaloe 175 352
robes, which are spread on the ground, and compose their beds, bedding and all. They use neither chairs, stools, nor [237]
tables. In the culinary art they have improved but little 175
upon the most obvious suggestions of nature, and are exceedingly filthy and loathsome in all their household econ- [252]
omy. They have no cooking utensils of their own construction, and prefer copper kettles on account of their being [415]
easily portable and not subject to fracture. They mostly [252]
boil their meat, but sometimes broil it on the coals or roast it on spits. During the summer months they often suffer 175
intensely by hunger, purely from defect of art, and frugality 261
in husbanding their means of subsistence. Whole villages [251]
are sometimes three or four days without a particle of animal
or vegetables food. Their sufferings are borne in common, [224]
and if one hunter is more fortunate than the rest, his game is
distributed gratuitously through the whole village. In times [571]
of scarcity the men hold it a matter of conscience and pride, 175
to sustain the severest portion of the general privations, and 261
to bear them without murmuring. And indeed they mani- 152
fest a capacity for enduring abstinence, that would almost lead one to imagine nature had furnished their organic system with a peculiar adaptation to the various contingencies of their existence. When meat is abundant, they gorge and gormandize most voraciously, without experiencing any subsequent inconvenience; and when it is scarce, then endure hunger with singular patience, and comparatively trivial relaxation of the animal functions. Habit is capable of controlling both mind and matter. Being accus- 175
tomed to pursue their game altogether on horseback, they 224
seldom obtain any other than the Buffaloes, of which they 262
usually have an adequate supply during the cold months, from November to March. They reserve but little from the 175
winter's profusion to supply the scarcity of summer, having 251
no other mode of preventing putrefaction, than by cutting the meat into very thin slices, and exposing it to the sun
until it is entirely desicated by exhalation. As you may 175 262

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

72 Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their [59] captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that 62 only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new [57] instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

62 The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance 555 to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

62 The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

68 Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And [62] this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse [59]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 844 115 159 756 [753]

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571 [164]

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
156
756 I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had
755 cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
571 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group.

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

157 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially
177 dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

178 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary
775 Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most
177 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa
178 Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work,
775 the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This
571 feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomadic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces
[186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive
154 intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of
571 directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche cul-
561 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were
at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
559 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone,
this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-
reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
561 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
556 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
578 prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and
social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position
rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits
of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and
with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps
born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older
and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a
younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a
561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
844 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
578 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche inform-
ants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and
her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose
children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree
of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the
act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
571 the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that
band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the
reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
101 tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
141 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191 Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
[432] for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money. 609 191 571

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City. 609 191 797 [794] [551]

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature. 657 191 609

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds. 609

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the 648 657

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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WHO WAS MO-CHO-ROOK?

IT WAS a hot, sunshiny Saturday in the late summer of 1902, and it was 000 the Saturday that they were holding horse races. They were white man's races. That is to say, each horse owner had to pay an entrance fee for any horse he wished to run in any particular race. This fee money was added to the prize money the racing committee was offering on this particular race. In an Oklahoma Indian race, anyone could 541 enter a horse, and then everyone raced for the prize money.

A very old Indian, Mo-cho-rook, who owned two fine racing stallions and always rode his own horses whenever he raced them, was standing near the finish line, in the shade of a saloon building, holding the reins of his large sorrel stallion. He was entered in a half-mile race, on the straightaway track, and from a standing start.

When the call came for all horses in the race Mo-cho-rook had entered to proceed to the starting line, the old Indian prepared to mount. He was the focal point for all eyes. Most people, white and Indian, knew he was very old, even if they did not know that the Comanche roll showed him to be seventy-seven.

He was small, possibly five feet two or three inches tall and weighing around 110 pounds. He always rode bareback. When, with his 492 hands on the sorrel's withers, he attempted to vault onto the horse, it quickly sidestepped. Mo-cho-rook came down on his feet and did not [571]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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492 lose his balance, but the larger Indian boys, and some of the younger
571 Indian men, began to give him a bad time.

It was as though they had been waiting for him to make a mistake.
[888] They were telling him he was too old even to get on a horse, let alone ride one. Some of the remarks were much less polite and even ribald. The old Indian turned his angry gaze on them and spat out an invective that tended to silence them. What he said was not in my vocabulary, and I never learned what he called them.

492 Then he turned back to his horse, shortened up his hold on the reins, and vaulted completely over the stallion, landing lightly on his feet, and then vaulted onto the horse's back. Then he proceeded to the starting line and won himself a horse race.

I have stood near this horse's shoulders, and his withers were higher than my eyes—possibly as high as the top of my head, five feet ten and a half inches. In other words, this horse stood seventeen to eighteen hands high.

554 The old fellow was almost too fabulous to be believed in. As nearly as I was able to discern, he was already a Comanche legend, though he still lived. Mostly he was held in awe by the other Indians, especially by the younger ones. Maybe he was the bogeyman the elders threat-
571 ened the children with. This one time was the only time I ever saw anyone try to take liberties with him. I doubt that those young Indians would have done so then but for the presence of many white people, U.S. marshals, and Indian police.

000 Almost any version of the story of the one-eyed man at the three-ringed circus could have been applied to me when I hit the Comanche country in the early days of March, 1902. I had had my fourteenth birthday in January. Everything was new. Everything was wonderful. I would not have changed a single thing.

Since I am Scotch, the love of the land is as much a part of me as the color of my skin or my hair. I am not trying to sound poetic when I say that the sweep of the grass-covered Comanche prairies was soul-satisfying. West Cache Creek, then the most beautiful of prairie streams, furnished the finest fishing and swimming that I have ever enjoyed, anywhere, any time.

136 There were wild ducks most months of the year, snipe, kildee, plover, doves, curlew, and some bobwhite for my gun. The young of a small variety of cottontail rabbits that lived in the prairie dog towns and were called prairie dog rabbits fell to my rifle. They were superior

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

The Comanches

291 and easy to wear. Although there were variations to suit the individual taste and needs, the general pattern remained fairly uniform. A Comanche woman in motion was a graceful sight, with the gorgeous fringes swaying with every movement and the brilliant patterns of beading glittering in the sunlight or firelight.

302 The woman wore her hair cropped and traced the part line with vermilion, although she seldom went to the trouble of combing or otherwise caring for her hair; it just hung loose. The care that did not go into her hair was devoted to facial make-up. Her eyes were accentuated with red or yellow lines above and below the lids and sometimes crossing at the corners. Her ears were painted red inside, and both cheeks were daubed with a solid red-orange circle or triangle. [301 She also occasionally tattooed her face and breast, and wore bracelets 304] and necklaces. As a parallel to the strong institutional friendship be- [572] tween two men, two Comanche women friends might dress alike.

291 Little girls, unlike small boys, always wore some form of clothing. A girl wore a breechclout until near the age of puberty, when she donned the buckskin dress. She wore her hair long and in plaits.

292 Fine clothes were so prized for dressing up that each Comanche 415 had a wardrobe case made of rawhide, called *nat'sakɜna*. It was envelope-shaped, laced together at the edges, and had a tie-down, fold-over flap. Thus it was different from the parfleche, or *ɔyɔ:t*, as the Comanche called the meat bag. In his case he kept his best suit, his leggings, moccasins, blanket, and braid wrappers. It was up to his mother to care for his wardrobe.

If he had a war bonnet or feathers, they were kept separately in a tubular bag, called *tunawɔs*, that could be slung from his waist as he rode his horse, so that they could be ready for instant donning in case of attack. In this bag was also carried war paint, a brush, and a mirror after mirrors became available. If the occasion arose, a Comanche wanted to look his best.

342 Home to the Comanche was his tipi, or conical skin dwelling. It represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability, for it could be raised or lowered within minutes. It was constructed of tanned buffalo hides sewed together and stretched, flesh side out, over a conical framework of from twelve to thirty poles. The standard number in the opinion of modern Comanches was twenty-two poles.

The Comanches

593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This
● 572 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints*, which is the same word as "friend."

882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe.
582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

602 daughter; in the same way, a girl who has been reared to a large extent by her
601 grandmother, especially if she is an orphan, or illegitimate, will be called "daughter," and will reciprocate by calling her grandmother "mother." It is interesting to note that these relationships, however artificial they may be, are always consistent. A person will never use a special relationship term toward another unless this other reciprocates by using an appropriate term toward the first.

The closer terms of kinship which we have just seen substituted for more distant correct terms are also extended in their application to non-related or little-known people toward whom one wishes to show friendliness or respect. Thus a man will usually call a stranger "father," or "mother's father," depending on his age—this latter term is considered to denote the closest relationship, as far as warmth and dependence go, of the two grandfathers.

More formalized are such usages as the reciprocal joking which goes on between grandparents and grandchildren, which operates largely by means of their using various sets of kinship terms and then making jokes about their consequences; this will be considered in more detail in the next section. Also, if
[572] two persons standing in a certain relationship to each other each have close friends of the same sex as themselves, these two friends may playfully adopt
[195] parallel relationship terms toward each other. The terms in this case have a phonetic pattern slightly different from the normal usage.

Perhaps of the same nature is the custom whereby two young men may call each other *nīmiłī'·i?*, "our girl friends," to signalize some affair which they had with two girls who were friends; this usage is said sometimes to continue throughout life, though no instances were recorded.

In these examples it is evident that the universal applicability of kinship terminology and the choices of relationships which are presented, together with extensions of its usage outside of genealogically traceable relatives, make this system a remarkably flexible tool in the hands of its users. With the selection of terms there is, apparently, a selection of behavior patterns also, always followed consistently by both parties involved.

The Comanche seem to follow the usual custom in regard to more distant relationships, wherein the behavior patterns found in the immediate family become gradually less distinct and demanding, and more permissive in nature, providing opportunities for fulfilling them to any degree which the person wishes. Yet some aspects of behavior appear to persist very strongly; this is well exemplified by the alternation of sister and joking relationships already mentioned.

It remains now to see what these behavior patterns are which are associated with the relationship terms, and to what extent there is a distinct pattern for each term.

does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective. 603

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"Friends." While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[13] 572 [597] 572 183

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nīmīʔdraʔ* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hdic*, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as 572 196

[13] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hdic* relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

572 196 *hâic* only if he wished to emphasize that for one reason or another he did not consider him a relative at all, and TY used *tɨ'·i?* in much the same way. All informants agreed that sibling terms provided a much closer and warmer way of expressing the relationship, but used the friend designation in casual conversation as being more informal. No attempt is made to distinguish which variety of "friend" the individual is; this is assumed to be known to anyone who might be present. It is possible that some of the confusion in this regard is a product of contact with white people, many of whom have *hâic* as practically the only Comanche word in their vocabularies, and use it as a greeting without discrimination; but this does not seem to be the most important factor, for there is every indication that this lack of clear definition of the application of the term is aboriginal. However, the use of *hâic* as an equivalent of "sweetheart" does seem to have been a translation of the American "girl friend," "boy friend."

This lack of clarity makes it practically impossible to formulate any even approximate behavior pattern associated with this term if, indeed, any exists; such opinions as were offered in answer to general questions were obviously references to one or both of the focal relationships, in spite of the fact that the term is seldom applied to own brothers, and the formal friendship, when it did exist, was far from including all the individuals who were regularly called *hâic*. An analogous situation is apparent in our own culture where "friendship," is conceived of as a warm and unselfish relationship, expressive of all our more worthwhile values, and yet one considers hundreds of people "friends" toward whom one is willing to display little more of this ideal behavior than a cheery "hello."

The feminine counterpart of *hâic*, *tɨ'·i?*, operates in about the same way, and its usage is often no clearer. Whether the institutionalized friendship ever existed here, and if so, what its basis was, is not apparent. Inasmuch as the affairs of women between themselves were generally considered to be pretty trivial by the dominant warriors of days gone by, it is almost certain that no friendship among them could have achieved the public recognition which the *hâic* relationship did. It is not clear whether women recognized the especially close friendships which obviously existed among them as being a comparable phenomenon, though they presumably did.

602 *Discussion.* It is obvious from the foregoing brief discussion of behavior that there is a definite and distinctive pattern associated with each relationship situation, and that each relative has a number of more or less clear-cut functions toward the individual. While these patterns are unquestionably identified to some extent by the use of kinship terms, it cannot be said on the basis of this alone that the terms are themselves the primary factors in determining behavior; a close group of relatives might well function in much the same way even if their relationships were not terminologically conceptualized.

But the real test can be applied when the terms are used outside of the

/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
512 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[608] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
177 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections. 422 562

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of private property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride. 422 231

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself. 672 231

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make 574 224

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[721] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
422 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the
586 husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

727 dance over him in the square. I longed for the privilege of speaking to him, but it was denied. The morning following his advent, he was tied on a mule, his face covered with buckskin, and escorted from the camp. I never could gain the least information from whence he came, or whither he was taken; but suppose he had been captured by a party belonging to another village, who simply halted at our [517] encampment overnight, and got up the war dance by way of entertainment.

727 We were frequently visited by the chiefs and warriors of 574 the surrounding tribes. They were, invariably, cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained. Then there was a pipe [535] dance, which is the dance of love and friendship. They were invited to repose on the largest buffalo skins, and given to eat the flesh of a roasted dog, though the moon was not in the full—a luxury surpassing even the meat of the wild horse. I apprehend many were attracted to our camp through curiosity to see and hear the wonderful watch, the fame thereof, beyond question, having spread far and near. I come to this conclusion from the fact that speedily following their arrival, Moko would bring it forth, and call on me to make it talk.

There was one visitor, in particular, a stout, surly chief, who in the course of the summer visited our camp many times. He appeared to have become fascinated with the watch, never growing weary of listening to the alarm. After Moko had finally placed it affectionately in her bosom, he would have long and earnest interviews with Big Wolf, the subject of their conversation being, as was easy to perceive, the mysterious watch. I learned that he was the chief of a tribe whose village was situated in a valley beyond the mountains at the distance of two days' journey, and that he was known as the Spotted Leopard.

turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

727 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded 535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 without any damage, very much to my relief. 635

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727 of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574 This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727 collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425 pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727 Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622 there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 302
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude. She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sorrowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrapping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation, they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152 576]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village, continually thinking of escape. This subject was never out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun, I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 574 622 On the return, which was by a different route from that we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their [551] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the [622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 727 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

Hanging by the Heels

could hear distinctly the sound of their voices singing their 574 ●
savage songs. Presently, came thrilling through the air, 727
mingling with the loud, shrill war whoop, a shriek of mortal agony. Again and again it was repeated, growing fainter and fainter, until, finally, it ceased, or, at least, failed to reach my ears.

At length, a party of six or seven came after me. While 727
passing through the strange encampment, I discovered pieces of soldier's clothing, which I recognized at once as the United States uniform. Moving on beyond the camp into a grove, a spectacle presented itself that froze my blood with horror. A white man had been subjected to the torture. He was not lashed to stakes as Stewart and Martin were, but a sharp stick had been thrust through his heel cords, by which he was suspended from a limb, with his head downward, as a butcher suspends a carcass in the shambles.

He, also, had been sacrificed with the accursed flints, his ears cut off, and tongue drawn out. A slight convulsive shrug of the shoulders, indicated that life was not wholly extinct. I gazed upon him in silence and terror and was relieved when they led me away. I concluded, from what I saw in their camp, he was a United States soldier, captured, probably, near one of the frontier outposts—such exploits not being unusual, numbers having been taken during my early residence in Texas, as far down as Fort Jesup in Louisiana.

The Indian policy of the United States, I am convinced, 648
is not the most advisable one. So long as it is continued, the frontier settlements will be constantly exposed to depredations, and prisoners subjected to the horrid cruelties I have described. They cherish an inveterate and undying hatred of the white race, whom they regard as usurpers—

the crow, the kingfisher, the prairie hen, and the eagle, so 292
dyed by his ingenious wives as to reflect all the colors of the rainbow. Of all the horses that grazed the wide pastures round about his camp, he was mounted upon the most fleet and spirited—the weapons of war in which he was accoutred were a knife thrust through his belt, a hatchet suspended from the pommel of his saddle, and a Mexican rifle, rare among his tribe, upon the possession of which he prided himself exceedingly.

I bestrode the same old mule that had so often and so 000
far borne me on her back, with nothing hanging from my saddlebow but a huge buffalo horn wherewith to furnish my doughty master with cool draughts from the streams as we journeyed on the way. Saluting the Sleek Otter, who little thought it was the last nod she would ever receive from her long-haired spouse—for, not having seen a razor for three years, I was very far from being "the man all shaven and shorn, who married the maiden all forlorn"—we trotted away from the village, myself in advance, neither of us destined ever to return.

From early morning we traveled leisurely but steadily, 574 ●
and at sunset entered a valley wherein resided a small tribe 439
whose chief was *Nis-ti-u-na,* the Wild Horse. The usual hospitalities were extended—or rather on this occasion they were unusual—inasmuch as a party had just returned from a meeting with the traders, bringing with them a quantity of mescal, a kind of whisky distilled from the fruit of a tree, commonly known in Mexico as the cabbage tree.

An Indian's dignity, whether chief or subject, never rises 574
to that elevated degree which prevents his getting drunk 273
every opportunity that offers, and consequently it followed, as a matter of course, that so distinguished a visitor as the Rolling Thunder, arrived at that peculiar juncture, could

not avoid stretching himself on his buffalo skin that night without a weighty "brick in his hat." In other words, the sedate old fellow became beastly intoxicated,—forgot altogether the decorum that characterized his customary walk and conversation—vainly attempted to be funny—danced out of place—and whooped when there was no occasion for it—in fact, was as boisterous and silly as about half a gallon of bad whiskey could make him.

However, bright and early in the morning, the chief was again on his proper legs, ready to set forward on the journey, intending to lodge that night at another village farther to the north. After a breakfast of mustang steak, which rested ill on his sour stomach, we bade the sore-headed sons of the tribe of the Wild Horse good morning, and pursued our travel. Very soon we passed out of their valley and entered the defiles of the mountains. The last night's debauch had set the old chief on fire, and before the sun had halfway ascended to the zenith, his throat was parched, and he was mad with thirst. But there was no water to be found. On and on we went, threading our way through thick bushes, around the sharp points of overhanging cliffs, across rough and rugged ravines, but nowhere did a spring or running stream greet his longing eyes. We continued to press forward in this manner until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when, reaching the bottom of a deep hollow, we discovered water oozing from the base of a perpendicular precipice and trickling down a little muddy channel through the grass.

He called impetuously upon me to fill the horn at once. Though I attempted to obey his order with all possible celerity, the rill was so extremely shallow that in spite of my best endeavors, every dip I made, the contents of the horn would come up in the proportion of three parts mud

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

night. This belief was strengthened because they prepared and set 264
food before guests as soon as possible after their arrival, whatever the
hour. Eating is a gesture of hospitality not to be postponed. "Meat [574]
is free to those who come. A man makes friends of the poor that way.
They never got tired of visitors," says Slope. Nevertheless, it was customary to have a formal meal soon after arising in the morning and a much more important one in the evening. There appears to have been no regular noon meal, both children and adults helping themselves to food, if plentiful, whenever their appetites and convenience dictated. Before eating on public occasions, the chief or leader cut off a morsel and offered it to the Great Spirit by holding it first toward the sky and then burying it. Individuals did the same when eating, in lodge or elsewhere, but like our custom of offering thanks, the practice was not universal. Some interesting descriptions of Comanche meals have been left by early writers. One is that of a breakfast of the less formal type:

> Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horse flesh was attached to the end of a stick some four feet in length by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by the appetite, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling the mouth alternately with flesh and vegetable.[14]

Another account is of a formal meal where visitors were present:

> The company is seated, or squatted, rather, around on the matting that forms the beds at night, their feet gathered under them. Short boards or thick pieces of hide are placed before each one;

[14] Lee, *op. cit.*, 132–33.

The Comanches

727 Captive white children were generally initiated into the tribe by a series of terrifying experiences in which the Indians tried their courage by brutal treatment and threats of destruction. They would sometimes be tied to a stake while their captors, with slashes and menacing gestures, punctuated by hideous yells, threatened to cut them to pieces, shoot them, or even burn them at the stake. Some of these unfortunate children never lived to recount their experiences. If the victim survived the initiation to the satisfaction of his captors, he became a slave and was compelled to do menial tasks, like Carrying Her Sunshade. If he proved his mettle according to Comanche standards, better days awaited him. He would likely be adopted as a member of a chief's or warrior's family. Later he was permitted to take part in raids and battles. If he proved a brave fighter, he might become an honored and respected warrior and rise to any position open to a natural-born Comanche. The captives, mostly Mexicans, who did not become warriors tended the horse herds and practiced such specialized industries as gun repairing and saddle-making. The captive woman who made a dutiful and faithful wife and the captive man who had won war honors were sometimes publicly honored.[17] Ordinarily the Comanches refused to surrender a captive without the payment of a reward. Some of the more responsible chiefs tried to stop the taking of white women and children as captives, and some went so far as to buy captives from other Comanches and liberate them. Some of the most hardened warriors are known to have wept because a captive of whom they had become fond returned to his own people.

574 All the accounts agree that a Comanche felt obligated to lodge, entertain, protect, and feed, even to his last morsel, any person, regardless of nationality, even though it might be his bitterest enemy, who happened to ask for lodging.

726 202 When a Comanche raiding or war party found itself hard pressed by an enemy force too large to resist, or if it feared pursuit, it divided and subdivided its forces until each fleeing warrior left a separate trace and pursuers found it impossible to follow the trail. Scattered Comanches were adept in communicating with one another through means of signals. After a night raid when the warriors knew them-

[17] Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 421; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 163.

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor[1] to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole. 648X 795 [727 641]

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sekwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material. [777 574]

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[1. i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 113[A]

Element	13 T	E-A	Ess	Com	Ess	Alt S	Do 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WHS	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tos
																	C
																	W
																	121
																	745
																	746
																	[271]
																	[574] ●
																	276
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	
265a. (See note)															•		

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door. 887 575 782 276

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne. 575 887 521

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man siting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The [554]

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 887 521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

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[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke. 575 887 522

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents. [689]

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

522 575 887 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-making may on occasion father trouble.

575 887 182 One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet
701 wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military
554 fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less de-
● 575 scending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

701 554 575

Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*.

701

Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

701 726

There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (naĩmeàpaĩet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 575 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinĩ said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food. 657 342 [622] [312] [513] [514] [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28] 342 [177] [427] [514]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents. [422] [352] [354] [312] [591]

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 657 575

28. Buntin, op. cit., ann. II, 53, 15.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

[52] men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening
[657] and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have sup-
[251] plied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with
[342] the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs
[353] screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and
[251] shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutri-
[252] tion clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during
[251] the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food,
[294] made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

657 Schools for the education of the Indian children of the
871 Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: govern-
[874] ment boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has
[797] become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

[648] The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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[113] 29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
[113] 30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 230.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
621 istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 302
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude. She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sorrowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrapping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation, they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152] [576]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village, continually thinking of escape. This subject was never out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun, I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms.

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias.

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ti'rĩ?aiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 [591] [576] *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have
154 voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek
756 Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the
[465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient.
[465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing
756 to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing
321 should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present
376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The
775 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on
756 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,
574
[195]
[514]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

756
465
276

Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. 775
By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce 756
to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request 576
presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor [516]
who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved 775
with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between 756
the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. [516]
> I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there [195]
> and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison–advisor. This approach ritual payment [465]
consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls 775
a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, 756
the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches 276

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites*. It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a.* Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

In about a year the Rock Island Railroad came, and they wanted 000
to build only one bridge instead of two. So, only a few feet below Ca-vo-yo's ford, they built a bridge to take their track across Cache Creek. More years passed, and now a splendid highway bridge spans the creek, just below the spot where the now discarded railroad bridge's sawed-off piling marks its once useful evistence. Ca-vo-yo's little T-shaped house also remains.

I was courting my first sweetheart when the ford went into use. Her people lived about two and a half miles east of Ca-vo-yo's house, and our town was about two and a half miles northwest of the ford. The Girl and I used his ford many times. We each had a good riding horse, and often we were horseback. Then by diligence I rated a buggy. (It didn't have a top, but we didn't mind; we were in love.) Ca-vo-yo didn't have an arbor, and if the weather was at all clement, he and his woman would be sitting on the east porch when we went by. We would smile and wave gaily to the old Indian and his [576] woman, and they would return our smiles and our waves. With slight variations this scene was repeated many times.

One Sunday afternoon, following an afternoon church service, we were returning to her parents' home. While I held the lower gate 609
open for the Girl to drive the buggy through, I saw Ca-vo-yo come 198
out, open the upper gate, and lay it back. Knowing he wanted to talk, when I drew even with him I stopped the horse. Smiling his widest smile, the old fellow approached the buggy and by the means of signs and the use of one word asked, "Is she your wife (squaw)?" Apparently he and his woman were becoming curious, since they didn't understand white man's courting. Probably, to them, we were wasting a lot of time.

When you try to describe the sign language (*maw-ta-quoip* or hand talk), it sounds jerky and disconnected. Instead it had a natural grace and flow, like unhurried water making its way over a well-worn course. The old Indian extended his right fist, closed loosely, knuckles up, in front of us. Quickly extending his forefinger toward the Girl, and as quickly closing the finger back, he extended the thumb pointing to my chest. Then he said the word "squaw" as a question—literally, "She your squaw?"

I didn't look toward the Girl. I am sure she was blushing, as I 000
know I was. I finally managed to shake my head and stammer out a "No," as I drove away. In due time the Girl and I managed to resume

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 [681] of guilt by an accused (except in sorcery) was so uncommon that there are not cases enough to draw sound conclusions.

Cases were opened with formal politeness and smooth words; the man who had come to prosecute addressed the one he was about to accuse as "brother."[7] While the defendant listened, he was told why the accuser had come as prosecutor and informed what must be given in damages to satisfy his visitor. Inasmuch as the defendant usually knew what had called forth the visit, the prosecutor was not invited into the tipi to take the seat of the guest of honor opposite the door. Ordinarily the defendant was sitting beside the door of his tipi as the prosecuting party arrived, and the negotiations took place before the tipi.

The aggrieved usually stated his demand for damages specifically, but the damages rendered were those which the defendant agreed to give and the aggrieved was willing to accept. "Willingness," with either or both, could of course be anything but willing. There was no judge to determine what should be paid in composition for the wrong, nor was there any specific customary code regulating payments in accordance with degree of wrong. Consequently, only by agreement could the case be settled. Without the aid of an arbitrator, the sole way to agreement was bargain.

×627 ●577 The factors which operated in the process of settlement were manifold and delicate, each factor having many shades and facets. Who can say what the forces shaping the attitudes which determine the actions of any individual in any special circumstance may be? It is clear, however, that the will to push or resist was of greatest moment. Sometimes the defendant acquiesced only too willingly to the first demands made upon him. Sometimes the prosecutor placed a timid request for compensation, which he accepted with a sign of relief, glad that the thing was done. It is in this very will to push or to resist that the personal factor entered and resists reduction to written words. Nevertheless, personal courage and aggressiveness were the potent traits which counted in the Comanche male. Each party mentally weighed the other and decided accordingly, most of this being done before any action recounted in a story could occur. The one outstanding factor around which the settlement of a dispute turned was not the question of the right or wrong of the situation, but rather the relative bravery in warfare of the two parties involved. A reputation as a doughty slayer of enemies was a handy thing. The real point was that in Comanche law, as in all law, the ultimate power was resort to force. But

[608] [7] In Shoshone and Comanche theory, men who had shared a woman sexually were supposed to be brothers. For a discussion of the brother terminology and its relation to Shoshone-Comanche marriage practices, see E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and H3kandika Shoshone Relationship Systems*, pp. 448–449.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

the right to use—or threaten with—force was not reserved to the government. It was a privilege reserved to the interested parties in case the adjudicative process broke down. In other words, there existed a situation exactly comparable to that observed among nations which recognize certain practices of international law, but which reserve to themselves the sovereign right to resort to force if things don't suit them: Then, in the words of Post Oak Jim, "Lots of trouble, lots of people hurt." 627 577

It is very clear, however, that the Comanches tended to attribute moral rightness to the braver man. This is revealed, for instance, in the settlement of a land-rights squabble in the early days on the reservation:

Case 8. Land Dispute
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

When land allotments were made by the government, two neighbors quarrelled over a quarter section of land which both wanted. One of them succeeded in establishing his claim on the disputed land. The other protested the action and contested the claim. Feeling ran higher and higher over the matter until each was threatening to kill the other.

Quanah Parker, who was chief of the band at the time, was called upon to settle the dispute. He asked two warriors to testify as to the past war record of the disputants. Since one of the warriors was late in coming to report, Parker sent Eagle Tail Feather, then chief of the Indian police, to find him to hear what he had to say. Eagle Tail Feather took another warrior with him as witness. The first disputant also went in the party, thinking to gain an advantage by confronting the witness personally.

When the four men were assembled at the warrior-witness's house, this disputant spoke up, saying, "Which is better, I or this other fellow?"

"All right," said the warrior, "now that you've asked me, I'll speak out plain. That other one (the opponent in the case) is the better man. I was in a battle where I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade from the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed; you'd better look out or he'll whip you, or kill you."

These words silenced the claimant. He knew that he would lose the land unless he could speak up and tell of a braver deed which he had performed. This he could not do. so he remained speechless while the others waited for his words. When they were satisfied that his adversary was the braver man, Eagle Tail Feather and his aide returned to Quanah and told him what had ensued at the meeting.

Quanah decreed that the disputed quarter section should belong to the warrior who had made the rescue. The other released his claim to it without further word.[8]

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[8] This is, of course, an atypical case, involving as it does, land rights which are not a part of the aboriginal culture. However, it *does* show the carry-over of old attitudes to new procedures. [177]

to push the process to its conclusion, or nothing would be done at all to provide relief or redress. 671

Nevertheless, a system of law it was. It was absolutely sure that certain forms of wrongs would be prosecuted. There were proper procedural patterns to be followed in the prosecution of a case. There were quite specifically understood sanctions to be applied to the different categories of offenses. And if the defendant was adamant beyond the point of reasonableness, he was, after due process, subject to a violent attack upon his person.

The essence of law, whatever specific forms it may take from one social system to another, comprises regularity, force, and official authority. Comanche law-ways had all those essential attributes.

"Dot" Babb's statement that on the whole there was little infringement on the rights of others among the Comanches, that they did not fight, quarrel, and commit murder as did the white man,[11] is contrary to the facts as we know them. The Comanches were most litigious, not, it is true, from any love of going to law for the savor of it, but because they were extreme individualists given to crowding each other in the unceasing struggle to outrank each other in personal prestige. A man could climb the social ladder by piling up a war record at the expense of enemies, and this was the legitimate way. But he could also reach toward his goal by aggressively challenging the status of a rival through stealing his wife, or seducing her, or taking his horse. This was the illegitimate way. It was illegal, but it was also customary enough. Forty-five cases of old-time legal actions arising from adultery and wife stealing alone were recorded from Comanche informants by one of the authors in his study of Comanche law-ways. Of these, twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three were cases of simple adultery. 684 577 674

If the Comanches were lawless, it was not through an absence of law, but rather because of a reckless tendency to break the law in the face of certain and severe penalties. Seven of the forty-five erring wives paid the death penalty: four for running off with another man, three for committing adultery. Of the remaining twenty adulteresses, five were mutilated by their husbands: four had the tips of their noses cut off and one had the soles of her feet slashed so that she could not 684

[11] Babb, *op. cit.*, 102–104.

The Comanches

848 Many forms of social conduct which are considered Abnormal in our own society were not considered criminal by the Comanches. Their attitudes toward illegitimacy, which seems to have been rare, show no vindictiveness, although the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father.

Premarital sex relations were common, but in case a child was born as a result, the father usually married the mother. The father could claim the child at any time.

835 Incest, which consisted of sexual relations between two persons within three degrees of relationship, was tabu, but there was no legal control. The few men who were known to have committed incest were called *pɔsa,* "crazy." Beyond this, there was only informal ostracism—and more sneering references. Thus, when Pointing to the Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet, his own sister refused to address him as *monapɔ,* "son-in-law," which would have been the respectful and proper thing to do, had it been a proper marriage. The People did not let it pass, however; they made it a point always to refer to him, her elder brother, as her son-in-law.

The Comanches actually had strong feelings against incest—brother-sister avoidance was enjoined on this basis—but they felt no need to impose strong sanctions against it. Most men were too concerned with the maintenance of their personal prestige to mar it with such an act. And perhaps more important is the fact that Comanche supernaturals were in no sense projected images of a rewarding and punishing father. Incest was not a sin against the gods any more than it was a crime. There was no need to punish the offender in order to protect the community from supernatural wrath. The act remained an offense against good taste, nothing more.

839 Rape, except upon captives, occurred infrequently and was not part of the general pattern. Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. But before the advent of the white race's demoralizing influence, Comanche women rated high in chastity.

674 Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the
● 577 legal scheme. Consequently, it must fall into the vague class of unapproved, abnormal acts which were outside the scope of the law. Generosity was so highly valued that he who had need of something had only to indicate his desire, and he would receive it as a gift.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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They
533 had some music, but their repertoire was limited even for savages. Noah Smithwick, who spent several months with the Comanches about 1837, states that it was customary for the first fellow who awoke in the morning to announce that fact in song; but he thought this was rather a "spontaneous outpouring akin to that of the feathered songsters than a religious rite."[30]

157 Notwithstanding their lack of culture the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men. Once in a council (the proceedings of which were carefully recorded by a secretary) President Sam Houston was trying to get the Comanches to agree to a line of division between the country of the Indians and that of their white neighbors. In the treaty the line was not being described as the Indians had been told it would be run. Buffalo Hump, a young Comanche chief, detected the discrepancy at once and a sharp argument between him and Houston followed. The dialogue is too long to be repeated, but one who reads it will be convinced that the chief knew exactly what he wanted and why he wanted it. He knew the topography of the country to perfection and also the settlements and roads. He clung persistently to his position and would not be moved from it.[31]

181 Notwithstanding their many savage vices the Comanches rated
577 higher morally than other nomadic tribes. They were hospitable and would share their last morsel with their guests. In war they gave no quarter and asked none, but it was not their custom to apply slow torture to unfortunate enemies. Of course individuals differed widely. Among the Southern Comanches, chief Buffalo Hump was erratic and sometimes treacherous, but Mo-pe-cho-co-pe (Old Owl) was even tempered and altogether dependable. Robert S. Neighbors, long a Texas and United States Indian agent, knew the Old Owl for a number of years and in his reports quotes him again and again. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Neighbors ever lost confidence in the old savage or ever doubted his word.[32] There were, no doubt, many Comanches as honest as the Old Owl, but the

30. **The Evolution of a State**, 181.

31. "Minutes of a Grand Council held near the Falls of the Brazos, between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, commencing on Monday, October 7th, 1844, Ms. Texas Indian Papers.

32. For instance, see Neighbors' report to Medill, 30 Cong., 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 171, 16-25.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization 181
made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scru- 577
pulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the
acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nine- 178
teenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to 577
live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians
resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages
had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also,
the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians'
rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible
retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last [276]
days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect 273
they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger
race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination
which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by
an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara
(who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio)
Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to
the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing
Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle
of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and
it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche .06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks. 721 178 [181] 671 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181 562

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181 [593]

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [895]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [776]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181 597

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

/page 40 continued/

795 give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake
771 constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just
177 how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups; the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

/41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all
795 those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for
771 protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a
177 church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian
795 ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are
771 only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by
177 Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly
577 from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended 174
their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. 619
The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never [578]
occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches.

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number 621
of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9]

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

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[7] James Mooney. *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235). [169]

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandkika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1] 684 183 671

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law. 562 671 581

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed. 581 578 183

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

enlarged, it being considered improbable, I suppose, that I 593
would tear myself away from the partner of my bosom. I was no longer made the center-post at their war dances, but permitted to wear the gayly colored feathers in my hair, and with the warriors, "round about the cauldron stout, to dance right merrily." But I was by no means entirely at liberty, nor did their apprehensions that I would escape, if opportunity occurred, entirely vanish. I was not allowed to leave the village alone, nor to carry arms. My duties were those of an attendant upon the chief. He kept me near him always, whether on buffalo hunts or visits to the neighboring tribes. He frequently made these visits, when they required but one day's ride, with no one accompanying him but myself. At such times he was mounted on a power- [714]
ful horse, armed with bow and arrow and a musket—a tomahawk hanging from the pommel of his saddle, and a long knife in his belt; while I rode before him on a sluggish mule, entirely unarmed. We never passed the night together alone on one of these excursions. In a thousand little ways it was made evident he did not regard it exactly safe to place himself within my power.

The most thrilling incident I witnessed during my so- 592
journ with the tribe of the Rolling Thunder was an Indian duel. Among his warriors were two young men, both proud and spirited, between whom there had long existed a deadly animosity. The cause of their quarrel I could never fully understand, further than it appeared there was a young squaw in the case. Time and time again their differences had been brought before the council without any adjustment being satisfactorily effected. At length, when negotiation had become useless, it was determined to settle the matter forever in a most bloody manner.

It was a pleasant morning towards the close of autumn,

578 when the whole tribe, save the squaws and papooses, assembled on a level piece of ground a mile from the village. Here they formed a large ring, into which walked the Rolling Thunder and Han-na-nos-ka-a, the prophet. The latter pronounced a long discourse, setting forth, as nearly as my imperfect knowledge of the language enabled me to comprehend, the original cause of the quarrel, a detailed account of its progress, the inability of the council to agree upon a satisfactory arrangement, and that, finally, it had been referred to the just decision of the Great Spirit, into whose presence their implacable brethren were now about to appear.

Having concluded, the brothers of the young warriors conducted them into the ring. One of them was, perhaps, twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, the other four or five years older. The younger was somewhat the largest, though both were remarkably athletic and powerful. When they reached the center of the ring, meeting from opposite [234] directions, their left arms, as far up as the elbow, were firmly lashed together with stout, thick cords of buffalo hide. They were bound so thoroughly that the possibility of breaking away from each other was utterly beyond question.

Into the right hand of each was then placed a hunting [412] knife, having a heavy buckhorn handle and a blade about nine inches long, evidently prepared for the occasion by being brought to a keen edge on both sides. The brothers then withdrew some twenty feet from the combatants, drawing from their belts similar knives, when the signal was given and the fight began. After that there was no call of "time"—no retreating to the "corner"—no planting the left heavily on the "mug"—they "toed the scratch" but once, and ended the combat in a single "round."

Visit to the Ruins

The battle lasted but a moment, the bright blades, in 578
the meantime, glittering and glimmering in the sun, and the contestants instantly presenting the appearance of men suddenly overtaken by a storm of blood. At length, a mortal thrust by one was followed by a fierce blow from the other, gashing through the side of the neck, from which the purple tide of life spouted up in a high wide arch, when both fell lifeless to the ground.

Had either survived the conflict, according to their code of honor, it would have been the duty of his brother to have put him immediately to death. Throughout the exciting scene not the slightest partiality was exhibited. The faintest shadow of emotion could not be detected upon the countenances of the savage stoics as they gazed upon it. They were stretched side by side on the spot where they had fallen—buried in the customary manner—and left to rest together in peace, at last.

The week succeeding this tragedy, a party of ten or 484
twelve, including the Rolling Thunder and myself, started 224
on a long journey, its object being to ascertain whether the buffalo droves had changed their feeding grounds, before the warriors set out on their annual hunt. In the course of this trip we crossed a valley, the singular appearance of which has very frequently since been the subject of study and reflection.

On the summit of many of the mountains we passed, 172
were broad, level tablelands, destitute of a solitary tree, and covered with rank grass. Upon every one of these elevated plains was to be seen a mound, in most instances in the form of a half-circle, resembling the overgrown ruins of an ancient fortress, and plainly the work of human hands.

Finally we descended into a ravine, walled on either 133
side by rugged cliffs which led us a day's ride to the south-

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818] 000

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost 562
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 175
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 684
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of muti- 175
lation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always 696
yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwith- 175
standing the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 571
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but 175
have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 771
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 776
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- [775]
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity, 771

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657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

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that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 602.

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657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two
most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and
Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at
large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one
occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a
fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came
and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to
hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-
1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen
in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving
at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves
could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men
could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643] given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could
not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner
that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And
they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak
in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made
him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions
he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1854, 490; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 381; September 16, 1858, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 582.

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657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
[627] tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
[683] might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs
[627] and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

[113] 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 18. Neighbors to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 7, p. 636.
[113] 19. Baylor to Neighbors, June 8, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken. although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
241 of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
657 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.
[113] 21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and
682 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[578] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality
[825] and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
776 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign
787 toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
776 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII A most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

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175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[579] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

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578 754 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche cul-
561 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
554 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
561 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
556 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
578 prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
561 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
844 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche inform-
578 ants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
571 the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and 442
boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and [443]
bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt.
I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade 562
like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At
least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't
have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away 292
for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the
men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a
ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I 595
had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the 578
workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the
older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal ar-
rangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—
the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I
never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mis-
treat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation
to either husband or child.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"That evening just before dark the wife left his lodge and went to the tipi of her uncle. She arrived just as he and his wife were finishing eating. When they had finished their supper, they asked what might be on her mind. 'I have come to carry tales,' she said. 'Go on,' he replied. 'Well, your son-in-law, Cooks Dried Meat, accused me of being intimate with you, and he whipped me badly.' Her uncle was indignant. 'The brute, the bad thing, the devil—you shall not go back to him.' His mother and father were living in the same tipi, so he asked the woman to stay there. 682 602

"A little later there was the sound of something outside, and a voice said, 'I have come for the person who is visiting you.' 'Go home!' the uncle shouted back, 'she is staying here.' It was fall and cool enough to have a fire and eat indoors. They went to bed.

"The uncle's tipi was at one end of the encampment; the husband's was at the other. Just at white dawn a voice shouted out from the tipi of Cooks Dried Meat. 'Get ready Pítsku (the uncle). Prepare yourself!'

"It stirred a terrible commotion. Everybody woke up and asked what was going to happen and angry voices were heard. Cooks Dried Meat strode forth accompanied by his father, the aged peace chief, Tongue, and a young man. They went towards the tipi. 602 682 579

"Close to that tipi was one of an old man who lived with his grandson. He stuck his head out and received an arrow full in the throat. As his relatives pulled loose the shaft they cried, 'We shall wipe Cooks Dried Meat out. We shall join Pítsku to do this. Then they fired and killed Tongue. The fight was on. Pítsku got badly wounded in the rump. Hard by was my mother-in-law's tipi—a big one. Into this Pítsku scurried for shelter. Next the son of Cooks Dried Meat was killed, making two men shot on each side. Cooks Dried Meat came to my mother-in-law's tipi to get Pítsku, but the old woman warned him away. 'You don't kill him in my tent,' she threatened. 'If you do, it will not be well for you. The man of this house is a great warrior and a strong medicine man. It will go ill with you if you shed blood in his tipi.'

"By that time a group of men had intervened. 'Stop it,' they ordered. 'It is enough that two men have been killed on either side. Stop.'

"Cooks Dried Meat then fled from the camp. He was chased by the grandson of the old man he had shot in the throat, but he escaped and never came back to the band. He moved away from it.

"Pítsku died of blood-poisoning. Tongue was the peace chief. If he had not taken his son's side, it would have been his duty to have stopped the fighting."

Other acts which to the Comanches were so heinous as to warrant lethal retaliation on the aggressor were the slaying of a favorite horse, and insulting conduct which was insufferable to the aggrieved. These factors appear severally in different cases, but are combined into one single complication in a famous Comanche case known to many informants. There are slight variations in the telling, but the main points of action remain the same. 685

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1] 684 183 671

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law. 562 671 581

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed. 581 578 183

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 The Comanches showed a sense of justice at work and an awareness of the function of legal institutions in their society when they accorded the aggrieved party a customary massing of subsidiary force which was apparently denied to the aggressor. The dynamic quality of Comanche culture and the mark of creative genius is to be seen in the way in which this principle of equalization was refined and fitted to meet the needs of the person who had no group of "brothers" to back him in need. Comanche juridical processes were more than a mere phase of the status struggle among males. Men whose status was so low that on the personal and kinship basis they were, in effect, without status were still guaranteed protection under the Comanche law. This was done by harnessing the status drive in the society to the needs of the weak and aggrieved. There was the institution of *champion-at-law*.[14]

The functioning champion-at-law is best revealed in action through cases.

Case 12. Wife-stealing: Red Crooked Nose vs. a young warrior
Informant: Visits Her Relatives

×627 684 ●581 "The wife of Red Crooked Nose absconded with a young, good-looking warrior. In the raiding party were four other men and another woman. For two years the pair remained away, and no one in the main camp knew where they were living. But one day some hunters found their camp and reported it to Red Crooked Nose. He was determined to get his wife back, but he had few war deeds to his credit. So he asked a brave, well-known warrior to go with him. The warrior consented to go.

"When they reached the absconder's camp, the woman saw them coming and ran to her young husband, saying that she wanted to stay with him. But when the young man saw Red Crooked Nose's champion he said, 'Against such a man I have no chance to keep you.'

"So they met outside the tipi. Red Crooked Nose picked up a quiver of arrows belonging to the young man, but his wife told him, 'Put them down. You can't do any better with them than their owner can.'

"Food was offered the newcomers, and they stated their mission. They said that they would accept no damages in place of the woman, that Red Crooked Nose needed her to care for their young child. So the young man ordered her horse brought, upon which was a good saddle, a silver-braided bridle, and good blankets. He told the woman to dress up. He told her, 'Take everything nice that belongs to you. This old man can't get things like these for you.'

"She gathered all her belongings, including fifteen horses. She was ready to

[14] There is no special word in the Comanche lexicon for this personage. A man acting as champion-at-law was simply referred to as tékniwap (war leader). Only men who were war leaders were sought to act as champions. Their legal activity on behalf of others was merely an incidental function of their status as ranking braves in the tribe.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

start back with them, but she cried pitifully to have to leave her young lover. After they had started, she lagged behind sullenly. 627x

"They had gone. The young absconder broke camp. He mounted and rode on past them. As his horses ran by, Red Crooked Nose killed one of them and called upon his party to take the meat he had shot for them. Then the owner of the dead horse scorned him, 'My feelings aren't hurt. *I* can get plenty of horses—like the grass, so many!' And he rode on.[15] 684 581

"He knew that Red Crooked Nose would not have dared to kill his horse without the warrior as protector.

"While stopping one night they heard that enemies were coming. The women were sent on. The men prepared for war. Before the battle started, the young man donned his best war paraphernalia. With his feathers flying he rode past the camp of Red Crooked Nose. He fought conspicuously and was killed.

"The champion saw him go down.

"He called to Red Crooked Nose, saying, 'It was we who caused him to be killed. I know you are a coward, but you have to go and walk in front of the enemy to protect us while I carry off his body.'

"Thus they took the young man off the field, and put his body on a horse. When the woman saw his body brought back, she tore her dress apart, slashed her body all over with her knife, and cut her hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

"Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way."

Though it is the activities of the intermediary which we must here examine, the fine devices of sarcasm and ridicule which make this history so rich in intrinsic sanctions deserve attention. The woman mocks her husband. The lover mocks. These are expressions of rage, or attempts to egg him into overreaching his position. The latter occurs. Again the lover mocks. But the combination of grief and shame works in him as his mockery seems to have worked in the husband. He seizes the occasion for a protest-sacrifice equivalent to suicide, save that it serves his tribe. The champion turns upon the championed. Red Crooked Nose's mourning is a penance. And one may be certain that his later repute suffered. The people told *her* to keep her jewelry in remembrance of a "wrong-doer," who, over-penalized, had made himself a hero. 627x 558

[15] No empty boast for the young man. And it cut two ways. In itself this killing of a horse, over and above taking back the woman, is wholly proper. The overdoing lies in these points: the woman had brought double a heavy indemnity, the adjustment was over, and the strength of the husband was not equal to the deed he was performing. He was over-reaching and the young man's disdainful ignoring of his act showed him up in just that way.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627x
that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602
personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562
band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682
in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their [684]
husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581
band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562
true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602
marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587
establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562
not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682
was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

627 754 684 522 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and [558] begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

606 581 562 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβttsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewɔkə*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [518]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children." [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[13] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

[13] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

●582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

The Comanches

881 occasion for ceremonial feasting and celebration, and a daughter who was a favorite child in a well-off family might run over the prairie hanging to the tail of a fast pony so that she would be agile and active. This was the only magical activity associated with puberty. She was then ready to marry and become the mother of children and thus to contribute her part toward adding to the number and, therefore, the [582] strength of the tribe. By the time she was sixteen the chances are her marriage had been consummated.

868 A boy learned to ride almost as soon as he learned to walk. From earliest babyhood he was familiar with horses and their motions, riding behind his mother, clinging to her or to the horse's mane, or strapped to her saddle. He thus gained confidence, learned balance, and, by practice, learned to ride an old gentle pack horse; by the time he was four or five years old, he was expected to be able to manage a pony of his own; and by the time he was six, he was riding young colts bareback. Sometimes while learning to ride, he was bound on the pony by a rawhide lariat while another boy held the pony by another lariat and circled the pony about until the boy literally became a part of the animal. He received the criticisms of companions, father, mother, and other relatives and onlookers. If he fell, he was laughed at by the girls and others, but he did not become angry with his critics. Soon afterwards he had to help herd the ponies. He early became expert in the use of the rope for catching horses and henceforth spent much of his outdoor time on horseback.

603 868 By the time the boy was five or six years of age, he was given a bow and some blunt arrows and taught to shoot, usually by his grandfather. This was natural enough since the father was still engaged in war and hunting, while the older man had probably passed the period of active life and thus had the leisure to make bows and arrows and to devote a good deal of his time to the education of his grandson. Consequently, there developed between the two an intimate relationship whose pattern was one of indulgence and congeniality linked with the less severe forms of authority-obedience. The grandfather taught the grandson to ride, to shoot, to make bows and arrows, and the secrets of the hunt and the trail. He told him stories of his boyhood and early manhood, instructed him in the tribal history and traditions, legends and religion, and many other things

The Comanches

593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This
592 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints,* which is the same word as "friend."

882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe.
•582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

From Cradle to Grave

In fact, girls were often married off to middle-aged men who could give a good bride-price. The average age at marriage for girls is said to have been sixteen, while for boys it was twenty-five to thirty. 582

Although youngsters were not subject to moral censure for sexual activity, it was not encouraged. Boys, during the period of their pre-adolescent gang life, ignored the girls to a great degree. At adolescence, when they got their own tipis, they became positively bashful. It was proper for girls and women to make sexual advances, but not for a well-mannered boy. "Boys seemed to stay pretty much to their tipis," said Post Oak Jim. "It was the girl's place to come to them." Bolder, unmarried older girls might crawl in a boy's tipi at night to initiate him in lovemaking. In the dark these girls commonly kept their identity anonymous, for it would not help their reputations to be known. 836

The Comanche pattern of social conduct, in theory, prohibited young couples from being seen together. In response to the query of what would have happened if they had been found together, informants replied, "It would have been too bad." In practice, however, they did find opportunity to be in each other's company. More romances probably began where the girls went for water and wood than any other place. When a young lover became fond of a girl, he waited near where she might pass. When she approached, he stepped toward her, watching for an encouraging sign that his attentions might be welcome. If she was not interested, the girl made the fact known through her actions, and he went away much mortified. If the girl were favorably inclined, they agreed by a sign, mutual understanding, or orally on a time and a meeting place. If no older people were near, they might spend a while together. Again, they might agree to meet after dark. Sometimes a girl allowed a boy to come to her tipi. The more bashful boys lay outside, whispering to the girls inside, but they might be bold enough to crawl under the tipi and lie with them. More often, however, the girl crawled out and went a short distance away with her suitor. Supposedly no one else knew, but informants felt that certainly the girl's mother must at times have been aware of what was taking place. Most courting was done when the girl slipped out of the tipi and met the boy at night.[12] 836 584

[12] Informants: Medicine Woman; See How Deep the Water Is. Statements by Marcy, Dodge, Parker, and others are substantially in agreement.

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. [582] Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one [184] informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant [551] addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 32 continued/

C Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in dis-
K tance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort
484 the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know..

C Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say
K that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found.
601 Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by infor-
829 mants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship
177 patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system
602 has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all
C the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods,
[569] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly
[191] affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may
C change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior
K patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is
601 the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has
177 forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent.
602 Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and
[161] Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants
582 are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional
588 ones, however.
684

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.
[428]

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband.

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Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, [251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 463 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 727 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

The Comanches

584 A youngster whose heart was too faint to approach a girl on his own account sought out an old and distantly related woman and put his plight to her. It was up to her secretly to arrange a tryst with the girl of his heart. Thomas Gladwin reports that this service was supplied by a boy's sister, but our informants specifically denied this possibility.[13] "It would make people too suspicious." Furthermore, it seems quite unlikely that a sister would be sent on a mission with sexual implications.

It was after they had got over the first pangs of adolescence that vain young men took to the *tuiβitsi* pattern of showing off. It was a show-off for the girls collectively, however, for no Comanche boy could decently reveal a public display of interest in one girl.

It was good tactics for a young man who had fallen in love with a maiden to seek the acquaintance and to cultivate the friendship of her brother, or some other near relative, or the person who controlled her marriage. If the suitor and the girl's brother were together on the warpath, the suitor might give the brother arrows or a horse and in various ways try to make things easy for him, addressing him as *nɜmɜaɾa*, "our children's uncle," i.e., the brother of my offspring's mother—a subtle hint of things he hoped to come.[14] This could lead the brother to speak a favorable word at home in behalf of his friend—of his bravery, his strength, his ability as a hunter or raider, and other commendable qualities. He might even extend an invitation to the friend to come to his family's lodge. The suitor was also likely to offer the girl gifts, including horses, in an effort to win her favor.

●583 When a suitor had decided that he wanted a certain girl for a wife, he made a present to the girl's brother, her father, or her guardian. The most acceptable gift was a horse. In a few cases a boy was known to work (hunt or raid) for the family of the girl he wanted for a wife for as much as one, two, or three years.[15] In any event, sons-in-law were obligated to provide meat for their wives' parents. There was also love medicine known to certain practitioners who could be [832] induced to charm the girl on behalf of a petitioner so that she could not resist his suit.

[13] Thomas Gladwin, "Comanche Kin Behavior," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. L (1948), 73–94.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Informant: Kills Something; see also Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 183.

bride himself and waited near by without saying a thing to see if his gift were acceptable. Of course, the girl and her family knew from whom the proffered gift came even if the owner were not visible. Sometimes the girl was dressed up and brought out of the lodge right away and handed over to the suitor, who came forth to accept his prize when he saw that his gift was accepted. At other times the suitor tied his riding horse at the maiden's lodge door and waited out of her sight. If she wished to reject him, she merely turned the horse loose, but if she drove it to the herd, the act signified her willingness to accept the owner and was symbolical evidence that she was willing to take charge of his horses and other property. This simple ceremony seems to have been used frequently even after the herd had been placed in front of the girl's door.[16]

585 In most cases there was no further ceremony. The bridegroom took the bride to his tipi. There was no necessity for any religious ceremony, no demonstration. If circumstances permitted, there might be feasting and, occasionally, dancing. There is evidence that an occasional marriage did receive official sanction either from the chief, who had the announcement made to the camp, or from the council. The scanty evidence available does not make clear whether these were customary practices of specific bands or whether it was a matter of individual taste, as a public or private ceremony in our own society.

Another form of ceremony which has been reported is that after the horses had been delivered and accepted, the bridegroom killed one of the least valuable, removed the heart, and hung it at the door of his betrothed. After the bride roasted and divided it into equal parts, it was eaten by the couple. The heart of a buffalo or other animal could be substituted.[17]

●583 When a girl learned that a rich suitor whom she did not care to marry was about to propose, she might elope with the man she loved. Couples occasionally eloped when the boy was poor and unable to

[16] This description of obtaining a wife is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something, See How Deep the Water Is, and Medicine Woman; also, Battey, *op. cit.*, 328; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32; Daniel A. Becker, "Comanche Civilization," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I (1923), 250; Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowas," *loc. cit.*, 231–33; R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 49; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 177–79; Agent Charles Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-33, p. 414).

[17] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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furnish enough ponies or other articles of value to satisfy the parents of the girl. In such a case the relatives and friends of the boy might supply the necessary ponies to soothe the dishonor suffered by the wife's parents, or the young husband himself might later secure sufficient ponies and present them to her parents. After this he was in no danger, for when the customary gifts were sent, the marriage was made valid and the disgrace wiped out. Elopement, however, seems to have been unusual, especially in earlier times, and couples who did elope were socially ostracized to some extent.

The giving or paying of horses and other gifts for a bride was a development in the lives of the Comanches that came with prosperity. People who have goods are interested in them. The pattern was general throughout the plains in the last two centuries, and the Comanches fell in with the practice. In their earlier days of Shoshonean poverty it is unlikely that such marriage customs existed. For some Comanche boys and girls the old Shoshonean way of getting married was enough. If a couple slept together all night, they were considered married. One unscrupulous lad, known to That's It in the Water Horse band, took advantage of this fact to "frame" a girl and win her as wife.

« « « He hid his leggings under the chosen girl's bed blanket. Then he set up the frame in a gambling game. He went in and lost so that he did not have enough to pay all his losses.

He said, "Well, I have some money in my leggings," and he asked his friend to go to the girl's tipi and get them. "They are under her blanket."

His friend went over and asked the girl's father for them. He didn't know a thing about it.

So the boy went right in and pulled the leggings out from under her bed. The father then called in the girl and asked her what about it.

"I didn't know you were married," he said. She denied it, but her mother said, "Well you are old enough; you might just as well go live with your husband!" » » »

Although sleeping together was not the ideal way to get married, it was, nevertheless, idealized. Several of our Comanche friends thought such marriages were happier than the arranged ones. "In an

583 arranged marriage the wife is likely to become angry on the least provocation and leave." Such precipitate action is explained partly by the fact that girls were given to men much older than they. "If parents give a daughter to an older man, she doesn't like it. If they do it once, nothing is said. If they do it often, people don't like it; they talk."[18]

Occasionally an up-and-coming youth who was industrious and showed promise as a warrior was sought out by a father or brother and asked to marry a girl in their family. Such a man was usually a captive; a fullblood Comanche would consider it disgraceful for him to accept advances from the girl's family. The father or brother in such a case took gifts to the prospective bridegroom. Here there was direct action—no sending of intermediaries or hiding out of sight. If the young man accepted, the girl was brought to him that night, and her parents provided most of the household necessities.

595 All these steps were possibilities in a first marriage. In addition, the Comanches observed several forms of affinal marriage; i.e., marriage to a relative by a previous marriage. The levirate and sororate were the strongest of these. The number of wives might run anywhere from one to six or more. It was a normal pattern for a man to take as wives the younger sister or sisters of his first wife and any women he might have captured or girls who grew up as captives in the tribe. Sororal polygyny was used by parents to induce a son-in-law to observe zealously his economic obligations to them. His reward was a second sister to wife. The contract was frequently made while the child was still quite young, even before she reached teen age. Although such a wife was treated as a child, she shared the privileges of a wife.

Polyandry as practiced by the Comanches was attenuated in form. It was a practice which might also be called "anticipatory levirate" and consisted in brothers' lending each other their wives. "One is really her husband, of course." Sexual jealousy between brothers was socially deprecated. "A man loves his brother; he knows that if his brother dies, no one can replace him; he gives him everything he can," explained That's It. "A brother therefore sends his wife over to him occasionally as a gift. She cannot go of her own free will or

[18] Informant: Breaks Something.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the [462] women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with 562 feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 562 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni- 593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece 583 of silver, or a handful of beads.

The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice 562 in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave, 593

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
237 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

those countries, he laughed me to scorn, arguing that its 823
inhabitants would have to walk with their heads downward, and must necessarily fall off; besides, the premise upon which rested the superstructure of the argument was false, inasmuch as the earth was not round, but flat, a fact patent to the naked eye.

I described a train of cars, wooden tents placed above 000
rolling wheels, filled with a crowd of people outnumbering all his tribe, forced by the power of steam, such as he saw rise from the water boiling in his kettle, along an iron trail, faster than he ever saw the wild horse run across the prairie —endeavored to explain how they could converse, however distant from each other, through the marvelous electric telegraph, describing the immensity of their towns, the number of their warriors; in fine, whether under his own tent in the village, or encamped on the prairie after a day's hunt, he was constantly interrogating me upon some subject connected with their manners, customs, or inventions. Usually, 186
when I had concluded, the old man would remain silent a long time, absorbed in deep study, from which he would, at length, arouse and exclaim—"Wonderful! wonderful! are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all!"

The Rolling Thunder evidently entertained a favorable 584
opinion of me. This was shown soon after my arrival in his camp, by insisting that I should take a wife. I took the matter into serious consideration, endeavoring to decide in my own mind what effect it might have on the chances of escape. The conclusion was that the effect would be favorable, and, accordingly, I signified to the chief that "Barkis was willin'."

The next step was to make a selection from the dusky daughters of the tribe, a matter about which I felt dis-

584 posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new [302] moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily [291] embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, [551] the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space 476 of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws 585 generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter 588 made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

From Cradle to Grave

In fact, girls were often married off to middle-aged men who could give a good bride-price. The average age at marriage for girls is said to have been sixteen, while for boys it was twenty-five to thirty. 582

Although youngsters were not subject to moral censure for sexual activity, it was not encouraged. Boys, during the period of their pre-adolescent gang life, ignored the girls to a great degree. At adolescence, when they got their own tipis, they became positively bashful. It was proper for girls and women to make sexual advances, but not for a well-mannered boy. "Boys seemed to stay pretty much to their tipis," said Post Oak Jim. "It was the girl's place to come to them." Bolder, unmarried older girls might crawl in a boy's tipi at night to initiate him in lovemaking. In the dark these girls commonly kept their identity anonymous, for it would not help their reputations to be known. 836

The Comanche pattern of social conduct, in theory, prohibited young couples from being seen together. In response to the query of what would have happened if they had been found together, informants replied, "It would have been too bad." In practice, however, they did find opportunity to be in each other's company. More romances probably began where the girls went for water and wood than any other place. When a young lover became fond of a girl, he waited near where she might pass. When she approached, he stepped toward her, watching for an encouraging sign that his attentions might be welcome. If she was not interested, the girl made the fact known through her actions, and he went away much mortified. If the girl were favorably inclined, they agreed by a sign, mutual understanding, or orally on a time and a meeting place. If no older people were near, they might spend a while together. Again, they might agree to meet after dark. Sometimes a girl allowed a boy to come to her tipi. The more bashful boys lay outside, whispering to the girls inside, but they might be bold enough to crawl under the tipi and lie with them. More often, however, the girl crawled out and went a short distance away with her suitor. Supposedly no one else knew, but informants felt that certainly the girl's mother must at times have been aware of what was taking place. Most courting was done when the girl slipped out of the tipi and met the boy at night.[12] 836 584

[12] Informants: Medicine Woman; See How Deep the Water Is. Statements by Marcy, Dodge, Parker, and others are substantially in agreement.

The Comanches

584 A youngster whose heart was too faint to approach a girl on his own account sought out an old and distantly related woman and put his plight to her. It was up to her secretly to arrange a tryst with the girl of his heart. Thomas Gladwin reports that this service was supplied by a boy's sister, but our informants specifically denied this possibility.[13] "It would make people too suspicious." Furthermore, it seems quite unlikely that a sister would be sent on a mission with sexual implications.

It was after they had got over the first pangs of adolescence that vain young men took to the *tuiβitsi* pattern of showing off. It was a show-off for the girls collectively, however, for no Comanche boy could decently reveal a public display of interest in one girl.

It was good tactics for a young man who had fallen in love with a maiden to seek the acquaintance and to cultivate the friendship of her brother, or some other near relative, or the person who controlled her marriage. If the suitor and the girl's brother were together on the warpath, the suitor might give the brother arrows or a horse and in various ways try to make things easy for him, addressing him as *nɜmɜara*, "our children's uncle," i.e., the brother of my offspring's mother—a subtle hint of things he hoped to come.[14] This could lead the brother to speak a favorable word at home in behalf of his friend—of his bravery, his strength, his ability as a hunter or raider, and other commendable qualities. He might even extend an invitation to the friend to come to his family's lodge. The suitor was also likely to offer the girl gifts, including horses, in an effort to win her favor.

583 When a suitor had decided that he wanted a certain girl for a wife, he made a present to the girl's brother, her father, or her guardian. The most acceptable gift was a horse. In a few cases a boy was known to work (hunt or raid) for the family of the girl he wanted for a wife for as much as one, two, or three years.[15] In any event, sons-in-law were obligated to provide meat for their wives' parents. There was also love medicine known to certain practitioners who could be [832] induced to charm the girl on behalf of a petitioner so that she could not resist his suit.

[13] Thomas Gladwin, "Comanche Kin Behavior," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. L (1948), 73–94.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Informant: Kills Something; see also Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 183.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

From Cradle to Grave

Under the system of contract and sororate and levirate marriages which prevailed, a girl was often bestowed upon a man many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement. Although it was a common belief among the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison, many young people sought love-mates of their own choosing: adultery, desertion, and wife absconding were rife and lead to a lively legal picture of strife and process. 584

In any case a man was not likely to press his suit unless given encouragement by the maiden or by her family. If he gave presents to her brother or father or worked for them for a time, he would eventually be asked why he had made the gifts and what he was looking for. Then he would reply that he wanted the girl for a wife. Some informants insist that when the request was made of a girl's brother in this fashion, the brother had to consent—"It was the law." He knew what the man was after and should not have taken the gifts if he did not intend to grant his request. Others say that he had to consent only in case the two were on the warpath at the time the request was made.

In most cases the suitor did not himself ask for the girl directly, but secured a mediator, in the person of an uncle, an aged relative, or a friend, to make an offer to the parents or brother as compensation for their daughter or sister. The messenger took horses or other goods to the lodge of the girl's parents. After some polite and aimless talk, he came to the point, then left forthwith, without getting an answer, so as to avoid the possible embarrassment of a refusal to his face. Sometimes the father or brother made the decision; sometimes they would call in other members of the family. The girl's wishes might or might not be respected in the matter, for she must accept the husband chosen for her. Informants maintain that a father or a brother had a legal right to kill a girl who refused to accept a husband they had selected. If the suitor was rejected, his horses were simply turned loose and driven back to his herd; if accepted, they were driven to the herd of the girl's father or brother. This was sufficient announcement of engagement.

Occasionally a boy brought the horses to the door of his prospective

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

584 bride himself and waited near by without saying a thing to see if his gift were acceptable. Of course, the girl and her family knew from whom the proffered gift came even if the owner were not visible. Sometimes the girl was dressed up and brought out of the lodge right away and handed over to the suitor, who came forth to accept his prize when he saw that his gift was accepted. At other times the suitor tied his riding horse at the maiden's lodge door and waited out of her sight. If she wished to reject him, she merely turned the horse loose, but if she drove it to the herd, the act signified her willingness to accept the owner and was symbolical evidence that she was willing to take charge of his horses and other property. This simple ceremony seems to have been used frequently even after the herd had been placed in front of the girl's door.[16]

585 In most cases there was no further ceremony. The bridegroom took the bride to his tipi. There was no necessity for any religious ceremony, no demonstration. If circumstances permitted, there might be feasting and, occasionally, dancing. There is evidence that an occasional marriage did receive official sanction either from the chief, who had the announcement made to the camp, or from the council. The scanty evidence available does not make clear whether these were customary practices of specific bands or whether it was a matter of individual taste, as a public or private ceremony in our own society.

Another form of ceremony which has been reported is that after the horses had been delivered and accepted, the bridegroom killed one of the least valuable, removed the heart, and hung it at the door of his betrothed. After the bride roasted and divided it into equal parts, it was eaten by the couple. The heart of a buffalo or other animal could be substituted.[17]

583 When a girl learned that a rich suitor whom she did not care to marry was about to propose, she might elope with the man she loved. Couples occasionally eloped when the boy was poor and unable to

[16] This description of obtaining a wife is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something, See How Deep the Water Is, and Medicine Woman; also, Battey, *op. cit.*, 328; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32; Daniel A. Becker, "Comanche Civilization," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I (1923), 250; Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowas," *loc. cit.*, 231–33; R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 49; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 177–79; Agent Charles Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K–33, p. 414).

[17] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

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301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
237 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
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An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
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606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

584 and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had 581 the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong 581 current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adoles- 832 cent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on 837 a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man 721 in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make 837 an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined [182] by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses 684 were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the 629 hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the de- 684 fendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche 627 brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs: 602

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewoka*, 684 restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high, 629 [801]

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a 115 daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, 159 Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 593 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that
472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the
609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of
[563] school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working
842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women.
124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked 643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses [231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young 643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on 593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting 584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle, 593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning. 584 177 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her 643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white 593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding. 585 177 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

584 bride himself and waited near by without saying a thing to see if his gift were acceptable. Of course, the girl and her family knew from whom the proffered gift came even if the owner were not visible. Sometimes the girl was dressed up and brought out of the lodge right away and handed over to the suitor, who came forth to accept his prize when he saw that his gift was accepted. At other times the suitor tied his riding horse at the maiden's lodge door and waited out of her sight. If she wished to reject him, she merely turned the horse loose, but if she drove it to the herd, the act signified her willingness to accept the owner and was symbolical evidence that she was willing to take charge of his horses and other property. This simple ceremony seems to have been used frequently even after the herd had been placed in front of the girl's door.[16]

585 In most cases there was no further ceremony. The bridegroom took the bride to his tipi. There was no necessity for any religious ceremony, no demonstration. If circumstances permitted, there might be feasting and, occasionally, dancing. There is evidence that an occasional marriage did receive official sanction either from the chief, who had the announcement made to the camp, or from the council. The scanty evidence available does not make clear whether these were customary practices of specific bands or whether it was a matter of individual taste, as a public or private ceremony in our own society.

Another form of ceremony which has been reported is that after the horses had been delivered and accepted, the bridegroom killed one of the least valuable, removed the heart, and hung it at the door of his betrothed. After the bride roasted and divided it into equal parts, it was eaten by the couple. The heart of a buffalo or other animal could be substituted.[17]

583 When a girl learned that a rich suitor whom she did not care to marry was about to propose, she might elope with the man she loved. Couples occasionally eloped when the boy was poor and unable to

[16] This description of obtaining a wife is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something, See How Deep the Water Is, and Medicine Woman; also, Battey, *op. cit.*, 328; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32; Daniel A. Becker, "Comanche Civilization," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I (1923), 250; Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowas," *loc. cit.*, 231–33; R. B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 49; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 177–79; Agent Charles Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-33, p. 414).

[17] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 431–32.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
175 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
[585] principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[587] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
237 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked
643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses
[231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young
643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on
593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting
584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

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593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning.
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177 was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her
643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white
593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.
585 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife
177

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"Stranger He Come"

In the spring of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
437

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

OCC 586 606

was at the same time the wife of his brother. But when a son-in-law gave personal offense to a parent-in-law, it was possible to order dissolution of the marriage.

Case 17. Murder of Sister-in-law: Lost vs. his nephews
Informant: Post Oak Jim

x627 682 C02

"Once some white men caught some Indians and held them prisoners. Those that were left were short of food. There was a Mexican captive who went to a girl and said that if he could get a horse he'd buy something for them to eat with it. He wanted to take the best horse. The girl bawled him out. 'There are plenty of horses, and I don't want to take the best.' She said she didn't want to give it to this crazy Mexican. After that he wanted to make up again, but they sent him off. He was interpreter for the Indians at that time.

"The Mexican went up to his wife. He wanted to know where his bow and arrows were. He took them and went up to the woman who owned the horse and killed her. Four of her sons were gone. After she died, her people cried and cried, and buried her out on the prairie. All the rest of the Indians had it in for the Mexican, but they didn't know what to do about it. The Mexican was a medicine man and a war chief. The four boys got back. The others were crying for the dead mother. The boys told them to be quiet for a while. They said they were not going to cry until they finished everything. The Mexican's wife told him his nephews were back. His wife was the dead woman's sister. The sons did not eat. They got several men, and told them what they were going to do.

" 'We're just going to keep still about it for awhile. We'll find out all about it. This man is a medicine man, and we'll try to take away his medicine. Early in the morning we'll pack up and leave.' In the morning the men and the four boys got their guns and got ready to start.

"The Mexican had his horse tied up. There were eight men with the boys. The Mexican untied his horse, saying, 'They won't come.'

"His wife was all anxious and nervous. She said, 'Lost, what are you going to do? Your nephews are coming.'

"He said, 'I've no need to be on horseback to fight them. They are just like women.'

"They came around the tipi, calling, 'Come out, you are nothing but a coward.' As soon as he came out one of them shot him, and they went on. His wife didn't know what to do. He was dying; blood was just pouring out. There was one medicine man there, but he didn't have much power. The following evening he was doctoring Lost, but he died. The wife came down to camp the next morning. Nobody did anything to the boys. They had it in for him, killed him, and that was all. Lots of people were glad. He was real mean. Chew Up was the man who killed him."

It is not likely in this instance that the fact of Lost's being a captive laid him open to attack where a full-blooded Comanche would not have been.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[721] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

422 The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
● 586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. How-
684 ever, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe
586 that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband.
[482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he
[841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors,
[684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

551 fathers or grandfathers of those who bear
these newly established surnames. In no
case does a surname stem from farther back
[848] than the third generation. Occasionally the
[586] surname is taken from the maternal line,
from an aunt in one instance, but this is not
the rule except in cases of illegitimacy or
divorce. The adoption of a person's own
Comanche given name as a surname along
with an American first name is quite com-
mon, e.g., Casper Tis so yo, in which tīsoyó·?
one who has confidence in someone else,
is the Comanche given name of this
man of 69. Family names are usually kept in
their full original form, but with the agency's
rendition of them in English spelling ap-
pearing on the rolls; for example, Harry
Tobits ser kumah, tïvicikuma? *real male, or
husband*; Lena Suah rah o lah, suará?ura?
one who meets somebody intentionally; Car-
melita Delphine Atetewuthtakewa, ?eti-
wïhtïkwa? *one who strikes with a bow*; Olive
Chahtoeiebitten, cahto?ivitïn, *one who pulls
something out on his arrival*; and Cecil
Ahtoowooserahle, ?otïwïsará·ki? *brown ears
pricking up*.

Comanche names are only infrequently
translated into English and these are for the
most part medicine-animal names: Frank
Redelk, Violet Yellowfish, Vincent Red
Bird, Olive Black Otter, Lelia Yellowwolf,
Thuma (from Therma) Chicken, and Philip

[p. 246-B]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 619 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701. 726 701 624 622 624 554

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[534] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
283 dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the
[177] old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1828. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

self confidence, and who were unable to muster a party for themselves, was (e) to entreat a war chief to act for the plaintiff in the matter. The ţékniwap undertook to see the matter to its close, whatever the consequences, once he agreed to open proceedings on behalf of the aggrieved. An aberrant form of the same type which completely reversed the principle involved was (f) the sending of an old woman to "prosecute" in a situation where the aggrieved feared the defendant, hoping through presenting his cause pitiably to touch the compassion of the offender and so gain larger damages than he himself would dare demand.[6] 627x

The crux of the procedure was bargaining. There was no question of evidence—except in sorcery. In the damage-seeking cases the evidence was obtained before action was brought. In wife-absconding cases the presence of the woman with the absconder was *prima facie* evidence which need go no further. In all our cases but one the bargaining was begun with guilt accepted by both parties. In cases of adultery, beyond *in flagrante delicto*, evidence came from witnesses or by confession of the wife. However it may be, except for cases of sorcery, there was no technique for obtaining evidence from the defendant. Nor was the defendant usually confronted with witnesses. The aggrieved had to ascertain to his own satisfaction who the guilty party might be. After this had been done the defendant could then be confronted.

And what if guilt was denied? Usually it was not. When the defendant refused to own up, the procedure apparently came to an impasse. The aggrieved might be angry enough to take illegal steps (violence), or he might possibly kill some of the accused's horses to satisfy his desire for damages. The latter course would be likely to lead to retaliation, however, for the defendant, in denying guilt, denied cause for damages and such peremptory taking of damages was to him illegal. The reaction of the defendant if the first recourse were taken by his accuser is problematical; it would depend pretty much on his temperament and guilt in fact. Denial 627x 681

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[6] *Case 7. Wife-Absconding: Husband sends old woman to collect*
Informant: Rhoda Bluefoot 627x 684

A woman deserted her husband by joining a raiding party led by a noted warrior, who took her as wife. On their return to the main camp her husband did nothing to get her back because he was afraid of the warrior and his three brothers. So he sent an old woman to plead for her. Since the warrior wished to keep her, he sent back a gift of horses and goods to the husband in place of the woman.

This gift the husband had to accept, and he dropped proceedings.

Later the warrior was killed in a battle, and one of his younger brothers inherited the woman as wife. [587]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

the defendant and not the wronged party who is thus intimidated. Accordingly, this occasional overbalancing of forces on the prosecuting side does not so much defeat the aim of law as would the alternative condition, and is socially more defensible. Nevertheless, as we shall see, abuse by the plaintiff could lead to repercussions. Defendants, too, were within the protection of the law. 627x 602

A number of conditions entered into the matter of group aid in such endeavors. The "rightness" of the aggrieved party's case was a strong operative factor when it came to gathering his group. To participate in such a group if petitioned was a kinship responsibility, though not an obligation. It was rather reciprocity, in this case, which made the responsibility a reality. Theoretically any man could refuse to help a relative, but it was the better part of wisdom to go along with him. Who knew but what the day might come when each man in turn would need the help of the others? And there was material gain to be had by participation.

Brothers and friends who were called "brother" were those obligated to act for the aggrieved, if he called upon them. This obligation was fortified by a right to a share in the damages collected; the participants' right to a cut in the compensation took precedence over the aggrieved's. The ludicrous result was that sometimes a man's "lawyer" brothers got all, while he was left to contemplate the satisfaction of having seen the law through.[13] This is a stated principle, but does not appear in our case material. To be accurate, however, these "brothers" had more than a lawyer's interest, [587] and a closer responsibility than that of other relatives was theirs. Through the institution of levirate they had a partial claim on the aggrieved husband's wife. They too were wronged. This claim could in itself give rise directly to occasional legal action. Hence their share in the damages was more than pay for helping in the procedure. It was a share in composition for a wrong mutually suffered. But why did the "brothers' " rights to the goods take precedence over the husband's? A hazarded explanation would be that it served as an inducement to reinforce the obligation the brothers held.

Or is it possible that a broader force was in operation here? The practice may be associated with prestige compulsions. It was more grandiose wantonly to kill a horse than to take one. It was more noble to reward one's helpers than to grab the take for oneself. The principal was under social compulsion to be noble. Is it a parallel to the rule of the raiding party that the leader should be the last to share?

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[13] Bobby Burns, 'tis said, ruefully declared, "The Lawyers get the a' of it."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627x
that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602
personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562
band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682
in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their [684] husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581
band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562
true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602
marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587●
establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562
not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682
was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also 595
expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, [684]
demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a 593
marriage group, which established relationships with another mar- 595
riage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although 601
individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *ap'*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bet*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *a'a*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's 587
brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

The Comanches

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

The Comanches

627 Although it was unusual to resort to fighting and killing over the loss of a woman, society theoretically recognized the right of the offended male to take the life of the offender if he refused to make settlement after guilt was established.

Should the accused deny his guilt, either party might appeal to the supernatural powers as a way out. When accused by an irate husband, one informant denied that he "had broken the law." His accuser proposed that they make smoke and call on the Sun. The informant smoked and then addressed the Sun: "Sun, if what I say is not true, strike me dead. If I am not guilty, strike my accuser dead." When he heard these words, the accuser withdrew his charges and thereby ended the whole affair.[13]

It was, as we have already noted, incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. If he demanded damages and received a satisfactory settlement, his claim upon his wife could be released, thus making legal a divorce and consequently freeing her to change her marital status. In case of divorce or separation, the children legally remained with their father. In many cases the husband took the wife back.

● [587 684] A woman who remarried after the death of her husband without first getting a verbal, but formal, quit-claim from her husband's youngest brother was technically guilty of desertion; her new husband was subject to *nanɛwɔkə* demands, and he had to pay up.

Breaks Something was the unwitting victim of such an action, as his own account shows.

« « « Mexican was a friend of Touched with a Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched with a Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me. They were Mangy Coat and Atsaci. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her.

They answered, "We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched with a Closed Fist and this woman is his wife."

[13] Informant: Kills Something.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

many lines of relationship which each person traces, running back and forth through most of the people he knows, overlapping and coinciding very frequently. Naturally, the use of such a system involves many choices between two or more possible terms to be applied to some certain individual. The choices have often been made by one's parents, and are just adhered to; but in many other cases this is not so. It is especially true when one marries, for in this way a large constellation of new relationships is established through one's spouse. Usually, the choice is made, and this usage is continued thenceforward; if the connecting relationship is broken through death or divorce, the person may or may not keep the terminology established by it. Sometimes, the two alternatives are both kept alive, and are used interchangeably; operations of this sort make it easy to go one step further, and manipulate the terms of kinship in situations where there is no actual justification for some particular usage except expediency. 602 601

In most cases the choice is quite clear-cut: one relationship is closer than the other, and it is automatically used. Thus when T married his third wife, another woman whom he had called wife, or *hâipia*, and with whom he had been carrying on a joking relationship, became his sister. With the day of his marriage he began to call her "sister," and continued to do so, practically without exception, until his own wife died; the sister relationship was then abruptly dropped again. There are a great many such instances; this one is especially interesting because the reciprocal joking relationship, which had been avidly pursued, was terminated quite as abruptly as was the use of the term, and, with his wife's death, was at once reinstated; thus the relationship was conceived of both terminologically and behaviorally as existing quite apart from the person through whom it was made, and no restrictions of mourning were associated with it afterward.

By this same marriage, another woman who had been related as a sister through another "old relation" became a wife and *hâipia*, and started joking with her new-found "husband." They joked a good deal, but when she began to get the best of him, he would call her "sister," to remind her of the other relationship, and she would have to stop at once. A related situation is one in which, for example, a man's brother's wife, who had always called him "husband," and who was potentially his wife through the levirate, would start calling him by a sibling term upon the death of this brother, in order to indicate that it was not necessary for him to fulfill his obligation of replacing his brother as her husband. A fair number of such shifts were recorded, in various relationships where potential marriage situations existed. TY called her second husband's mother and her sister by the proper parent-in-law terms; but as they grew older they became blind, and she used to help them a great deal. To signalize this dependency they felt toward her, they began calling her "daughter," and she called them "mother." A daughter-in-law who gets along unusually well with her husband's mother is quite frequently called by the closer term of [587]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 754 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, 175 789 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate [237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un- 175 751 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 595 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten [585] wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. [687] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. 175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance 593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in 462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and ooo waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [518]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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[177] dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1828. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

848 On the day he came back the little boy's mother wanted to come over to the warrior's tipi. She hesitated three times and couldn't get herself to go. But she came over at breakfast the next morning and called at the tipi. They invited her into the tipi and told her to sit down next to the boy. The girl told the grandmother that she had come to do dishes and clean up everything. She went over and sat down next to the grandmother.

"The people wondered: they asked her how it happened she was visiting them when she had no connection to them. Then she told her story. When she finished she begged to be allowed to stay in any capacity.

"The old man, the grandfather, said, 'Yes, it is good. It is up to the old woman, my wife.'

"The old woman, the grandmother, said, 'Yes, it is all right; it is up to the old man and my son.'

"Then the brave said, 'She will take care of him. It is good. She may stay here with us.'

"The child was named Covered With Sage; that is how they found him."

INCEST

835 626 Incest was forbidden. The tabu applied to parent-child (real and classificatory), brother-sister (real and classificatory) and uncle-niece, aunt-nephew relationships. There was no rationalization of the tabu. It was just there. As Bluefoot observes today, "They did not know about the harm in it. They just didn't want the people to make fun of them for marrying a relative."

"Making fun of them" and ostracism were the only controls used by the Comanches to reprove incest.

One whole band is damned in name because of their reputed incestuousness. Lots of Maggots on The Penis was this band's regular appellation. An alternative sobriquet was Something Together. It is declared that this band is now extinct because of its incestuousness. (This might vaguely imply a supernatural sanction, but more likely this is a reflection of attitudes derived from the whites.) Comanche attitudes towards incest are revealed in the following case.

835 588 *Case 34. Incest*
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"There was a family, father, mother, brother and sister. The children grew up. When the daughter was about twenty-five and very pretty, the family seemed to get separated from the rest of the band. They camped by themselves. It made the mother wonder why they had gotten away from the others. 'It is dangerous to live off by oneself; in case of attack there is no one to help us,' she complained.

"But the son said, 'Be quiet. It is not dangerous.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One day the son left them to visit the main camp. On his return he brought with him a wife—a wife to do the cooking and work for them. His sister wanted to leave them to go live in the main camp where she could go to dances and have friends and meet the young men. But her brother forbade it. This brother was in love with her all the time even though he was married. In time, even though he had a wife, he had a child by his sister. 835 588

"Before it came, his sister had missed four periods, so her mother became suspicious. She waited until she was alone with her daughter to question her. The latter revealed to her, 'It is none other than your son. He came at night to the tipi and lifted it up. I thought it was someone else, until it was too late.' Then the family isolated itself even more and the sister had a baby boy born out on the prairie.

"When this happened the father said to his wife, 'What does this mean? What is it all about?'

"And the mother said, 'Come with me. Let us get wood.' When they were in the woods alone, she said to him, 'I did not want to get wood, I wanted to talk to you alone. Our son has begotten a child by our daughter!'

"Light dawned on the father. 'Now I understand,' he said. 'Now I can see why he has kept us away from the rest of the camp. When other men of my age could meet of an evening and smoke, I could not go. We had to be isolated so he could indulge in that insane thing.' It crushed him and he became ill.

"The son went everywhere looking for a medicine man to doctor his father. But the father merely said, 'There is no need for you to go looking. No doctor can cure me. You have killed me.'

"After he had died the mother said to her son, 'Now, my son, you have brought all this on us. You have committed unheard-of things. I, who have lived long, have never heard its equal. You have caused your father's death. Now you must take your own sister to yourself as wife. I am going back to my people.' She did not go back to her own family, but lived among friends in the main camp. When people asked her why she had come back alone, she only told them that her husband had died and that she had come back to her people. She was still mourning him, and so his relatives came to join her in her grievous wails.

"Three years passed. The brother and sister and his first wife came back to the main camp. The sister was the favorite wife and the other was the chore wife. His father's folks heard they had come back to the camp, so they went to call on them right away. They came to wail with them for the father's death which had occurred three years before. The child was now three years old. 'Whose child is that?' asked one of the aunts. 'Is it yours?' she questioned the chore wife.

" 'No, it is hers,' pointing to the sister.

" 'Is he—her brother—married to her?'

" 'Yes, he has taken her to wife.'

" 'This is unheard of,' the aunt cried. 'It is insane. Since he has taken his sister as wife, I suppose he will take me too. I am not coming to see you any more. You are living so disgracefully, I cannot come any more.' During this whole time the brother and sister said never a word.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

835 "They stayed right on in camp. The brother and sister and chore wife lived together and the child grew up. Some people called on them, but even though they lived in the main camp, they were isolated. People like myself, who knew what was right, thought the brother was crazy. Some men would smoke with him and try to tell him evil would come of it.

"Yet they lived through it all without mishaps and died a ripe, old age."

626 Here society was completely disarmed by a thick-skinned individual. 835 The barbs of public and familial disapproval did not penetrate. There were no legal shafts to hurl—the deed was neither tort nor crime—he matched 588 his indifference against society's impotence—and won.

There were other cases. Red Youth married his sister's daughter. Though he was much older than she, they were married and lived together for years. People called it aɹakwɜ'ɜtɜn, niece-uncle marriage, in a sneering way.

In another marriage of this sort, Pointing To The Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet. His sister, Takes Two Scalps refused to call him "son-in-law." She always called him "elder brother": it was as though he were not married to her daughter. People always made it a point, however, to refer to him as her son-in-law. *They* were not going to let it pass.

In all these cases the male was the incestuous aggressor. Such men were referred to as crazy (pɔ'sa). They did not care for the delicacies of convention.

835 There is a mythological tragedy, however, in which the sister was the aggressor. The boy reacted heroically. He is held up as the ideal to Comanche children: his sister is given them as the example of what comes of shamelessness.

This boy was old enough to have his separate tipi. His sister slept in the big tipi with the parents just as was usually done. One night a girl slipped into the tipi of the youth and lay with him. He did not know who it was in the dark. He was curious, so he marked her dress down the back with paint while they were together.

The next day he went over to where the women were playing shinny to look for his mark. His sister had the mark on her dress! The boy was ashamed; but he did not say anything. He just went away and cut a short double-pointed dogwood spear and took it with him to bed that night. Again his sister came and lay with him as before. Just as they pressed themselves together, he shoved the spear between their breasts. It pierced them both. In the morning the parents came to see why the boy did not come out. They found them dead. The mother was so angry with the shameless daughter that she cut and slashed the body of the girl all to pieces.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 32 continued/

C Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in dis-
K tance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort
484 the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say
K that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found.
601 Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by infor-
829 mants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship
177 patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system
602 has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all
K the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods,
[562] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly
[191] affected by into-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may
C change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior
K patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is
601 the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has
177 forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent.
602 Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and
[161] Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants
[582] are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional
[588]
[684] ones, however.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [518]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
chcs and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed
● 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with-
882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a
[611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

591 But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause.
166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre-
157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility ever provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen-
[696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left [591]
the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nīmī'ara?*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart" liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nīmī'ára?* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership. 607 195

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law. 606

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own [591]

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. [591] [576] Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

601 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form; **námi? reference form**].

195 taká·? *sibling* [tákA address form; **táka?** reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pá.vI address form; pávi? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; káku? reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kĩnú·? *father's father* [kĩnU address form; kĩnu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first used for all grandparents. This suggests [591] matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned. 195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the re- 193 lated -sI to words; e.g., haicí·? for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[2] as might be inferred

[2] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate [113] in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

[p. 12-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 10, 11.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175
212
701

C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children. 175 592 728

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *caballerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *caballerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

/page 31 continued/

C K 129 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 129 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 129

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 198 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 624 they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a [674] crime.

×627 602 In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

×627 ●593 682 602 Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

×627 602 Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

He was a medicine man and a ranking war leader, which meant that he was perforce a man of status, even among the tribal full-bloods. 627x 682 602

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, it should be noted however, that from a general social point of view, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered mean by the people; yet if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through *coups*, there was little to prevent him from being as free a Bluebeard as he wished—except that wives became harder for him to get.

Attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare. The one case, given by Talker, is interesting for its many facets, and significant for its outcome. It shows that given time to let the revenge feeling cool, coupled with a recognition of provocation to kill, certain murders might be overlooked.

Case 18. Murder: Wife destroys husband
Informant: Talker (Abstract of History recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.) 627X

The husband had been abusing his wife in attempts to force a confession of unfaithfulness from her. One day when he had prepared a fire over which to roast her, she seized and stabbed him and cremated him on the pyre he had intended for her torture. Then she fled for many days to the west until she met Ute Indians. There she was adopted as a wife and lived for a season or two. Then she told her entire story, ending, "and then I threw his body on the fire that had been prepared for me. Because both my husband and I have many relatives on both sides, and because I feared a conflict between the two families, I started out so that there might be no trouble between the two families." 682 593

Later she escaped and returned to her people. She repeated the whole episode to the dead man's father, and as she finished, all her relatives burst forth in a great wail for the man whom she had slain. But there was no trouble. The dead man's father announced, "Because my son was so mean to her, and because I had tried to talk to him, and he would not listen nor heed my word, and because both our families are respectable, to do anything at this late date would be unbecoming."

Thus there was no feud, no retaliation.

ACCIDENTAL HOMICIDE

Though the Comanches were more rude than other Plains tribes in their failure to recognize composition for murder, they showed more perceptive discrimination than most primitives in drawing a clear line between murder and accidental homicide. Intent to assault was a necessary feature of murder. A clearly defined case illustrating this principle was given by White Wolf. 627x 672

584 posed to be somewhat fastidious. The chief sent for some half-dozen, submitting them to my inspection, before a choice was made. Some of them were hideous, either lank and cadaverous, or fat and flabby, having a fiery red new [302] moon painted over each eye, and the full moon in the center of the forehead. These were rejected without hesitation or ceremony. At length one was brought that was pronounced entirely satisfactory. She was small and slender, very young and very agile. There was the grace of nature in her carriage, and, besides, she was not quite as filthy as her companions. She was arrayed in the latest Indian fashion when brought in for examination, wearing prettily [291] embroidered moccasins, colored leggins, calico short gown of many colors, with a great diversity of beads braided profusely in her hair. She was distinguished as the most expert swimmer and deepest diver in the tribe; wherefore, they had bestowed upon her the name of *To-ma-no-a-ku-no*, [551] the Sleek Otter. Altogether, she was rather a dirty but very comely maiden, in no wise equal to Kianceta, the Weasel, but much fairer than the great majority of her race. With her I entered into the holy estate of matrimony for the space 476 of one moon. After the wedding festivities, the squaws 585 generously assisted her in building a tent, bringing in presents of buffalo skins wherewithal to construct it, after the fashion of a donation party; and when it was finished, we moved in and "went to keeping house." The Sleek Otter 588 made me a faithful and affectionate wife, skinned the deer, cooked the venison, pounded the corn, mended my moccasins, and in all respects performing her conjugal duties with cheerfulness and alacrity. The course of true love ran so smooth that we glided harmoniously through the third moon, and, therefore, became irrevocably joined.

Subsequent to the marriage my privileges were very much

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

enlarged, it being considered improbable, I suppose, that I 593
would tear myself away from the partner of my bosom. I was no longer made the center-post at their war dances, but permitted to wear the gayly colored feathers in my hair, and with the warriors, "round about the cauldron stout, to dance right merrily." But I was by no means entirely at liberty, nor did their apprehensions that I would escape, if opportunity occurred, entirely vanish. I was not allowed to leave the village alone, nor to carry arms. My duties were those of an attendant upon the chief. He kept me near him always, whether on buffalo hunts or visits to the neighboring tribes. He frequently made these visits, when they required but one day's ride, with no one accompanying him but myself. At such times he was mounted on a power- [714]
ful horse, armed with bow and arrow and a musket—a tomahawk hanging from the pommel of his saddle, and a long knife in his belt; while I rode before him on a sluggish mule, entirely unarmed. We never passed the night together alone on one of these excursions. In a thousand little ways it was made evident he did not regard it exactly safe to place himself within my power.

The most thrilling incident I witnessed during my so- 578
journ with the tribe of the Rolling Thunder was an Indian duel. Among his warriors were two young men, both proud and spirited, between whom there had long existed a deadly animosity. The cause of their quarrel I could never fully understand, further than it appeared there was a young squaw in the case. Time and time again their differences had been brought before the council without any adjustment being satisfactorily effected. At length, when negotiation had become useless, it was determined to settle the matter forever in a most bloody manner.

It was a pleasant morning towards the close of autumn,

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

The Comanches

883 As boys began to approach adolescence, there were a couple of years when they drew away from girls and ceased to play their childish games with them. They ran loose in gangs, racing, hunting, wrestling, and swimming. As their fathers stole stock, they rustled food from the camp. At night they liked to go armed with ropes and cut out riding horses from the herd to joyride on the prairie. If anyone discovered them, all they had to do was to get off and scatter. They were not encouraged by adults in these escapades; neither were they scolded. Their high spirits were tolerated, for that is as a Comanche should be, and marauding youngsters at night were a useful guard against enemy raiders.

593 As the boy grew into adolescence, the normal Comanche pattern demanded extreme brother-sister avoidance, even to the extent of isolating the unmarried adolescent boy in a separate tipi set up behind his parents' lodge. Here he prepared to receive power away from the contaminating grease of cooking utensils, while he was also isolated from incestuous temptation. The brother and sister could never sit close to or touch each other.[7] This social tabu was elaborated to the point where a young man might kill his sister without suffering any social disgrace or punishment if she insisted on violating it.[8]

882 If an older boy became unruly, disrespectful, or insolent, some of the older men made him the subject of cutting sarcasm. It usually was on such an occasion that the youth could not withdraw or save his face. This form of punishment was successful in most cases. Eventually, the youth learned to conduct himself with dignity and in accordance with the social norm set by his elders. Occasionally there was a wrangle between children, but they were allowed to fight it out to the amusement of the onlookers.

881 About the time a boy retired to his own tipi, he went out on his first real buffalo hunt, and should success crown his first effort, it might be an occasion for some kind of celebration. Usually a boy learned to hunt buffalo before going on the warpath. When he had shown his ability as a hunter, he was ready and eager to go on the warpath, for most boys wished to be brave and to win war honors.

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[8] Informant: Kills Something. Kill Something's brother-in-law shot his sister for entering his room after he had warned her not to enter.

The Comanches

593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This
572 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints,* which is the same word as "friend."

882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe.
582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also 595
expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, [684]
demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a 593
marriage group, which established relationships with another mar- 595
riage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although 601
individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *ap'*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bɛt*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *ata*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's 587
brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms. 601 551 576 [794]

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain 593

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias. [124]

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ii'rĩ?aiwapi*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases. 882 593 [605]

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely. 593

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on. 593 861 858

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga- 593 855

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pû'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend- [554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected 597
with adoption.

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and 848
especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection
of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it [558]
would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to
marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him
teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship [551]
at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate
happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older
man.

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the 845
mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially
true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the
child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of power-
ful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, [184]
but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and [847]
offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone
invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died,
all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried
with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what
was offered in the way of other clothes.

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's 604
side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even 593
if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother
is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly
major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a
girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and
uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any
children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with
her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in
the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this ex-
tended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even
distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost
continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and
uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother,
incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized
patterns.

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-hus- 593
bands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of 684
children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they
chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment,

593 684 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. However, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 586 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband. [482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he [841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors, [684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

most abject slavery. It is impossible to conceive of 593
a more absolute despotism, than that under which 562
the wife is held by her husband in these savage wilds. When they hunt the buffalo, she must carry his gun, and whatever else is to be carried; when [224] he shoots the buffalo, it would be infinitely beneath his dignity to put his hand to it afterwards; she has it to skin, to cut up the meat, and, whatever be the distance, or the difficulties in the way, the poor creature must carry the hide, meat, and all, to the camp, and if it cannot be done at once, she must go and return until it is done. At the camp, she has to do all; to provide the fuel, to fetch the water, [462] to dress the buffalo skins, to dig the grave, and bury the dead. Her lordly master will seldom so much as turn himself, to get a drink of water, or to get his moccasins, or indeed anything he might please to want. In all the above, he speaks, and is instantly obeyed. Never, until I was shut up in the horrible shades of pagan darkness, where the long night of Nature holds her iron reign, did I see and feel the indebtedness particularly of my sex to the precepts of the gospel of Christ! (Would not the publication of it to these poor heathen do them some good? Would not its peaceful and equalizing precepts, help to raise these poor oppressed females, could they be brought to bear upon their cruel husbands?)

In their apparel, they differ little (as I should 291
suppose) from other tribes, unless it be in the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
175 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten
[585] wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[587] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 195 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual
even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden
with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the
quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to
a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from
every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To
the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and
agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commen-
surate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porce-
lain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and
the bland adornments of female character, have given place
to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in
which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies
detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of
punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree
proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war
party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light
and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations,
by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to
the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a dis-
astrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting bar-
barity, that often terminates in death. During the three
days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched
on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where
he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish,
and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately
recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy
every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest.
At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their
[492] movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em-
bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the
[593] saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive
them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross
727 the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
714

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca 1870]

222 [462] Mountains. But these collections form a very small part of the food necessary to sustain life.

224 462 The animals killed in the chase are skinned, cut up, and brought to camp by the women, who follow the hunters for that purpose. The whole 262 of the carcass is utilized. The entrails are regarded as appetizing morsels. [263] [462] They rarely use any condiment with their meat. When brought home, the women kindle fires and proceed to partly roast the choice pieces for their lords. The poorest pieces of flesh they may be permitted to reserve for themselves.

411 The Comanches are expert horsemen and skillful archers. The iron-tipped arrow impelled from a Comanche's *bois d'arc* bow, is a dangerous missile. They easily send it through an inch board; and I have seen the rib of an old bullock shattered by one of those arrows.

462 Among them, the women are the most abject slaves. The men do nothing, 562 except to follow the chase, go on the war-path, or decorate themselves with feathers and paint. Even this last operation conducive to manly vanity, sometimes falls to the task of the female slaves of the lodge. The slaughtered animals on the plains are brought in by them; the skins are dressed by women, fuel is collected; the herds of ponies are watched; plumes are made, the paint bags are kept in order; the tents or lodges are erected; food is prepared; and, if after performing all these services the Comanche lady finds time heavy on her hands, she is made to minister to the pleasure of her sovereign lord by adorning his buckskin leggings with delicate splotches of paint, and graceful tufts of feather plucked from the prairie eagle; to streak his face with vermillion, yellow ochre, and charcoal, until he appears in all the glory of a full fledged dandy, and then he saunters forth to exhibit his charms to the susceptible maidens of his tribe. The 562 wife, or the daughter, must, at least apparently, be delighted at the magni- 593 ficent "make up" of the dandy husband or father. Theirs is not the privilege to complain.

Among the Comanches, all women occupy the position of slaves. The daughter is the slave to the father; the wife to the husband, and if there are any who do not occupy the relationship of daughter or wife, they are 593 slaves to some male relative, or to the tribe. The father sells his daughter 583 in marriage, and the husband may sell his wife for a pony, a shining piece of silver, or a handful of beads.

562 The women can form no ties, make no bargain, and exercise no choice in social or domestic relations. The father selects a husband for his daugh- 583 ter, exacts a consideration, if she proves agreeable to the chosen son-in-law, 593 and consigns her to him, to do with her as he will. She becomes his slave,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their 584
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
N06 Comanche N06
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks. 721 178 [181] 671 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men. 562

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother. [593]

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [833]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [776]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable. 577

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

727 Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their [597] captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that 627 only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new [571] instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

627 The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance 555 to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

627 The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

684 Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And [627] this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse

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29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted.

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taβ βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you."

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act.

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter.

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk.

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder.

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90-91.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move [593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never 682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant. 627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of 602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever 682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had 627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis.*

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom [578] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder, 685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re- 627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but [825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest 787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion. 776 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign 787 toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him. 776 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super- 784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] 756 most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war 789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

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C K 601 191 177 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 178 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 593 178 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 178 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

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C 602 598 178 (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his children break these strictures.

C K 858 178 While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days. The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C K 602 178 The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

C K 608 [582] C K [178] C K [428]

Factionalism

C K 177 186 The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and traditionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

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175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
621 sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
562 war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
715 of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[778] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[775] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
754 Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
578 the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
621 groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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115 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century
159 Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants
159 when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His
797 conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches,
115 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting
159 to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society.
797 Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her
177 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man
593 and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

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115 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that
159 been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When
797 he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he
177 said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just
593 laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday morn-
ings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo-
159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one
000 trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

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115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a 115 daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, 159 Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 593 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 164

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 603 115 159 756 775

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, 115
it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 159
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The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory 115
elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she 159
addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to 756
attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select 775
from her pot, [illegible] of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion.

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane 115
of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such 159
entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus 756
possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men 778
only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible.

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such 115
as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm 159
is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal 756
home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, 775
as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere [776]
deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white [772]
men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote 115
comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. Accord- 159
ing to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore 756
entirely self-sufficient. 755
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Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman 115
as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to 159
contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying 756
the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to 771
present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme [778]
had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural
power and the desirability of its acquisition and control.

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a 115
successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 159
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection
159 of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite
756 daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does
593 not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense
115 medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is
159 received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's
756 feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may
778 acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keeichi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[736] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked 643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses [231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young 643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on 593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting 584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle, 593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning. 584 177 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her 643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white 593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding. 585 177 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"STRANGER HE COME"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming; where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
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32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[536] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

283 I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
[177] dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1873. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1828. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

They were Mangey Coat and Atsaçi. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her. 627x 684

"They answered, 'We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched With A Closed Fist and this woman is his wife.'

"I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

" 'No,' she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

"I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

"They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.[9]

"I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

"Atsaçi answered, 'We want that horse or none.'

"I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, 'All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough.' I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaçi I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

" 'What?' he said.

"I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my 'daughters' (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. 'If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love.' [595] [602]

"Then Mangey Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaçi wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

"That was what I wanted. Atsaçi was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

"He mumbled, 'Well, it's up to Mangey Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say.'

"Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a grey mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that grey horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money." [541]

Here is one of the few cases in which the *danger* of sending intermediaries appears. But ill-advised choice of counsel is a risk, even with us. Note also that a breach even of the levirate bites, though the brother-tie be purely classificatory; and that rights of the wife's "father," though but of the "father"-group, are available after marriage. 627x 602

[9] In strict form it was customary to ask for four different articles in damages.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 595 Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."[10]

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff
Informant: That's It

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

887 558 It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

x627 684 *Case 11. Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior*
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

[10] Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131–132.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

XI

The chief and his household—The matrimonial relation—Osolo, the Big Wolf—An Indian breakfast—The consultation—Moko, the favorite wife—The watch, once more—Mysterious assembling outside the camp—The captives stripped and bound—Preparations for the sacrifice—March of the warriors—The flint arrowheads—Scalping the prisoners—Sounding the war whoop—The torture—The desire to die—Taunting the victims—Compelled to look at the sufferers—The last act in the tragedy—Indian dogs—Return to camp—Obstinacy—Interview with Aikens—The sorrowful parting—Change of mind—Removal of the camp—Description of the country.

727 In the morning I was released from the uncomfortable
595 position I had occupied during the night, allowed to sit up with only my hands tied behind my back, a change which afforded inexpressible relief. I soon comprehended the number and character of the household in which necessity had forced me to take up board and lodging for an indefinite period of time. It consisted of a tall, stout Indian, who had apparently long passed the middle age of life, and his four wives. The latter were comparatively young, none of them exceeding twenty-three or twenty-four years. The youngest was by far the most comely and graceful and evidently the favorite. Each wife, as is the Comanche custom, had her separate and distinct apartment, consisting of a small tent erected outside of, but adjoining, the husband's.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [202] [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left [591]
the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-
red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

583 arranged marriage the wife is likely to become angry on the least provocation and leave." Such precipitate action is explained partly by the fact that girls were given to men much older than they. "If parents give a daughter to an older man, she doesn't like it. If they do it once, nothing is said. If they do it often, people don't like it; they talk."[18]

Occasionally an up-and-coming youth who was industrious and showed promise as a warrior was sought out by a father or brother and asked to marry a girl in their family. Such a man was usually a captive; a fullblood Comanche would consider it disgraceful for him to accept advances from the girl's family. The father or brother in such a case took gifts to the prospective bridegroom. Here there was direct action—no sending of intermediaries or hiding out of sight. If the young man accepted, the girl was brought to him that night, and her parents provided most of the household necessities.

●595 All these steps were possibilities in a first marriage. In addition, the Comanches observed several forms of affinal marriage; i.e., marriage to a relative by a previous marriage. The levirate and sororate were the strongest of these. The number of wives might run anywhere from one to six or more. It was a normal pattern for a man to take as wives the younger sister or sisters of his first wife and any women he might have captured or girls who grew up as captives in the tribe. Sororal polygyny was used by parents to induce a son-in-law to observe zealously his economic obligations to them. His reward was a second sister to wife. The contract was frequently made while the child was still quite young, even before she reached teen age. Although such a wife was treated as a child, she shared the privileges of a wife.

Polyandry as practiced by the Comanches was attenuated in form. It was a practice which might also be called "anticipatory levirate" and consisted in brothers' lending each other their wives. "One is really her husband, of course." Sexual jealousy between brothers was socially deprecated. "A man loves his brother; he knows that if his brother dies, no one can replace him; he gives him everything he can," explained That's It. "A brother therefore sends his wife over to him occasionally as a gift. She cannot go of her own free will or

[18] Informant: Breaks Something.

meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a marriage group, which established relationships with another marriage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *ap'*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bɛt*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *aʔa*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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mother-in-law tabu in Comanche society, probably because of the old 606
Shoshonean system of pseudo cross-cousin marriages in which a boy married the step-daughter of his father's sister, thus equating mother-in-law with paternal aunt. The absence of the avoidance practice is entirely sensible, since a boy had been accustomed to treating his mother-in-law as a preferred aunt. The same relationship held for a girl and her father-in-law. The Comanches had given up the pseudo cross-cousin marriages, but the terminology and its accompanying attitudes carried on. This patterns of social conduct was quite in contrast with that of some of the other Plains tribes. Among the Cheyennes, who were neighbors of the Comanches, for example, a man never spoke to, or knowingly went near, his mother-in-law until late in life when he had presented her with a war trophy. A Comanche mother-in-law could talk or even joke with her son-in-law, although extreme familiarity was carefully avoided. The normal pattern in Comanche society was that a son-in-law should respect and help his mother-in-law. In case of an attack on the camp, a son-in-law was expected to protect his mother-in-law. In case he failed to do so, the sympathy of the group was with the abandoned mother-in-law, who could order her daughter to leave him, as in the case of the woman whose son-in-law refused to give her his horse when they were being chased by the Tonkawas. "When we get home, you don't live with my daughter any longer," was her dictum. A hunter felt obligated to share his game with his wife's parents. A father-in-law had the privilege of ordering the dissolution of a marriage when the son-in-law gave personal offense to either parent-in-law.

In polygynous families many of the secondary wives were cap- 595
tives whose lot in the household was that of "chore wives," helpers to the first wife. If the wives were all sisters, the oldest one usually continued as "boss," even as she had among her sisters before her marriage. This fact explains why the Comanches thought sisters made better multiple wives. There was less possibility of friction developing because a younger wife challenged the supremacy of an older one. One wife was always favored and was free to be her husband's constant companion. She was called the *pataiβo,* "chief" wife. The favored wife usually escaped much of the hard labor and drudgery which fell to the lot of other wives. She carried her husband's shield

The Comanches

595 on the march, unless menstruating, when he carried it himself. In fact, however, plural wives tended to reduce the domestic drudgery of all through a sharing of labor.

A man with only two or three wives and not too many children kept them all in one tipi. An important man's wives ordinarily lived apart, however, each woman having her own tent for herself and her children. Among the poorer families when wives were sisters, they sometimes used only the one tipi and possibly one bed for a time, but they always constructed separate tipis as soon as possible.[20] The opening of these tents was on the main tipi which was occupied by the husband. Long buckskin strings, attached to the buffalo mattress of each woman, were laid under the fold of the tent into the tipi of the husband so that he could instantly summon any one of his wives.

163 Comanche women were not very prolific, and death of the mother
842 at childbirth was not uncommon.[21] The average birth rate seems
847 scarcely to have exceeded two children to each woman, and it was a rare case when there were more than three or four born to one woman. Births were far apart, and the newborn were usually small. Many women were barren. Contraceptives were unknown to the Comanches, but abortions were practiced by beating the belly with stones. Hard physical work and constant horseback riding also apparently induced abortions so early in pregnancy that they went unnoticed.

844 Giving birth to a child was ordinarily a simple affair. Cases have been reported of women on the trail dropping behind the group, giving birth to their children, and then after a few hours rejoining the group on the march.[22] Under normal conditions, however, natal preparations were made. If a woman had her own tipi, she might use it; but if it was used by other members of the family, a separate lodge was constructed. In the summer it would be of brush about eight feet in diameter and six or seven feet high. Inside the lodge the earth

[20] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[21] R. N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society *Bulletin*, 1 (1929), 63.

[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ü'rü?aiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593
855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child
● [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry
[158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service,
[727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend-
[554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper
[835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

593 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. How-
684 ever, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe
586 that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

● 595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband. [482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he [841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors, [684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size. 595 [556]

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it. 607

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *tatê'ci*, and for tarantula, *pī'hīre'ci*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. [195] [522]

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 754 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
175 789 They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's
(Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen
harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some
operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds,
when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few
will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence
in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle.
They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 751 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla
bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in
preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more
frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a
description so cursory as this.

175 595 [585] The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten
wives, being restrained only by their own capricious hu-
mours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of
some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[587] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed,
to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the
creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and
prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamen-
tation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally pro-
portions the number of his help-mates to his means of main-
tenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in
procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 593 462 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in
carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter,
in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
231 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[585] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will
[726] not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[782] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[784] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone
462 distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657] by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595] modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343] camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

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One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue. 643 [114]

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area. 595 643 177

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law. 643 595 657

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

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643 choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and
595 build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass
657 Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

[186] It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company.
[563] In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

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simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

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595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] [251] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

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In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [518]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

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595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had 423 fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using 417 four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had 342 also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, 592 and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, 352 from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on 513 forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [348]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 348
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

516 [352]

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

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When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start. 413

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs. 122 124

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group. 432 [436] 432 595

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases. [855] [858]

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The women and girls rode in the wagon or hack, but the men and 442
boys would be mounted on their finest horses. Their saddles and [443]
bridles would be polished, and each would be carrying a gaudy quirt.
I got the impression that when the men and boys were put on parade 562
like this, they belonged to the whole family of women and girls. At
least, they would all be equally puffed up with pride; It wouldn't
have done to have pricked any one of them with a needle.

I grew up in a society where we all had Sunday clothes put away 292
for special occasions. But this Comanche custom of dolling up the
men and boys carried a greater significance for them. It was of a
ritualistic nature.

To sum up: contrary to the impression of inner family turmoil I 595
had received from the accounts in the *Star* and the *Journal* of the 578
workings of polygamy, the Comanche made it work. As far as the
older Comanches were concerned, it had been and was an ideal ar-
rangement.

To all appearances, everyone involved in the multiple wife setup—
the husband, the wives, the children—was quite happy with it. I
never observed a quarrel between wives. I never saw one wife mis-
treat another. Nor did I ever observe a display of jealousy in relation
to either husband or child.

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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Kee-ichi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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000 30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate 643 545 177 342 quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, 609 and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping 432 in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, 609 each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article 432 as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother began having trouble. 595

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. [198] As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of [124] their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 778
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without 726
waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his 778 [595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes.
A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Its place was in the rear of the wagon bed. That way, if it leaked, it 000
wouldn't damage the other merchandise.

The trip home took about six to seven hours. If the roads were muddy, it took longer. Dad was generally gone from home about fourteen hours, but the team had at least three hours to rest in Lawton. They couldn't make these trips day in, day out. We planned at least a day's rest between trips.

This particular morning Dad was ready to leave by the time I had the team hitched up, and I went in, hoping Mother had my breakfast ready. As I ate, she asked me if I had heard anything about Albert [164]
Martny's falling from a horse, catching his foot in a stirrup, and being dragged.

The Jim Martny family, one of the more prosperous Comanche families, was one of my own family's favorites. Jim was larger than most Comanches; many folks called him Big Jim. He was a multiple- [595]
wife Indian, and his favorite wife was the mother of two boys—Albert, then in his fourteenth year, and Earny, who was twelve. Jim's other wives' children were girls.

Indirectly, the way Mother learned about Albert's accident was that ours was one of the luckier towns—we had a doctor. Dr. McLain, just out of medical school, settled in our town with his young wife only a few days before we arrived. He built a combination office and residence across the street, and a bit east, from where Dad built our store building.

Mrs. McLain was expecting a baby before long; and when the doctor made an out-of-town call, Mother or Mrs. Cudyback, the wife of a saloonkeeper living directly across the street from the store, would sit with her. Occasionally Mrs. McLain would go to the Cudyback home or sit in our store until the doctor returned. The night before, both Mother and Mrs. Cudyback had visited with Mrs. McLain, and Mother was full of the story about Albert's accident. Mr. Cudyback picked up a good deal of gossip at the saloon he and his brother Will ran, and Mrs. McLain told what she learned from her doctor husband.

Jim Martny owned two well-bred racing stallions, and his other 492
horses were of superior quality compared to the horses owned by most 541
of his Comanche neighbors. I don't know how long Albert had been riding his father's horses in races, but early in 1902, when our town began holding races each first and third Saturday, Albert was his

593 855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pa'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend- [554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective. 603

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"*Friends.*" While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[19] 572 [597] 572 183

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nimī?dra?* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hdic*, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as 572 196

[19] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hdic* relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name 736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood [597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo, 726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing 643 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also 595
expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, [684]
demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a 593
marriage group, which established relationships with another mar- 595
riage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although 601
individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *ap'*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bet*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *ata*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's 597
brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

127 pecially if one accepts the implication of the necessity for comparative background contained in the first part of the quotation. This scheme is basic to a number of North American studies contained in the *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, edited by Fred Eggan,[4] and will be followed here, though without strict adherence in detail to the method of the Eggan volume.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

60) The list of terms which identify relatives among the Comanche are given in a separate table, the first being descriptive, and those in parentheses the forms used in direct address. With them are included the English equivalents for the closer relationships; these will be used hereafter for the sake of clarity whenever possible.[5]

Comanche Kinship Terms and Their English Equivalents

có·ʔ (có·ʔ)	g.g.p.; g.g.cil.
kɪ' nuʔ (kɪ'nhʊ)	f.f., f.f.b., f.m.b., f.f.si.h., f.m.si.h.; *m.s.*: s.cil., b.s.cil., si.s.cil., w.b.s.cil., w.si.s.cil.
hu''ciʔ (hu'cɪ)	f.m., f.m.si., f.f.si., f.m.b.w., f.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: s.cil., si.s.cil., b.s.cil., h.si.s.cil., h.b.s.cil.
to'koʔ (to'ko)	m.f., m.f.b., m.m.b., m.m.si.h., m.f.si.h.; *m.s.*: d.cil., b.d.cil., si.d.cil., w.si.d.cil., w.b.d.cil.
ka'kuʔ (ka'kʊ)	m.m., m.m.si., m.f.si., m.m.b.w., m.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: d.cil., si.d.cil., b.d.cil., h.si.d.cil., h.b.d.cil.
ʔa''pɪʔ (ʔa''p(ɪ))	f., f.b., m.si.h., m.si.h.b.
pi'a' (pi'a)	m., m.si., f.b.w., f.b.w.si.
ʔá'raʔ (ʔá'ɣhA)	m.b., f.si.h.; *m.s.*: si.cil., w.b.cil.
pa'haʔ (pá̋hA)	f.si., m.b.w.; *w.s.*: b.cil., h.si.cil.
pa'viʔ (pá̋vɪ)	o.b., *if older than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
ta'miʔ (ta'mɪ)	y.b., *if younger than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
pa'ciʔ (pa'cɪ)	o.si., *if older than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.
na'miʔ (na'mɪ)	y.si., *if younger than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.

cerned with the historical and structural aspects of the problem, that is, whether similar kinship systems always implied similar social structure in comparable cultures and vice versa. As no one denies the association of *some* specific behavior with the use of kinship terms within any society, it does not appear necessary to take a position here relative to this question.

[4] Eggan (1937).

[5] Hoebel has already presented such a table. However, he does not distinguish between the descriptive and the address forms, nor does he include all the terms here listed. Therefore it seems advisable to present the complete system again. *See* Hoebel (1939), pp. 441–442.

Most abbreviations used should be obvious. A few may be amplified: cil (children), *m.s.* (man speaking), *w.s.* (woman speaking).

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sa'mu'pɪʔ (sa'mup)	*m.s.:* si.; *w.s.:* b.; also cousins of opp. sex.
ta'kaʔ (no address form)	b., si.: also cousins.
tu'aʔ (tua')	s.; *m.s.:* b.s., w.si.s.; *w.s.:* si.s., h.b.s.
pe'tɪʔ (pe't(ɪ))	d.; *m.s.:* b.d., w.si.d.; *w.s.:* si.d., h.b.d.
mo'na'pɪʔ (mo'napɪ)	d.h., si.d.h., b.d.h.
hu''cipia'pɪʔ (hu''cipia')	s.w., b.s.w., si.s.w.
cò·ʔaʔa''pɪʔ (cò·ʔaʔa'p(ɪ))	g.d.h.
cò·ʔapi'aʔ (cò·ʔapi'a')	g.s.w.
nɪmɪco'·ʔ (nɪmɪco'·ʔ)	*m.s.:* w.g.p.; *w.s.:* h.g.p.
nɪmɪto'koʔ (nɪmɪto'ko)	*m.s.:* w.f., w.f.b., w.f.si.h., w.m.b., w.m.si.h.
nɪmɪka'kuʔ (nɪmɪka'ku)	*m.s.:* w.m., w.m.si., w.f.si., w.m.b.w., w.f.b.w.
ya'hi'pɪʔ (ya'hip)	*w.s.:* h.f., h.f.b., h.m.b., h.f.si.h., h.m.si.h.; h.m., h.m.si., h.f.si., h.m.b.w., h.f.b.w.
ku·'ma'pɪʔ (kû'map(ɪ))	*w.s.:* h., h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
kwɪ''p (kwɪ'h(ɪ))	*m.s.:* w., w.si., b.w., b.w.si.
te'ʔcɪ (te'ʔcɪ)	*m.s.:* w.b., si.h.
pa'hapia'pɪʔ (pa'hapia'pɪʔ)	*w.s.:* h.si., b.w.
ha'ipia (ha'ipia)	*m.s.:* w.si., b.w., b.w.si.; *w.s.:* h.b., si.h., si.h.b.
ha'ic (ha'ic)	*m.s.:* male friend; w.si.h.(?); f.b.s., f.si.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.
tɪ'·iʔ (tɪ'·i)	*w.s.:* female friend; h.b.w.(?); f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.

It is important to recognize that, with one somewhat confused exception (háic), these relationship terms each apply to a group of individuals of indefinite number, limited only by the fact that they normally belong only to one generation (of relationship, not age), and of course that they all stand in a certain relation to the speaker. While this group may have no functional significance as such, and certainly its limits are very poorly defined in any given case, this is the manner in which the kinship system operates at the verbal level. Behaviorally, there is no doubt that a certain focal individual (or individuals) is clearly recognized, and the rest of the group is more or less characterized, at least potentially, by this focal relationship; but to describe these groups exclusively in terms of such a person or persons is to give an erroneous picture of the actual structure of the system.

COMPARATIVE

In seeking for comparisons with Comanche kinship customs, one finds that these corroborate the already known origin of the Comanche as an offshoot of the Wyoming Shoshoni. Comparing them with the nearby Fort Hall and Lemhi Shoshoni relationship terminologies as given by Steward[9] one finds such extreme similarity, both phonetically and conceptually, that a very close historical connection between the two is indisputable. The only real difference is a negative one: the Comanche have no terms for a child's spouse's parents, and thus 601 171

[9] Steward (1938 a), pp. 297–306.

601 do not consider them relatives. The other difference of any importance is the
171 substitution of a single unanalyzable term for the husband's parents noted above; the Lemhi Shoshoni have all four of the "our (children's) grandparent" terms possible, and the Fort Hall Shoshani three, according to Steward.

From this general Fort Hall area in southeastern Idaho, among the various Basin groups, similarities with the Comanche relationship terminology gradually decrease to the south and southwest, as might be expected.

Wider comparisons with Uto-Aztecan and other kinship systems may be found in a recent article of Shimkin's,[7] for such close similarities with the Basin groups permit his conclusions concerning the Shoshoni to be applied to the Comanche without modification.

APPLICATION OF THE TERMINOLOGY

601 While the structure of the Comanche kinship terminology is such that the number of people covered by it is theoretically infinite, it is obvious that there must be some limit to the size of the groups involved.

In the ascending generations, a limit is set by the terms at the third. Actually, the possibility that anyone old enough to use these words would have a great-grandparent living was fairly small, specially in the pre-settlement days. Furthermore, the Comanche had a tabu on mentioning the name of any relative or close friend who was dead, so that discussion of the family tree was never a pastime, and, in most cases, little children never knew or soon forgot who their great-grandparents were.

Beyond the third descending generation, one "runs out of relatives" also, and may select any terms one wishes to describe great-great-grandchildren and others of this generation. There is thus considerable variation to be found in these distant relationships. One informant started over with younger sibling terms, while another just repeated the designation of "great-grandchild." Naturally, these relationships are only a little more common than those with great-grandparents; they nearly always involve very old people and little children, and are usually not in a direct line of descent, permitting some discrepancy between age and generation.

Thus while there are occasional exceptions, the kinship terminology normally operates over a span of six generations, two above and three below that of the speaker.

Horizontally, however, there is no such limitation either of terminology or, directly at least, of mortality. No other mechanism is consciously recognized, nor is any apparent in a systematic examination of genealogical material. However, as a rough rule of thumb, it may be said that, with surprisingly few exceptions, the line of kinship ceases to be traced when it has passed through two marriage relationships between the speaker and the person under con-

[7] Shimkin (1941).

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sideration, with no other blood ties to bridge the gap. The existence of the "unrelated" spouses involved in these second marriages as parts of the group of relations under consideration is recognized, and a number of relatives of theirs may even be given under questioning, but some different line of relationship, usually stemming from a purported "blood" tie, is selected by which to identify them. The completeness of this other identification is well illustrated by the fact that frequently, when an informant was asked what the correct term for one of these individuals would be through the line which had been under consideration, the answer could be shown by later checking to be incorrect. 601

Exceptions to this rule are, of course, relatively frequent, the most common cause being variations in residence. Thus the man from whom I collected a complete genealogy[8] spent the whole of the course of his fairly long second marriage with his wife's family, and thus became accustomed to using the proper terms for a great many of them, in spite of the fact that several were connected by lines involving two marriages beside his own. Another remarkably frequent situation was one in which another line of descent coincides with the one in question, and, reinforcing this last, causes the group to be considerably extended in size. There was no awareness of whether a given relationship should be traced back through one or the other line.

Personality factors are unquestionably also operative in governing the size of the kin-group; not only will relationship be more readily admitted or sought after with people one likes or who are high in prestige, and vice versa, but we also had a feeling that some people were much more anxious than others to surround themselves with as many relatives as possible and to be able to implement these relationships by knowing how to trace them, thus supporting the implication of admittance to the in-group of the addressee, and the mutual support and esteem there expected. This opinion was corroborated by some of the younger men, but we were not able to get any more direct evidence than this. Naturally, our knowledge of the personalities of the informants was comparatively sketchy as a result of our short contact with them. Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn has indicated that his extensive work with the Navaho has shown clearly that such a desire exists among certain individuals there, leading to an effort to expand the group of known kin as far as possible. 601 157

[8] Two complete genealogies were collected, one from a man (T), and the other from a woman (TY). T had been blind for the last twenty-eight years of his life, so that he did not always know some of the younger people. Other informants contributed more fragmentary genealogical information, limited both by time and their lack of interest in the subject, while all informants produced isolated examples and generalizations in response to questions. The two complete genealogies comprised 187 and 133 individuals respectively.

It should be noted that the phrase "line of relationship" refers to no functional kingroup, but only to those individuals through whom relationship is traced.

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601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. [582] Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one [184] informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

[551] She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

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many lines of relationship which each person traces, running back and forth through most of the people he knows, overlapping and coinciding very frequently. Naturally, the use of such a system involves many choices between two or more possible terms to be applied to some certain individual. The choices have often been made by one's parents, and are just adhered to; but in many other cases this is not so. It is especially true when one marries, for in this way a large constellation of new relationships is established through one's spouse. Usually, the choice is made, and this usage is continued thenceforward; if the connecting relationship is broken through death or divorce, the person may or may not keep the terminology established by it. Sometimes, the two alternatives are both kept alive, and are used interchangeably; operations of this sort make it easy to go one step further, and manipulate the terms of kinship in situations where there is no actual justification for some particular usage except expediency. 602 601

In most cases the choice is quite clear-cut: one relationship is closer than the other, and it is automatically used. Thus when T married his third wife, another woman whom he had called wife, or *hâipia*, and with whom he had been carrying on a joking relationship, became his sister. With the day of his marriage he began to call her "sister," and continued to do so, practically without exception, until his own wife died; the sister relationship was then abruptly dropped again. There are a great many such instances; this one is especially interesting because the reciprocal joking relationship, which had been avidly pursued, was terminated quite as abruptly as was the use of the term, and, with his wife's death, was at once reinstated; thus the relationship was conceived of both terminologically and behaviorally as existing quite apart from the person through whom it was made, and no restrictions of mourning were associated with it afterward.

By this same marriage, another woman who had been related as a sister through another "old relation" became a wife and *hâipia*, and started joking with her new-found "husband." They joked a good deal, but when she began to get the best of him, he would call her "sister," to remind her of the other relationship, and she would have to stop at once. A related situation is one in which, for example, a man's brother's wife, who had always called him "husband," and who was potentially his wife through the levirate, would start calling him by a sibling term upon the death of this brother, in order to indicate that it was not necessary for him to fulfill his obligation of replacing his brother as her husband. A fair number of such shifts were recorded, in various relationships where potential marriage situations existed. TY called her second husband's mother and her sister by the proper parent-in-law terms; but as they grew older they became blind, and she used to help them a great deal. To signalize this dependency they felt toward her, they began calling her "daughter," and she called them "mother." A daughter-in-law who gets along unusually well with her husband's mother is quite frequently called by the closer term of [587]

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602 daughter; in the same way, a girl who has been reared to a large extent by her
601 grandmother, especially if she is an orphan, or illegitimate, will be called "daughter," and will reciprocate by calling her grandmother "mother." It is interesting to note that these relationships, however artificial they may be, are always consistent. A person will never use a special relationship term toward another unless this other reciprocates by using an appropriate term toward the first.

The closer terms of kinship which we have just seen substituted for more distant correct terms are also extended in their application to non-related or little-known people toward whom one wishes to show friendliness or respect. Thus a man will usually call a stranger "father," or "mother's father," depending on his age—this latter term is considered to denote the closest relationship, as far as warmth and dependence go, of the two grandfathers.

More formalized are such usages as the reciprocal joking which goes on between grandparents and grandchildren, which operates largely by means of their using various sets of kinship terms and then making jokes about their consequences; this will be considered in more detail in the next section. Also, if
[572] two persons standing in a certain relationship to each other each have close friends of the same sex as themselves, these two friends may playfully adopt
[195] parallel relationship terms toward each other. The terms in this case have a phonetic pattern slightly different from the normal usage.

Perhaps of the same nature is the custom whereby two young men may call each other *nīmūī'·iʔ*, "our girl friends," to signalize some affair which they had with two girls who were friends; this usage is said sometimes to continue throughout life, though no instances were recorded.

In these examples it is evident that the universal applicability of kinship terminology and the choices of relationships which are presented, together with extensions of its usage outside of genealogically traceable relatives, make this system a remarkably flexible tool in the hands of its users. With the selection of terms there is, apparently, a selection of behavior patterns also, always followed consistently by both parties involved.

The Comanche seem to follow the usual custom in regard to more distant relationships, wherein the behavior patterns found in the immediate family become gradually less distinct and demanding, and more permissive in nature, providing opportunities for fulfilling them to any degree which the person wishes. Yet some aspects of behavior appear to persist very strongly; this is well exemplified by the alternation of sister and joking relationships already mentioned.

It remains now to see what these behavior patterns are which are associated with the relationship terms, and to what extent there is a distinct pattern for each term.

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BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms. 601 551 576 [794]

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain 593

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias. [124]

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* cikshó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

[p. 231-A]

192 197 the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

[60] The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

192 197 193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĪ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĪ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĪ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matīma? tīmī· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nīrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nīhW *two dimes.*

121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

[113]

[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĪ, *for corn.*

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·ɨ', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74–103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

[p. 231-B]

192 **tutú·ʔ** *automobile, train, anything that whistles* [onomatopoeia].

195 **kaká·ʔ, kaká** *bird; head louse.*

kanî·ʔ *house, tipi* [kánhI].

kokó·ʔ *fruit, candy, cookies; any snack between meals;* give me. . . .

cikî·ʔ *chicken* [English].

cicî·ʔ *breast, bottle, milk, I want to be suckled!* [pícip *milk, breast*].

cîʔci ʔ, pîci ʔ mother to child when she is going to nurse it.

mamá·ʔ *horse;* said by child when it wants to be carried on someone's back.

mamá·ʔ *mother* [English].

mukî·ʔ, mu·kî·ʔ *giant, owl, bogey* (to scare child) [related to mú·pic, the legendary *giant owl*].

mumú·ʔ used to scare child; child's exclamation of fright; *the dark, thunder; cow.*

naná·ʔ *it might hurt, get away; blood, sore, hurt;* said if baby doesn't feel well; if it is bitten or hurt by another child [see ʔaná·].

nînî·ʔ *doll; baby; little ones of animals; little. . . .*

nînicî·ʔ *dear little doll, baby* [related to the pronominal prefix, nî-, *I, me*].

waʔó·ʔ, wa·ʔó·ʔ *cat* [adult: wáʔo·].

ʔîʔsI, nîʔîsik *cover me!* [adult: ʔîhîkI, nîʔîhîkI].

wîʔasI *penis* [adult: wîʔA (wîʔasi ʔ male personal name *one who has a penis*)].

The sI here, and also in the baby word for *vagina,* **táʔsI**, is probably derived from the diminutive suffix, -cI.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 195 **piá** *mother* (the regular adult word; there is no special baby word in common use).

pipiá said by some babies.

ʔapî·ʔ *father, father's brother, father's haic (friend)* [ʔápĪ address form; ʔáhpī ʔ reference form].

ʔatá·ʔ *mother's brother, husband of mother's friend* [ʔárhA address form; ʔára ʔ reference form].

pacî·ʔ *older sister* [pácI address form; pácī ʔ reference form].

[p. 2-A]

601 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form; 195 námi? reference form].

taká·? *sibling* [tákA address form; táka? reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pávI address form; pávi? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; káku? reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kīnú·? *father's father* [kĩnU address form; kĩnu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first [591] used for all grandparents. This suggests matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned. 195 There is a tendency for children to add the diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the re- 193 lated -eI to words; e.g., haicí·? for haíc *friend*. Reduplication,[3] as might be inferred

[113] [3] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

[p. 12-B]

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 C K 124 123 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

/page 31 continued/

K 361 542 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison. C 361 This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko. According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more difficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal. K [361] Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north. Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in respect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not appear to be having significant results other factors (see first report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

C K 484 601 602 [493] [491] As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites. Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [562] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 177 602 [160] [582] [588] [684] patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 177 602

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 191 177 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 178 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 593 178 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 178 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

They were Mangey Coat and Atsaçi. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her. 627x 684

"They answered, 'We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched With A Closed Fist and this woman is his wife.'

"I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

" 'No,' she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

"I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

"They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.[9]

"I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

"Atsaçi answered, 'We want that horse or none.'

"I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, 'All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough.' I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaçi I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

" 'What?' he said.

"I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my 'daughters' (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. 'If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love.' [595] [602]

"Then Mangey Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaçi wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

"That was what I wanted. Atsaçi was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

"He mumbled, 'Well, it's up to Mangey Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say.'

"Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a grey mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that grey horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money." [541]

Here is one of the few cases in which the *danger* of sending intermediaries appears. But ill-advised choice of counsel is a risk, even with us. Note also that a breach even of the levirate bites, though the brother-tie be purely classificatory; and that rights of the wife's "father," though but of the "father"-group, are available after marriage. 627x 602

[9] In strict form it was customary to ask for four different articles in damages.

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x627 take action by the force of social opinion; yet he had small chance of
684 succeeding.

It is true that his kin would avenge his death if he were killed in carrying out his social obligation to prosecute. Small comfort in that. What he sought was not death but an adjustment in accordance with his legal rights. Where the balance of prowess lies normally on the side of the wrong-doer in an individualistic system, the process of law will be checked. This is because the ultimate legal sanction is force, the very power in which the prosecutor may find himself shorthanded. If this prevails generally, then the foundation is sapped from under the structure of legal order. But if the power of the wronged party equals that of the transgressor, a different situation exists. A settlement can be effected through bargaining. Here the sociological principles of compromise are clearly operative: an avoidance of force to effect exchanges in terms of mutual concessions. John R. Commons writes, "Arbitration is never accepted until each party to a dispute is equally afraid of the other, and when they have reached that point, they can adopt something better than arbitration, namely, negotiation."[11]

x627 Unconsciously operating on this principle, a Comanche prosecuted by
●602 himself only if sure of his own courage in relation to that of the defendant. But Comanche society took an important step forward in effecting an equalization of powers when the aggrieved was not strong enough to prosecute by himself. The aggrieved was allowed the privilege, apparently not customarily granted the defendant, of marshalling his kin and friends to aid him in seeking restitution. In many instances these partisans took over the complete responsibility of negotiations. In other cases, the aggrieved accompanied them on their mission, but refrained from entering the bargaining activities. In no single specific case did the defendant take recourse to similar reinforcements. It does not seem to have been his privilege. Consequently, the collectivization of the bravery of blood relatives and friends by the prosecutor may be viewed as a social mechanism whose function was to give added protection to the rights of the husband.[12]

This practice often allowed for such a show a force on the side of the aggrieved that the defendant could actually be cowed. Though this might seem unfair, there is more justice and stronger check to illegal action if it is

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[11] J. R. Commons, *A New Way of Settling Labor Disputes* (American Review of Reviews, Vol. 23), p. 328. Commons' truth is an overstatement. Not "equally afraid," but "enough to make battle highly inconvenient," is more accurate.

[12] The only contradictory evidence to this is the statement by Post Oak Jim that once there was trouble over damages between a couple of groups fighting with rifles, "so I didn't get close enough to see much." The fact of rifles indicates that it is a late case.

the defendant and not the wronged party who is thus intimidated. Accordingly, this occasional overbalancing of forces on the prosecuting side does not so much defeat the aim of law as would the alternative condition, and is socially more defensible. Nevertheless, as we shall see, abuse by the plaintiff could lead to repercussions. Defendants, too, were within the protection of the law. 627x 602

A number of conditions entered into the matter of group aid in such endeavors. The "rightness" of the aggrieved party's case was a strong operative factor when it came to gathering his group. To participate in such a group if petitioned was a kinship responsibility, though not an obligation. It was rather reciprocity, in this case, which made the responsibility a reality. Theoretically any man could refuse to help a relative, but it was the better part of wisdom to go along with him. Who knew but what the day might come when each man in turn would need the help of the others? And there was material gain to be had by participation.

Brothers and friends who were called "brother" were those obligated to act for the aggrieved, if he called upon them. This obligation was fortified by a right to a share in the damages collected; the participants' right to a cut in the compensation took precedence over the aggrieved's. The ludicrous result was that sometimes a man's "lawyer" brothers got all, while he was left to contemplate the satisfaction of having seen the law through.[13] This is a stated principle, but does not appear in our case material. To be accurate, however, these "brothers" had more than a lawyer's interest, [587] and a closer responsibility than that of other relatives was theirs. Through the institution of levirate they had a partial claim on the aggrieved husband's wife. They too were wronged. This claim could in itself give rise directly to occasional legal action. Hence their share in the damages was more than pay for helping in the procedure. It was a share in composition for a wrong mutually suffered. But why did the "brothers' " rights to the goods take precedence over the husband's? A hazarded explanation would be that it served as an inducement to reinforce the obligation the brothers held.

Or is it possible that a broader force was in operation here? The practice may be associated with prestige compulsions. It was more grandiose wantonly to kill a horse than to take one. It was more noble to reward one's helpers than to grab the take for oneself. The principal was under social compulsion to be noble. Is it a parallel to the rule of the raiding party that the leader should be the last to share?

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[13] Bobby Burns, 'tis said, ruefully declared, "The Lawyers get the a' of it."

HOMICIDE

MURDER AND RETALIATION

x627 The description of proceedings thus far set forth reveals clearly enough that the native law made little effort to conceal the importance of coercion and force in its functioning. The Comanches, particularly, were a fighting people who did not fear violent action. To them *ability* to possess was "nine points of the law." Even so, it has been shown how far they had gone in modifying the primitiveness of this principle by setting up a legal mechanism of adjudication and compromise for certain offenses.

For murder, however, there was no adjudication or compromise in 682 Comanche society. In the event of murder the *lex talionis* was invoked. The case was not closed until the kin of the dead man had taken the life of the murderer. There was no acceptance of composition as was the case with some other tribes of the plains.[1] Nor was there intervention and banishment pronounced by the chiefs as among the Cheyenne or the Omaha.[2]

●602 682 Among the Comanches, where kin organization was weak, the principle of kinship liability was not potent enough to result in feud. In principle a simple retaliation was all that was required; the murderer must be the victim. There was no ruthless taking of life of whomsoever happened to be related to the murderer. The kin feeling was strong enough, however, to induce the kin of a murderer to do their best to protect him for some time. As long as vigilance was maintained, unless the murder led to hot-blooded vengeance on the spot, no attempt at attack seems to have been made. The avengers simply waited until time wore down the watchfulness of the protectors; then the avenging thrust was made.

There is but one case known to us in which the kin groups met in open clash. And that was a strange mix-up.

Case 13. Murder: Cooks Dried Meat vs. Pïïsku
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Cooks Dried Meat had a wife. Early one morning he told her, 'We're going hunting.' After they had gone quite a way, Cooks Dried Meat told his wife to dismount. She did so. Then he took her to a tree and tressed her to it. He faced her and said accusingly, 'You and your uncle (a classificatory brother of her mother) are intimate.' The woman denied it. But he persisted, 'I saw you helping him fix his hair. You were looking for lice on his scalp.' With that he whipped her hard and then took her home.

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[1] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 403.

[2] A. Fletcher and F. LaFleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 27, 1906), p. 215.

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"That evening just before dark the wife left his lodge and went to the tipi of her uncle. She arrived just as he and his wife were finishing eating. When they had finished their supper, they asked what might be on her mind. 'I have come to carry tales,' she said. 'Go on,' he replied. 'Well, your son-in-law, Cooks Dried Meat, accused me of being intimate with you, and he whipped me badly.' Her uncle was indignant. 'The brute, the bad thing, the devil—you shall not go back to him.' His mother and father were living in the same tipi, so he asked the woman to stay there. 682 602

"A little later there was the sound of something outside, and a voice said, 'I have come for the person who is visiting you.' 'Go home!' the uncle shouted back, 'she is staying here.' It was fall and cool enough to have a fire and eat indoors. They went to bed.

"The uncle's tipi was at one end of the encampment; the husband's was at the other. Just at white dawn a voice shouted out from the tipi of Cooks Dried Meat. 'Get ready Pítsku (the uncle). Prepare yourself!'

"It stirred a terrible commotion. Everybody woke up and asked what was going to happen and angry voices were heard. Cooks Dried Meat strode forth accompanied by his father, the aged peace chief, Tongue, and a young man. They went towards the tipi. 602 682 579

"Close to that tipi was one of an old man who lived with his grandson. He stuck his head out and received an arrow full in the throat. As his relatives pulled loose the shaft they cried, 'We shall wipe Cooks Dried Meat out. We shall join Pítsku to do this. Then they fired and killed Tongue. The fight was on. Pítsku got badly wounded in the rump. Hard by was my mother-in-law's tipi—a big one. Into this Pítsku scurried for shelter. Next the son of Cooks Dried Meat was killed, making two men shot on each side. Cooks Dried Meat came to my mother-in-law's tipi to get Pítsku, but the old woman warned him away. 'You don't kill him in my tent,' she threatened. 'If you do, it will not be well for you. The man of this house is a great warrior and a strong medicine man. It will go ill with you if you shed blood in his tipi.'

"By that time a group of men had intervened. 'Stop it,' they ordered. 'It is enough that two men have been killed on either side. Stop.'

"Cooks Dried Meat then fled from the camp. He was chased by the grandson of the old man he had shot in the throat, but he escaped and never came back to the band. He moved away from it.

"Pítsku died of blood-poisoning. Tongue was the peace chief. If he had not taken his son's side, it would have been his duty to have stopped the fighting."

Other acts which to the Comanches were so heinous as to warrant lethal retaliation on the aggressor were the slaying of a favorite horse, and insulting conduct which was insufferable to the aggrieved. These factors appear severally in different cases, but are combined into one single complication in a famous Comanche case known to many informants. There are slight variations in the telling, but the main points of action remain the same. 685

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment
624 was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a
[674] crime.

×627 In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because
602 of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

×627 Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be
593 taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide
682 in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had
602 grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

×627 Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-
602 gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627×
that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602●
personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562
band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682
in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their [684]
husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581
band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562
true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602
marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587
establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562
not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682
was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

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was at the same time the wife of his brother. But when a son-in-law gave personal offense to a parent-in-law, it was possible to order dissolution of the marriage.

Case 17. Murder of Sister-in-law: Lost vs. his nephews
Informant: Post Oak Jim

x627
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C02

"Once some white men caught some Indians and held them prisoners. Those that were left were short of food. There was a Mexican captive who went to a girl and said that if he could get a horse he'd buy something for them to eat with it. He wanted to take the best horse. The girl bawled him out. 'There are plenty of horses, and I don't want to take the best.' She said she didn't want to give it to this crazy Mexican. After that he wanted to make up again, but they sent him off. He was interpreter for the Indians at that time.

"The Mexican went up to his wife. He wanted to know where his bow and arrows were. He took them and went up to the woman who owned the horse and killed her. Four of her sons were gone. After she died, her people cried and cried, and buried her out on the prairie. All the rest of the Indians had it in for the Mexican, but they didn't know what to do about it. The Mexican was a medicine man and a war chief. The four boys got back. The others were crying for the dead mother. The boys told them to be quiet for a while. They said they were not going to cry until they finished everything. The Mexican's wife told him his nephews were back. His wife was the dead woman's sister. The sons did not eat. They got several men, and told them what they were going to do.

" 'We're just going to keep still about it for awhile. We'll find out all about it. This man is a medicine man, and we'll try to take away his medicine. Early in the morning we'll pack up and leave.' In the morning the men and the four boys got their guns and got ready to start.

"The Mexican had his horse tied up. There were eight men with the boys. The Mexican untied his horse, saying, 'They won't come.'

"His wife was all anxious and nervous. She said, 'Lost, what are you going to do? Your nephews are coming.'

"He said, 'I've no need to be on horseback to fight them. They are just like women.'

"They came around the tipi, calling, 'Come out, you are nothing but a coward.' As soon as he came out one of them shot him, and they went on. His wife didn't know what to do. He was dying; blood was just pouring out. There was one medicine man there, but he didn't have much power. The following evening he was doctoring Lost, but he died. The wife came down to camp the next morning. Nobody did anything to the boys. They had it in for him, killed him, and that was all. Lots of people were glad. He was real mean. Chew Up was the man who killed him."

It is not likely in this instance that the fact of Lost's being a captive laid him open to attack where a full-blooded Comanche would not have been.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

He was a medicine man and a ranking war leader, which meant that he was perforce a man of status, even among the tribal full-bloods. 627x 682

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, it should be noted however, that from a general social point of view, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered mean by the people; yet if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through *coups*, there was little to prevent him from being as free a Bluebeard as he wished—except that wives became harder for him to get. 602

Attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare. The one case, given by Talker, is interesting for its many facets, and significant for its outcome. It shows that given time to let the revenge feeling cool, coupled with a recognition of provocation to kill, certain murders might be overlooked.

Case 18. Murder: Wife destroys husband
Informant: Talker (Abstract of History recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.) 627x

The husband had been abusing his wife in attempts to force a confession of unfaithfulness from her. One day when he had prepared a fire over which to roast her, she seized and stabbed him and cremated him on the pyre he had intended for her torture. Then she fled for many days to the west until she met Ute Indians. There she was adopted as a wife and lived for a season or two. Then she told her entire story, ending, "and then I threw his body on the fire that had been prepared for me. Because both my husband and I have many relatives on both sides, and because I feared a conflict between the two families, I started out so that there might be no trouble between the two families." 682 593

Later she escaped and returned to her people. She repeated the whole episode to the dead man's father, and as she finished, all her relatives burst forth in a great wail for the man whom she had slain. But there was no trouble. The dead man's father announced, "Because my son was so mean to her, and because I had tried to talk to him, and he would not listen nor heed my word, and because both our families are respectable, to do anything at this late date would be unbecoming."

Thus there was no feud, no retaliation.

ACCIDENTAL HOMICIDE

Though the Comanches were more rude than other Plains tribes in their failure to recognize composition for murder, they showed more perceptive discrimination than most primitives in drawing a clear line between murder and accidental homicide. Intent to assault was a necessary feature of murder. A clearly defined case illustrating this principle was given by White Wolf. 627x 672

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The diplomatic game of threatening sanctions was played in Comanche law: there was much bluster, but we know of only two cases in which actual physical harm was done the sorcerer (aside from the planned executions above). One of these was a "lynching," the other a murder, but done within the family. In the case of No Bed, the sorceress whose story is recounted below, the attempted violence was circumvented. Indeed, so circumspect was the handling of sorcerers with mundane techniques, so much was it front without substance, that such a terrorizer as Looking After His Son could bully the would-be prosecutors into submission. 627x 683 754

Case 24. Sorcery: ? vs. Looking After His Son
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

"Looking After His Son was a boastful medicine man always talking about his power. Whenever he went among the people it was his boast that he could kill anyone within a vicinity of a quarter mile, should that person raise his displeasure. After all this big talk people began to get suspicious of him.

"One day a young man fell sick. People took to muttering about Looking After His Son. Rumors flew about until finally Looking After His Son heard that people were accusing him of the deed. He heard that the relatives of the sick youth were threatening to kill him.

"It was not long before a relative of the youth who lay ill came to call at the sorcerer's lodge. Looking After His Son welcomed him. 'Hello, friend,' he said. 'I am happy to see you here. Sit down. We will tell stories tonight.'

"At midnight the visitor made excuses to go. The medicine-man motioned him to keep his place. 'I have a certain question to ask. You must accept it,' he ordered. 'I understand your relatives are saying I cause them death. They are making threats at me. Now you look out. Before you leave here, swear that you will stop them, or else—. Well, I'll fix you for certain.'

"The man swore.

"Early the next morning, without stopping for breakfast, he sought out his kinsmen. He pleaded with them for his own sake not to offend the sorcerer further. They heard his plea, and deemed it wisest to acquiesce; they said nothing more about Looking After His Son after that." [602]

It was the opinion of the narrator that Looking After His Son was as guilty as guilty can be. Yet what could be done about it? Sorcery was the the affair of the relatives; they shirked it with cold feet. The sorcerer's bold front and the power behind it were his impunity.

A comparable outrage was recorded from Carrying Her Sunshade. It was a situation in which she figured as a girl, thus placing it shortly before 1860.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture. 627x

Papítsoin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so." [602]

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech. 627x 789

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers. [522]

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the 627x 684

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches. [171]

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

601 Thus we see that in spite of these and other exceptional situations the size of the group of relatives which may be established through any given line of relationships is fairly definitely limited. Actually, however, it is quite clear that a Comanche could almost always call every other Comanche by a relationship term of some sort or other, and usually did. Of course, with a system which is completely repetitive, such as this one, it is only necessary to establish relationships with one person in the group, find out in which direction the term goes if it is reciprocal, and all the rest of the relatives will fall into place. This must have been of great assistance in the old days to someone changing band allegiance. At the present time there is seldom any real difficulty in locating a common relative with anyone in the tribe. The actual origin of most of these relationships is naturally lost; usually they will be phrased as "no real relation" or, at best, an "old relation."

But one may speculate that many of them are actual old lines, whose common origins have been lost, but which continue to exist parallel to each other. [582] Several examples could be cited of potential beginnings for such lines; thus one [184] informant (T) was told by his older sisters of a line of "real blood relation" to his father, and he kept this line quite distinct among his relatives. He felt that this would be a definite bar to marriage with any of the people involved; yet his "great-granddaughter" through this line married his "great-grandson" through an older brother. Thus the younger children had forgotten, or ignored, this relationship entirely. The old man was quite obviously very disturbed when this relationship was pointed out to him; he himself had not thought of it specifically before.

The wide disparity between actual age and terminological generation between some of these systems of floating relationships suggests at least that they go back a good many generations. The most striking instance of this involved the other informant from whom a genealogy was collected (TY). She kept several lines distinct, all stemming from relationships which her maternal grandfather, a famous warrior (Red Young Man), had observed and she had 602 noticed, but which he had never explained. Two of these happened to converge 601 upon a friend of hers in the form of husbands, the first of whom my informant [551] addressed as "younger brother," and the other as "great-grandfather."

She also said that before acculturation into the white patterns, when the name-tabus were strong, parents would never tell children even in private more than one or two names of deceased people who were of importance in the family tree, and would do little more than indicate by what term one should call so-and-so, warning that it was a close relationship. It is easy to see how these children could grow up in ignorance of why they used certain terms, and not very aware of the closeness of the relationship, and thus pass on to their children little more than the usage of the terms.

Whether or not this is actually the origin of the majority of the relationships recognized is a matter for conjecture. In any case, we do find these very

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many lines of relationship which each person traces, running back and forth through most of the people he knows, overlapping and coinciding very frequently. Naturally, the use of such a system involves many choices between two or more possible terms to be applied to some certain individual. The choices have often been made by one's parents, and are just adhered to; but in many other cases this is not so. It is especially true when one marries, for in this way a large constellation of new relationships is established through one's spouse. Usually, the choice is made, and this usage is continued thenceforward; if the connecting relationship is broken through death or divorce, the person may or may not keep the terminology established by it. Sometimes, the two alternatives are both kept alive, and are used interchangeably; operations of this sort make it easy to go one step further, and manipulate the terms of kinship in situations where there is no actual justification for some particular usage except expediency. 602 601

In most cases the choice is quite clear-cut: one relationship is closer than the other, and it is automatically used. Thus when T married his third wife, another woman whom he had called wife, or *hâipia*, and with whom he had been carrying on a joking relationship, became his sister. With the day of his marriage he began to call her "sister," and continued to do so, practically without exception, until his own wife died; the sister relationship was then abruptly dropped again. There are a great many such instances; this one is especially interesting because the reciprocal joking relationship, which had been avidly pursued, was terminated quite as abruptly as was the use of the term, and, with his wife's death, was at once reinstated; thus the relationship was conceived of both terminologically and behaviorally as existing quite apart from the person through whom it was made, and no restrictions of mourning were associated with it afterward.

By this same marriage, another woman who had been related as a sister through another "old relation" became a wife and *hâipia*, and started joking with her new-found "husband." They joked a good deal, but when she began to get the best of him, he would call her "sister," to remind her of the other relationship, and she would have to stop at once. A related situation is one in which, for example, a man's brother's wife, who had always called him "husband," and who was potentially his wife through the levirate, would start calling him by a sibling term upon the death of this brother, in order to indicate that it was not necessary for him to fulfill his obligation of replacing his brother as her husband. A fair number of such shifts were recorded, in various relationships where potential marriage situations existed. TY called her second husband's mother and her sister by the proper parent-in-law terms; but as they grew older they became blind, and she used to help them a great deal. To signalize this dependency they felt toward her, they began calling her "daughter," and she called them "mother." A daughter-in-law who gets along unusually well with her husband's mother is quite frequently called by the closer term of [587]

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602 daughter; in the same way, a girl who has been reared to a large extent by her
601 grandmother, especially if she is an orphan, or illegitimate, will be called "daughter," and will reciprocate by calling her grandmother "mother." It is interesting to note that these relationships, however artificial they may be, are always consistent. A person will never use a special relationship term toward another unless this other reciprocates by using an appropriate term toward the first.

The closer terms of kinship which we have just seen substituted for more distant correct terms are also extended in their application to non-related or little-known people toward whom one wishes to show friendliness or respect. Thus a man will usually call a stranger "father," or "mother's father," depending on his age—this latter term is considered to denote the closest relationship, as far as warmth and dependence go, of the two grandfathers.

More formalized are such usages as the reciprocal joking which goes on between grandparents and grandchildren, which operates largely by means of their using various sets of kinship terms and then making jokes about their consequences; this will be considered in more detail in the next section. Also, if two persons standing in a certain relationship to each other each have close
[572] friends of the same sex as themselves, these two friends may playfully adopt
[195] parallel relationship terms toward each other. The terms in this case have a phonetic pattern slightly different from the normal usage.

Perhaps of the same nature is the custom whereby two young men may call each other *nīmīlī'·iʔ*, "our girl friends," to signalize some affair which they had with two girls who were friends; this usage is said sometimes to continue throughout life, though no instances were recorded.

In these examples it is evident that the universal applicability of kinship terminology and the choices of relationships which are presented, together with extensions of its usage outside of genealogically traceable relatives, make this system a remarkably flexible tool in the hands of its users. With the selection of terms there is, apparently, a selection of behavior patterns also, always followed consistently by both parties involved.

The Comanche seem to follow the usual custom in regard to more distant relationships, wherein the behavior patterns found in the immediate family become gradually less distinct and demanding, and more permissive in nature, providing opportunities for fulfilling them to any degree which the person wishes. Yet some aspects of behavior appear to persist very strongly; this is well exemplified by the alternation of sister and joking relationships already mentioned.

It remains now to see what these behavior patterns are which are associated with the relationship terms, and to what extent there is a distinct pattern for each term.

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572 196 *hâic* only if he wished to emphasize that for one reason or another he did not consider him a relative at all, and TY used *ii'·i?* in much the same way. All informants agreed that sibling terms provided a much closer and warmer way of expressing the relationship, but used the friend designation in casual conversation as being more informal. No attempt is made to distinguish which variety of "friend" the individual is; this is assumed to be known to anyone who might be present. It is possible that some of the confusion in this regard is a product of contact with white people, many of whom have *hâic* as practically the only Comanche word in their vocabularies, and use it as a greeting without discrimination; but this does not seem to be the most important factor, for there is every indication that this lack of clear definition of the application of the term is aboriginal. However, the use of *hâic* as an equivalent of "sweetheart" does seem to have been a translation of the American "girl friend," "boy friend."

This lack of clarity makes it practically impossible to formulate any even approximate behavior pattern associated with this term if, indeed, any exists; such opinions as were offered in answer to general questions were obviously references to one or both of the focal relationships, in spite of the fact that the term is seldom applied to own brothers, and the formal friendship, when it did exist, was far from including all the individuals who were regularly called *hâic*. An analogous situation is apparent in our own culture where "friendship," is conceived of as a warm and unselfish relationship, expressive of all our more worthwhile values, and yet one considers hundreds of people "friends" toward whom one is willing to display little more of this ideal behavior than a cheery "hello."

The feminine counterpart of *hâic*, *ii'·i?*, operates in about the same way, and its usage is often no clearer. Whether the institutionalized friendship ever existed here, and if so, what its basis was, is not apparent. Inasmuch as the affairs of women between themselves were generally considered to be pretty trivial by the dominant warriors of days gone by, it is almost certain that no friendship among them could have achieved the public recognition which the *hâic* relationship did. It is not clear whether women recognized the especially close friendships which obviously existed among them as being a comparable phenomenon, though they presumably did.

602 *Discussion.* It is obvious from the foregoing brief discussion of behavior that there is a definite and distinctive pattern associated with each relationship situation, and that each relative has a number of more or less clear-cut functions toward the individual. While these patterns are unquestionably identified to some extent by the use of kinship terms, it cannot be said on the basis of this alone that the terms are themselves the primary factors in determining behavior; a close group of relatives might well function in much the same way even if their relationships were not terminologically conceptualized.

But the real test can be applied when the terms are used outside of the

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

fairly immediate family to identify more distant relatives, or in unusual situations. Such data as have been presented with each discussion of relationship above are not entirely conclusive. The gradual diminution of behavioral association with terms applied to progressively more distant relatives is far from denying to these terms any behavioral content, for it would hardly be expected that all people called, for example, "brother," would be treated equally intimately; but it is important to note that these patterns become increasingly optional and that they are followed only if it is agreeable or convenient to do so. Among other things, without going directly counter to an established usage, two individuals who do not wish to follow its consequences may often find another suitable relationship to recognize, or even invent one. 602

Stronger evidence, perhaps, for the association of behavior with the mere words which identify relationships can be found in the various manipulations of terms and in the complications involved in changes of relationship described in the preceding section on application of the terminology.[14] The situations in these cases arise solely on account of such associations, which are sometimes very specific, and at others very general. Although we must here recognize that only a very small or diffuse segment of behavior is involved, and that the patterns are far from playing the dominant role in an individual's life which those of closer relationship do, nevertheless it is clearly the kinship term alone which evokes and signalizes the complicating attitudes and relationships.

An interesting reversal occurred in T's life. His father lived a very long time and had many wives and children. When he was quite old his last wife had, as her only child, my informant (whose legitimacy I could naturally never question). As a result, his half-siblings were far older than he; and the early death of his mother left him dependent upon them for such family life as he had. While he was still very young, his older brothers all died from sickness or in battle, and one of his closest male relatives, who took him into his family for some time, was the son of one of these brothers, and was thus also terminologically T's son. It was stated that this man was old enough to be his father; whether or not this rather remarkable fact was true, he was old enough to act *in loco parentis* to my informant, and did. Insistent questioning did not reveal any behavior which could have been associated with T's terminological position as father. A similar reversal, which involved the son of one of his sisters, was made simpler by the use of a reciprocal "uncle" term; I was not able to discover whether he even considered this an inversion at all. These cases clearly show that where a conflict arises between the behavior normally associated with a term and the behavior expected within the family group, the latter is completely dominant.

In sum, then, we see that there is a certain, often minimal, amount of

[14] Hoebel (1940), p. 57, provides a similar example in which a man disrupts another's levirate claims by reminding the claimant that he is his son-in-law through a classificatory brother, and hence should be careful lest he lose his wives.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

●602 behavior and of course affect which is associated with the calling of any individual by a relationship term, and which arises directly from the use of the term, even where the behavior pattern has no functional validation. In some very unusual cases this association may be completely eliminated by some conflicting factor, but more frequently the conflict is resolved by the substitution of some other term whose behavioral concomitants are more suitable. The opportunity for such manipulation of the terminology is dependent to some degree upon how distantly related in the classificatory category the individual in question is from the person who stands in the focal relationship to the speaker. To be effective, these substituted terms must be used reciprocally and consistently by all parties involved. The use of kinship terms for the Comanche is never a one-way affair; the relationship which the application of a term signalizes always demands that the person addressed reciprocate with the appropriate complementary term, and generally also with the behavior thus implied. Otherwise the initial usage is meaningless.

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[pp 95- end not processed]

128 a brief ethnographic account of the old naming customs will first be given.

553 6.1. Comanche personal names were bestowed in a variety of ways and frequently in rather casual fashion. In rather sharp contrast to our practice, a person could in his lifetime successively bear several different names, or be known by several different sobriquets at any one given time. Little distinction was made between male 551 and female names, although some plainly did refer to male or female characteristics. Women's names, however, tended to be [553] more permanent.

While almost from birth an infant could be called by a pet name or nickname which was often kept until adolescence, a child could also simply be called by the word for *boy*, pihia?, or *girl*, nai?A. It was not uncommon for a person to be called by a status term designating age and sex, or by a kinship term, in lieu of his personal name. However, a youngster would usually re- 553 ceive a given name in early childhood, although one informant stated that he was not given such a name until he was ten years old. A child's parents in modest 551 ceremony would customarily call in an [553] elder or two to relate stories and choose as a name some word descriptive of an incident or character in the tale. A name could also come from some incident in a person's life which subsequently came to be associated with him.

In some instances a child was named after a parent, relative or other person, but because of the taboo against using the name of a dead person, only if he or she was still alive. Or, alternatively, a boy could, in familiar European fashion, be called "son of so and so". Only in the latter case was there anything comparable to the use of paternal surnames.

553 Nicknames derived from physical pe- 551 culiarities or temperamental idiosyncrasies were frequently bestowed and could be given at almost any point in the life cycle [602] from babyhood on. In line with the insti

[p. 243-B]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.
553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
657 children by count, as early as 1875, the first formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewɔkə*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move [593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never 682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant. 627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of 602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever 682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and 627 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom [598] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder, 685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re- 627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but [825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest 787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion. 776 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen 789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him. 776 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super- 784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help 756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war 789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact

C K 124 123 with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

/page 31 continued/

K 361 course, /32/ some members living further away and many of the younger
592 people between thirty and twenty years old are either away at school
or off on relocation. Nevertheless, the homesteads remain in definable
C 361 clusters. The Comanches seem to be more dispersed by comparison.
This would seem to be the case even in those instances when the
original homestead of 1901 was adjacent to the allotments and homes
of the other family members. People frequently move to purchased
allotments. This impression may be due to coincidence in the few
samples I have but there is some verification for my impression from
the Wermeys who run the Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative in Anadarko.
According to them the Comanches are far more scattered and more dif-
ficult to locate than the other tribes in the area with whom they deal.
K Although both the Kiowas and Comanches took allotments on the sites
[361] where they were camped at the time the law was passed (coincident
with band affiliation) the Comanches seem to have broken up this
pattern more than the Kiowas or the other tribes further to the north.
Perhaps the original band affiliations were less cohesive due to their
comparatively large size. In spite of the fact that more mapping may
be done it will be virtually impossible to get enough typical samples
to tell the true story. The same problem rears its ugly head in re-
spect to the actions of the younger generation. We have no simple
means by which to determine the extent and nature of the dispersion
of the younger generation. Although the relocation program does not
appear to be having significant results other factors (see first
report) seem to be moving many of the young people into towns.

As much as the settlement patterns may be changing, effects
C that such changes have, or may have, upon the kinship organizations
K are interfered with to some extent by the increased mobility offered
484 by the automobile and the constantly improving road network. This
601 mobility gives the dispersed extended family more opportunity to keep
602 up contact via frequent visits by auto. But here again it is virtually
[493] impossible for the single investigator to gather sufficient data.
[491]

/page 32 continued/

C K 464 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites. Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [569] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. C K 601 177 602 [161] 582 588 684 The actual behavior patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 179 602

/page 33 continued/

C K 601 191 197 602 younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing gradual change.

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C K 602 178 /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the opportunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed behavior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches. K 602 606 593 178 This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying degrees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine C 602 593 178 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.
[428]

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
572 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[609] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
177 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cranny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mistreated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood brother's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Comanches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women. And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and purchase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered, gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

playing at the tasks which her mother performed. She was given a doll, dressed usually in deer skin, which she took everywhere with her. She might be lucky enough to have a toy cradle and carry her doll on her back in the fashion of her mother. As she grew older, she learned to dress and undress her doll and to make for it the necessary articles of clothing. Little girls learned to ride almost by the time they were able to sit astride a horse and hold the reins. Although they never spent as much time as the boys in practice, they became good horsewomen, so proficient that often the white campaigner was unable in the midst of battle to distinguish men from women.

There was a very close relationship between a girl and her mother's sisters. They were not called aunt, but *pia,* "mother," and the relationship was that of a mother to her daughter. A woman called her sister's child her own and aided in its instruction. There was even less formality between a girl and her mother's sister than between the girl and her mother. It was the grandparents who spoiled the child. The maternal grandmother was the girl's favorite. She was called *kaku* and she in reciprocity called her daughter's children *kaku,* too. Their social positions were theoretically equivalent. The *kaku* was likely to be congenial and indulgent with the child, and the relationship was much more intimate than between mother and daughter.[4]

As a girl grew older, she was given small tasks. She was first required to carry water and, when still older, she began to go for wood. Parties of girls, sometimes accompanied by a few women, went out from camp to bring in the wood. They also went with the women to gather wild fruits, roots, and nuts. At about twelve years of age, the girl began to learn to cut out moccasins, to cook, to dress hides, to make and set up a tipi—all the things essential for becoming the wife of a warrior.

The passage of a girl from childhood to young womanhood was an important occasion in her life, and was hardly less so to her family and the tribe. But since there was little anxiety about becoming a woman and a girl was already well-prepared for womanhood, and since the Comanches were a work-a-day, unceremonious people, there were no puberty rites. Among well-to-do families the event was the

[4] For a detailed analysis of Comanche kinship relations and terminology see, Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *loc. cit.,* 440–57.

881 occasion for ceremonial feasting and celebration, and a daughter who was a favorite child in a well-off family might run over the prairie hanging to the tail of a fast pony so that she would be agile and active. This was the only magical activity associated with puberty. She was then ready to marry and become the mother of children and thus to contribute her part toward adding to the number and, therefore, the [582] strength of the tribe. By the time she was sixteen the chances are her marriage had been consummated.

868 A boy learned to ride almost as soon as he learned to walk. From earliest babyhood he was familiar with horses and their motions, riding behind his mother, clinging to her or to the horse's mane, or strapped to her saddle. He thus gained confidence, learned balance, and, by practice, learned to ride an old gentle pack horse; by the time he was four or five years old, he was expected to be able to manage a pony of his own; and by the time he was six, he was riding young colts bareback. Sometimes while learning to ride, he was bound on the pony by a rawhide lariat while another boy held the pony by another lariat and circled the pony about until the boy literally became a part of the animal. He received the criticisms of companions, father, mother, and other relatives and onlookers. If he fell, he was laughed at by the girls and others, but he did not become angry with his critics. Soon afterwards he had to help herd the ponies. He early became expert in the use of the rope for catching horses and henceforth spent much of his outdoor time on horseback.

603 868 By the time the boy was five or six years of age, he was given a bow and some blunt arrows and taught to shoot, usually by his grandfather. This was natural enough since the father was still engaged in war and hunting, while the older man had probably passed the period of active life and thus had the leisure to make bows and arrows and to devote a good deal of his time to the education of his grandson. Consequently, there developed between the two an intimate relationship whose pattern was one of indulgence and congeniality linked with the less severe forms of authority-obedience. The grandfather taught the grandson to ride, to shoot, to make bows and arrows, and the secrets of the hunt and the trail. He told him stories of his boyhood and early manhood, instructed him in the tribal history and traditions, legends and religion, and many other things

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *ɔk*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ata*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ata* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ata's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ata's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ata*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

He learned to approach game with patience, caution, and quietness; learned to take advantage of vegetation, of physical features, and of the wind; learned how to make a surround—lessons which would be valuable in real hunts when he grew up. He came to understand the signs of the prairie, how to observe the habits of wild animals, to know where they might be found, and how they reacted under different conditions.

A boy was allowed much liberty, and although his parents were firm, he was seldom scolded or punished. He was not expected to perform any menial labor about the camp and was always treated with great consideration, for "he is going to be a warrior and he may die young in battle." 858

The Comanche boy in his daily life was learning to be self-reliant, but at the same time his play habits were fostering manly comradery. Most of the daytime hours of the pre-adolescent boys were 857

[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 [591] [576] *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective. 603

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"Friends." While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[13] 572 [597] 572 183

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nīmī?ára?* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hâic*, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as 572 196

[13] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hâic* relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

2

Sanapia, 1895–1968

Early Childhood

SANAPIA WAS BORN at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in the spring of 1895 in a tepee encampment of *yapai* Comanches who had traveled to Fort Sill for rations from the vicinity of Medicine Park, Oklahoma. As with most Comanche women her age, Sanapia only knows that she was born in the spring and has therefore arbitrarily set her birth date at May twentieth. 115 159

Her father was Comanche and her mother Comanche-Arapaho. Sanapia was the sixth in a family of eleven siblings, having five older brothers, three younger brothers, and two younger sisters. As is still the custom among the more traditionally oriented Comanches, the maternal grandmother is very instrumental in rearing her daughter's children. Both Sanapia's mother and her mother's older brother were eagle doctors. [603] [855] [756]

> Yeah, my mother doctored . . . she could do anything. One time it was her playmate . . . one time they were playing and she died. They put her buckskin dress on her, and you know in them days when anybody died they put red paint all over their face and their arms and their feet and then they put them away. They fix her up like that. My mother was playing with the rest of the kids. She was just a little bitty girl. She said, "I'm going to my tent and go to sleep. After awhile I play some more." Later these kids came to her and said, "They want you over there. Go to doctor." And she was just about ten years old that time. She went down there and she said, "No, no, she not going to go. I don't want her to die. I'll fix her up." She told all those people that, "You all get out. I'll fix her up." And she was sitting in that tent making all kinds of racket and pretty soon that little girl get up. She came back to life and lived many years. My mother died before her. [764]

Sanapia's maternal uncle was also very active among Comanche peyotists, leading peyote meetings throughout southern Oklahoma. Sanapia also counts among her relatives a paternal grandfather who was an important *yapai* leader in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 603 855 [765]

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Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

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Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

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> You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 164

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 603 115 159 756 775

playing at the tasks which her mother performed. She was given a doll, dressed usually in deer skin, which she took everywhere with her. She might be lucky enough to have a toy cradle and carry her doll on her back in the fashion of her mother. As she grew older, she learned to dress and undress her doll and to make for it the necessary articles of clothing. Little girls learned to ride almost by the time they were able to sit astride a horse and hold the reins. Although they never spent as much time as the boys in practice, they became good horsewomen, so proficient that often the white campaigner was unable in the midst of battle to distinguish men from women. 857

There was a very close relationship between a girl and her mother's sisters. They were not called aunt, but *pia,* "mother," and the relationship was that of a mother to her daughter. A woman called her sister's child her own and aided in its instruction. There was even less formality between a girl and her mother's sister than between the girl and her mother. It was the grandparents who spoiled the child. The maternal grandmother was the girl's favorite. She was called *kaku* and she in reciprocity called her daughter's children *kaku,* too. Their social positions were theoretically equivalent. The *kaku* was likely to be congenial and indulgent with the child, and the relationship was much more intimate than between mother and daughter.[4] 604● 603

As a girl grew older, she was given small tasks. She was first required to carry water and, when still older, she began to go for wood. Parties of girls, sometimes accompanied by a few women, went out from camp to bring in the wood. They also went with the women to gather wild fruits, roots, and nuts. At about twelve years of age, the girl began to learn to cut out moccasins, to cook, to dress hides, to make and set up a tipi—all the things essential for becoming the wife of a warrior. 857 868

The passage of a girl from childhood to young womanhood was an important occasion in her life, and was hardly less so to her family and the tribe. But since there was little anxiety about becoming a woman and a girl was already well-prepared for womanhood, and since the Comanches were a work-a-day, unceremonious people, there were no puberty rites. Among well-to-do families the event was the 881

[4] For a detailed analysis of Comanche kinship relations and terminology see, Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *loc. cit.,* 440–57.

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *ɔk*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ata*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ata* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ata's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ata's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ata*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

He learned to approach game with patience, caution, and quietness; learned to take advantage of vegetation, of physical features, and of the wind; learned how to make a surround—lessons which would be valuable in real hunts when he grew up. He came to understand the signs of the prairie, how to observe the habits of wild animals, to know where they might be found, and how they reacted under different conditions.

A boy was allowed much liberty, and although his parents were firm, he was seldom scolded or punished. He was not expected to perform any menial labor about the camp and was always treated with great consideration, for "he is going to be a warrior and he may die young in battle." 858

The Comanche boy in his daily life was learning to be self-reliant, but at the same time his play habits were fostering manly comradery. Most of the daytime hours of the pre-adolescent boys were 857

[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ɪ'rɪʔaiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases. 882 593 [605]

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely. 593

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on. 593 861 858

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga- 593 855

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

was at the same time the wife of his brother. But when a son-in-law gave personal offense to a parent-in-law, it was possible to order dissolution of the marriage.

Case 17. Murder of Sister-in-law: Lost vs. his nephews
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"Once some white men caught some Indians and held them prisoners. Those that were left were short of food. There was a Mexican captive who went to a girl and said that if he could get a horse he'd buy something for them to eat with it. He wanted to take the best horse. The girl bawled him out. 'There are plenty of horses, and I don't want to take the best.' She said she didn't want to give it to this crazy Mexican. After that he wanted to make up again, but they sent him off. He was interpreter for the Indians at that time.

"The Mexican went up to his wife. He wanted to know where his bow and arrows were. He took them and went up to the woman who owned the horse and killed her. Four of her sons were gone. After she died, her people cried and cried, and buried her out on the prairie. All the rest of the Indians had it in for the Mexican, but they didn't know what to do about it. The Mexican was a medicine man and a war chief. The four boys got back. The others were crying for the dead mother. The boys told them to be quiet for a while. They said they were not going to cry until they finished everything. The Mexican's wife told him his nephews were back. His wife was the dead woman's sister. The sons did not eat. They got several men, and told them what they were going to do.

" 'We're just going to keep still about it for awhile. We'll find out all about it. This man is a medicine man, and we'll try to take away his medicine. Early in the morning we'll pack up and leave.' In the morning the men and the four boys got their guns and got ready to start.

"The Mexican had his horse tied up. There were eight men with the boys. The Mexican untied his horse, saying, 'They won't come.'

"His wife was all anxious and nervous. She said, 'Lost, what are you going to do? Your nephews are coming.'

"He said, 'I've no need to be on horseback to fight them. They are just like women.'

"They came around the tipi, calling, 'Come out, you are nothing but a coward.' As soon as he came out one of them shot him, and they went on. His wife didn't know what to do. He was dying; blood was just pouring out. There was one medicine man there, but he didn't have much power. The following evening he was doctoring Lost, but he died. The wife came down to camp the next morning. Nobody did anything to the boys. They had it in for him, killed him, and that was all. Lots of people were glad. He was real mean. Chew Up was the man who killed him."

It is not likely in this instance that the fact of Lost's being a captive laid him open to attack where a full-blooded Comanche would not have been.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 754 684 522 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and [558] begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

● 606 581 562 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

x627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 682 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 591 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

● 606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

mother-in-law tabu in Comanche society, probably because of the old Shoshonean system of pseudo cross-cousin marriages in which a boy married the step-daughter of his father's sister, thus equating mother-in-law with paternal aunt. The absence of the avoidance practice is entirely sensible, since a boy had been accustomed to treating his mother-in-law as a preferred aunt. The same relationship held for a girl and her father-in-law. The Comanches had given up the pseudo cross-cousin marriages, but the terminology and its accompanying attitudes carried on. This patterns of social conduct was quite in contrast with that of some of the other Plains tribes. Among the Cheyennes, who were neighbors of the Comanches, for example, a man never spoke to, or knowingly went near, his mother-in-law until late in life when he had presented her with a war trophy. A Comanche mother-in-law could talk or even joke with her son-in-law, although extreme familiarity was carefully avoided. The normal pattern in Comanche society was that a son-in-law should respect and help his mother-in-law. In case of an attack on the camp, a son-in-law was expected to protect his mother-in-law. In case he failed to do so, the sympathy of the group was with the abandoned mother-in-law, who could order her daughter to leave him, as in the case of the woman whose son-in-law refused to give her his horse when they were being chased by the Tonkawas. "When we get home, you don't live with my daughter any longer," was her dictum. A hunter felt obligated to share his game with his wife's parents. A father-in-law had the privilege of ordering the dissolution of a marriage when the son-in-law gave personal offense to either parent-in-law.

In polygynous families many of the secondary wives were captives whose lot in the household was that of "chore wives," helpers to the first wife. If the wives were all sisters, the oldest one usually continued as "boss," even as she had among her sisters before her marriage. This fact explains why the Comanches thought sisters made better multiple wives. There was less possibility of friction developing because a younger wife challenged the supremacy of an older one. One wife was always favored and was free to be her husband's constant companion. She was called the *paraiβo*, "chief" wife. The favored wife usually escaped much of the hard labor and drudgery which fell to the lot of other wives. She carried her husband's shield

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nīmīʔaraʔ*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart"-liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nīmīʔárat* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership. 607 195

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law. 606

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own [591]

606 efforts at raiding and such, to move away and set up for himself. In this case his wife's mother, if she were widowed, often came along to live with them; sometimes both the wife's parents lived in a tipi nearby.

Relations with parents-in-law are very incompletely defined in the many other less formal marriage set-ups, and it is not profitable to attempt to generalize upon them, except perhaps to say that a modified form of the above was usually the desideratum. There is no feeling that the parents of the two spouses should be especially friendly to each other or the reverse; this also depends primarily on the circumstances. As noted above, the terminology does not recognize any relationship between them.

603 [591] [576] *Grandparents.* A parent-in-law is a very short way from being a grandparent, and many of the factors operative in one relationship affect the other. Thus the comparatively frequent matrilocal residence is reflected in the fact that it is the maternal grandparents who are considered the closest; we have seen above that a person wishing to be respectful to a stranger always addresses him as a maternal grandfather. This term is also applied to treasured inanimate objects, and even to parts of the body. It is thus not surprising that children are said to learn the words for maternal grandparents before those for the paternal ones.

Often the grandmothers' most important function is caring for their children's smaller children (see p. 86). Thus TY received a great deal of attention and instruction from both her grandmothers, and especially from her mother's mother, until they died, and even felt them to be more of a factor in her life at this time than her own mother. When a married daughter moved away after a few years of amicable matrilocal residence, her mother sometimes kept one of the children of whom she was especially fond to bring up herself; this child then usually called her mother.

Joking with grandparents is usually confined to the maternal ones, and is not carried on after the children reach maturity. As mentioned in the preceding section, some inappropriate relationship is pretended, and jokes are made in terms of the behavior expected of such a relationship. The children may call them by parent-in-law terms; the girls are then berated about being seen with various boys, usually ones they particularly dislike, the boys are told to do odd jobs for their "in-laws," and so on. Or they may reciprocally use various combinations of sibling and sibling-in-law terms, leading to *hâipia* jokes, though apparently without the physical aspects. The grandchildren may even put the grandparents into the children's generation, with appropriate comments, or reverse such affectionate terms as "my dear little ones" which the grandparents usually apply to them. A widowed grandmother may also be teased about various older men in the community, though usually not if she actually has a particular liking for any of them.

Relations with great-grandparents are slight, since, when this relationship

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

584 unfrequently the talons and beaks of the prairie eagles and falcons, a breast-
301 plate of "hair pipe," and perhaps a few bright plates of metal cut into the
291 form of crosses and crescents and sewed to his gorgeously colored suit of
237 dressed skins. So attired, with his face sometimes painted brown, or blue,
584 and at other times flaming in vermillion colors, or yellow as the victims
302 of "the plague of the Indies," the Comanche beau mounts his pony and proceeds to the lodge of his inamorata, dismounts, and, if the maiden comes and hitches his pony, enters and squats upon the ground; and displays his discontent with his lot by responding to every inquiry with a most dolorous
584 "Ugh! Ugh!" After manifesting his misery to an extent deemed sufficient, the Comanche young gentleman rises with great dignity, and repeating two or three knell-like "Ugh! Ughs!" he remounts and rides off without so much as deigning to utter a word. If the maiden he desires to woo does not take charge of his pony, that ends the courtship. He would despise himself and be the fool of the tribe to persist under such circumstances.

An account of this visit is carefully certified to the master of the lodge, on his return. Our dandy, like many civilized gallants, is always very careful to make his initiatory visit when paterfamilias is not at home. The way is now open for further negotiations. The girl is not usually again consulted. The young dandy has merely condescended to indicate his prefer-
584 ence for her. She of course must be delighted. If the father is a chief or principal man in the tribe, he provides a dower for the daughter. The
583 young suitor must be able to respond in equal measure in the way of presents of this world's goods. Sometimes a Comanche belle may have, as a portion, as many as fifty ponies. The suitor in such case should be prepared to turn over fifty-one ponies as a present to his would be father-in-law.
[583] If this can be done, a bargain is usually concluded. No further ceremony is necessary. The maiden and her fifty ponies become the absolute property of the young man. He has "swapped" fifty-one ponies for fifty ponies and got a wife, or rather slave, into the bargain.

585 When negotiations have been concluded, the dandy proceeds to the lodge of his bride, but not in the same plight as before. He enters, throws down his deer skin mantle, casts from him his weapons, and then orders the bride to enter upon her duties as a wife and slave by taking them up and proceeding to follow him to his own lodge, bearing the burdens he has thrown down for her.

[595] The bride may have three or four sisters, and they may all be wives of her husband before the expiration of a week. Mothers-in-law excite
606 little feeling, either of favor or aversion, among the Comanches. They play
585 a minor part in the affairs of the newly constituted households.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land
648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
423 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white
186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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in Charley's home, though his son To-pet-chy's home was only a short 606
distance away, on the east side of West Cache Creek. And though a Jesus Man (Christian), he belonged to a native Baptist church.

I am sure I felt a bit of intellectual awe in the presence of Charley 181
Ross, and this was renewed at our meetings over the years. Here was a man, it must be remembered, who was born into a stone-age culture that was without knowledge of the smelting of iron or any other metal, and without the skill to forge tools from metal already smelted. From the viewpoint of the white people of that time, the Comanches were murderers, rapists, home-burners, kidnappers of women and children, horse thieves, cattle thieves, and all-round savages. History justifies this opinion, but there is this saving grace for the Comanche: he was here first. The white man was the invader. The empire of Comanchería had been forged and was in existence more than eighty-five years before George Washington became president of the United States. From the ruins of this empire came Charley Ross, who first 177
found a way to enter the white man's world and then set about softening the impact between the two races that events decreed should live side by side. Mrs. Cato wrote in a letter to me, "My father was a very intelligent man, above the average, and so very much interested in higher education for his race of people and his own children. Even though he himself did not receive full benefit of complete education, he had the mind of a college graduate."

What a man accomplishes during his lifetime does not complete his true measurement. One must also judge how well he has projected himself into the next generation by adding the accomplishments of his children. Charley Ross's son-in-law, Mr. Cato, has told me that at the end of the 1965-66 school year Charley's children and grandchildren had completed forty-seven years of teaching. Others, not teachers, hold responsible positions with railroads, oil companies, and hospitals.

I have emphasized Charley Ross's pleasant manners and ready 157
smile. But there was no servility about him, nor did he ever attempt to please everyone at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. He was a positive character about whom I never heard a derogatory word, either from whites, many of whom were always looking for a flaw or chink in his armor of friendliness, or from his tribesmen, who tended to distrust any Indian who earned the friendship of white people. He went about his self-appointed task of being a catalyst for the two races with good will and common sense.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size. 595 [556]

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it. 607

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *tatê?cɪ*, and for tarantula, *pɪ'hīre?cɪ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. [195] [522]

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person 522 with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nīmīʔâra*ʔ, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lêʔci*, "man's brother-in-law," or *pâhapia'pīʔ*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

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Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law. 606

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own [591]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 leader of all." But it was of Two Mountain's brother, Cold, that That's It waxed enthusiastic, for Cold was a famous war chief. Of his exploits one could talk for hours. According to our information, a peace chief was a man whose raiding days were over. Dr. Mirsky was informed that some peace chiefs did take to the war path, and when they did so, established an interesting rule by proxy through the chief's wife aided by the chief's formal [608] friend in the "brotherhood bond." The reputed words of the peace chief to his announcer and to his *haits* (formal friend) would be these, "Look here, my friends, here is my wife. Pitch your tents close to hers, so that you may tell the rest of the people what you intend to do. She has full instructions. I have left all my plans with her. I want you to help her carry them out. She knows everything I want done and how I want it done—and she will tell you."[3] Such a practice would have been of most unusual occurrence. Aside from its not having been recorded in the investigations of the Santa Fe Laboratory Field Group, it does not fit comfortably into the Comanche [608] setting. It may be noted, in this respect, that *haits* were reputedly always together when one of them took to the war path.

Some tendency to hereditary succession is found in the Comanche lines of leadership. Sons of chiefs became chiefs with more than average frequency. This is not due to any established rule of hereditary succession, but results from the fact that sons of chiefs, by virute of the training and examples set by their fathers and expectancy of high standards within their families (biological factors cannot be determined), attained the qualities of the chieftain. Competition was open. Chiefship was granted on performance solely. Chiefly excellence appears to have run to some degree in paternal family lines.

The observation made on the Comanches nearly a hundred years ago by Josiah Gregg is essentially correct, "When a chief becomes old and careworn, he exercises but the 'civil authority' of his clan (sic); while his son, if deemed worthy, otherwise some distinguished brave, assumes by 'common consent' the functions of war chief."[4]

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[3] Mirsky, *Field Notes*.

[4] Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 343; in G. R. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (vol. 20, pt. 2).

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

X627 [681] of guilt by an accused (except in sorcery) was so uncommon that there are not cases enough to draw sound conclusions.

Cases were opened with formal politeness and smooth words; the man who had come to prosecute addressed the one he was about to accuse as "brother."[7] While the defendant listened, he was told why the accuser had come as prosecutor and informed what must be given in damages to satisfy his visitor. Inasmuch as the defendant usually knew what had called forth the visit, the prosecutor was not invited into the tipi to take the seat of the guest of honor opposite the door. Ordinarily the defendant was sitting beside the door of his tipi as the prosecuting party arrived, and the negotiations took place before the tipi.

The aggrieved usually stated his demand for damages specifically, but the damages rendered were those which the defendant agreed to give and the aggrieved was willing to accept. "Willingness," with either or both, could of course be anything but willing. There was no judge to determine what should be paid in composition for the wrong, nor was there any specific customary code regulating payments in accordance with degree of wrong. Consequently, only by agreement could the case be settled. Without the aid of an arbitrator, the sole way to agreement was bargain.

X627 577 The factors which operated in the process of settlement were manifold and delicate, each factor having many shades and facets. Who can say what the forces shaping the attitudes which determine the actions of any individual in any special circumstance may be? It is clear, however, that the will to push or resist was of greatest moment. Sometimes the defendant acquiesced only too willingly to the first demands made upon him. Sometimes the prosecutor placed a timid request for compensation, which he accepted with a sign of relief, glad that the thing was done. It is in this very will to push or to resist that the personal factor entered and resists reduction to written words. Nevertheless, personal courage and aggressiveness were the potent traits which counted in the Comanche male. Each party mentally weighed the other and decided accordingly, most of this being done before any action recounted in a story could occur. The one outstanding factor around which the settlement of a dispute turned was not the question of the right or wrong of the situation, but rather the relative bravery in warfare of the two parties involved. A reputation as a doughty slayer of enemies was a handy thing. The real point was that in Comanche law, as in all law, the ultimate power was resort to force. But

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[608] [7] In Shoshone and Comanche theory, men who had shared a woman sexually were supposed to be brothers. For a discussion of the brother terminology and its relation to Shoshone-Comanche marriage practices, see E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and H3kandika Shoshone Relationship Systems*, pp. 448–449.

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C ~~While~~ preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the ~~earlier~~ days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or ~~even~~ capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.
[428]

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
372 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[608] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
177 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cranny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mistreated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood brother's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Comanches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women. And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and purchase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered, gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 302
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped
on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—
I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude.
She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed
at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sor-
rowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village
beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in
the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and
those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others
had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones
into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrap-
ping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken
up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every
respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most
profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation,
they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and
the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode [576]
away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as
they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village,
continually thinking of escape. This subject was never
out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun,
I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as
possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[657] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
657 the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
657 a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 8, 1858. Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

65 [609] ience. When this was reported to Agent Leeper he called on the detail of troops stationed at Camp Cooper (only twenty men) to come at once. The lieutenant, Van Camp, came at once and surrounded the building. But to his chagrin and alarm, fifty or sixty warriors, armed with bows and guns, together with about thirty women and boys, armed with sticks and clubs, closed in around the cabin and took the side of the visitors so positively that Van Camp saw that a fight was ahead if he forced the issue. He ordered his men to prepare for action and a battle would have followed but for the fact that he discovered that his men had but one round of ammunition. They had used up nearly all their ammunition the day before in target practice. Thus, since it was impossible to apply force, all that was left for the lieutenant to do was to use persuasion. An agreement was patched up whereby the intruders were permitted to leave and this they did at once.

On the following day the Indians who had taken an active part in protecting the visitors came to Leeper and explained that they had offered resistance to the troops because they thought when they saw the soldiers approaching that all Indians on the reservation were going to be attacked and slain and they were determined to die fighting. Obviously they thought no such thing. Their bad faith in the whole matter was made more in evidence by their telling Leeper that they expected him to say that their "talk" was "good." In case he should not assent and say that their "talk" was "good" they would kill him and his family and leave the reservation.[13]

[609] Naturally the army officers and the Indian agents as well were sorely vexed with the Indians because of this affair. About all that can be said in defense of the savages is that they regarded the intruders as visitors and felt that to abandon them to the soldiers while they were guests at the reservation would be treachery. Some of the older men and women tearfully begged Ka-tem-e-see not to force the issue, just let the man escape and he would not bother them any more.

Inadequate Protection

The lack of proper protection by the troops was largely the

[113] 13. Leeper to Neighbors, August 31, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
101 tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
141 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I 000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180 pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While we were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure 123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles [481] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility [273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor, [609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for [177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out [797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the [123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when his people needed him.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that
472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the
609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling
[563] existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working
842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women.
124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 604 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

516 [352]

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

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out bows or canvas and with only one outrider, turned into the street 493
from the southeast trail. With the pony teams at a brisk trot the miniature lumber wagons rattled and bumped toward me over the rough frozen ground.

Ours was the farthest store west, with only a wagon yard beyond. 123
Deciding that the wagons were heading for our store, I waited to see who was in them. Looking into the early morning as I was, I couldn't tell. When they were about a half-block away they came out of the sun's rays, and I saw it was the Charley Ross family and the family of his brother-in-law To-pet-chy, with Charley Ross riding horseback. Then the women and children in the wagons began smiling and shouting, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* They were looking right at me.

The Comanche country had been our home—Dad's, Mother's, and mine—for about seven months. I had been trying desperately to learn [122]
a Comanche vocabulary sufficient for use in the store Dad had started, and as much as possible about the different Indian families living in our trade territory. Both of these families had been trading at the store. Charley Ross seemed to be one of the very few educated Indians [609]
who would talk readily with white people. He was several years older than the other Indians who had been away to school.

The women drivers turned their pony teams in to our hitchrack; 123
but instead of getting out, they sat there smiling and shouting, along 609
with the children, *"Hi-hites Para-da-de-al"* Charley swung down from his saddle, left his horse ground hitched, and, smiling, came up to me and put a hand on either shoulder. "Know what the women and children are saying?" he asked.

I shook my head. "I know *hi-hites.* It's a sort of hello, but a hello [576]
you only say to a friend."

"They are saying your new name. Your Comanche name. *Para-da-de-a.* Means Big Boy." [551]

This sudden honor—I realized it was an honor—left me tongue-tied with embarrassment. Charley saved the day for me by continuing, "The Comanches like the way you treat them when they come into the store. They like the way you live. They want you to have a Comanche name. Then other Indians, Indians who don't know you, will know you are to be trusted, because your Comanche friends give you a Comanche name."

This is how it happened that Charley Ross became my friend, in- 123

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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 77
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

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492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers, and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 191 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
[432] Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money. 609 191 571

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City. 609 191 797 [794] [551]

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature. 657 191 609

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds. 609

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the 648 657

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was tramped into the sand, he had another layer spread. He charged 000
twenty-five cents a head for cattle to cross his hay-paved crossing; but much of the time the river was tame, and drovers risked the danger of quicksand to save the toll.

Then too, many did not have the necessary funds. Even twenty-five cents a head for two to three thousand head of cattle ran into quite a sum of money, in a just-after-the-war economy. Doan's store was the jumping-off place; it was the last place to buy supplies until a town in Kansas could be reached; the last place mail could be received or sent; the last place owners could meet up with their herd or issue orders to their drovers.

Later, on the same night when my narrator and his boss joined the herd, they heard Quanah and his young men go into camp a short distance down the creek. At daylight they took a quarter of beef 643
down to Quanah's camp and invited him to eat breakfast at the cook 609
wagon.

By the time breakfast was over it began to rain, but they cut [437]
out the seventeen head of big steers promised Quanah, and the Indians started for Quanah's camp. But he left two of his young men to accompany the drive to the Washita River. They were to tell any other Indians who might try to stop the herd that it was paid through to the Washita.

Apparently it was the first time the young Indians had had all the coffee they could drink, and they rode to the chuck wagon soon after it made each stop. Food three times a day was also something [264]
new, and evidently they enjoyed the trip. When the Washita was reached, the boss got the stores out and gave each of the young braves a pair of jeans pants and a calico shirt.

Because of continuous rain, they held the cattle for three days at 000
the camp where they met Quanah. The grass was excellent. As my narrator expressed it, "The grama-grass was belly high to a yearling," and the herd was healthy and putting on weight. The trip on to Wyoming was uneventful, and they were able to save nearly all the calves.

A ready market was found for the cattle, and at a better price than had been expected. Some of the cowboys decided to work a while for the ranchers buying the cattle, but this drive had gone so well that my narrator decided he wanted to try his hand at bossing a drive.

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000 As soon as he was paid off, he sacked his saddle and made his way home by way of Kansas City. Part of the journey was made by stagecoach, part by passenger train, and part by mail hacks. He was home sooner than anyone else, including the boss, who was carrying the cattle owners' money. But the cowboy could tell them about what the different kinds of cattle brought.

He started right in securing commitments for a herd of stock cattle to start up the trail the next spring, as soon as graze was sufficient. With his father's backing, he had no trouble securing the 643 required number. When he got his herd across the Red River the next 609 spring, he too started for the Comanche chief's camp, and arranged a meeting at the same spot as before.

He said that when Quanah walked into their camp the morning of the rendezvous, he stopped where the rope corral for the horses had been the year before. The old cowman said it was the most luscious weed patch he had ever seen. He was sure every weed known to the Middle West was represented.

643 Silently, Quanah looked at the weeds for some time, then shook 609 his head, saying, "White man he come. Stranger [weeds] he come. 824 Indian he go."

Of course, the Chief was under the impression that the white man had brought the weeds to Comanche land; but actually the weeds were there all the time—scattered and stunted, choked back by the grasses, under normal conditions. But the horses, in and out of the corral during three days of rain, had completely destroyed the grama and mesquite sod, tramping it into the ground.

000 Weed seeds lying in the matted grasses now were in touch with the rich soil, and they grew and produced a sufficient seed crop to seed the coral ground completely this second year. Of course nothing ate the weeds, as there was an abundance of grass on every side.

Years later, in my time, this land was bought from the Indians and opened for homesteading by lottery. Weeds were not apparent, and many farmers looked forward to farming weed-free soil. But the farmer discovered the weeds were there; once the heavy sod was destroyed, they came on with a rush.

Somehow the weeds had managed a seed crop each year. Each year enough seed escaped the sharp eyes of the birds and seed-eating rodents to settle deep in the mesquite grass mat, preserve their species, and complete the cycle.

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A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

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000 to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, 609 and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping 432 in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, 609 each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article 432 as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother 595 began having trouble.

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. [198] As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of [124] their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

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Finally, apparently losing her temper, the one-eyed squaw started 609
mouthing, ran to the south end of the counter, rounded the end, and 432
started back north toward where Mother was standing. Mother, realizing the squaw's intentions, began mimicking her mouthings, picked up her skirts slightly with either hand, as I had seen her do a thousand times when shooing chickens or helping with the livestock around the farm, charged directly toward the little Indian woman.

Mother's mouthing was just as loud and just as unintelligible as was the squaw's, and for an instant it looked as though the irrisistible force was about to collide with the immovable object. Then suddenly Number Three braked to a stop and began running backward. Mother gave her no time to turn around.

Abruptly, the trail ended for the back-peddling intruder—she reached the little window deck where Mother's flowers sat. It was as I have said, knee-high, and the cactus sat on the squaw's side. There was nothing left for the frightened Indian woman to do but sit down, and she sat with all her accumulated momentum directly upon Mother's cactus.

I never decided which arose first, the homely little squaw or her shrieks of pain. At the first shriek, the other wives ran to her rescue. A counter-top showcase hid Mother and the shrieking Indian woman. For all they knew, Mother might be murdering their companion.

When the other wives saw what had happened, they began 609
screaming also, but theirs were screams of laughter. Close behind 432
the wives came the other Comanche women who were sitting around 522
the stove, and their peals of laughter added to the bedlam. 152

From time to time I have read stories having to do with the stoicism 152
of the American Indians and their ability to repress emotions—re- 522
maining indifferent to either pleasure or pain. But I assure you, this repression doesn't include an already excited squaw, clad in a calico *pit-sa-quina*, who unexpectedly sits on a cactus. Neither did it extend to the several Comanche women present in the store when she had her mishap. The little one-eyed Indian woman's shrieks of anguish were what you would expect to hear, even from a sedate white woman, under similar circumstances. And the gales of merriment loosed by the other Comanche women present equaled what you would expect from a group of white women laughing at a companion involved in a like predicament.

Certainly, the victim's face registered a mixture of fear and pain 152

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to chickens for frying, and there were few chickens in the country. 136

Even the great multitude of new tasks was soul-inspiring. I went 000
ahead with the freight wagons to the little inland town later to be known as Faxon, near where the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma, is. There was the freighting of lumber for the trading store my father planned to establish, the erection of the store building, and the freighting of the merchandise. I was clerking in the store, seeing all the new faces, continually meeting new people, and learning new names.

But none of these wonders was equal to seeing, meeting, and know- 123
ing the Comanche Indians. This was especially true when I sensed that one group of the Indians was inclined to be especially friendly toward me, and they made me feel that I was, in effect, one of them. This group was made up of the older men—the warrior group. They ranged in age from the late forties upward. I remember that in my mind I classed most of them as being in their fifties. Men obviously sixty and over were very scarce.

Since apparently all primitive people are attracted by large men, it may well be that my size helped me with my Comanche friendships. In my fifteenth year I largely had my growth. I was bigger than most men, and my muscles were well developed. Within my skills, I could do a man's work, and did. I continued to grow some until I was sixteen and was actually taller than I am now. I knew only three old Comanches that were taller than I. Quanah Parker and Comanche Jack were two of them.

I was properly thrilled. Here was living history. Here were men that had ridden the war trails to the bitter end: Adobe Walls, Palo Duro Canyon, the retreat to the Big Springs Mountains, and then the surrender at Fort Sill in June, 1875.

I had nothing in common with the teenagers near my age. They didn't work, fish, or hunt, as I did. There was no common meeting ground. What I called the Carlisle group, the older young people who had been to the Pennsylvania school and were much better educated than I, by and large ignored me. I have thought since that perhaps they were a trifle jealous of the attention the old fellows gave me. There was a conscious emotional gap between these educated Indians and the old fellows.

Soon after I arrived, an old squaw man gave me some very valu- 123
able information and advice. It summed up about like this: "If a white 609
man wants to gain the friendship and respect of the Comanche, he 562

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123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

887 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the
157 youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
[123] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with
142 the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

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vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

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553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562 a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
552 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for
177 word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In about a year the Rock Island Railroad came, and they wanted 000
to build only one bridge instead of two. So, only a few feet below Ca-vo-yo's ford, they built a bridge to take their track across Cache Creek. More years passed, and now a splendid highway bridge spans the creek, just below the spot where the now discarded railroad bridge's sawed-off piling marks its once useful evistence. Ca-vo-yo's little T-shaped house also remains.

I was courting my first sweetheart when the ford went into use. Her people lived about two and a half miles east of Ca-vo-yo's house, and our town was about two and a half miles northwest of the ford. The Girl and I used his ford many times. We each had a good riding horse, and often we were horseback. Then by diligence I rated a buggy. (It didn't have a top, but we didn't mind; we were in love.) Ca-vo-yo didn't have an arbor, and if the weather was at all clement, he and his woman would be sitting on the east porch when we went by. We would smile and wave gaily to the old Indian and his [576]
woman, and they would return our smiles and our waves. With slight variations this scene was repeated many times.

One Sunday afternoon, following an afternoon church service, we were returning to her parents' home. While I held the lower gate 609
open for the Girl to drive the buggy through, I saw Ca-vo-yo come 198
out, open the upper gate, and lay it back. Knowing he wanted to talk, when I drew even with him I stopped the horse. Smiling his widest smile, the old fellow approached the buggy and by the means of signs and the use of one word asked, "Is she your wife (squaw)?" Apparently he and his woman were becoming curious, since they didn't understand white man's courting. Probably, to them, we were wasting a lot of time.

When you try to describe the sign language (*maw-ta-quoip* or hand talk), it sounds jerky and disconnected. Instead it had a natural grace and flow, like unhurried water making its way over a well-worn course. The old Indian extended his right fist, closed loosely, knuckles up, in front of us. Quickly extending his forefinger toward the Girl, and as quickly closing the finger back, he extended the thumb pointing to my chest. Then he said the word "squaw" as a question—literally, "She your squaw?"

I didn't look toward the Girl. I am sure she was blushing, as I 000
know I was. I finally managed to shake my head and stammer out a "No," as I drove away. In due time the Girl and I managed to resume

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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452 Soon I came to a slip with a mistake of a dollar in the Indian's favor.
797 It was my mother's writing. The Indian had brought back a pair of girl's shoes, taken another pair that cost more, and also bought supplies —groceries and dry goods. I called the preacher's attention to the mistake, and he agreed. "Yes, it should be a dollar more." And he wrote it down that way. When he totaled the entries, the amount was exactly a dollar more than the amount I had given him.

During the auditing of the slips, both the minister and the Indian had remained grave and distant. The atmosphere wasn't friendly. Maybe they were embarrassed. I was. I was only in my fifteenth year, though I was operating in an adult sphere. My head was only a fifteen year-old head, and the same went for my experience. It was the first time anyone had seen fit to check our bookkeeping. In a way, I was feeling accused.

But when the preacher explained to Wer-que-yah, in the Comanche tongue, that our bookkeeping was honest, there was a bit of a lilt to the missionary's voice. And now the Indian was all smiles. As we arose from the ground, he exclaimed, "Wano! Wano!" a number of times and patted my back vigorously.

Then it was Reverend Deyo's turn. He extended his hand, saying, "I want to thank you for dealing with *my people* honestly. I checked your prices. I already knew you sell to the Indian and the white man at the same price. I shall tell *my people* you deal honestly. Not all merchants treat uneducated Indians fairly."

439 This incident may have accounted for some of our success as in-
452 dependent Indian traders. We, in turn, had to depend entirely upon
[672] the honesty of the Indian. He could neither be sued, nor could a judgment be levied against him.

000 Several years ago, two of my nephews were living with me and attending the university. One popular song you heard each time you tuned in on a radio program was "Don't Take Your Guns to Town, Son!" It was a plea of a mother to her son, just approaching young manhood, not to go to town armed, lest some gunman might see an easy way to get another notch on his gun and kill her offspring.

609 I told the boys I had once received much the same advice from an old Indian from whom I tried to borrow a gun while I was badly
452 scared. It was Wer-que-yah. It happened during another Grass Money payment at the same Cache reservation. This time Wer-que-yah's

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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camp was southeast of the Red Store, on a dry run that had a good 452
deal of timber along both sides of its gouge.

Nearly every payment, we collectors would hear of someone being 452
caught collecting on the reservation by a couple of deputy U.S. mar- 657
shals, who had taken his money and pistol-whipped him. Until this payment, I had never been approached by a marshal. While they carried commissions, presumably they were on the trader's payroll.

I don't think I had ever been noticed before. I went to the camps 452
of our customers only. Sometimes it would take two or three trips over a couple of days to catch everyone. When through, I hit for home. Often I was carrying considerable money and I didn't feel like visiting.

On this occasion, I was about to miss the Per-da-sop-py camp, and one of the girls—the children had all been to school—called me. I rode to the tent entrance, dismounted, and, holding my horse, waited till she brought out what she owed. As she was paying, a single marshal 657
riding by saw the transaction and ordered me off the campgrounds. 452

We were about a half-mile from the gate, and he rode on ahead. I felt sure he was looking for his partner. I had visions of losing the $300 to $400 of the store's money I was carrying, and being pistol-whipped besides. I had seen men pistol-whipped by officers, and I didn't relish the prospect.

I had already collected from Wer-que-yah, knew his camp was 609
hidden by trees, and rode directly to him. Excited, I told him my story and what I feared was going to happen to me. I knew either he or his son, Enoch, owned a good Colt .44. I asked to borrow it.

He began shaking his head. "Gun no wano! Gun heap bad!" he exclaimed over and over. "Horse heap fast!"

He jumped up, motioned for me to follow him, and started on foot down the bank of the run. Finding a place where the bank was low, he crossed over and continued down the east side. In a hundred or so yards we came to where the run left the reservation, near where it emptied into West Cache Creek.

Someone had pulled the staples holding the wire from a couple of posts, and the wire sagged almost to the ground. My friend stood on the wire and I rode across. I thanked him and hurried on my way. I wasn't by any means over my scare. I rode in the Cache Creek timber as far as I could and put my horse to a long lope—ready to start him running at the first sign of pursuit.

During the summer, a man by the name of Smith had started a 000

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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423 principal agent was at Anadarko, but for a time sub-agents were
657 maintained at both Fort Sill and Cache. One of Quanah Parker's daughters, Laura Neda, married A. C. Birdsong, an agent at Cache. The actual Comanche Reservation period ended in 1901, when the members of the tribe took individual allotments.

123 In 1907 I quit working at the store and went away to school. I visited my parents from time to time and often saw some of my Indian friends in town during these visits. But I never saw Wer-que-yah again until late in the fall of 1919. He farmed some of his Post Oak Creek bottomland and had grain for his beloved horses in the winter. The day I saw him, he was selling a wagonload of husked yellow corn. The Record Book shows that he died the following September. Peet-So survived him by twenty years.

123 Some years after his death, my mother told me of a visit he and
609 Peet-So made to her and Dad's home. He had heard of my marriage and that we had a boy baby. He was able to make Mother understand that they wanted to see a picture of my baby.

Mother invited them in. Wer-que-yah and Peet-so sat together, and Mother said they oohed and ahed as though it had been a picture of one of their own grandsons whom they had never seen. It was shortly after the noon hour, and, learning that they hadn't eaten, Mother prepared them a meal. After they left, she was unable to find the photo. Apparently they considered it a gift. They may even have asked for it.

609 About ten years ago I was told yet another story. Glenn Hagar, a druggist at Chattanooga, was the teller of the tale. His father's farm was near the Wer-que-yah home. On days when they were not needed on the farm, he and his older brother often went to the Indian's home and played with his younger sons.

There were trees to climb, Post Oak Creek to wade and swim in, fish to be caught, and cool, clear spring water to drink. There were none of these things on their father's prairie farm.

Mr. Hagar's father's people lived just west of the present town of Faxon. His father's half-sister became seriously ill with typhoid fever. There were serious doubts as to whether she would recover. One morning, while the parents were waiting for the doctor to arrive, Wer-que-yah drove into their yard.

Tying his team, he came to the house and asked about the little

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

girl. When told how seriously ill she was, he asked if he could come in and pray for her. The parents consented. The child was in a coma, and it would not disturb her. The prayer was long and, of course, in his native tongue.

I am sure there was no doubt in his mind but that God understood Comanche. When he arose, there were tears in his eyes. He assured the worried parents their daughter would live. Wiping the tears from his eyes, he went out, untied his team, and drove away toward home.

These are some episodes I tell over in my mind, recalling Wer-que-yah, bringing his picture before me clearly. They are the bold brush strokes. Then they, in turn, bring many tiny details to mind as I continue to think of him.

There are friendly smiles; quick, firm handclasps; an arm held high, waving me to leave the trail and ride by his home, where, smiling, he shows me his excellent field glasses. He has seen me afar off and has waited to wave. These are the fine brush strokes that fill in the background of my picture of Wer-que-yah, Jesus-Man Comanche.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Let us review what we know concerning the Bone-setter. Dr. McLain insisted that the cowboy's work indicated he possessed surgical training. His stitches were put in with a surgical needle and catgut suture, and he had a limited supply of powdered calomel. Excepting for the powdered calomel, these things were unlikely appurtenances to be carried by an itinerant cowboy. With the circulation of these facts, the tongues of the curious wagged. 000

The only other testimony comes from Jim Martny, Earny interpreting. No one else acknowledged knowing the cowboy or having seen him. Nearby ranch-owners and their ranch hands would not admit to knowing any cowboy who could fill the bill. They knew of cowboys who had set a bone or two; but this was a multi-fracture, a wholesale affair, along with the job of cleaning and stitching Albert's scalp back in place, besides caring for the numerous horseshoe wounds.

Approximately in these words, with Earny translating, Jim told of the cowboy, and he never varied from it: "Cowboy come to camp just after white medicine man leave. Him say he hungry. We feed cowboy. Him say he cowboy medicine man. Him set Albert's bones. Cowboy ride away north. 177 609

"Him look like all cowboys look. All cowboys look alike. All have mustache. All have big hat, high-heeled cowboy boots. All wear jeans pants and calico shirt. All have big gun in belt. All have good saddle. 829

"Horse him different. I tell about horse. Him sorrel so high," and Jim pointed to his chin. 000

"Horse come long way. Horse tired. Cowboy tired. Horse have white face. One white foot." And Jim made the necessary motions to help Earny finish the description of the horse: blaze face, left front foot white.

There was never one word as to how the long afternoon progressed, other than the use of the yellow soap. This was one of the few specific questions Jim seemed to understand. Like most Indians of his day, he found "No savvy" a convenient way to dodge any question he didn't care to answer.

Never a word as to how the women behaved. No word as to when Albert regained consciousness—whether it was during the ordeal of having his bones set or afterward. He was conscious when Dr. McLain drove his buckboard out, the afternoon of the second day, to dress the wounds. This seems to have been an instruction from the cowboy, to have the white doctor come out the second day.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with-882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of 591 residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. 166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre-157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

221
224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes with which they are associated. In per-
142 son they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
(115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., i, 155, 1823. **Be'dälk'ínago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., ii, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., vi, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Cemanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 455, 1876. **Ciatu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 629, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comancheea.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., i, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, i, 356, 1841. **Comanshina.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comants.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, ii, 64, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., v, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., i, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., ii, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-a².**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Ieda.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p. 328-A]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit. 174

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches. 619 [578]

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9] 621

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

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[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235). [161]

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

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114
121 Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike
701 other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

114 Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior
701 societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

114 A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century
175 presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a
619 Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsucka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed. 114 175 619

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches. 114 701

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu- 756

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

ground. Múβa watched for his chance until he could shoot a wounding arrow into Pepper. 685

"Can't you do better than that?" Pepper cried. So a second arrow was used to kill him. 682

Without attempting to take the dead man's horses, they went back to where the other Comanches waited. "I have killed our friend," Muβa announced. The four who were there then mounted and went out to look for the body. They stayed a long time preparing a grave, wailing and mourning for the dead man. Múβa and his captive spent the time preparing a meal from their dead mule, which Pepper had shot.

When their friends came back from their mortuary undertakings, they ate heartily. In the meanwhile, Pepper's captive drove his master's horses into camp. There was great mourning among his master's relatives. Because Pepper had no father, a war chief named Bakamuts, a brave and respected man among the Those Who Move Often, called for attention. 627x 682 619

"Listen to me, all!" The wailing ceased. "There is a young brave named Múβa. He is of a large household and in it are many brave warriors. It is my mind that we let this matter go; because his friend first did the wrong thing, it was not his fault. Pepper was mean to have started the fight over a horse."

Bakamuts took these steps to close the incident because both he and the Antelope chiefs were afraid that the two bands would exterminate each other. They did not want a senseless fight between their bands. Crazy Bear and another Antelope chief counselled, "Let us forget this thing which has happened. Our children have intermarried; for their sakes, let us forget it."

Thus tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the rationale is on the kinship basis. The Comanche had not yet reached the state of pure polity. As to the materials of the action, the murdered warrior's resentment at the butchering of his horse was rooted in the very personal nature of horses as property. Comanche horses were highly regarded and imbued with a degree of personality. It is not unlikely that the slaying of horses was to the owner close to murder and hence no light thing to compose. Two horses killed for one horse butchered is in one sense a more-than-murder retaliation. The revenge-killing of Pepper roots no less obviously in a pattern that atonement deemed ample, and freely offered, was to be accepted, not to be insultingly refused by shooting horses instead of receiving them. 231 627x [619]

The extremes to which feelings on a favorite horse could go are also demonstrated in the famed murder of Rocky Thorn by Crowding A Person. 627x 682

Case 15. Killing a Favorite Horse and Murder: Rocky Thorn vs. Crowding A Person
Informant: That's It

"The trouble resulted from a raid on a Comanche camp by enemies. As the raiders were making their get-away, a young boy jumped on the nearest loose horse to

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197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took [198] place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nəmənə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands.
361 The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

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The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

194 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Mexico spoke of three major bands. For a time, the Anglo-Americans designated three divisions—Northern, Middle, and Southern—but as they came to know the Comanches better, the practice was replaced by the use of definite band names. Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, was able to identify eight bands. James Mooney listed thirteen, but Robert H. Lowie, in 1912, recorded only four. R. B. Thomas, who lived with the Comanches for many years during the early reservation period, knew of twelve bands, six of which had already been absorbed or exterminated;[14] and at the time of the work of the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Study Group in 1933, living Comanches still remembered thirteen.[15] Multiple names are usually recorded for a band, and in some instances it is impossible to determine whether two names refer to the same or different bands. Regardless of how many bands there may have been, during the nineteenth century there were five outstanding divisions, the others being small or transitory groupings.

The largest and best-known divisions of all the Comanches was the *Pɛnatɜkə*, or Honey-Eaters. Other names by which the band was known include *Teyuwit* (Hospitable), *Tekapwai* (No Meat), *Kuβatpat* (Steep Climbers), *Pɛnanɜ* (Wasp or Quick-stinger, i.e., Raiders), and *Ho'is* (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived adjacent to the Spanish and Texas settlements in the vicinity of the Cross Timbers belt and along the headwaters of the central Texas rivers. A map of the country between the frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico, based on the expeditions of Captain Marcy from 1849 to 1852, locates the Southern Comanches, or Wasps, between the Pecos River and Fort Phantom Hill.[16] Their residence in the timber belt explains some of the various names by which they were called. They lived near the settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Early references by the whites to the Comanches pertain largely to this band. According to their own traditional accounts, the Wasps had moved so far away that for a long time they had no contact with other Comanche groups. They were

[14] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*, 153.

[15] E. A. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 12–13.

[16] Annie H. Abel (ed.), *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map (unattached).

174 619 rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yamparikə*) and Antelope bands (*Kwəharɛnə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyɛka*), or *Nɔkoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief [765] [551] who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔkoni*), because of the tabu forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyɛka* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsuɛka*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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so named because they always had plenty of buffalo meat. Buffalo meat was the principal food of all Comanches, but this particular division, whose favorite haunt during the nineteenth century was the Canadian River valley, may well have been more dependent upon that animal, since they were in a favorite rendezvous of the buffalo herds. They established relations with the Spaniards in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century, and after peace was established in 1786, *Comancheros* (traders from New Mexico settlements) visited them frequently and called them *Cuchaneo* or *Cuchantica.* The eastern and southern members of this group likewise came to be well known to the Spaniards in Texas; in fact, they are commonly referred to in the documents of the Bexar archives as Texas or Eastern Comanches. They were noted as a band which was ever out on a raid. An emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, whom Governor de Anza sent in 1786 to visit them, reported that in an area about one hundred miles square between the Pecos and Red rivers, he found eight *rancherías;* that the smallest had thirty tents; all eight together had about seven hundred. He further reported that there were three to four warriors to the tent, which would give an estimated population of between six and seven thousand; on the basis of what we know about the Comanches, this was an exaggeration, although his claim that they owned nine hundred horses and mules is quite credible.[19]

The northernmost part of the Comanche country was occupied by the populous and important band of "Yap-eaters," *Yapainə*, or *Yamparikə*, eaters of a potato-like root called *Yɛp* by the Shoshones, but *Yap'* by the Comanches. As the band closest to the Shoshones, and as the band that clung to Shoshone food-getting habits, digging for roots, they were probably the last of the Comanche bands to break off. Indeed, the Fort Hall Shoshones, in Idaho (who still think *they* are the people—*nəm*) call all Comanches *Yamparika.* In earlier times this band had been called *Widyu* (Awl), according to Mooney, but because the use of the word became tabu, as in the case of the *Nokoni,* it was changed to *Ditsakana* (Sewers), which conveys the same idea.[20]

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[19] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers,* 73, 290–91.

[20] Apparently also spelled *Titchakenah* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving). It is maintained on good authority that the *Titchakenah* was once a separate band who before the reservation days had become a portion of the *Yamparika* band. See Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

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174 According to their own accounts, they came around 1700 from the Rocky Mountain country, north of the headwaters of the Arkansas
619 River, to the valley of that stream in what is now eastern Colorado and western Kansas. Previously they had inhabited the country with the Shoshones. Governor Anza in 1786 located them as ranging across present northern Colorado and south to the Arkansas River. The accounts indicate, however, that the Yap-eaters felt at home south of that stream also. During the nineteenth century they camped generally on the south side of the Arkansas River and along the Canadian, the Arkansas being considered the northern boundary of their territory. They raided, however, far north of that stream across Kansas and Nebraska.

Another populous band, although little known until towards the close of the pre-reservation period, is the Antelope or *Kwɔharɛnɔ*. The name of the band is indicative of its life on the open plains where antelope were plentiful. And because they lived and traveled on the [293] glaring, treeless plains, these Comanches carried on their backs a square of rawhide that could be held over the head as a sunshade. Hence they were also nicknamed *Kwahihɔkɛnɔ*, "Sunshades on Their Backs." William Clark called them Qua-he-hu-ke, which he said meant "back-shade," because in their treeless country the only way to shade the face was to turn one's back to the sun, but we doubt the correctness of this interpretation.[21] Before the Comanches migrated to the South Plains country, the Antelope band was located just south of the Yap-eaters. The two bands probably drifted south about the same time, and then the Antelopes made the *Llano Estacado* their home and challenged all intruders. Within the wild depths of the Tule and Palo Duro canyons they found protection from the winter blizzards of the uplands and safety from their enemies until Colonel MacKenzie bearded them in their stronghold on September 27, 1874. They harried the frontier of Texas as much, perhaps, as any other Comanche band, and they were the last of the Comanches to submit to the efforts of the United States to bring them under control. For years they scoffed at their beef-eating kinsmen on the reservation, and did not submit until they had been drubbed repeatedly by superior military forces. It has been argued that present-day Comanche

[21] W. P. Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 119.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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dialects, traditions, and customs are largely Antelope.[22] To what extent this is true is impossible to judge, but even a casual student of Comanche culture cannot fail to note that the influence of the Antelope band is strong. These people are reluctant to accept innovations to this day, a few still preferring the tipi and the arbor to the modern house.

In addition to the above-mentioned major groups, there were a great many bands of less importance. Some of these are difficult to distinguish because of similarity of band names and variations in spelling the same name, and also because some bands had become extinct or had merged with others before becoming known to whites.

The *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), mentioned by James Mooney, were so called because they are reputed to have eaten the liver of their game in its raw state. Although Mooney found only one survivor at the time of his visit, Agent E. L. Clark reported several survivors living with other bands in 1881,[23] and Goldstein was able to identify the band in 1931. The Liver-eaters were neighbors of the Wanderers and with them composed a part of the group known as Middle Comanches.

A third band which lived in the same region as the Wanderers and the Liver-eaters was the *Tenawa* or *Tenawit* (Down Stream), also noted by Mooney. The *Tenawa* and *Tanima* were frequently confused by the whites, partly because of the similarity of the sound of the names and partly because they inhabited the same geographic region. So confused are the accounts of the two that it is often impossible to determine to which band the name refers.[24] The Down Streams were practically exterminated in a battle with the Mexicans about 1845, and the band did not exist when the Comanches went on the reservation in 1869, or else they had been absorbed by other bands. R. N. Richardson believes that the Yupes or Jupes listed by Governor Anza as one of three major divisions known to the Spaniards in New Mexico in 1786 were the *Tenawa*.[25] The Liver-eaters

[22] R. B. Thomas, "Kiowa-Comanche Experiences," *loc. cit.*

[23] Agent Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881, *loc. cit.*

[24] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 21, lists the following variations of the two words and states that it is an incomplete list: Te-na-wish, Ta-ne-wa, Te-ne-wah, Te-na-wa, Tan-nee-wish, Ten-en-e-ree, Te-ne-mes, and De-na-vi.

[25] *Ibid.*, 20–22.

174 and Down Streams often camped with the Wasps and were probably
819 strongly influenced by them.

The *Itɛta'o* habitually put up more pemmican than they could eat in a winter. They threw the surplus out in the spring, and other Comanches, seeing their dumps of dried, black meat along the trails, dubbed them *Itɛta'o*, "Burnt Meat."

The *Wɔ'ai* carried a name meaning "Wormy," but more inelegantly, according to That's It, the full name means "Maggots on the Penis." They are supposed to have married incestuously, and hence they were also scornfully called *Namaɜ'ɜnɔ*, "Something together" or "Intercourse." Mooney reported them to be extinct at the time of the reservation period, but the Santa Fé Laboratory Field Group was able to record evidence of them in 1933. There were a few living in the vicinity of Geronimo, Oklahoma, in 1945, and only a few of the older tribal informants had no knowledge of this band.

The *Mutsanɜ* (Undercut Bank) were so called because their favorite camp site was underneath an overhanging cliff. According to Mooney, who called them *Mot-sai*, they were annihilated in a battle with the Mexicans sometime around 1845, presumably suffering the same fate as the Down Stream band. Mooney also identified a group which he called *Pagatsu* (Head of the Stream), probably the same band as that recorded by the Santa Fé Laboratory group as *Panaixtɜ* (Those Who Live Upstream).

A band famous among the Comanches but little known to whites was the Water Horse (*Pahuraix*). According to That's It, who was a member of this band, these people were taller and slimmer than most other Comanches. They were reputedly great runners who excelled at lacrosse. They bet prodigiously on their prowess, and like the Lamarkian giraffe they are supposed to have gotten their height by stretching—they piled their bets so high! In time, on account of their propensity for huge stakes and their unbeatable skill at lacrosse, other bands refused to play them. Robert S. Neighbors says that they were called *Par-ḳee-na-um* (Water People) because they usually camped near lakes and streams.

The *Wia'nɜ* (Hill Wearing Away) was a very small band of six or seven families which camped in a gap between a large hill and a rapidly eroding smaller one.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Mooney and Neighbors both listed a few Comanche bands that were not noted by any other reporters. Mooney's *Pohoi* (Wild Sage) were nothing more than some Wind River Shoshones who joined with the Comanches. Neighbors mentions a *No-na-um* band, who he said "live in the high prairie where there is no timber or running water, and never leave that kind of country." He also notes an *It-chit-a-bud-ah* (Cold People) band and a *Hai-ne-na-une* (Corn-eaters). All of these later groups were of little importance or had by mid-nineteenth century been absorbed or otherwise become extinct.

How many people all these bands added up to is hard to say. At best the Comanche tribe was never very large. Mooney estimated its population to be 7,000 in 1690.[26] Governor Anza of New Mexico reported that Comanches visiting Santa Fé and Pecos Pueblo in the first half of the year of 1786 included twenty-three chiefs representing 593 lodges or around 6,000 persons. In the same year Anza's emissary, Francisco Xavier Ortiz, reported that he visited an area about one hundred miles square north and east of the Pecos River where he found eight villages of "Kotsoteka," containing a population of 6,000 to 7,000.[27] The figure given by Ortiz is quite likely exaggerated, but if it is approximately correct, then the tribe at that time could have numbered as many as 20,000 to 30,000.

It was several years after the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory that government agents learned much about the Comanches. One of the first reliable estimates of their military strength was by P. L. Chouteau, agent for the Osages. He wrote in 1836, "The numerical military forces of the Comanches (which includes all males old enough and not too old to bear arms) is estimated, and always has been, by the Mexican Government at 8,000, but from my personal observation, I have been induced to calculate the number of Comanche warriors at 4,500."[28] In the following year United States military authorities estimated the number of warriors at about 5,400.[29] Based upon the figures given by Chouteau and Bonville, the population of

[26] James Mooney, "The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXXX, No. 7, 13.

[27] A. B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 290–91, 325, 327.

[28] Agent Chouteau to Stokes and Arbuckle, April 25, 1836, *loc. cit.*

[29] B. L. E. Bonville, captain, Seventh Infantry, to Commissioner, General Roger Jones, January 24, 1837 (MS copy, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, Archives, I).

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

144 one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

619 631 The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more important being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

114 Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the
● 619 Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular inter-
621 vals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance
[801] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some
787 medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp i-419 not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619 treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648 amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622 satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631 were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted: but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622 chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624 chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623 were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622 public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681] behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto*.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back 586
his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be 642
set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occa- 624
sions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only counte- [701]
nanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, [554]
their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The 622
Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is 555
generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Be- 619
sides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven
is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects
the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North Amer- 619
ican Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the 171
same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expe- 726
dition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war- 701
paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be 726
a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular 701
expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead 624
them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no 622
chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 624
554

24:. Richardson H-4 (no date: 1929 N06 Com che N06
(1854-1859) Te s

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 578 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties [162] of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about 648 two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- 648 thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1854) p. 180.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 502.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[775] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[778] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[775] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[758] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[579] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

72 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands. 177 [184]

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future. 619 621

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hənitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *penatəkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *honono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. [174]

The largest Comanche band was the *penatəkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration. 619 621 101

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101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

619 621 657 177 101 The *penatsko* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

619 621 101 The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsweka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 619 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geographic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

101 619 621

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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatəkə* continue to be the southern- 101
most of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted 621
the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the 177
process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progres- 619
sive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in 621
contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might 184
be expected, the southern band, the *penatəkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatəkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nəkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatəkə* for 101
the southern people; rather they call them *hənitaiβo*, which means "eat corn 619
like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred 621
to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches 184
who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did 619
not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. 621
During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage 184
of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and 648
their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in 721
Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the 619
northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this 621
time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern 184
Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 721
657

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in
166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended 174
their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. 619
The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never [578]
occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches.

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number 621
of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9]

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

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[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year [161]
1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235).

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandikiko Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intraband when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent within the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were frequent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility ever provided a way of avoiding the legal consequences of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie. *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

phonetic transcription as published by their authors. The first four bands listed are the largest and most important of all Comanche band units. (62)

1. nɔ'yɛka*† (Those Who Move Often); sometimes called dɔ'tsanɔ'yɛka*† (Moving About Camping In Bad Places); also nɔ'koni*†‡ (Those Who Turn Back).
2. kwɔhájɪɛnɔ*† (Antelope); sometimes called kwáhihɔkɛnɔ*† (Carrying A Sunshade On Their Backs).
3. yápainɔ*† (Eater Of yɛp, a potato-like root); also yamparika†, ditsakana†, widyu†.
4. pénanɔ:*† (Wasp, or Quick-Stinger, i.e., raider); also called pɛ'natɔkɔ* (Honey Eater) and penande†; ho-is‡ (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived deepest to the south in the Texas country.
5. ʈásipɛnanɔ* The ʈási were an Apache band which joined with a group from the pénanɔ: to form a separate "Comanche" band.
6. ɔtéta'o* (Burnt-Meat), so-called because they habitually prepared more pemmican than they could consume in a winter; the surplus they threw out in the sping; other Indians seeing their dumps of dried, black meat dubbed them with this name.
7. páhuɪaix* (Water Horse), a band with reputedly taller and slimmer physique than most Comanches, "fast runners who always won at La Crosse." par-kee-na-um‡ (Water People), always camped near water.
8. ku'tsuɛka*†‡ (Meat Eaters), always had plenty of buffalo meat; also noted as a band always out on raids.
9. mu'tsanɔ*† (Undercut Bank), from location under an overhanging cliff.
10. wi'a'nɔ* (Hill Wearing Away), from location of main camp between a large hill and a small one which was rapidly eroding.
11. wɔ'ai* (Lots Of Maggots On The Penis), also námasɔne* (Something Together), from reputed incestuous practice.
12. pánaixtɔ* (Those Who Live Higher), located on the high side of a creek.
13. tɔ'sakɔnanɔ* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving), manufactured parfleches on the march.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Meeting of the Dragoons and Comanches in 1834
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

[facing p. 14]

A Comanche camp
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 Each local group, whatever its size, had at least one permanent leader. In the small groups of a few lodges he was an outstanding person of ability and influence to whom lesser relatives and friends looked for guidance. He was the focal point of organization in their lives. The organization of such groups, so far as can be determined, was markedly similar to that which was characteristic for the aboriginal groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact, as summarized by Dr. Julian Steward.[15] In the larger bands the identity of the "extended family group" was submerged in the more embracing organization of the band, but not wholly lost. "Relatives tended to camp together." Whenever the band camp was moved, the same grouping of relatives tended to find its position in the new camp by establishing its location in relation to other "groups of relatives," so that the pattern of spacing within the camp retained a certain regularity. The large bands camped and functioned as units only during the summer season of dances and communal buffalo hunts. For a portion of the year the band was scattered and subdivided. Our data are not absolutely clear on this point, but the implication is that the break-up of the band was into the smaller "groups of relatives," including, of course, the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group. The family headmen, of which there was one for each camp-group, were the *pɑ́ɑaiβo*, or peace chiefs (to distinguish them from the war leaders) of the band. When the compound band was camping [623] and moving together as a unit it then contained several peace chiefs. On these occasions the peace chiefs appointed one of their number as leader for the season, with the remainder of the chiefs functioning as an advisory council for the group as a whole and at the same time maintaining their positions as family headmen to their own groups of followers.

THE ECONOMIC BASE[16]

233 It is usual to speak of the Comanches as a tribe of hunters. Insofar as they depended primarily on game for sustenance, this is true. But it is equally true, and usually overlooked, that they were just as definitely a pastoral people. Great herds of horses were accumulated. The most notable form of [422] wealth was in this form of chattel: horses were individually owned by both men and women.

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case

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[15] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16] The description of the material culture of the Comanches is a subject for separate treatment. This section is intended to serve merely as an orientation to Comanche subsistence methods.

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20] 361 171

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night. 621 361 [574] 512 [231]

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end 484 [202]

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Camanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took [198] place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nɜmɜnə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands.
361 The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

174 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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516
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Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

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621

A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[FACING p. 78]

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 619 621 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular intervals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance [801] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 787 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp 1-419 not processed]

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
interspersed with White farms, the develop-
[621] ment of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
178 date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[23] and further delineated by Kroeber,[24] Sapir,[25] and Whorf.[26] Sapir

[113] [23] Johann C. Buschmann, Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [24] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [25] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

[p. 145-A]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:— 621 [535] 101

Yápairḕka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natḕka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairḕka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tīrewṑku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatḕka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō̄'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā̀r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself. 621 535

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast." [3] [126]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company. 101

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark, 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several in-
[72] formants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration,
[535] called nā'wapinā`r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy
[216] that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā`r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned war-
[533] rior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 During the entire period of the nā'wapinā`r it seems that the several
[796] dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the
[292] dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[621] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápairē`ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā`r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to
202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[101] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,
[621]
[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. [122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[113] [4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Domingues and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Domingues y F. Silvestre [113] Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Vnforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[27]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[28] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[29] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it..		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane.....	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road.....	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One.....	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer.....	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One.....	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master.....	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers.....	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One.....	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe.....	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range..	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game.....	20
Second			
	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange[30] of the group Yupe....	50
Queremilla:	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them.....	6
Third led by Tosacondala			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater.....	10

[114]

[27] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[28] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[29] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[30] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[33]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[34]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[35]

. . . . . .[36]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[37]

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Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[33] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[34] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick-People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[35] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[36] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[37] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands. 177 [184]

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nəmənə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future. 619 621

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *hənitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *pənatəkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *bonono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century. [174]

The largest Comanche band was the *pənatəkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration. 619 621 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

The *penatɔkə* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority 619 621 of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended 657 in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because 177 101 of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

The *ɪɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing 619 621 the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of 101 Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsweka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *ɪɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 619 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-101 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* 619 are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma 621 communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *ɪɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatɜkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 101 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *penatɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes." 621 177 619 621 184

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatɜkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma. 101 619 621 184

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 619 621 184 648 721 619 621 184 721 657

31: Jones . E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

619 Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
621 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
184 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
795 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

619 Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
621 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
184 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
115 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
141 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

221
224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
181 finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They have a high sense of honor and hold themselves superior to the other tribes
142 with which they are associated. In person they are well built and rather corpu-
197 lent. Their language is the trade language of the region and is more or less understood by all the neighboring tribes.
(194) It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
(115) important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dälk'finago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Caducas.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 106, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Causouche.**—Beaurain, Ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Comanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanahima.**—Bourke, Moquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Dä'tsä-an.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ke.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Iedä.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p.328-A]

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624

Comanche NO6

[For information on chiefs appointed by the Spanish, see Category 643.]

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, [551]
translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken [591]
wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 635
without any damage, very much to my relief.

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727
of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574
This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727
collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425
pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727
Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622
there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 On the return, which was by a different route from that 574 we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a 622 friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their [551] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the [622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his 727 people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

Arrival at Rolling Thunder's Village

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727
length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361]
situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484]
thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to
preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727
formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465
emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins
and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and
Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an
incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572]
ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his
attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361
description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622
same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw*, *An-a-wak-ke-o*, *Ho-wawk-ke-* [551]
no, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

Three Years Among the Comanches

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

•622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group - were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them, each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

The Comanches

671 with Polynesians and Comanches illustrates this: Polynesians can give you practically an Emily Post statement of what proper behavior should be on all occasions, whereas Comanches, when asked how they do anything, immediately answer, 'Well, that depends.' They genuinely think of behavior as a range of unlimited, individual, freedom of choice, although when you take a series of examples of behavior, as Hoebel did, you actually find quite a high degree of uniformity. But you have to check Comanche behavior to arrive at this."[1]

In other words, to learn about Comanche law, it is necessary not to talk about "law" when doing field work with the Comanches, but rather, through utilization of the case-law method of legal recording and analysis, to accumulate a sizeable body of case histories of dispute situations from which the regularity of legal patterns can be abstracted.[2]

Before presenting the facts of their law, it is necessary to describe the nature of the Comanche state.

642 The basic principle of Comanche political organization was the constitutional separation of civil and military leadership. For a warlike people this separation was quite remarkable, although, of course, it was a general North American Indian practice for which the Comanches cannot be singled out for credit.

●622 The peace chief was known as *paria:βo* and each family encampment had its *paria:βo*, whom we shall call either "peace chief" or "headman." There was reluctance on the part of the Comanches to accord him formal recognition, but genuine recognition of his powers was reflected in the attention given to his advice and in the general subordination to his influence. It was one of these family headmen who was elevated to the position of head peace chief of the band; the remainder of the chiefs functioned as an advisory council for the band as a whole and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen to their own group of followers. The chief, or headman, was chairman, so to speak, of the group. He was *primus inter pares*.

There is no explicit way of saying how a man became a civil

[1] Ralph Linton in S. S. Sargent and M. W. Smith (eds.) *Culture and Personality*, 123.

[2] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 181.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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chief. When asked, "How did you *select* your peace chiefs?" That's It, misunderstanding the phrasing of the question, answered with a touch of annoyance, "We did not *elect* them. We were not like you white people, who have to have an election every four years to see who is going to be your leader. A peace chief just got that way." His idea was echoed quite independently by Kills Something, who said, "No one made him such; he just got that way."

A peace chief rose to his position of leadership by combining generosity, kindness, evenness of temper, wisdom in council, and knowledge of his territory with good sense and the ability to speak persuasively on matters at issue. The man whose advice was most consistently followed was a peace chief for his group. He emerged gradually as a leader, and when his ability to influence his group was surpassed by that of another man, he ceased to be its *paria:βo*. Another had taken his place. The position was not competitively sought, at least not openly, for aggressive behavior was not part of the pattern of action of the man who was acceptable to the people as a peace chief. He epitomized the ideal of order and tranquility, not strife.

Josiah Gregg observed a tendency for sons of chiefs to acquire the position with more than average frequency, but explained that it was not due to any established rule of hereditary succession or legal pattern, but rather that it resulted from the fact that sons of chiefs, by virtue of the training and example set by their fathers and the expectancy of high standards within their families, attained the qualities of the chieftain. Competition was open, and the office was granted on performance solely.[3] Our own data confirm Gregg's penetrating perception. Here we see the roots of the hereditary principle as it can arise in any society. We would add that not only are the sons of chiefs more apt to act in the chiefly pattern, but the chief is merged to some extent in his family, and people get used to looking to that family for leadership. The son, who is identified with the father, tends to become the focus of leadership expectancies.

The authority of a peace chief, as has already been indicated, lasted only so long as he was able to maintain it. His position was more nominal than positive, more advisory than compulsive. The man made the office and not the office the man; he perforce relied

[3] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 343.

622 more upon personal influence than upon delegated authority. In addition to the qualities of kindness, generosity, and wisdom in tribal affairs, physical fitness, a record for dash and daring, valor, and firmness, whether in camp or in battle, were also desirable characteristics of such leaders, but were not absolutely prerequisite to the attainment of office.

While it was not necessary for a man to have a war record to become a peace chief, it was not uncommon in later years for a war leader to achieve that rank. Certainly one who had attained leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill, either in the chase or on the field of battle, had added prestige. The peace chief was usually a man whose raiding days were over, although he might occasionally take to the warpath, designating someone to act in the capacity of civil chief during his absence.

When a man emerged as a civil chief, he had become a kind of revered patriarch. To all the band he was "father." The People were his "children." Although he wisely refrained at times from intervening in disputes, there were times when his judicious words brought satisfaction to both parties. Judge he was not, but mediator he seems to have been at times. It was in situations where the problem was a question of what ought to be done that the civil chief was important. That his advice was followed means no more than that his ideas appeared to be right and proper. He spoke the custom. Under no circumstances did a civil chief have the power to order an adjustment to be made. He had no power over the life of any member of the tribe. His influence was limited to internal and civil matters only. No peace chief had authority to prevent by force a war party from taking the trail. His only really definite power was that of deciding the time and place of camp moving.[4] The chief who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but the readjustment would take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure. Should the chief disgrace himself by an act of cowardice or maladministration, the band might quickly depose him and elevate another.

[202] An important peace chief had his personal herald or camp crier, who served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news
And comments of the chief.

[4] Informants: Kills Something; That's It.

and comments of the chief. Each chief kept a staff of young men to serve him as aides and counselors. These young men protected their chief at all hazards; they risked their lives to rescue his body from the enemy, for it was a great honor to be chosen as a bodyguard to a civil chief. It was customary in the larger camps to send two of these young men out each day to circle the countryside looking for signs of enemies in the vicinity. 622

There is some difference of opinion as to the relative power of civil and war chiefs. The bulk of the evidence indicates that the head civil chief was superior to the war chief in theory, but that if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war chief vigorous and popular, the authority of the civil chief would be more theoretical than real.

Important policies were determined in council. In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions were often indefinite. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority, for, as in most Indian tribes, it was thought that agreement should be unanimous. The council was composed of all the old men of the tribe who had shown exceptional ability as warriors, leaders, or guides. As in the selection of chiefs, there was no formal procedure for admission; one "just got that way" because of his achievements. During the later period the authority of the counselors might be indicated by the "sun-rayed" buffalo robe dropping regally from the shoulders, even on a hot day, and by the feather war bonnet with its plumed train worn at times by members whose military achievements entitled them to wear it. 623

Within the council, experience and rank were usually given preference. The talking was done principally by the older men—those with the greatest experience. After the elders had stated their views, middle-aged men expressed theirs, and even younger men might speak a few words. Boys were generally allowed to attend the meetings, but only as respectful listeners. For them to intrude opinions in weighty matters was to invite scorn and ridicule; consequently, they maintained silence. They learned by watchful listening. If either the young men or the boys were called upon to speak, they did so with moderation and with a feeling of pride that they should be so honored. They wished to prove themselves first by action, then by

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 28, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 223.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[426] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[426] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency loans and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,479; leases, $830,000; social security assistance, $22,444; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,155 (1943); service men dependent allotments, $184,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., ann. II, 30, 31.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive
[642] official authority, is not recognized in their crude system of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back 586
his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative.

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be 642
set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occa- 624
sions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only counte- [701]
nanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, [554]
their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The 622
Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is 555
generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Be- 619
sides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven 619
is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects 171
the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North Amer-
ican Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the
same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people.

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expe- 726
dition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war- 701
paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be 726
a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular 701
expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead 624
them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no 622
chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 624
554

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally [622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known 177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi; from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That Govern Them?
622
624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?
623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Centatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-316.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[657] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
628 near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
657 between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came
657 and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 8, 1858, Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently
[166] deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
648 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could
657 prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 324.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

721 178 [181] 611 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181 562

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181 [593]

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [835]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [776]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable. 577

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

29: Hoebel E-4.5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a
701 band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute,
721 Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days, the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

701 On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized
it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed.
624 He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 Each local group, whatever its size, had at least one permanent leader. In the small groups of a few lodges he was an outstanding person of ability and influence to whom lesser relatives and friends looked for guidance. He was the focal point of organization in their lives. The organization of such groups, so far as can be determined, was markedly similar to that which was characteristic for the aboriginal groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact, as summarized by Dr. Julian Steward.[15] In the larger bands the identity of the "extended family group" was submerged in the more embracing organization of the band, but not wholly lost. "Relatives tended to camp together." Whenever the band camp was moved, the same grouping of relatives tended to find its position in the new camp by establishing its location in relation to other "groups of relatives," so that the pattern of spacing within the camp retained a certain regularity. The large bands camped and functioned as units only during the summer season of dances and communal buffalo hunts. For a portion of the year the band was scattered and subdivided. Our data are not absolutely clear on this point, but the implication is that the break-up of the band was into the smaller "groups of relatives," including, of course, the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group. The family headmen, of which there was one for each camp-group, were the *ράιβο*, or peace chiefs (to distinguish them from the war leaders) of the band. When the compound band was camping [623] and moving together as a unit it then contained several peace chiefs. On these occasions the peace chiefs appointed one of their number as leader for the season, with the remainder of the chiefs functioning as an advisory council for the group as a whole and at the same time maintaining their positions as family headmen to their own groups of followers.

THE ECONOMIC BASE[16]

238 It is usual to speak of the Comanches as a tribe of hunters. Insofar as they depended primarily on game for sustenance, this is true. But it is equally true, and usually overlooked, that they were just as definitely a pastoral people. Great herds of horses were accumulated. The most notable form of [422] wealth was in this form of chattel: horses were individually owned by both men and women.

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case

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[15] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16] The description of the material culture of the Comanches is a subject for separate treatment. This section is intended to serve merely as an orientation to Comanche subsistence methods.

264 Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by their appetites, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling their mouths alternately with flesh and vegetable.

727 An hour or two subsequently, a party of fifty, perhaps, 623 collected together and held a council, the Big Wolf presiding. It was evident that frequent references were made to me, and that I was spoken of in connection with the watch. In the course of the consultation, Moko, the chief's favorite wife, into whose sacred keeping it had been delivered, was called. Presenting it to me, she made the usual signs, signifying, "Make it go." On this occasion I resolved to risk, for the first time, the result of a refusal. Accordingly I pointed to the heavens, uttering a rigmarole of words without sense or connection, and solemnly shook my head. If I did not impress them with the fact that such an operation, just at that time, would be attended with "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," it was not because of any lack of effort on my part. My success far exceeded my expectations. Instead of exhibiting any manifestations of ill humor, they quietly submitted to the disappointment, and continued their consultation.

727 Immediately after the council had adjourned, I discovered the warriors assembling outside the village at a point distant a quarter of a mile. I was somewhat curious to learn the occasion of it, but I little dreamed it was the prelude to an exhibition horrible beyond measure. At length, I was waited upon by a strong guard and escorted into their midst. On arriving, I found my fellow captives had preceded me, and at once comprehended some terrible scene would ensue. There were Aikens, Martin, and Stewart, stripped entirely naked, and bound as follows: Strong, high

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group - were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them, each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and comments of the chief. Each chief kept a staff of young men to serve him as aides and counselors. These young men protected their chief at all hazards; they risked their lives to rescue his body from the enemy, for it was a great honor to be chosen as a bodyguard to a civil chief. It was customary in the larger camps to send two of these young men out each day to circle the countryside looking for signs of enemies in the vicinity. 622

There is some difference of opinion as to the relative power of civil and war chiefs. The bulk of the evidence indicates that the head civil chief was superior to the war chief in theory, but that if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war chief vigorous and popular, the authority of the civil chief would be more theoretical than real.

Important policies were determined in council. In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions were often indefinite. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority, for, as in most Indian tribes, it was thought that agreement should be unanimous. The council was composed of all the old men of the tribe who had shown exceptional ability as warriors, leaders, or guides. As in the selection of chiefs, there was no formal procedure for admission; one "just got that way" because of his achievements. During the later period the authority of the counselors might be indicated by the "sun-rayed" buffalo robe dropping regally from the shoulders, even on a hot day, and by the feather war bonnet with its plumed train worn at times by members whose military achievements entitled them to wear it. 623

Within the council, experience and rank were usually given preference. The talking was done principally by the older men—those with the greatest experience. After the elders had stated their views, middle-aged men expressed theirs, and even younger men might speak a few words. Boys were generally allowed to attend the meetings, but only as respectful listeners. For them to intrude opinions in weighty matters was to invite scorn and ridicule; consequently, they maintained silence. They learned by watchful listening. If either the young men or the boys were called upon to speak, they did so with moderation and with a feeling of pride that they should be so honored. They wished to prove themselves first by action, then by

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

623 speech. In this school of training, qualities of restraint, dignity, and reserve were generated which enabled them to become respected counselors in later years. Women sometimes attended the meetings and on rare occasions were permitted to speak,[5] but these appear to be exceptions to the normal pattern. The final decision was made by the recognized members in good standing, generally by acclamation.

Any principal chief had a right to call a council meeting of his own band. A joint council of two or more groups could be convened, provided the separate chiefs of each band concerned called a meeting. There was no regular tribal council or head tribal chief, and it is doubtful that all the bands were ever brought together in a single assembly. The first assembly of chiefs representing all the bands that was convened, in the belief of Echo of the Wolf's Howl, was at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1867.

Usually the subject of the council meeting was known in advance and had to some extent been privately discussed. The members were informed of the meeting by the official crier or messenger, who also had the duty of filling the official council pipe. The entire meeting was conducted with strict formality and with a degree of courtesy that could hardly be exceeded. When all the members had assembled, a few minutes of silence ensued, during which time the council pipe was passed from one to another around the circle of counselors as an invocation to the Deity to preside. When this part of the ceremony was completed, one of the older men arose and introduced the subject at issue. His remarks were followed by a brief silence for consideration before a second speaker began. Each counselor spoke or politely declined as his turn came. Questions were considered carefully and deliberately, especially if important, and frequently considerable time elapsed before a decision was rendered. During the meeting, members might consult each other as well as address the group as a whole. Sometimes there were vast differences of opinion among the men, yet each was heard gravely and respectfully; and no matter how earnest the debate might become, no man ever interrupted the speaker, nor did anything like wrangling occur.[6] The Comanches had no

[5] Rister, *Border Captives*, 28–29.

[6] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 235; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 130.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Roberts' Rules of Order, but their procedure was on a very high level of parliamentary decorum. 623

Such a council was held in 1843 to decide the fate of the ambassadors sent by President Sam Houston of the Republic of Texas to invite the Comanches to discuss a treaty. Each speaker, as his turn came, delivered a vociferous oration, but was never interrupted. When all who were entitled to speak had finished, the head chief, whose turn it was, remained silent, and no one moved or spoke from noon until four o'clock. Either the chief was pondering the weighty matter or seeking by his silence to impress upon his audience the importance of the decision before the body. When he spoke, he gained such support that when the vote was taken the ambassadors were spared.[7]

The council considered such matters as moving the camp, undertaking a tribal war, making peace, seeking an alliance with other tribes for the purpose of proceeding to war against a common enemy, the selection of the time and place of the summer hunt, community religious services, the disposition of spoils belonging to the band (but not of spoils acquired by a raiding party), the allocation of supplies to widows and the needy, and the regulation of trade with outsiders.

When any important decision had been reached, it was announced by the camp crier, who, mounting his horse, heralded the news as he rode through the village. If by any chance the decision was not in accord with public feeling, the action was likely to be modified. In practice, however, this seldom happened, for public sentiment had been well ascertained before the council met. The older men were always slow to take any radical action. [202]

Decisions of councils generally were regarded by the warriors as sacrosanct. Punishment for violating these decisions was certainly neither common nor necessary. The warriors obeyed more from fear of arousing the anger of their chiefs and the displeasure of the supernatural powers than because of any respect for authority in the abstract. The nomadic character of the Comanches, however, made it impossible for the chiefs to keep in touch with their warriors at all times, and when a warrior committed an offense, his punishment, so far as the chief and council were concerned, usually went no further 687

[7] M. M. Kenney, "Tribal Society among Texas Indians," *The Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association, Vol. I (1897), 31.

687 than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

623 555 While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, headmen, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

624 701 War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

701 The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623 ●
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to [622] participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, 177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
133 from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
Taboayazes [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa
[643] de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
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[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecuerscapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Cemtatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the 175
Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made 643
themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with 623
their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all 555
their Nation and the following which they have; in the
councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the
rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs 175
and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have 157
in the Negotiations of the Nation? 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not [728]
come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the gover-
nor has not been able to learn their character, but if the
experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the
ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging],
they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more
friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other
friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that 175
the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look 648
at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them
more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the gov- 175
ernor has made of this nation, he has come to understand
that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness 648
and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive 181
nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harsh-
ness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is 175
indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all
love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to 648
behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they
begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and
manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary
that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call
Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in deal-
ing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
648 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could
657 prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 14, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 554.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for 175 701 648 726

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanches, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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Comanche N06

[For information on chiefs appointed by the Spanish, see Category 643.]

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THE PEACE CHIEF

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I hardly know how to tell about them; they never
had much to do except to hold the band together.—That's It.

No words can better convey an impression of the position of the peace chief in Comanche society than those of That's It. The peace chief was called páɹaiβo, a term without generic significance in the Comanche tongue. Literally the title reads pa (water), plus ʈaiβo (alien, or white man), and means, therefore, "water white man." The northern Shoshone, on the other hand, know the peace chief only as ʈégwɔni, which given its full meaning reads, "good talk thrown out to the people," a title rich in significance. Nor could the Shoshone throw light on the derivation of the Comanche páɹaiβo, until one day one of them triumphantly remembered that such was the Indian appellation for the government irrigation supervisor! But the Comanches have no irrigation.

Comanche informants were all quite familiar with the person of the páɹaiβo, but were stumped when it came to making explicit the things he did. This is because he was no more than an older man in whom the people had trust and confidence, to whose daily advice they listened, but to whom they gave just one single definite power: that of deciding the time and place of camp moving.

The outstanding qualities of the peace chief were kindness, generosity, and wisdom. He was not of necessity a brave man; some peace chiefs had hardly ever gone to war in their youth; it was enough that he was wise and good. When a man emerged as peace chief he had become a kind of revered patriarch. To all of the band he was "father"; he in turn addressed them each as "son."

There is no way of saying how a man became peace chief. To the informants it seemed a silly question. The answer is that no one "made" him such. "He just got that way." There were no elections, no appointments to the office; elevation was by common recognition. The man the people naturally looked to for wisdon and kindly help was the man whom, less by assent than by unnoticed practice, they came to hold as their peace chief.

Trusted and revered, he was the functioning balance wheel in band life. From all accounts, he was never officious. He knew how to be absent when he was not wanted, but there were times when his judicious words in a minor dispute could bring both parties to satisfaction. Judge he was not, but arbiter at times he seems to have been. In none of the litigational procedures recorded is his presence noted, but those will be seen to be almost without exception cases in which the rule of conduct was clear. It was

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rather in situations where the problem was a question of what *ought* to be done that the peace chief was important. Because of his qualifications he was reputed to have the finest sense of social fitness. From this he derived a certain authority as counsellor-to-the-people-at-large. In some divorce situations he seems to have acted as arbiter and advisor. "Most likely some old man came in as advisor," though he was seldom active in this capacity. More typically, in the disposal of the huge herd of horses of the deceased Big Fall By Tripping the chief is said to have told the widow what to do.[1] That she followed his words means no more than that his ideas appealed to her as right and proper. It means no more than that his words, tailored in wisdom to the situation, appealed to her as they would likely have appealed to anyone. Under no circumstances had a peace chief the power to *order* an adjustment to be made. 624

It was not unusual for a "big" peace chief to have his personal herald, or announcer. In such an event, this individual served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news and comments of the chief. Among the Comanches the chief's announcer was called ʈékwɔnit, which is the equivalent of the Northern Shoshone ʈégwɔni, peace chief. The Shoshone title for the chief's announcer is ʈégwɔniwʌp, meaning "he who specializes in speaking." "Anything the chief says, he tells them."

According to one of Dr. Mirsky's informants, a peace chief always had two young men to serve him as aides-de-camp. "They go with him because the right kind of a chief is loved by all." These young men protected their chief at all hazards; they would give their lives to take his body from the the enemy, and it was a thing to boast of to have been chosen as body guard to a peace chief.[2]

The influence of the peace chief was limited to internal and civil matters only. No peace chief could stop a war party from taking the trail. Peace-making was the prerogative of war leaders. Though peace chiefs were usually too old to participate in active combat, they were subject to the leadership of the war chiefs in case of attack upon the band. [728]

While it was not necessary for a man to have a war record to become a peace chief, it was not uncommon for a war leader to achieve that rank in his later years. Such was the Comanche, Red Sleeve, "a *real* war leader, also a peace chief." Of the two sons of Red Sleeve, That's It spoke with tender sentiment of Two Mountains, peace chief of the Water Horse band, "a fine, gentle fellow never looking for trouble; whatever they did, he was the

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[1] See p. 124.

[2] Jeannette Mirsky, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

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624 leader of all." But it was of Two Mountain's brother, Cold, that That's It waxed enthusiastic, for Cold was a famous war chief. Of his exploits one could talk for hours. According to our information, a peace chief was a man whose raiding days were over. Dr. Mirsky was informed that some peace chiefs did take to the war path, and when they did so, established an interesting rule by proxy through the chief's wife aided by the chief's formal [608] friend in the "brotherhood bond." The reputed words of the peace chief to his announcer and to his *haits* (formal friend) would be these, "Look here, my friends, here is my wife. Pitch your tents close to hers, so that you may tell the rest of the people what you intend to do. She has full instructions. I have left all my plans with her. I want you to help her carry them out. She knows everything I want done and how I want it done—and she will tell you."[3] Such a practice would have been of most unusual occurrence. Aside from its not having been recorded in the investigations of the Santa Fe Laboratory Field Group, it does not fit comfortably into the Comanche [609] setting. It may be noted, in this respect, that *haits* were reputedly always together when one of them took to the war path.

Some tendency to hereditary succession is found in the Comanche lines of leadership. Sons of chiefs became chiefs with more than average frequency. This is not due to any established rule of hereditary succession, but results from the fact that sons of chiefs, by virute of the training and examples set by their fathers and expectancy of high standards within their families (biological factors cannot be determined), attained the qualities of the chieftain. Competition was open. Chiefship was granted on performance solely. Chiefly excellence appears to have run to some degree in paternal family lines.

The observation made on the Comanches nearly a hundred years ago by Josiah Gregg is essentially correct, "When a chief becomes old and careworn, he exercises but the 'civil authority' of his clan (sic); while his son, if deemed worthy, otherwise some distinguished brave, assumes by 'common consent' the functions of war chief."[4]

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[3] Mirsky, *Field Notes*.

[4] Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 343; in G. R. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (vol. 20, pt. 2).

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

721 never looked for horses; its object was to scalp; it turned back as soon as a single scalp was taken. The Scalp Dance was held upon the return.

Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a party drummed and sang war songs in his tipi. Those who wished to go came and joined him in the singing there. A war dance was held the night before departure. During the afternoon the entire party rode at a lope through the camp. They rode in a single file behind the organizer. The last horse carried two men, one of whom had performed the honorable deed of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle-danger. No onlooker could forget this ever-present obligation, nor the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it. The ceremony is known as the Pony Dance.

In the War Dance only braves leaving on the raid could participate; each was helped by a young girl partner. Others were onlookers.

A rendezvous outside the village had been set by the leader. During the night the warriors stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way.

POWERS OF THE WAR LEADER

701 624 The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all of the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be looked for. The invariable conviction of the Comanche is that a man never failed to do what the leader asked. It was always said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. Each did what he was told. Not a single instance of the use of force or other punishment as sanctions in the hands of the war leader could be uncovered. If a man did not trust in the ability and wisdom of the war leader he did not join the party. Once in, he was in, so long as he stayed.

So long as he stayed. Some Comanche raiding parties were gone for an entire year or more. Disaffection could and did set in in such a period of time. The solution of such difficulties was simple. The party split. The disgruntled fighter and those who sided with him withdrew to go their own way.[8] This, be it noted, is also the procedure followed when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. A man followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; he obeyed that leader to the utmost; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere of influence.

The powers of the chief were (a) to determine the objective of the raid,

[8] Cf., Case 14, pp. 68–69, below.

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(b) to delegate the scouts, (c) to determine the camping places and periods of rest, (d) to appoint the cook and water carriers, (e) to lay the general strategy of attack, (f) to divide the booty, (g) to make a truce with the enemies, and (h) to order turning back of the expedition. 701 624

In battle, though the leader set an example of courage and daring, each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his medicine and his personal inclinations. After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear guard actions.

When raiders had put two to three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. Rest was needed. There were spoils to divide. The leader's eyes had been open to industry and willingness. He had noted or been told of the actions of his followers while in engagement. To the man who excelled, he allowed first choice of the horses. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his service as determined by the chief. The leader took his pick *of what remained*. Then the succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. If there was an acute shortage of horses, the cook was always taken care of. A nice adjustment, this: the cook had been burdened with the meat supply. If there were too few horses, only the bravest got any return. The leader, no matter what his deeds, got nothing at all if there were not enough horses to go around; in this, as in civil prosecutions, reputation and prestige-obligation counted for more than their visible badge: horses. (It is interesting to speculate on whether this would have persisted, had a *large* herd of horses had a productive economic use as well as a prestige value.) 727

A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Some men say that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, did not do this; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses himself. Their fathers refused to go on raids with him. 624

If a man on a raid was killed before the horses were divided, he was counted out. This is in curious contrast to the strong revenge feeling and the treatment of the cook. There can be no question of any principle akin to "out of sight, out of mind." And there would normally be heirs at home. However, if the horses had already been divided and he had claimed some as his own, then, were he killed, those horses went to his heirs.[7] 727 428

[7] The generalized principles included in the preceding paragraphs were not only given as statements by informants but were confirmed by the text of the war histories collected from the Comanches.

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WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwʌp.[8] A man joined the tɛ́kniwʌp class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1. The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

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[197] [8] The word tɛ́kniwʌp, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tɛ́gwɔni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called naβedink tɛ́gwɔni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pánißo, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

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"When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him. 624

"A couple of nights later they set a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zig-zagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hill-top. 624 726

"The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, '*ahé*.' The others came and took the scalps.

"It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a scalp dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses. 624 727

"The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other. 624 726

"Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

" 'Now,' said the youth to one of his followers, 'you do as I have just done.' Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while when the Comanches got tired they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

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624 727 "The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a [726] raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

624 "The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'

"Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two [554] rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, 'This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends.'

"The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

"Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him."[9]

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[9] One has more than a sneaking suspicion that this story has been embellished with its portion of heroic ornament. But it was told to illustrate how a war bonnet was obtained, and that it does very well.

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Post Oak Jim described the details of the process as he remembered it in his band, the Antelope, in slightly different terms. The novice collected his own feathers—one for each coup claimed and one for each successful raid participated in. After his first four notable deeds had drawn the attention of the ṭékniwap class, he was nominated for ceremonial distinction. The special tipi was raised and the warriors sat as before. The candidate was invited to come to the meeting by the announcer. He sat beside the chief and was told the duties and dangers of a war leader. Then he smoked before the chief gave him four feathers from the tail of the eagle. "From that point on his rank is raised." But he did not yet wear his feathers; they were carefully hoarded until by forty-eight coups he had stripped the tails of four eagles. The feathers were then made into a war bonnet. In a second and more important ceremony it was conferred upon the fighter. He was thereafter considered ṭékniwap, a true war chief. 624 554

Friends could help a comrade along by transferring to him war honors which were theirs by right. Nothing could more clearly attest both the legal and the property aspects of accorded honor-claims. The gracious act was not unusual. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be there. At the end of a dance the host called for a halt. Then he walked to the center of the dance ring. There, in the presence of all people, he swore before the Sun and the Earth, who had witnessed the killing of the enemy, that the deed was his. He concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ————————." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness ye that it is mine. *I* killed this man." The drum was struck a resounding blow. Turning to the people, he then called upon them to recognize his coup, and the transfer was complete. 624 425

But the transfer of war honors had a wise limitation. They could be neither sold nor inherited. They might be bestowed only as a gift, in the above manner. They were given only to brave men to help them towards the war leader status, or to a peace chief who had no war honors.[10]

Even in bands in which formal installation was established, there was also a much less official alternative open for attaining a war bonnet, though of a lower order. This was the buffalo scalp hat, which could be worn by a 624 554

[10] Professor Ralph Linton suggests that this practice may have emerged only since the advent of reservation days, when the restrictions upon fighting, imposed by the whites, made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanche devised the technique here described. We are unable to pass upon the question of the specific antiquity of the custom.

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624 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with
554 a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestow-
431 al. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ṭékniwap. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen, so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ṭékniwap. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimud-
701 ya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

701 158 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ţénapa). [555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 554 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special insignia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 726 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ţékniwap mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ţékniwap to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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to be the way it was done, though no case describing such a situation was collected. 558

A war chief whose nerve failed him in a dangerous position *could* retreat—by giving up his right to wear the bonnet. He could cast it off and flee for his life. But he was a man without status thenceforth, for he could never again regain the bonnet and its rank. Life certainly would have been miserable from that point onward. Men hailed him as "elder sister."[15]

But what a chance this disaster opened for an ambitious brave to gain the war leader's status in one stride! He could dash into the danger spot to pick up the abandoned hat with his spear or bow. Turning his horse, he would bring it back and put it on a pole behind his lines. If the fight still continued when the sun was about to set, he then went to the pole and put on the hat. Thus arrayed he charged the enemy four times and struck an adversary on each foray. If he was successful in this and came through alive, the hat was his with all the privileges, honors, obligations and dangerous duties which went with it. This was the practice in the Those Who Move Often and Antelope bands. The lower rank war bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto. For it, the use of the bow or spear was not necessary, according to Becomes A Middle-Aged Man.[16] 555 726

PEACEMAKING

The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a prerogative only in the hands of the war chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own raiding party on his own authority. Such a peace, however, had no binding effect upon other members of the band and not at all upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon unanimous consent of the warrior class, i.e., the meeting of the tɛ́kniwapna. The historical making of peace with the Kiowas has been noted on page 12. All Comanche bands agreed to this with the result that it has remained unbroken since 1790. A permanent peace with the Cheyenne was effected in 1840.[17] 728 624

Relations with other tribes were more in the nature of truces than peace,

[15] According to a generalized observation by Neighbors (*The Comanches*, p. 130): "He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a single defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe." It is not so much that he was deprived of his office, as that he no longer could gain a following.

[16] The above rules are formulated principles for which no histories in action were obtainable.

[17] The Comanche version of the details of this occasion is lost. Its setting in the Cheyenne picture will be included in the author's forthcoming study of Cheyenne Law-ways.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

728 however. A good example at once of the role of intermarriage and of the
624 power of the war leaders is found in the story of a Ute-Comanche peace which was engineered by a woman.

Case 3. Peacemaking With the Utes
Informant: That's It

"A Ute woman who had been captured by the Comanches was with a band who were fighting the Utes. Her son was a Comanche brave and she feared for his life. Finally she rode out between the fighters and held up her hand calling for them to stop. She said she was on both sides; she a Ute, her son a Comanche; it was not good for them to fight.

"A Ute chief rode up. The woman wanted to shake hands, but he said, 'No, not until I know if your chiefs sent you.' At this time her son rode up. He was a Comanche war chief. He said he was willing for peace, and he got the others to agree.

"They stopped fighting, and the Utes camped on one side of a hill and the Comanches on the other side. That day some Comanche hunters were coming back to camp and they didn't know about the truce. On the way they killed and scalped a Ute and felt pretty good about it. They were expecting the Comanche camp to be at that hill so they rode into the Ute camp by mistake, singing the Victory Song and swinging the scalp. But the chief of the Utes wasn't mad. He said, 'That's all right. We are at peace and you did not know it. We do not get mad.' Then the Comanches went over the hill and found their own camp.

"That night the leader of the Comanches went over to the Ute camp. He told them that since a Comanche was killed in the first attack, things were even and there shouldn't be any trouble.

"After that a council of ten Ute chiefs called at the Comanche camp to visit the Ute woman. They discovered that she was the sister of one of the ten chiefs. They made her a special honor; they took her back to the main Ute camp where her father and mother were still living. They gave her a tipi with an antelope skin tied to the top of a pole for a special sign.

"Later on there was trouble again and they had more fighting with the Utes."

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The institutionalized champion we see as a purely social device. None of the ordinary inducements used to lead a person to assume a difficult obligation or responsibility were operative for him. Unlike kin or friends, he received no material compensation for his pains. This is borne out both by the word of the informants and by the evidence of the cases. Nor did the principle of reciprocity of services operate for him. Men chosen to act as champion were always warriors of great renown. They could look to themselves; they had no need to ask for return of favors. It was a sense of *noblesse oblige* and self-esteem which forced the champion into the legal lists on behalf of weaker persons to whom he had no personal ties. A war leader who refused to accept the request for aid in prosecution was to be deemed unworthy of his rank, for it was imputed that he feared the defendant. No war leader could admit fear. The institutional capitalization of these factors for the legal protection of the weak is an amazing piece of social engineering.[18]

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171 [18] One has only to contrast the Roman *patronus* and early medieval infeudation of free land. Those "muscle men" exacted pay for protection as does a modern gangster. No matter that it was not with money. For favorable comparison to the Comanche consider the Ifugao *monkalun*, or Icelandic *lawman*.

Each of these functionaries was reponsible to both parties in dispute, though the *monkalun* was evoked by the plaintiff. He (the *monkalun*) was at most a distant relative to the litigants. He was a *kadangyong* (man of wealth belonging to the first rank of society) and a man with a head-hunting reputation, as well as a successful settler of disputes. His method was suasion, threat, wheedling, scolding, according to the arts of fine diplomacy. He worked between the disputants (they keeping rigidly from each other's sight) until he could bring them to stand on a plank of settlement acceptable to both. For his pains he received payment in pigs or other commodity from the plaintiff. This was compensation for his efforts, but as Barton tells us, the main drive which spurred him to work for a peaceful settlement was the desire to build his reputation as a mediator. As in Comanche society the true reward was prestige. The *monkalun*, like the Comanche intermediary, was ready to fall back on force if need be. But he did not stand so ready with knife in hand. When he felt that he had exhausted his ability to bring the parties to a settlement, he declared a truce of a month's duration. Whichever party broke the truce by an act of violence had the *monkalun* and his family to reckon with in addition to his adversary. Thus the *monkalun* fell on either side if process degenerated to force, while the Comanche mediator always stood by his protege. R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, 1919), pp. 97 ff.

The Icelandic *lawman* presents a similar comparison. A plaintiff lodged suit by airing his grievance before all men on the Hill of Laws at the Thing, or in-gathering of citizens. The attempt was made to bring both parties to agree to accept whatever judgment might be given by a selected *lawman* or a council of his ilk. The alternative (legally) was wager of battle on the *Isle*. Outside of these legal paths were strife and murder. The *lawman* derived honor and prestige for their efforts and seem also to have been feed in a modest way.

("After that men went away, and all thought things looked like the greatest tangle . . .

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In action the champion was not an arbitrator. It was not his purpose to serve as a go-between. He went to demand damages. The bare fact is that he confronted the defendant as a "tough guy" who could take as well as give it. He was ready, if need be, to close the matter, not with damage settlements, but with physical combat. 627 624 554

It is in the champion that we can see most clearly the social policy of balancing the opposing forces so as to clear the way for a bargain settlement. This phase of the Comanche legal system is therefore to be viewed as a not so badly balanced mechanism, which operated without the organization of government. Making certain that action was taken when an offense was made publicly known, it made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

There were no officials in the picture. The peace chief could not act in damage suits, because he had no social authority to do so. As an old and gentle man he lacked the physical prowess to enter an affair in a personal capacity. The champions who participated in actions, because they were the bravest men, were also war chiefs. But the role of champion which they played was a function of their bravery, not of their rank as a chief.

It is possible that if the evolution of Comanche society had continued under aboriginal conditions, the war chief would have taken on the police functions for the society, and have become, thereby, the administrator of justice.

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but Hall went to Thorgier, the priest of Lightwater, who was the old Speaker of the Law, and gave him three marks of silver to utter what the law should be." . . . "This was no bribe, but his lawful fee.") 171

But Eyolf Bolverk's son was used to be condemned to lesser outlawry for having received a gold armlet to press Flosi's defense before the Althing. Flosi was given the same sentence for giving the trinket as an inducement. G. W. Dasent, *The Story of Burnt Njal* (A translation from the Icelandic Njal Sagan, New York, 1911), pp. 184 and 283.

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attempted parricide upon old Brown Robe. It was a notorious and most "unnatural" offense. 627x 682

Case 16. Homicidal Assault: Brown Robe vs. Crazy Bear
Informants: That's It and Visits Her Relatives

"Brown Robe was a Yep Eater with three wives. Two were sisters; the third was a chore wife. The elder sister had married him first and the younger had been given to him later. When he brought home the third wife, the elder sister said to him, 'I see you have a new wife.'

"Three young men were living in his household with him. They were Buffalo, who was his son by a former marriage, Crazy Bear, his grandson, child of his daughter who had died, and also Buffalo's nephew. The third young man was a captive whom Brown Robe had taken as a child, raised, and called 'son.' The two sisters each had a child by Brown Robe, but the chore wife had no children.

"One day Buffalo and Crazy Bear ambushed the old man. Buffalo shot him with an arrow. (His father had given him medicine as was customary for a father to give a son his medicine. This medicine was that of the brown bear; it gave invulnerability to bullets. A bullet won't go through a bear, except at a certain spot. An arrow will. That is why Buffalo used an arrow to shoot his father, because he knew a bullet would not harm him.) Then Buffalo ran off with the chore wife. She was not pretty, either. She was real dark. Crazy Bear ran off with Young Woman, his grandfather's younger wife. The elder wife and the captive boy stayed with the old man. He did not die from his wound, for he was doctored back to health by a medicine man. While they were out hiding, children were born to the two young men; each of them had a boy.

"Later on these couples and their children returned to Brown Robe's camp. He greeted them without malice. 'What you have done to me is forgiven. Just forget what you have done. Let us live in peace.' Everything did go smoothly after that. His former wives, who were now his daughters-in-law, treated him respectfully as a father-in-law. And when Brown Robe died about ten years later, his son and all his establishment mourned for him."

Community reaction in such a case could be only in the form of public disapproval. Legally the whole affair was a private matter. And as She Invites Her Relatives explained it, Brown Robe could not retaliate because the offenders were blood relatives. Or as Kwasi (Dr. Mirsky's informant), phrased it, "His feeling for his son and grandson over-balance the women (meaning the wrong alone). The women were of no consequence compared to his own flesh and blood." Brown Robe's receiving the whole group back was above criticism, "because he was a war chief." 627x 624

But the fact that Buffalo, his son, was also a war chief did not save him from public censure. People talked in strong terms of his conduct. When he and the others returned to the main camp, public opinion was so sharp that

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×627 they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment
● 624 was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a
[674] crime.

×627 In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because
602 of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

×627 Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be
593 taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide
682 in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had
602 grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

×627 Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-
602 gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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Three Years Among the Comanches

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

The Comanches

687 than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

623 While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, head-
555 men, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

624 War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won
701 leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

701 The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

Government and Law

So they sent down for the old man to come up. He did not want to go, but one of his wives urged him into it—he now had four wives. 701

The young chief dictated the whole thing. When the old man came into the tipi he told him to sit between his brother and his wife. The old man hesitated. He was afraid. 539

"It is all right," he was assured by the elder brother.

When he was seated, he hugged the children and was very pleased.

"We are going to give you back your wife," the chief told him, "Tomorrow when you come back, we shall have a feast here. Bring one of your wives. Then when we have eaten, you can take this woman and her children to your lodges."

The old man and the woman were not as one once again until they were on their horses and ready to go the next day.

Thereafter the old man told the two brothers to pitch their tipis back of his. "We are brothers now. My wives are yours any time you want. Just for the asking." » » »

On the raid or warpath the leader of a war party was in supreme control of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be expected, but a warrior seldom refused to obey his leader. It was said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that disobedience might bring disaster to the party. The leader did not use force or punishment. If a man did not trust the ability and wisdom of the war leader, either he did not join or he separated himself from the party. A warrior followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere. This, be it noted, was also the procedure when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. 726

The powers of the war chief included determining the objectives of the raid, designating the scouts, deciding upon the camping places and periods of rest, appointing the cook and water carriers, formulating the general tactics of attack, ordering the expedition to turn back, making a truce with the enemy, and dividing the booty.[9] 726 624

[9] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 619 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701 726 701 624 622 624 554

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally [622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, 177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
133 from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
Taboayazes [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 296-325.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a
701 band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute, Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days,
721 the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

701 On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed.
624 He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount 174
of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife.

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically 175
able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced 178
an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche 561
lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine 175
man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people 178
at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly 624

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[775] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[771] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[775] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[794] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
721 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[228] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6●
Northern Shoshone NR14

N 224 625

number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers tɔ́ɔkoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

C N [101] 224 625

It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

C N 181

Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

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[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

rations. During the fiscal year 1909–10 only eighty-seven, all of whom were unable to work, received rations, to the amount of $4,335.90.[24]

The breakdown of established norms of behavior and the change to new patterns of conduct resulted in many social conflicts and disturbances. The whites were not sufficiently well acquainted with the Indians always to apprehend the guilty parties and mete out justice as well as some of the Indians. Horse thieves preyed on the Indians' herds. It was easy to round up a bunch of ponies in the isolated portions of the Comanche lands and run them off into the Chickasaw country or into Texas, where they had a ready sale.

To assist the agents in maintaining order on the reservation, Congress in May, 1878, provided for a system of Indian police. They were to be provided with badges, uniforms, and guns, and each officer was to receive eight dollars and each private five dollars a month in addition to full rations.[25] Their business was to ride over the country and keep watch for thieves and trespassers, to report any troubles that might arise among the Indians of the reservation, and to keep watch over the Indians' cattle and horses. They would work under the agent's orders.

Agent P. B. Hunt, whose task it was to organize the first police force, found it difficult to secure men willing to serve. He wanted young men, but the compensation was too small to induce men to volunteer for the service. Furthermore, the chiefs declared that it was not right for younger men to arrest the older members of the tribe. The agent reminded the leaders that the police were to work for all their people, to guard their livestock, to carry information to the agent and from him to their people; they would do work similar to the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In order to win the support of those objecting to the police, the headmen were commissioned to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation, thus satisfying them with a semblance of their old authority.[26] To complete the police rolls, Hunt found it necessary to refuse the Comanches the permit for their annual

[24] Supt. Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, *Annual Report*, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[25] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, p. XLII; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, September 28, 1878.

[26] Agent J. Lee Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1886 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27]

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rẽ'kap ẽ'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead 625 of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinf said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 554 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 431 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ṭékniwap. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such ạn honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen; so to allow it to waste away.

● 626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ṭékniwap. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 701 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimudya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 887 521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 ●626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

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[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

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183 The Comanche populace greatly enjoyed the spectacle of wife-stealing.
684 The culture enhanced the procedure by providing for group cooperation in the absconding act. It is clearly discernible in this, that though the Comanches "believed" arranged marriages between an older man and younger woman were the best, their sympathies were with the young couple who tried to get together in spite of the formal pattern. Absconding took place when war parties were leaving the camp. The would-be absconder made himself a member of the raiding group and arranged for the woman to join him in the group at the first-night rendezvous. So the couple rode off on the foray with the gang of warriors.

171 Absconding with a war party is apparently unique among the Comanches, their own invention. The practice did not exist among the Shoshoneans from whom the Comanches stem. Among the Cheyennes such conduct was absolutely forbidden.[3]

PROCEDURE IN ADULTERY AND WIFE ABSCONDING

684 A Comanche male who had suffered a legal wrong was under social
626 obligation to take action against the offender. For a man not to do so was not looked upon as an act of social grace; indeed, such behavior was a social disgrace. A man so acting was stamped not as magnanimous, but as lily-livered. Adultery and taking another's wife were direct attacks upon the prestige of the wife's husband. Both acts were unmistakable challenges which could not be ignored by the man who would maintain enough face to make life livable.

Naturally, the aggrieved party was not always inclined to act, nor was the reason always cowardice. If the wrong were not made public, it is obvious that public opinion could not drive a man to institute prosecution. Ridicule was the weapon used by society to cause a man to proceed after the cause for action had become public.

This is clearly brought out in the account of an adulterous youth as told by That's It.

Case 4. Adultery: Husband Slays Boy's Pony; Also That of Boy's Grandfather
Informant: That's It

"An old man had a handsome grandson. Being very proud of the boy, the old man liked to boast of him in public.

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[3] An enterprising warrior tried it once. The leader of the party immediately convened his followers in council to determine the action to be followed. The man and the woman were sent back to camp, but the warriors all promised gifts to be given to the aggrieved husband. On their return from the raid the promises were handsomely fulfilled. But they also effected a formulation of the rule that no man should ever take the wife of another on a raiding party. No subsequent violations of the rule ever occurred. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One day the boy sat in a tipi playing the stick game. There were many people present. The grandfather came in and squatted beside the boy as he was playing. The old man looked around and saw a good-looking woman there. He nudged his grandson in the ribs. 684 626

"With a sly look he whispered, 'That looks like the woman you had last night.'

"The boy looked up and told his grandpa to go away. Then the old man was hurt and said he said nothing wrong. He said it looked like her; no harm in that, is there? Then he was quiet for a few minutes.

"But the old man just couldn't keep still. He kept repeating his observation, how that good-looking woman looked like the one the boy had had the other night. He wouldn't shut up.

"The woman's husband was also there. Pretty soon he spoke up, saying, 'Yes, that's the fellow.'

"The old man left the tipi.

"Pretty soon the game broke up, and all the people went home. The woman's husband just got on his pony and rode over and shot the red mare which was the old man's favorite horse. The he went and killed the boy's pony. He had been letting the matter ride until that old grandpa talked about it in public.

"The boy was real sad and he said, 'Grandpa, you sure done wrong. Look what you got us into.'

"The old man couldn't say anything. He just went off and wept."

The Comanches in this respect were like Malinowski's Trobriand Islanders[3] and many another society. An act may be known by the public and winked at, but when the act is publicly labelled, self-conscious public indignation flares up and blasts the culprit with its hot breath.

Since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. Each case was met by the parties concerned as it arose, and the location was limited only by the necessity of carrying the action to wherever the offender could be found. At home, this was usually at the doorway of his tipi. If the offender was with a raiding party, the aggrieved could await the return of the absconder, or could pursue him. In prosecution, the aggrieved (a) accosted the defendant himself, stating the offense and the extent of damages which would satisfy him. This he might do if he were brave enough. Or, (b) he sent others to prosecute for him, signifying that he considered the matter not worthy of his personal attention, and at the same time minimizing the chance of violent outbreak. An extreme 627x

[3] Concerning incest among the Trobrianders: "If the affair is carried on *sub rosa* with a certain amount of decorum, and if no one in particular stirs up trouble—'public opinion' will gossip, but not demand any hard punishment. If on the contrary, scandal breaks out—every one turns against the guilty pair and by ostracism and insults one or the other may be driven to suicide." (Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 80.)

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CRIMINAL OFFENSES

EXCESSIVE SORCERY

Much confusion in the study of simpler societies results from our common habit of identifying criminal law with so-called penal law. Primitive law cannot be fruitfully considered according to the type of punishment. Criminal law is the law of crimes, i.e., *public* wrongs or delicts; civil law the law of "private" wrongs or delicts: torts and breaches of faith. 121

A crime may in this sense be distinguished from a wrong so far as the consensus in the society does or does not show a feeling that the act in question is a harm to society *per se* rather than merely to an individual or particular sub-group. Thus violation of a norm becomes a crime when the sanction of force attached to it is applied by society or its recognized agents, the primary motive behind the sanction springing from a positive sense of general social injury or affront. But the sanctions involved may be no different from those observed to operate in the case of private wrongs. The line between crime and wrong is not a sharp one; commonly, any offense is part one, part the other. When there is no statutory or other explicit means determining where the responsibility for action shall rest, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate crime from wrong in any way; indeed, there may be no differentiation.

Sorcery in Comanche society was primarily the concern of the family of the person affected. It was for them to treat with the sorcerer or to engage a medicine man to effect the cure. Sorcery as a wrong is dealt with below (see Ritual and Evidence). It is also clearly established that sorcery engendered social consequences causing the entire society to react. Because sorcerers were persons with whom social intercourse was dangerous, to be known as a sorcerer meant that normal social relations were to some degree withdrawn. To be known as a bad sorcerer meant that a person was usually shunned to the point of ostracism. The evidence indicates that this ostracism was positive enough to cause the evil medicine man to live apart from people, taking his position a little way off from the camp as a social pariah.[1] From this it is fairly clear that general social sanctions were asserted along with the particular magical and social sanctions which were first applied in a case of sorcery. Public opinion—that sustained public disapproval of any act or series of acts in which we find the germ of criminal law—was always hostile to the sorcerer. After a long-time accumulation of public 754 626

[1] That the sorcerer was specifically ostracized was affirmed in a generalized statement by That's It. The fact will be noted in application in the case given by Slope on page 79, and again in the quotation from Eagle Tail Feather contained on page 81.

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754 resentment a crisis could arise which focused all this resentment on the
626 sorcerer's unfortunate head, congealing public sentiment to direct and vigorous public action. When this point was reached, tort merged into crime.
626 The result was lynching. But such lynching was an act of social policy and
683 not the venting of mob hatred. The purpose and end can be seen to be the same as in many of those outbursts of fury which occur in our own society, but the temper was different. In our society lynchings are frequently associated with the outraged feeling that the "law" will not operate severely enough or that it may be evaded. Comanche lynchings were deliberately executed by spontaneous, but stated, social agreement in the absence of any other established procedure. This was a movement towards a higher juridical level; ours is a relapse. Finally, the crime of which the Comanche victim was guilty was rarely indeed *an* act; it was rather the acquired status of "publiely dangerous person," akin to our recent conception of Public Enemy No. 1. History and reputation made the status; danger, or the sorcerer's old age, or loss of grip furnished the motivation; any given particular outrage was at last a fulminating cap upon the charge.

×627 Comanche lynching was apparently not of frequent occurrence. It could
683 not be called a *predictably* established practice. Our records are limited to three accounts of such an event, though most Comanches will formulate the generalization that evil medicine men were killed by the people. These accounts were explicit and to the point, leaving no doubt as to their being definite Comanche reactions. It cannot be stated with surety that they are not all versions of the same incident.

Case 20. Excessive Sorcery: People vs. (?)
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"There was a nice young man got bewitched by an old Beaver medicine man; he was wasting away. Someone asked another medicine man to find out what was wrong with the boy. This second medicine man told them about the sorcery the Beaver man had made. He also told them that that same old man was the cause of other cases like that.

"When this was learned, all the men in the band had a conference at which they decided to kill the sorcerer. They made believe they were going to have a curing for the sick boy. They set up a Beaver lodge and put the sick boy in it. Then some of them went and smoked with the sorcerer and asked him to come to perform the Beaver ceremony cure for the boy. He accepted the smoke and came to the lodge. The people went inside, but they left two young warriors outside the lodge to kill the medicine man when he came out after the ceremony was over.

"Later on, he came out and started for home with a small boy as companion. When they had got half way home, and the women were all asleep, the two warriors sent the little boy away and killed the medicine man."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

ABNORMAL CONDUCT

On a less-than-legal level there are forms of social conduct which are definitely in violation of social norms and yet not viewed in the eyes of a people as behavior that calls for explicit sanctions. Such acts, though disapproved, society is willing to leave to the implicit sanctions of public opinion and the desire of the individual to stand well. The off-the-norm behavior described in this section is of this order. 626

ILLEGITIMACY

Comanche attitudes towards illegitimacy show no vindictiveness, though the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father. Illegitimacy was declared by all informants to have been rare. Premarital sex relations were common enough, and abortion was not unusual, but in case of childbirth it is asserted that the father married the mother willingly. If the father did not come forth voluntarily and his identity was known, the parents of the girl are said to have gone to him with friendly talk to persuade him to marry the daughter. In cases of doubt (multiple possibilities), informants say paternity was determined on the basis of physical resemblance between child and supposed father: or if the child was old enough, it was determined by whom the child chose as its father. It is stated that if the father was not known, the girl was not usually married to another for a long time after the birth of her child, for the father could come and claim his child at any time. The problem-set was not to punish the mother, but to properly provide for the child. 848 [836] [847]

That's It gave a history which is typical of the Comanche attitudes.

Case 33. Illegitimacy
Informant: That's It

"An unmarried woman had a child. She said she would never be able to take care of that child, so she thought she would get rid of it. Accordingly, she took it to a grove and there washed it up and laid it on a bed of sage leaves. Pretty soon a young man came out to tend horses. He found the little baby lying there. He looked at it and picked it up and wrapped it in his blanket. He turned back home with it. Just as he stepped through the door of his tipi the baby cried. The brave's mother, who was there, looked up, 'Did I hear a baby?'

" 'Yes,' said the youth, 'here's my son.'

" 'What a burden!' the mother cried.

"But her son insisted on keeping it, so they took the child to a wet nurse. They gave her presents in payment for feeding the baby. Later on they bought corn meal from the Mexicans to feed it. When the boy was three years old, his father told his mother and father that he wanted to go on the war-path. He was gone for a year.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

848 On the day he came back the little boy's mother wanted to come over to the warrior's tipi. She hesitated three times and couldn't get herself to go. But she came over at breakfast the next morning and called at the tipi. They invited her into the tipi and told her to sit down next to the boy. The girl told the grandmother that she had come to do dishes and clean up everything. She went over and sat down next to the grandmother.

"The people wondered: they asked her how it happened she was visiting them when she had no connection to them. Then she told her story. When she finished she begged to be allowed to stay in any capacity.

"The old man, the grandfather, said, 'Yes, it is good. It is up to the old woman, my wife.'

"The old woman, the grandmother, said, 'Yes, it is all right; it is up to the old man and my son.'

"Then the brave said, 'She will take care of him. It is good. She may stay here with us.'

"The child was named Covered With Sage; that is how they found him."

INCEST

835 Incest was forbidden. The tabu applied to parent-child (real and classi-
● 626 ficatory), brother-sister (real and classificatory) and uncle-niece, aunt-nephew relationships. There was no rationalization of the tabu. It was just there. As Bluefoot observes today, "They did not know about the harm in it. They just didn't want the people to make fun of them for marrying a relative."

"Making fun of them" and ostracism were the only controls used by the Comanches to reprove incest.

One whole band is damned in name because of their reputed incestuousness. Lots of Maggots on The Penis was this band's regular appellation. An alternative sobriquet was Something Together. It is declared that this band is now extinct because of its incestuousness. (This might vaguely imply a supernatural sanction, but more likely this is a reflection of attitudes derived from the whites.) Comanche attitudes towards incest are revealed in the following case.

835 *Case 34. Incest*
588 *Informant: Talker* (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"There was a family, father, mother, brother and sister. The children grew up. When the daughter was about twenty-five and very pretty, the family seemed to get separated from the rest of the band. They camped by themselves. It made the mother wonder why they had gotten away from the others. 'It is dangerous to live off by oneself; in case of attack there is no one to help us,' she complained.

"But the son said, 'Be quiet. It is not dangerous.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

835 588 "They stayed right on in camp. The brother and sister and chore wife lived together and the child grew up. Some people called on them, but even though they lived in the main camp, they were isolated. People like myself, who knew what was right, thought the brother was crazy. Some men would smoke with him and try to tell him evil would come of it.

"Yet they lived through it all without mishaps and died a ripe, old age."

626 835 588 Here society was completely disarmed by a thick-skinned individual. The barbs of public and familial disapproval did not penetrate. There were no legal shafts to hurl—the deed was neither tort nor crime—he matched his indifference against society's impotence—and won.

There were other cases. Red Youth married his sister's daughter. Though he was much older than she, they were married and lived together for years. People called it aɹakwɜ'ɜtɜn, niece-uncle marriage, in a sneering way.

In another marriage of this sort, Pointing To The Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet. His sister, Takes Two Scalps refused to call him "son-in-law." She always called him "elder brother": it was as though he were not married to her daughter. People always made it a point, however, to refer to him as her son-in-law. *They* were not going to let it pass.

In all these cases the male was the incestuous aggressor. Such men were referred to as crazy (pɔ'sa). They did not care for the delicacies of convention.

835 There is a mythological tragedy, however, in which the sister was the aggressor. The boy reacted heroically. He is held up as the ideal to Comanche children: his sister is given them as the example of what comes of shamelessness.

This boy was old enough to have his separate tipi. His sister slept in the big tipi with the parents just as was usually done. One night a girl slipped into the tipi of the youth and lay with him. He did not know who it was in the dark. He was curious, so he marked her dress down the back with paint while they were together.

The next day he went over to where the women were playing shinny to look for his mark. His sister had the mark on her dress! The boy was ashamed; but he did not say anything. He just went away and cut a short double-pointed dogwood spear and took it with him to bed that night. Again his sister came and lay with him as before. Just as they pressed themselves together, he shoved the spear between their breasts. It pierced them both. In the morning the parents came to see why the boy did not come out. They found them dead. The mother was so angry with the shameless daughter that she cut and slashed the body of the girl all to pieces.

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been done away with from intercourse with the more civilized Indians. . . ."[4] 428
Further, even the tipi in which the dead person, man or woman, lived was 768
totally destroyed; also for a child, but not for a baby. Articles of intimate personal usage were buried with the corpse. Other less important articles were burned. Possessions with medicine powers were either destroyed by throwing them into the river, or by placing them in an unfrequented tree where they could rot.

Claimants for any surplus property were the relatives, close friends 428
of the deceased and fellow tribesmen who came to mourn—especially those who mourned with enthusiasm. Superficially there seems to be no consistency in the Comanche rules of disposal—as to whether goods went to wife, to children, to brothers, or were given to non-relatives. The key is in the recognition of a plurality of levels of legal and customary claims.

First, the surplus property by "law" (presumably law, but its reliability could not be tested to determine enforcement) went to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. Thus Itoβits said that a wife would "probably" inherit the property, and if her mother-in-law still lived, she might divide with her. Where the marriage had been polygamous, Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man stated, "Only those wives who had had children by the deceased husband may inherit from him; the first wife administers the distribution." That's It offered that a wife could not keep all the property for herself. "If she tried to, her husband's friends would make trouble."

The first outside claim could be that of the deceased husbands' best friend. He was privileged to ask for the favorite horse: refusal reputedly never occurred. But this was not a cut-in on the widow's property, because if the horse was not given to the intimate friend as a keep-sake, it was invariably slaughtered at the grave. In no event did it enure to the widow. By pre-death testament a man occasionally expressed the desire that his [763]
horse be given to a specified friend, rather than be slaughtered.

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could establish an obligatory claim in two ways. By providing a suit of clothes or adding property of their own to the goods buried with the person, they imposed upon the survivors an obligation to share the estate. Visitors mourned and mourned until they were given sufficient gifts to stop them. This was an irresistible pressure from without. 428 626

Within the group of heirs, after the wife, surplus horses went to the 428
"father, mother, brothers, and all other relatives according to the degree of

[4] Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes, etc.*, vol. 2, p. 133.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

428 relationship." The maternal uncle had prior claim over the paternal.

However, the right to inherit must have meant very little when balanced against it were the exacting requirements of customary mourning. Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of a dead man gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that from the estate. The [762] burial of a suicide-mother in the Yep Eaters band was in this pattern. The mother hanged herself because her son called her a bitch for not doing for him what his wife should have done. When the body was brought in by her 428 elder sister and father, they laid out a large buffalo rug over a thong. Then, 764 "on this they put all the pretty, fine things the *family* owned. They dressed the dead woman in all her finery, painted her face, combed and plaited her hair, painting the scalp red up the part. They covered her arms from wrist to elbow with silver bracelets. They put on her finest moccasins with silver dollar trimmings. She wore two beautiful belts with handsomely trimmed possible pouches, and so forth. The women dressed her body. (A man dressed a man's.) Her father sat at her head, calling on all her relatives and friends to take their last look. There was a big crowd gathered outside. 'We are going to throw her away. She is going to live in the ground,' he cried. After the people had seen her, they folded the blankets over her, folding in all the fine, pretty things; then they wound the thong about it.

"During this time the women wailed. They tore their dresses off, leaving only skin aprons to cover their mid-region. They hacked at their arms and legs and face. Some cut off an ear. The men cut their flesh, too. This was done by her immediate kin and close friends.

"They brought her horse then with its own saddle. Across it, they threw her body. They put their finest silver-mounted bridle on the horse. They all mounted their horses, and the sister led the funeral horse to a natural cave in the mountains. They put her in it with her saddle. Then they killed her mount.

"When they came back—there was her tipi where she had lived with her father. Back of it was her son's tipi. They put all their belongings inside and burned them. They had *nothing* left."[5]

When people so made themselves destitute, they were on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went afoot on a raid to get horses and start life anew.

428 In situations where the family did not spontaneously go as far as did this 626 last one, the public pressure of mourners *forced* them to further giving. 765

[5] The quotations are from Talker, recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. "... in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

The Comanches

854 right or wrong, as we understand them, the Comanches knew little or nothing. The approach to life was pragmatic. The child was not coaxed toward good with the hope of Heaven as a reward or frightened from evil by the fear of Hell as a punishment. Instead, he was shown by word and example that the respect and approbation of his fellow tribesmen were to be desired, and their condemnation and contempt were to be dreaded and avoided. He saw that the men who were brave and generous were applauded and respected. In Comanche 854 society it was impossible to live a secluded life. The members were 626 aware of the conduct of each person. Each was eager for the approval of his fellows and greedy for their praise, and public opinion promised the reward he hoped for and threatened the punishment he feared—lack of esteem among The People. This was their method of control.

861 The Comanches did not whip or otherwise bodily punish their children but directed them by persuasion and object lessons. However, they were, at times, frightened by threats. Breaks Something, when a small boy, annoyed his mother by whining for some mush she was making. She called in an elder classificatory sister, who simply dragged him into the tipi with a rawhide strap around his neck and threatened to hang him to the top of the tipi if he was not good. "I was really scared."

Discipline within the family usually devolved on an older sister—real or, preferably, putative—and youngsters really resented their bossiness. The Comanches knew nothing about Freud and his theory of the Oedipus complex, but they did know that parental dominance breeds resentment, and so, like most American Indians, when forceful discipline was called for, they turned the job over to a relative outside of the immediate conjugal family or to an imaginary bogeyman.

Old people covered their heads with a sheet to give a ghost scare to bad little boys and girls, and all youngsters had the fear put into them of *piam3mpits*, Big Cannibal Owl, the mythological creature who lived in a cave on the south side of the Wichita Mountains and ate bad children at night.

857 As soon as she was large enough to walk, the girl followed her mother everywhere about the camp. She imitated her in all things,

who felt worthy and desired to accept the responsibility it imposed upon the wearer. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Usually the bonnet was made by friends of the warrior and presented to him as a token of esteem. The acceptance of a buffalo-scalp bonnet was a serious matter, for the people afterwards expected him to prove himself really worthy of their confidence. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. After the surrender of the Comanches at Fort Sill, Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man hung his buffalo-scalp bonnet in a tree, never to wear it again. "A man who is beaten has no right to wear such a thing," he said. 701 55+

Women sometimes made a war bonnet in secret to bestow upon a braggart whose words spoke louder than his deeds, and the presentation was made in public at an opportune moment. The recipient of such a war bonnet had to live up to the obligations of that war bonnet or else lose it and become an object of ridicule and scorn. [626]

The Comanche war leader was under obligation never to retreat except under certain conditions which were well understood, and then only when the other warriors were safe first. He protected the rear as they retreated. The war bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanches to be protected at all costs, "just like the flag." The mere fact that he assumed such responsibility made the war leader a rallying point for all other fighters. The war-bonnet wearer could be rescued with honor by a fellow warrior who dared to dash in and carry him from the field. It was also the duty of a war leader to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and thereby cause him to lose his status and right to wear the war bonnet if judged guilty. If a war-bonnet wearer cast off his bonnet and fled, he lost his right to wear it, and all other men would address him as *paβi*, "elder sister." An aspirant brave who wished to obtain the status of war leader might immediately do so by dashing in and recovering the bonnet. He hung it on a bush and protected it all day in the face of the enemy. At sundown, if he charged the enemy four times, the bonnet and all its honors and obligations were his. The lower-rank bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto.

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

border was still inviting and there the braves could find horses to 721
steal and ranches to plunder; if there must be peace with Texas, 648
there was at least one happy war ground, which according to Comanche ethics, was always a legitimate field of operation. That was Mexico. And hither the young braves would go, notwithstanding the more or less perfunctory efforts of the governments of the United States and Texas to stop them.

War with the Comanches might call forth united tribal effort 721
or it might concern but a small party of warriors, depending on the circumstances. The chief or head man who wished to lead off a war party paraded through the camp, carrying in some cases a long pole with a red flag tipped with eagle's feathers, chanting a war song. If he was a popular leader and the bands was in a war mood, or if he could convince the young braves that his enterprise promised large returns by way of scalps, prisoners and booty, he would soon collect about him many warriors. War dances would be held, the leading men would make talks, runners would be sent to other bands and the expedition would take on large proportions. No warrior was obliged to join, but the young man who always [626]
stayed at camp would obviously soon become the object of much ridicule. However, the tribe was not entirely at the mercy of these young hot-spurs. If the expedition was likely to result in the flagrant violation of a popular treaty or if it was calculated to bring down upon the tribe the wrath of a powerful enemy, a more conservative sentiment would prevail and the movement would be nipped in the bud.

In this connection some description of Comanche weapons should 411
be given. Although they acquired a few guns from white traders at a very early date, primitive weapons were all that a great majority of the tribesmen had as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Their bows were of bois d'arc, rather short for long bows, being ordinarily not more than three feet in length. Sometimes they were wrapped with the sinew of the deer, and the bow string was of the same material. Their arrows were about twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular spike, or point, of iron. Two feathers intersecting each other at right angles were bound to the other extremity of the arrow and served to guide it. They frequently carried lances, one of which is described as "a piece of

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation 157 in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 [648] At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-Fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. F. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1859, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, ibid.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
648 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could
657 prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 14, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 334.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

1: Hoebel NO6 Comanche NO6

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/For informal ingroup justice, see Category 116, pp. 51-66, 69-76, 78-79, 85-106. --Analyst/

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

627 177 562 "But you listen, I deny this thing. Now look out! I am going to smoke too. If you are putting the lie on me, the sun will get you instead." That put a different complexion on the situation; the husband was not begging for such a bargain. "So," as That's It put it, "he called off his sun-killing and gave his wife sugar-words."

Later another husband called the deal and paid the price. A man named Brother-in-law, according to Holding Her Sunshade, tried his wife on false evidence. When he put her to the curse, she made her denial and ended by calling to the supernaturals, "If he cuts off my nose, grant that he shall not live long." Brother-in-law accepted the challenge. He did cut off her nose, and within a month he was dead.

627 688 In earlier days when such notions had not yet occurred to women, there were, nevertheless, other escapes, if the aid of a powerful practitioner could be enlisted. For in the case of Looking For Fun, we have one fortunate woman who was able to dodge death through the invocation of strong counterpowers.

Case 30. Adultery, Conditional Curse: Looking For Fun
Informant: That's It

"Her husband suspected her of adultery. This Looking For Fun denied. So her husband made sun-killing. Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the sun saying, 'You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall.'[9] Then to the earth he said, 'You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you.' Whereupon he gave the pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.

Even though she was guilty and knew it, she swore to the powers, 'Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true!'

"That ended the ceremony.

"After a few months Looking For Fun had fainting spells and began to waste away. She was frightened and went to a medicine man for help. He told her to wait to see what his powers offered. After three or four days he came to her and said he believed that the husband's charge was true! The great powers were punishing her. At this she owned up. She told the medicine man she had not confessed because she was afraid of what her husband would do to her. As for the curse, she said she didn't believe in its power and so had lied about it. The medicine man told her that that being the situation, it was too dangerous a matter for him to handle. His power was not strong enough to cope with the sun. He recommended that she take her case to another medicine man who was a specialist in such matters. Looking For Fun was eager and asked her adviser to tell her mother of the situation. The medicine man

[9] Compare this wording with the Crow Indian conditional curse in coup-counting disputes—"It was I struck the enemy. Sun, as you looked down, you saw me. May the one who lies die before winter." R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 217.

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684 walk. A cut nose was a social disgrace which was extremely difficult to live down. However, since these public marks had a tendency to decrease the value of a woman should the husband transfer her to another man, erring wives were not always disfigured. Nevertheless, Colonel Dodge reported seeing one Comanche woman with four separate gashes in her nasal organ,[12] while Kills Something claims to have known a woman with five. These were all legal penalties which it was the privilege-right of the husband to impose.

As for the offending male correspondent, in every case save four, he had, in conformity to law and custom, to pay damages to the husband. Comanche law required the aggrieved husband to prosecute. Public opinion forced him to, for if he held back, he would stand as a lily-livered coward before all The People. No man risked that. Thus, although the aggrieved husband was in fact prosecuting a wrong against himself, he was also put in a position of maintaining the public standards, whether he wanted to or not. He was in a sense a public prosecutor as well as the protector of his own private interests.

627 681 The payment of damages loomed so large in the interests of the Comanches that they coined a word for it—*nanɛwɔkə*. Such settlements were ideologically in sets of four different kinds of articles: horses, guns, blankets, and clothing. More often than not, they were paid only in horses, numbering from one to ten. Almost inevitably the demands of the husband, if he was a warrior of any consequence, included the favorite horse of the defendant as essential to his satisfaction. His personal prestige had been hurt by the affront, and it was his intent to re-establish it by forcing the aggressor into the humility of giving up that which was most dear to him. It was more than a "money" equivalent that was sought, for it was all part of a prestige battle.

627 In initiating the procedure, since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. The case was carried to the offender wherever he could be found. The aggrieved could prosecute by accosting the defendant himself, stating the offense and the amount of damages necessary to satisfy him; he might send a third party to prosecute for him; or he might send or accompany a group who stated the charges and then negotiated.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 304.

Prosecution procedure was by bargaining. The defendant was seldom confronted with witnesses. The aggrieved had to ascertain the guilty party before he took steps against the defendant. In wife-absconding the presence of the woman with the absconder was sufficient evidence. In case of adultery, evidence came from witnesses or by confession of the wife. When the evidence was obtained and the guilty party had been revealed, the defendant could then be confronted. The bargaining normally began with the guilt accepted by both sides. When the defendant denied guilt, the legal prosecution of the case was ended unless proof of guilt was at hand. The aggrieved might take extralegal steps by committing some act of violence, but that would likely lead to retaliation. 627

It was possible, if the absconder was afraid of the erring woman's husband, for him to place himself under the protection of an outstandingly brave warrior. This made his chances in the bargaining much better. As another possibility, the aggrieved was allowed the privilege of obtaining the aid of friends. A show of force on the side of the plaintiff was a strong factor in checking illegal action. Such an institutionalized procedure made possible a sort of justice by assuring that the guilty and the wronged parties were placed on a bargaining level.

Cases were opened with formal politeness and smooth words. The defendant was told the charges and what must be given in damages to satisfy the plaintiff. Ordinarily the negotiation took place outside the door of the defendant's tipi, since the defendant was usually aware of the nature of his visitor's business and did not invite him inside. The damages rendered were those which the defendant agreed to give and which the aggrieved agreed to accept. There was no judge to set the amount, nor was there any rigid customary code regulating the amount of damages in accordance with the degree of wrong, except as it placed a ceiling of ten horses on any settlement. Only by agreement could the case be settled. Naturally, if the defendant were a brave warrior and the plaintiff a timid soul, the compensation would be low. If the aggrieved were a brave warrior, the defendant might acquiesce to the first demands. Damages were also concluded in accordance with the wealth of the offender; the prosecutor "stuck" the defender for the most he believed he could squeeze out of him.

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●627 Although it was unusual to resort to fighting and killing over the loss of a woman, society theoretically recognized the right of the offended male to take the life of the offender if he refused to make settlement after guilt was established.

Should the accused deny his guilt, either party might appeal to the supernatural powers as a way out. When accused by an irate husband, one informant denied that he "had broken the law." His accuser proposed that they make smoke and call on the Sun. The informant smoked and then addressed the Sun: "Sun, if what I say is not true, strike me dead. If I am not guilty, strike my accuser dead." When he heard these words, the accuser withdrew his charges and thereby ended the whole affair.[18]

It was, as we have already noted, incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. If he demanded damages and received a satisfactory settlement, his claim upon his wife could be released, thus making legal a divorce and consequently freeing her to change her marital status. In case of divorce or separation, the children legally remained with their father. In many cases the husband took the wife back.

[587 684] A woman who remarried after the death of her husband without first getting a verbal, but formal, quit-claim from her husband's youngest brother was technically guilty of desertion; her new husband was subject to *nanewɔkə* demands, and he had to pay up.

Breaks Something was the unwitting victim of such an action, as his own account shows.

« « « Mexican was a friend of Touched with a Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched with a Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me. They were Mangy Coat and Atsaci. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her.

They answered, "We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched with a Closed Fist and this woman is his wife."

[18] Informant: Kills Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

"No," she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.

I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

Atsaci answered, "We want that horse or none."

I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, "All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough." I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaci I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

"What?" he said.

I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my "daughters" (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. "If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love."

Then Mangy Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaci wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

That was what I wanted. Atsaci was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

He mumbled, "Well, it's up to Mangy Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say." Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a gray mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that gray horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money.[14] » » »

The role of intermediaries in damage-seeking actions is the most

[14] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 56–57.

• 627 interesting theoretical aspect of Comanche law. A really strong man pressed his own cause. Yet in the nature of the Comanche scheme of things, the wife-stealer or adulterer was frequently a man of more aggressive courage than the husband he victimized. Men who had brothers to rally to their side could muster their aid as a matter of course. For some men of weak families this was not always possible, however, although if they failed to collect even token damages, neither they nor the tribe would consider them worthy of being Comanches. It was socially required that they act, yet by themselves they could not do so. In the crude legal genius of the Comanches this was recognized as an impossible demand upon some men; hence they devised a way out that could be used without disgrace. Any man of faint heart could call upon a great warrior to act as his surrogate, his champion at law. His response was assured; no warrior of reputation would have it imputed that he was afraid of any other man. He stood ready to pit his prestige against the aggressor on behalf of any weaker plaintiff. He received no fee or compensation in kind for risking his life in intervention. The *nanɛwɔkɔ* that he wrested from the defendant went to the plaintiff. The reward of the champion was the praise of the people and added luster to his name.

The case of Red Crooked Nose (*ɛkamutawa*), as given by She Invites Her Relatives, reveals the champion in action; it also displays the suicidal *beau geste* of the Comanche who died honorably against the enemy, so to recover in perpetuity the prestige he had lost when outfaced within the tribe. He also set a check against unreasonable overpenalizing of future defenders. Comanche law was law with limits, as is any good law system.

« « « The wife of Red Crooked Nose absconded with a young, good-looking warrior. In the raiding party were four other men and another woman. For two years the pair remained away, and no one in the main camp knew where they were living. But one day some hunters found their camp and reported it to Red Crooked Nose. He was determined to get his wife back, but he had few war deeds to his credit. So he asked a brave, well-known warrior to go with him. The warrior consented to go.

When they reached the absconder's camp, the woman saw them

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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coming and ran to her young husband, saying that she wanted to stay with him. But when the young man saw Red Crooked Nose's champion he said, "Against such a man I have no chance to keep you." 627

So they met outside the tipi. Red Crooked Nose picked up a quiver of arrows belonging to the young man, but his wife told him, "Put them down. You can't do any better with them than their owner can."

Food was offered the newcomers, and they stated their mission. They said that they would accept no damages in place of the woman, that Red Crooked Nose needed her to care for their young child. So the young man ordered her horse brought, upon which was a good saddle, a silver-braided bridle, and good blankets. He told the woman to dress up. He told her, "Take everything nice that belongs to you. This old man can't get things like these for you."

She gathered all her belongings, including fifteen horses. She was ready to start back with them, but she cried pitifully to have to leave her young lover. After they started, she lagged behind sullenly.

They had gone. The young absconder broke camp. He mounted and rode on past them. As his horses ran by, Red Crooked Nose killed one of them and called upon his party to take the meat he had shot for them. Then the owner of the dead horse scorned him, "My feelings aren't hurt. I can get plenty of horses—like the grass, so many!" and he rode on.

He knew that Red Crooked Nose would not have dared to kill his horse without the warrior as protector.

While stopping one night, they heard that enemies were coming. The women were sent on. The men prepared for war. Before the battle started, the young man donned his best war paraphernalia. With his feathers flying, he rode past the camp of Red Crooked Nose. He fought conspicuously and was killed.

The champion saw him go down.

He called to Red Crooked Nose, saying, "It was we who caused him to be killed. I know you are a coward, but you have to go and walk in front of the enemy to protect us while I carry off his body."

Thus they took the young man off the field and put his body on a horse. When the woman saw his body brought back, she tore her dress apart, slashed her body all over with her knife, and cut her

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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● 627 hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way.[15] » » »

In a few rare instances an inversion of the institution of the champion was employed, as in the case of the husband who was so afraid of the warrior who stole his wife that he sent an *old woman* to try to get his wife back for him. The absconder said he was going to keep the woman, but he sent back a horse loaded with goods in her place.[16]

Whether by force or by insinuating himself upon the grace of the great aggressor, Comanche law and custom guaranteed compensation to a husband, if not necessarily the return of his wife.

627 682 For murder, however, there was no adjudication or compromise. Indeed, the murder of a fellow tribesman was most unusual, but it sometimes happened. In such an event, the *lex taliones* was invoked; the punishment of the murderer was primarily the concern of the murdered man's relatives. The case was not closed until the kin of the dead man had taken the life of the murderer. But the privilege of a revenge killing might not be recognized by the kin of the murderer. Kinsmen could legally strike back.

However, kin organization was weak; the principle of kinship liability was not sufficiently pronounced to result in feud. There was no ruthless taking of life of whoever happened to be related to the murderer. The kin feeling was strong enough, however, to induce the kin of the murderer to protect him for some time. As long as vigilance was maintained, an attempt on the life of the murderer was unlikely, for legal right usually gave way to determined resistance. In actuality it was extremely unlikely that a murder resulted in a deadly clash between groups of kin. Tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the responsibility for obtaining justice rested with the relatives and friends of the dead. This is the first principle of collective liability.

[15] *Ibid.*, 62–63.
[16] *Ibid.*, 53.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

A group might intervene to stop a fight, yet it had no legal authority to do so. The offended party, if disposed to compromise, had the privilege of accepting a commutation and releasing the murderer, according to David G. Burnet's observation in 1824.[17] This was seldom the case, however, and by mid-century, if our informants are correct, it was out of the question. Comanche law was hardening through the decades in this one respect. The murderer might flee the camp to another band and thereby escape vengeance for an indefinite period, if he was lucky. Whether or not any kind of settlement was reached, the man who had done the killing was usually more or less ostracized by his fellows. It made no difference how prominent the man might have been or how good his family, should he shed the blood of a fellow tribesman, a stigma was cast over his family and his relatives shared in the disgrace. The matter was not only talked about, but might even blight the lives of his children after his death. 627 682

Those who committed murder were often men of great bravery whose success in war and whose standing in the tribe had made them somewhat arrogant and impatient of those who did not do as they demanded. Other men committed murder in revenge.

In Comanche law the killing of a murderer by the kinsmen of the victim was a privileged act. *It did not lead to feud.* A killing called for a counter-killing. And there it stopped. The society at large and the kin of the murderer also recognized and granted the privilege-right of the execution of the murderer by the hand of his victim's brothers. This made it a truly legal sanction. No single case contravening this norm in action is remembered by any Comanche informant. The Comanches in this remarkable (in the light of the usual feudal tendencies of primitives) self-imposed restraint raised this aspect of their law to a higher than ordinary level for people of their general cultural attainments.

Favorite horses were so endowed with personality that killing a man's favorite horse was akin to killing his brother. The owner might, and sometimes did, kill the horse-slayer in return.[18] 627 [685]

A wrong committed by one member of a kin group against an-

[17] Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154.

[18] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–72.

627 other individual within the same group was not punishable in the same way as a wrong done by an out-grouper. Public opinion might be strongly antagonistic to the wrongdoer, but the settlement of even murder was not considered a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore, murder was essentially a wrong and only vaguely a crime. The family group or kin could punish a member of their own group. There does not appear to have been any definite custom. What happened inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on personality and temperament.

627 562 One variation of the in-group character of in-group action was the privilege-right of the husband to kill his wife. For this, retaliation appears to have been abnormal. The legal position of woman was largely that of chattel, and upon marriage she passed from the original family to the husband. That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a husband killed his wife—their genetic relative—can mean nothing else than a true relinquishment of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme marital bond. The kin of the erring wife might plead with the husband or offer him gifts to prevent the killing, but there was nothing to compel him to accept them and forego meting out punishment. Furthermore, society recognized the right of a brother to kill his sister who, disregarding the recognized social pattern of brother-sister avoidance, came into his presence in violation of his wishes. The brother-in-law of Kills Something shot his sister for such an offense.[19] Apparently, in such a case the killer suffered no social disgrace.

The privilege-right of a husband to kill his wife was paralleled by his privilege to handle her most cruelly in an attempt to force her to name a suspected lover. He could take her out to a lonely spot and choke her until she informed. Or he might prefer to hold her prone over a fire, slowly lowering her closer and closer to the flames, until she in anguish confessed and named her lover. There was no device in Comanche law by which a husband with a grievance could seek an impartial judgment on the alleged male miscreant in the case. Guilt had to be certain before the legal suit could begin. When there was doubt as to the facts, the hapless women were the goats.

[19] Informant: Kills Something.

Government and Law

Men also killed their wives at times when they suffered chronic ailments and medicine cures had failed. A case is reported of a chief who cut the throat of his wife, who had been ill for a long time, to avoid the inconvenience of caring for her. After making "medicine of preparation" to fit her for a happy reception in the land of spirits, he took her life, though mourning her untimely death. Such deeds were rare, however. 627 734 562

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered "mean" by the people. Yet, if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through coups, there was little to stop him, except that new wives became more difficult to get. On the other hand, attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare indeed. 627 562

Of acts taking on a criminal tinge there was only one category—excessive sorcery. Among other Plains tribes violation of the communal buffalo-hunt rules, i.e., going out to hunt alone or beating the signal for the mass charge, was one of the most severe public offenses. The military society police in charge of the hunts were wont to handle any such miscreant roughly. But the Comanches were the great exception. 627 [754]

Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easy to come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of violation of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride.

Sorcery that got out of hand was another matter. The Comanches were only slightly plagued by witchcraft. As Ruth Benedict once observed, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."[20] Ralph Linton has emphatically reiterated that only old men, who could no longer compete on a warrior basis, turned to 754

[20] In conversation with Hoebel.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
● 627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

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auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 562
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 175
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, ob- 684
liquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking
penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of muti- 175
lation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interpo- 696
sition of male connections. The decisions of the law always
yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted
for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and
murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge ap-
peased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the
deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwith- 175
standing the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 571
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint,
they live together with a degree of harmony that would do
credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles
of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children
of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but
have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 175
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 771
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- 776
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They [775]
therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation,
and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have
no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the
Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions
of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity, 771

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
[627] tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
[683] might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs
[627] and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

[113] 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 18. Neighbors to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 656.
[113] 19. Baylor to Neighbors, June 8, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

584 and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had 581 the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong 581 current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adoles- 832 cent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on 837 a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man 721 in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make 837 an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined [182] by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses 684 were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the 627 hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

684 If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the de- 627 fendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche 602 brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

684 The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanɐwɔkə*, 627 restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[801] [5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

customarily asking for four different kinds of articles (four was the mystic number in which most Indians conceived things). Horses were always demanded, numbering from one to ten. The size of the demand varied directly with the wealth of the defendant and the fortitude of the husband and inversely with the war record of the defendant. The husband hoped to squeeze out as much as the traffic would bear and the wrongdoer was willing to yield.

The defendant on his side would pay in the end, but it would be unseemly to yield readily or to first demands. The procedure was one of higgling and haggling—with always the risk of a violent breakdown in the offing. For the husband, if mean-tempered or short of patience, might well cut the palavering short with a quick attack upon the defendant. Theoretically, then, the injured husband had recourse to use of physical force, if the offender failed to recognize his duty to pay up with a settlement that was reasonable in the eyes of the injured party. In fact, however, this was not a genuine legal privilege-right, since in event of homicide retaliation prevailed. The husband who pressed his suit to the killing point was bound to be slain in turn by the defendant's kinsmen. Here was the fatal weakness of the primitive system of the Comanches. Yet in forty-one of the forty-five recorded adultery and absconding cases the offender paid up and the matter became *res judicata* with an award in favor of the plaintiff. It is evident that the Comanches had a strong sense of the fitness of the law and that, willful as they were, wrongdoers submitted to its dictates.

This condition was implemented by two facts: (1) action was not initiated unless the facts were predetermined—guilt, as we have said, was rarely an issue except in sorcery cases; (2) the elopement pattern worked to tone down the first burst of anger; (3) usage saw to it that the husband could in the final resort always muster a greater amount of force than could the defendant.

In the nature of things, the adulterer or wife-absconder was (or thought he was) a more dangerous man than the husband he was wronging. If he had been left wholly to his own resources, the aggrieved husband would more often than not have been in a poor way to exact restitution. In the achievement of justice Comanche practice saw to it that if the husband were man-to-man on the short end of the power stick, he could marshal his brothers or friends to go a-lawing with, or for, him. When confronted with this deputation, the defendant rarely had recourse to marshaling *his* friends or brothers. It was not good form. And more than that—he had made his bid for prestige, and he would surely look bad if he failed to carry it through alone.

The plaintiff who called to his brothers for help naturally lost prestige to some degree, and in addition he had to turn over all that he received in damages. His "lawyers" got the a' of it.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

727 Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their [597] captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that 627 only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new [571] instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

627 The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance 555 to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

627 The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

681 Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And [627] this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse [599]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted. 684 627 593

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taβ βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you." 684 627 782

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6] [684]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act. 684 627 782 593

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter. 684 627 782

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk. 684 627 593

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder. 682 [593]

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90–91.

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[549] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis.*

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

787 Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
787 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white. 756 789

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. 754 The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9] 755 754 683 627 754

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair. [682]

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89–90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94–95.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

754 Repeated sorcery was another matter. As among the Eskimos it became
627 a threat to all the people—a threat not to be borne. The fact that the sorcerer was believed to have killed a number of people was evidence that he was "getting away with murder," evidence that no one dared to face up to him. In the need to remove the threat to their common security the members of the band drew together in the sole communal action that the Comanches took against any sort of offender. They lynched him. Or together they tricked him into breaking his tabus so that he died of the effects of his own powers. In each of these instances his fate was discussed and ordained in a meeting of all the men of the band. Excessive sorcery thus became the sole crime in the Comanche legal system.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca-1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive
[642] official authority, is not recognized in their crude system of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The-
628 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-
101

[113]

10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 314, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Kiles Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
648 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[65] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
657 the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
657 a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

About the time we were wondering what we would do with ourselves 484
during the long day in front of us, the Indians began to arrive in their little canvas-covered wagons.

The first two or three dozen wagons used up all the hitchracks in the little town. By noon there must have been 150 of the little miniature prairie schooners parked around the group of buildings that was our town. When the hitchracks were filled, the later arrivals pulled up out on the grass, unhitched, and tied the horses to the rear wheels of the wagons.

These were not our Indians. These were Comanches from the west [101]
and north, along the south side of the Wichita Mountains. All of them were in at least the second day of their journey. They were on 484
their way to an ancient tribal gathering place, across the Red River 628
in Texas. Bands of Comanches had been using this gathering place since before there were white men in North Texas.

Apparently they had arranged to rendezvous at our little settlement, 439
the last trading place on their trail, and make the rest of their journey together. In a little over two miles they would enter the Pasture Reserve, and it would be two more days' journey to the river. The ancient gathering place was on land controlled by the Burnett Ranch. The Burnetts, who had a history of getting along with the Comanches, encouraged the Indians to continue gathering there for their tribal powwows.

Just as there had been a shortage of hitchracks, soon there was a shortage of floor space in the store. For hours the only unoccupied floor was behind the counters. Of course the focal point for everyone--men, squaws, and children--was the stove. After slightly more than sixty years, I still have no desire to describe the scent of all those damp bodies crowded together, mingled with the steam rising from the clothing of those fortunate enough to get within the radius of the stove's heat.

I never knew when our Indians, that is to say the Indians living in our trade territory, joined these strange Comanches. They may even have started the day before. During the several hours these Indians were in town, I saw but an occasional face I had seen before. They were laying in a food supply to last during the time of their gathering, and as a result, by the time we had their wants appeased, our staple groceries were exhausted.

Owing to the inclement weather, they likewise stripped us of

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

144 one-quarter of the whole number have more or less of captive blood" (1898, p. 235). In 1927 Wissler tabulated 62.9 per cent of the Comanches as full-blood. It is the opinion of the writer that at present (1931) at most 10 per cent of the adults can with any assurance be considered full-blood. The Comanches themselves fully realize their almost total miscegenation.

619 The tribe had been subdivided into bands, the more im-
631 portant being Penateka, Yapa, Kwahadi, Kotsoteka, and Tanema. The first two in particular wandered south into Texas in early times, the other groups remaining north about the Arkansas River in Kansas. In the present investigation measurements were obtained on members of each of the mentioned bands, as well as on a few individuals of the Noyika band. The latter name apparently does not appear in the literature. However, Dr. Ralph Linton, of the University of Wisconsin, who recently did ethnological work among the Comanches, was kind enough to inform the writer that he too came across members of a Noyika division; he also remarks on the almost total elimination of the full-blood. The writer has not attempted to make anthropometric comparison between the various bands because of the totally inadequate numbers. Moreover, intermarriage appears to have been always indiscriminate with respect to band. At present distinction as to band seems largely lost, only the older people apparently remembering their old band affiliations.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

114 Although the Comanches have always been fairly numerous (7000 in 1690)[4] and an important factor in the history of the southern plains and Texas, little is reported on them ethnologically[5] and even less physically. Catlin (1842, p. 66)

[4] Mooney, J., The aboriginal population of America north of Mexico. Smiths. Misc. Coll., LXXX, no. 7, p. 13, 1928.

[5] For the linguistic classification and the history of the Comanches, see, in addition, Clark, W. P. (1885, article Comanche); Bur. Am. Ethnol. Bull. 30, ('07, '10, articles Comanche and Shoshonean); Kroeber ('06–'07, p. 97). For fuller titles see bibliography.

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [63]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

The Comanches

567 of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to
[422] their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even
● 641 respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn
[727] ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test
422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made,
424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation,
428 their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor[1] to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole. 648X 795 [527 641]

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sekwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material. [[17] 574]

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[1] [i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
178 date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[53] and further delineated by Kroeber,[54] Sapir,[55] and Whorf.[56] Sapir

[113] [53] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [54] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [55] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

[p. 145-A]

551 ʔahá·ʔ, is also called ʔeʔhá·wiʔ, a meaningless word.

551 563 White surnames liberally sprinkle the Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.

[162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White ancestry. As descendants of captives these [641] persons have legal status as Comanche.

551 Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivas, Robbles, Senoya, Terasas (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener, [563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

IX

Government and Law

IN a society as simple and as homogeneous as was that of the Comanches there is little need for the development of governmental institutions. Add to this the extreme individualism of the Comanches, and a situation exists in which neither social needs nor ideology work to stimulate the development of government. Consequently, Comanche government was at a minimum, legal precepts were rudimentary, and the enforcement of the simple substantive law remained the responsibility of individuals rather than of officials.

Just as the Comanche made no attempt to organize a philosophy of religion or to systematize a conception of man's place in nature, so he made no attempt to generalize or formalize the rules underlying his legal system or the constitutional structure of his state. For instance, when That's It was asked about the Comanche peace chiefs, he said, "I hardly know how to tell about them. They never had much to do except to hold the band together."

To the Comanche, law was not an expression of social policy, but rather a series of individual responses to threatening situations. Descriptively we can note the Comanche point of view. Analytically we are not content to stop at this level. The Comanches had more law than they themselves recognized.

Ralph Linton has expressed that thought in these words: "Different cultures show a tremendous amount of difference in the degree to which their patterns are consciously formalized. My experience

The Comanches

671 with Polynesians and Comanches illustrates this: Polynesians can give you practically an Emily Post statement of what proper behavior should be on all occasions, whereas Comanches, when asked how they do anything, immediately answer, 'Well, that depends.' They genuinely think of behavior as a range of unlimited, individual, freedom of choice, although when you take a series of examples of behavior, as Hoebel did, you actually find quite a high degree of uniformity. But you have to check Comanche behavior to arrive at this."[1]

In other words, to learn about Comanche law, it is necessary not to talk about "law" when doing field work with the Comanches, but rather, through utilization of the case-law method of legal recording and analysis, to accumulate a sizeable body of case histories of dispute situations from which the regularity of legal patterns can be abstracted.[2]

Before presenting the facts of their law, it is necessary to describe the nature of the Comanche state.

642 The basic principle of Comanche political organization was the constitutional separation of civil and military leadership. For a warlike people this separation was quite remarkable, although, of course, it was a general North American Indian practice for which the Comanches cannot be singled out for credit.

622 The peace chief was known as *paria:βo* and each family encampment had its *paria:βo,* whom we shall call either "peace chief" or "headman." There was reluctance on the part of the Comanches to accord him formal recognition, but genuine recognition of his powers was reflected in the attention given to his advice and in the general subordination to his influence. It was one of these family headmen who was elevated to the position of head peace chief of the band; the remainder of the chiefs functioned as an advisory council for the band as a whole and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen to their own group of followers. The chief, or headman, was chairman, so to speak, of the group. He was *primus inter pares.*

There is no explicit way of saying how a man became a civil

[1] Ralph Linton in S. S. Sargent and M. W. Smith (eds.) *Culture and Personality,* 123.

[2] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians,* 181.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

701 The warriors of most of the Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting societies or military fraternities. These organizations were secondarily arms of the tribal government or, at least, they functioned as strong pressure groups.[10] The Comanches, however, in keeping with their lack of internal segmentation, possessed only the slightest trace of military fraternities. Informants explained that their societies were something like a combination of our present-day army regiment and lodge organization. Their dearth of historical data and the paucity of material, combined with the lack of information on the part of contemporary Comanches, indicates that the associations were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. There is no evidence that they played an important role in social control and government.

642 Such formal government as existed was limited to the activities of the peace chiefs and war leaders, who acted separately or through the medium of the band councils. The Comanches, like almost all of the tribes east of the Rockies, militarists though they were, wanted no military *junta*. They knew the value and need for constitutional separation of civil and military power. From their point of view, that government was best which governed least.

671 The law system of the Comanche tribe was primitive but dynamic —and exciting. It lacked the maturity and balance of the Cheyenne way. It was crude and lacking in juridical subtlety, but it was fluid, inventive, and colored with its own ideals of justice.

Comanche law-ways functioned without benefit of courts. As might well be expected, in view of the ambiguity of powers of the political chieftains, there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. Comanche law was neither legislated nor judge-made. It was hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct.

It was almost exclusively a system of private law—a law in which the responsibility for instituting legal actions rested with the aggrieved party—a law in which the aggrieved and his personal supporters had

[10] J. H. Provinse, "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Society," in F. Eggan (ed.), *Social Organization of North American Tribes*, 341–449.

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compulsion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when
[692] imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 619 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701. 726 701 624 622 624 554

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

721 178 [181] 611 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181 562

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181 [593]

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [895]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [711]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable. 577

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a
701 band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute, Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days,
721 the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

701 On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized
624 it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed. He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

642
657

GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162	Population:	
	Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300
162	Labor Force:	
464	Total:	551
	Unemployed:	125
	Unemployment rate:	23%
871	Education:	
	(tribal estimates)	
	Average grade level achieved:	9th
	Number graduated from college in 1972:	11

the several Comanche bands which resided on the 175 648 728
the eastern limits of New Mexico.

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including 175 648 728 the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the 101 Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during 175 the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band).

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate 175 hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion 728 of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, 648 Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase [643] his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, [431]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Five

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA
To Governor Fernando de la Concha
Chihuahua, December 31, 1793

I Have received the official letter from Your Lordship numbered 449 of the 19th of November in which you advised me of the impending march to attend the council which the Comanche Indians had called to meet along the Colorado River for the purpose of naming a general to replace the deceased Ecueracapa. And I received the later letter numbered 458 in which Your Lordship informs me that the election by universal approbation of the assembled rancherias fell on Captain Encanaguané, whose suitability leaves nothing to be desired, according to what Your Lordship says. 175 643 [666]

I approve all Your Lordship has done on this occasion, of that which I have been informed; and [I am also pleased] with the deference accorded Your Lordship by the Comanche Nation and the respect which you showed their new leader, and the other Indians in line who came to the council. 175 648

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua December 31, 1793

Pedro de Nava

Señor Fernando de la Concha

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Six

REPORT ON COMANCHE AFFAIRS BY THE Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, Santa Fe, November 20, 1805, to the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces.

I AM NOTIFYING Your Excellency that three captains of the Yamparika Comanches who formerly lived to the north but now are found along the Rio Colorado [Canadian River], have presented themselves before me, requesting four favors, the nature of which are here explained; First that I should name as generals one of their captains called Somiquaso, and another from among the Cuchanticas called Quegue so that they would have leaders. 175 648

Second, that I should clothe them and present them gifts;

Third, that citizens from this Province should go and build them houses of wood forming a plaza along the aforementioned Rio Colorado near that of the Conchas. They agree to maintain the laborers and repay them with goods for their work;

And fourth, that I should set free certain prisoners and criminals.

I agreed to appoint the general whom they had requested and he took the name Carlos. I gave them [643] [431]

175
648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
439 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.

[643] On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to
202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
133 from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hundred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
Taboayazes [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
317 because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa
[643] de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Second Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Guaguanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class, el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second, la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are between those of the second class and subject to the two aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara, see Alfred B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the 175
Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made 643
themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with 623
their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all 555
their Nation and the following which they have; in the
councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the
rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs 175
and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have 157
in the Negotiations of the Nation? 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not [728]
come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the gover-
nor has not been able to learn their character, but if the
experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the
ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging],
they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more
friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other
friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that 175
the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look 648
at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them
more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the gov- 175
ernor has made of this nation, he has come to understand 648
that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness 181
and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive
nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harsh-
ness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is 175
indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all 648
love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to
behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they
begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and
manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary
that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call
Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in deal-
ing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 578 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- 657 tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties [162] of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about 648 two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 186.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 21, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 502.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643] given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 450; September 9, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1859, 381; September 16, 1859, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 382.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

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[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[31]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[32] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[33] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it..		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range..	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
Queremilla:	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange[34] of the group Yupe	50
	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[31] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[32] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[33] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[34] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[23]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[24]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm	10
Quahushacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

175
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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[25]

. . . . . .[26]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[27]

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Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[23] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[24] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[25] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[26] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[27] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary. 584

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue. 643 114

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area. 595 643 177

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law. 643 595 657

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

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643 choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and
595 build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass
657 Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

[186] It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company.
[563] In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

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simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

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439 bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle
643 of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian
439 crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than
[142] anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching
[291] six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

643 His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either
[142] side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only
[302] an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

643 This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect
439 English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

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He continued to wave the bill at me as he answered, "Of course. I went there the first thing, when I got to town." 613 439

I needed to get rid of this Indian and get back to those that were buying supplies. Only when I had all their wants satisfied would I be able to feed my stomach, which was complaining at the way it was being treated. I tried another way to get rid of him by saying, "The stove is not mine to sell or not sell. It belongs to my father. He is up front on the dry goods side. The bald-headed man. Go talk to him."

Tall as I was, I could watch him make his way to where Dad was selling cotton hose to some young Indian women. I could see he was using the same arrogant tactics he had used on me. He pushed himself in front of the women, holding the bill level with Dad's face. From the quizzical look Dad was wearing, it was taking him a while to realize the drift of what the tall Indian had in mind. When he understood, he frowned, shook his head, and turned back to his stocking customers.

The Indian made his way to the door and left the store.

Searching for a familiar face, I spied the auburn Vandyke of the little preacher from the Dea Mission on Blue Beaver, back to the north and east. He was standing a few bodies away from me. When I was able to make my way to him I asked, "Who was that tall well-dressed Indian that was trying to buy our stove?"

I never knew whether it was disappointment, dismay, or awe as he answered with both caps and quotes in his voice, "You don't know? That was Quanah Parker, the great War Chief of the Comanches."

It took the passage of several years to bring me enough maturity to realize that this was possibly the first request a white man had refused Quanah Parker in many years. It is entirely probable that as little as eighteen months previous to that time, and before this land had been opened for white settlement, had Quanah Parker asked a white trader to sell him his stove, the trader would have drawn the fire, carried the stove out-of-doors, cleaned it of ashes, loaded it on the chief's wagon, and insisted it be accepted as a gift. His goodwill had been a must for many years to anyone doing business in the Comanche area, even though it was business conducted through the Indian Department.

Somewhere around 3:00 to 3:30 P.M., the Indians began hitching up their teams, loading up their supplies and their families, and heading south. In an hour or so there was not an Indian in town. We could

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115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked
643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses
[231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young
643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on
593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting
584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle,
593 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning.
584
177 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wec-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her
643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white
593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.
585
177 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife

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was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"STRANGER HE COME"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
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643 along the west side of Comanche land, skirt the west end of the
437 Wichita Mountains (near where the town of Snyder, Oklahoma, is located), and on north to the Washita River and the Cheyenne-Arapaho country.

000 Moving a herd of stock cattle is much slower than trailing steers. Most of the cows were heavy with calf, and they began dropping their calves before the Red River was reached. This called for a calf wagon to haul the calves the first few days of their lives, until they were strong enough to keep up with the drive.

Reaching the river early one afternoon, they put the herd across and made camp on the north bank. The crossing was made just south of the present town of Davidson, Oklahoma. As usual, the cook wagon was stopped with the tongue pointed north, so if it was a cloudy morning they would know how to point the herd. The drover left at daybreak, taking my narrator with him, to find Quanah Parker.

Before leaving, he told his straw boss to drive due north until he sighted the mountains. Then he was to veer east enough to just skirt the west end of the main range. He said there was a sizable creek of clear sweet water flowing due west from the end of the range. It was about thirty to thirty-five miles to the mountains. The straw boss was to hold the herd there and await the arrival of the boss drover.

It was about sixty miles to Fort Sill from the place where they left the herd. Learning at the fort the location of Quanah's camp, they rode there and arranged with Quanah to rendezvous with the herd.

I was told what year this drive was made, but I no longer remember. Harry Drago, in his book *Great American Cattle Trails*, says a herd was put across the river at approximately the same spot in 1877. When a man by the name of Doan, an Indian trader at Fort Sill, learned of cattle being put across there and driven due north, he decided to put in a store on the south side of the river. From then till the end of the cattle drives in the middle eighties, this crossing was known as Doan's Crossing.

The Doans operated their store about seven years—perhaps until 1885. It is estimated that over the seven years several million longhorns were put across the river in the general vicinity of the store. Doan hired men to cut the coarse wild grass along the river and spread the hay on the sand to make a better crossing. As one layer

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was tramped into the sand, he had another layer spread. He charged 000
twenty-five cents a head for cattle to cross his hay-paved crossing; but much of the time the river was tame, and drovers risked the danger of quicksand to save the toll.

Then too, many did not have the necessary funds. Even twenty-five cents a head for two to three thousand head of cattle ran into quite a sum of money, in a just-after-the-war economy. Doan's store was the jumping-off place; it was the last place to buy supplies until a town in Kansas could be reached; the last place mail could be received or sent; the last place owners could meet up with their herd or issue orders to their drovers.

Later, on the same night when my narrator and his boss joined the herd, they heard Quanah and his young men go into camp a short distance down the creek. At daylight they took a quarter of beef 643
down to Quanah's camp and invited him to eat breakfast at the cook 609
wagon.

By the time breakfast was over it began to rain, but they cut [437]
out the seventeen head of big steers promised Quanah, and the Indians started for Quanah's camp. But he left two of his young men to accompany the drive to the Washita River. They were to tell any other Indians who might try to stop the herd that it was paid through to the Washita.

Apparently it was the first time the young Indians had had all the coffee they could drink, and they rode to the chuck wagon soon after it made each stop. Food three times a day was also something [264]
new, and evidently they enjoyed the trip. When the Washita was reached, the boss got the stores out and gave each of the young braves a pair of jeans pants and a calico shirt.

Because of continuous rain, they held the cattle for three days at 000
the camp where they met Quanah. The grass was excellent. As my narrator expressed it, "The grama-grass was belly high to a yearling," and the herd was healthy and putting on weight. The trip on to Wyoming was uneventful, and they were able to save nearly all the calves.

A ready market was found for the cattle, and at a better price than had been expected. Some of the cowboys decided to work a while for the ranchers buying the cattle, but this drive had gone so well that my narrator decided he wanted to try his hand at bossing a drive.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

000 As soon as he was paid off, he sacked his saddle and made his way home by way of Kansas City. Part of the journey was made by stagecoach, part by passenger train, and part by mail hacks. He was home sooner than anyone else, including the boss, who was carrying the cattle owners' money. But the cowboy could tell them about what the different kinds of cattle brought.

He started right in securing commitments for a herd of stock cattle to start up the trail the next spring, as soon as graze was sufficient. With his father's backing, he had no trouble securing the
643 required number. When he got his herd across the Red River the next
609 spring, he too started for the Comanche chief's camp, and arranged a meeting at the same spot as before.

He said that when Quanah walked into their camp the morning of the rendezvous, he stopped where the rope corral for the horses had been the year before. The old cowman said it was the most luscious weed patch he had ever seen. He was sure every weed known to the Middle West was represented.

643 Silently, Quanah looked at the weeds for some time, then shook
609 his head, saying, "White man he come. Stranger [weeds] he come.
824 Indian he go."

Of course, the Chief was under the impression that the white man had brought the weeds to Comanche land; but actually the weeds were there all the time--scattered and stunted, choked back by the grasses, under normal conditions. But the horses, in and out of the corral during three days of rain, had completely destroyed the grama and mesquite sod, tramping it into the ground.

000 Weed seeds lying in the matted grasses now were in touch with the rich soil, and they grew and produced a sufficient seed crop to seed the coral ground completely this second year. Of course nothing ate the weeds, as there was an abundance of grass on every side.

Years later, in my time, this land was bought from the Indians and opened for homesteading by lottery. Weeds were not apparent, and many farmers looked forward to farming weed-free soil. But the farmer discovered the weeds were there; once the heavy sod was destroyed, they came on with a rush.

Somehow the weeds had managed a seed crop each year. Each year enough seed escaped the sharp eyes of the birds and seed-eating rodents to settle deep in the mesquite grass mat, preserve their species, and complete the cycle.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

A House for Quanah Parker

In the latter part of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value.

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles.

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded.

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache.

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert.

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges.

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

000 30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

643 342 177 Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, 643 an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate 545 177 342 quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives. 643 595

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof. 643 342 177 531

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children. 643 595

PROPERTY, INHERITANCE AND CONTRACT

421 Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics the institutions of land tenure, disposition and inheritance, the treatment of chattels and the obligations of contract make up the better half of the material about which law centers. Or, as Professor Radcliffe-Brown writes, "With us one of the most important aspects of succession is the transmission of property by inheritance." But the study of Comanche practice offers little of note on this phase of the subject. For as Radcliffe-Brown continues, "Yet in some of the simplest societies this is a matter of almost no significance at all. In an Australian tribe, for example, a man possesses a few weapons, tools, utensils, and personal ornaments, things of little value or permanence. On his death some of them may be destroyed, others may be distributed among his relatives and friends. But their disposal is of so little importance, unless in relation to ritual, that it is often difficult to find any rules of customary procedure."[1]

If this statement had been written for the Comanches, it could scarcely have been more apt.

LAND TENURE

423 The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly nor communally. One may merely speak of land as having been communally occupied. The possibility of dividing hunting grounds or seed patches by families as was done among the northeastern Algonkians[2] was not considered, for as Schoolcraft wrote of the Comanches, "No dispute ever arises between the tribes (bands) with regard to their hunting grounds, the whole being held in common."[3] Within the tribe, therefore, land tenure was infertile soil for legal conflict. Trespass by persons of enemy tribes meant death, unless it was a woman whom they cared to take as a captive, or unless the warrior escaped by display of cunning or bravery. "Friendlies" could visit with impunity and partake of Comanche game without danger.

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CHATTELS

422 Wealth for the Comanche centered largely in horses. The economics of horse ownership has been discussed above (pp. 14–15).

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[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession* (Iowa Law Review, Vol. XX), pp. 286 ff.

[2] F. G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories* (Canadian Geological Survey, Memoir 70, 1915).

[3] Schoolcraft, *History of the Indian Tribes, etc.*, Vol. 2, p. 131.

could hear distinctly the sound of their voices singing their 574
savage songs. Presently, came thrilling through the air, 727
mingling with the loud, shrill war whoop, a shriek of mortal agony. Again and again it was repeated, growing fainter and fainter, until, finally, it ceased, or, at least, failed to reach my ears.

At length, a party of six or seven came after me. While 727
passing through the strange encampment, I discovered pieces of soldier's clothing, which I recognized at once as the United States uniform. Moving on beyond the camp into a grove, a spectacle presented itself that froze my blood with horror. A white man had been subjected to the torture. He was not lashed to stakes as Stewart and Martin were, but a sharp stick had been thrust through his heel cords, by which he was suspended from a limb, with his head downward, as a butcher suspends a carcass in the shambles.

He, also, had been sacrificed with the accursed flints, his ears cut off, and tongue drawn out. A slight convulsive shrug of the shoulders, indicated that life was not wholly extinct. I gazed upon him in silence and terror and was relieved when they led me away. I concluded, from what I saw in their camp, he was a United States soldier, captured, probably, near one of the frontier outposts—such exploits not being unusual, numbers having been taken during my early residence in Texas, as far down as Fort Jesup in Louisiana.

The Indian policy of the United States, I am convinced, 648
is not the most advisable one. So long as it is continued, the frontier settlements will be constantly exposed to depredations, and prisoners subjected to the horrid cruelties I have described. They cherish an inveterate and undying hatred of the white race, whom they regard as usurpers—

648 and are sanguine in the belief that the time will eventually arrive when they will be enabled, with the assistance of the Great Spirit, to sweep them from existence and reclaim their rightful inheritance. In their ignorance, they compare, favorably for themselves, their feeble strength with the whole power of the United States.

000 It would be cheaper for the government, in the end, instead of maintaining a line of military posts on the frontier—standing merely on the defensive—to send an army through their territories, giving them ocular demonstrations of its power, arresting their turbulent chiefs, and teaching them a lesson too impressive to be forgotten, that the rights of a citizen of the United States shall not be violated with impunity. Hundreds of our people, in the pursuit of their lawful business, are captured yearly, enslaved, and barbarously put to death, without attracting the attention of government, whereas if the hundredth part of the same outrages were committed by any enlightened nation, it would call upon the people to fly to arms. For my own part, I do not see why the arm of authority should not be stretched forth to protect the outraged citizen at the headwaters of the Guadaloupe with the same promptness it is to protect him in Paraguay, or on the Gulf of Mexico.

221 The camp of the Spotted Leopard, as has previously been
241 seen, was situated at the source of the Boge Lescoha, at the foot of a mountain range. Fifty miles south, at the other extremity of the valley, were his planting grounds, where a small village had been constructed, and where a number of the tribe, principally squaws, usually remained.

727 I had been here several months when a party arrived from the plantation, among whom I observed were three white women, notwithstanding their faces were painted.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

ooobered by the reader that I have now brought down this narrative to the month of May last, wherefore the object of the journey upon which the Indian chief, at this point, is ready to depart, and which I gathered, both from himself and various other sources, may be regarded in many quarters as exceedingly important.

728 648 His destination was a village three days' journey to the north. At this place a general convention had been called, to be composed of all the chiefs of all the different tribes inhabitating the country between the northern bounds of Mexico and the regions of perpetual snow. The object of the convention was to induce the Indian nations, hitherto at variance, to bury the hatchet as between themselves, smoke the peace pipe, and unite in a universal bond of brotherhood, for the purpose of preventing the whites from passing through their territories to the settlements on the Pacific Coast.

It was, as I then understood it, and now believe, to enter into an alliance with the view of waging an exterminating and implacable war upon every train of emigrants or other party moving towards California, Oregon, the Great Salt Lake, or other points in either of those directions. How it terminated, circumstances unanticipated but of a most exciting and stirring character forbid my knowing, yet, that the design was precisely such as I have mentioned is a fact, which I beg all those who contemplate making the overland route to bear seriously in mind.

292 The Rolling Thunder, before taking his departure, arrayed himself with extraordinary care. A dozen scalps were attached to his war shirt; silver trinkets representing the moon in all its phases were fastened on his breast; his feet were clad in new and cunningly embroidered moccasins, and on his head rested a crown of feathers plucked from

3: Wallace & Hoebel NO6 Comanche NO6
175, 648

[For information on international relations between the Comanche and whites, and the history of such relations, see category 116, pp. 280-331, 338-353.]

I

Comanchería

ON a sultry summer day in June, 1875, a small band of starving Comanche Indians straggled in to Fort Sill, near the Wichita Mountains in what is now the southwestern part of the state of Oklahoma. There they surrendered to the military authorities.

So ended the reign of the Comanches on the Southwestern frontier. Their horses had been captured and destroyed; the buffalo were gone; most of their tipis had been burned. They had held out to the end, but the end was now upon them. They had come in to submit.

For a good 150 years, since first they had come down from the north, at first alone and later with the aid of their Kiowa allies, the Comanches had been the lords of the Southern Plains. They had decimated the pueblo of Pecos, within thirty miles of Santa Fé, New Mexico, so that in 1838 a pitiful surviving handful of this once-great pueblo abandoned it entirely. The Spanish frontier settlements of New Mexico had long been happy enough to let raiding Comanches pass without hindrance to carry their terrorizing forays into Old Mexico, a thousand miles down to Durango. They had fought the Texans, made off with their cattle, burned their homes, and effectively made their own lands unsafe for the white intruder. They had joyously fought and whipped at one time and another the Utes, Pawnees, Osages, Tonkawas, Apaches, and Navahos.

These were the "Spartans of the Prairies," of whom Thomas J. Farnham had written seven decades before, "their incomparable horse-

The Comanches

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« « « This *pukutsi* was going through the camp, singing as usual.

An old woman stopped him and said, "*Pukutsi,* I want you to kill me a buffalo. I need the hide to use for my saddle; I have no boys to get one for me."

He went and was gone from the camp for a long time. Finally he came back at night with the whole skin of a Pawnee, even with hands and feet still on it, and he hung it up like a man standing there against her arbor.

Some man saw it there and called in to her in her lodge, "That *pukutsi* is back. Your hide is out here on the arbor."

Early in the morning she got up and went out to get it. That human skin frightened her. Then that man came by and told her she should not have asked a *pukutsi* to do such a job. "He is afraid of nothing."

"Well, I didn't ask him to bring me an enemy," she complained. But that's the way it is with *pukutsi.* You ask them to do one thing and they do just the opposite.

When she got over her first scare, the old woman jumped up and down and sang. She had an enemy scalp, which she kept. » » »

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The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a matter for the chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own party on his own authority, but such a peace was not binding upon other members of the band or upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon consent of the war leaders, the council of elders, and the head chief. Tribal peace could be attained only when agreed upon and recognized by all the bands.

For all their devotion to war, the Comanches accepted the fact that a people cannot fight everybody on all fronts at once. The home base had to afford some measure of security for hunting and everyday living. Thus the Comanches worked out a sort of national policy of defensive alliances with their more powerful neighbors to their north, keeping their southern, western, and eastern frontiers open for far-ranging aggressive action.

Peace with the Kiowas was cemented in 1790 through the good offices of a mutual Spanish friend.[29] No details of this step are known,

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

but it established a co-operative alliance that grew into the firmest of intertribal friendships, unbroken to this very day. 728 648

The Kiowas and Comanches together achieved peace with the Cheyennes in 1840. The details of the steps leading up to this agreement have, from the Cheyenne side of the picture, been recorded by Grinnell[30] and analyzed by Llewellyn and Hoebel.[31] Earlier in this book we described the gift exchanges that signalized the binding of the peace. From 1840 on, there were no disturbances between the Comanches and Cheyennes, although between these tribes there never developed the close symbiotic relations that characterized the Comanche-Kiowa ties.

Back to back, territorially speaking, the Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche combine formed a hard, solid core of security from which each tribe could push its warlike activities against outsiders.

There do not seem to be any accounts or memories of how the Comanches established peaceful relations with their eastern neighbors, the Wichitas. Perhaps they never regarded these people as objects of aggression.

Sporadic and limited peace gestures were made toward the Utes and Apaches in later years. They were never the consequence of a national policy but rather of individual motivations, as the following accounts indicate.

« « « Once there were a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble. They came upon a bunch of Utes and started a fight.

There was a captive Ute woman with the Comanches whose son was a Comanche warrior. Because she got scared for her son's safety, she rode out between the fighters, holding up her hands and calling for them to stop.

"I am on both sides," she cried. "I am a Ute. My son is a Comanche. I don't want my kinspeople to be killing each other."

One of the Ute chiefs rode up to her. The woman held out her hand, but the Ute chief would not accept it.

[29] Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa," *loc. cit.*, 162–65.

[30] Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 60–66.

[31] Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 91–94.

The Comanches

728 He said, "No, not until I know if your chiefs have sent you."

648 Then her son, who was a war chief, rode up. He was willing that they should stop fighting. And so a truce was made.

The two bands went into camp, the Utes on one side of a hill, the Comanches on the other.

Some Comanche hunters returning to their camp did not know about the truce. They came upon a Ute, whom they killed and scalped. Then they went right on into the Ute camp by mistake, singing the Victory Song and carrying his scalp.

The chief of the Utes calmed his people. "This is a mistake," he told them. "It is all right. We are at peace. We shall not get mad about this thing."

So the Comanche hunters went back and found their own camp.

When he heard the news, a Comanche chief went over to see the Utes. "This was a mistake," he told them. "However, it is not necessary to do anything about it. One of our men was killed in that battle we were having. Things are now even."

The Utes agreed.

The next day a council of ten Ute chiefs came to the Comanche camp to visit the Ute woman, and they found that she was a sister to one of them. They took her and her family back to the Ute camp to visit her parents, who were still living. There they gave her a special tipi with an antelope skin tied to a pole as a special sign.

At the end of four days, the Utes said, "Four days are now up. Now we shall separate."

The Utes wanted the Ute woman's son to stay with them. At first he refused, staying alone when the camps moved, to decide what to do. Finally, he took the Ute trail.

He came to the Ute camp and asked for their chief. The chief invited him to dismount, and told his wife to serve him a supper. The Comanche captive, his mother, was sent for to interpret. He told the chief of his desire to become a Ute.

This chief replied, "All right, you can be my son. But these Utes are bad. They might kill you sometime."

The Ute chief made him his son, and he named him *Wasape Sɜmanete*. After a while the chief gave him a pack horse and sent him back to the Comanches.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Our people renamed him *Patuwa Sɜmɛno,* Ten Bears.[32] » » » 728 642

Greyfoot added a poignant scrap of detail as an epilogue to this account. The son of the Ute chief was dying of an incurable illness. He was not old enough to go to war, but his father wanted him to die the glorious death of a warrior. He did not want to see him waste away to nothing.

Acceding to the chieftain's wish, Ten Bears and a friend dressed in their war regalia, ready to meet the enemy. The sickly boy was dressed for war. In a pantomime of battle Ten Bears and his friend killed him. The Ute chief, in thanks for honoring his son, gave the boy's horse and clothing to them. That was when Ten Bears returned to the Comanches.

Except for the Kiowa and Cheyenne relations, Comanche peace pacts were touch and go. The temporary Ute peace could have been destroyed in the making by the Comanche hunters' killing the Ute had not the Ute chief been a man of power and forbearance. The delicate nature of such negotiations and the low level of mutual trust is revealed in Slope's account of a Tonkawa peace overture.

« « « A Comanche girl had died. Her mother wanted to leave the tribe so that she would see no more Comanche girls. There were only seven left in the family.

They were camping all by themselves when they were attacked by the Tonkawas, those man-eaters. Four of them were killed, and the mother and two of her children were captured.

After a year had passed, the Tonkawas decided they wanted peace with the Comanches, so they sent thirty warriors to escort the woman back to the tribe.

When they came to Comanche territory, they made a camp, and a Tonkawa chief and one warrior set out with the woman to look for the Comanches.

A Comanche war party, including some Kiowas, met them on a hill top. The Tonkawa signaled for friendship, so the Comanche leader came right up and shook hands before anything was said. The woman was glad. "This is what the Tonkawas want," she said.

[32] Informant: That's It.

The Comanches

•648 728 While they were talking, some of the Comanche and Kiowa warriors drifted on and found the Tonkawa camp. The group on the hill heard a shot fired.

"Well, it's too late," said the Tonkawa chief, and he whirled his horse and rode off. The Comanche woman, who had become his wife, took a spear and scattered the Comanches. Thus the Tonkawa chief got away.

They started a general fight right then, the Tonkawas beat up that Comanche-Kiowa war party that day. They chased the Comanches a long way.

One Tonkawa was outstanding. The brother of Eagle Tail Feather shot his horse, but he was not hurt. » » »

X648 728 The Comanches seldom took the initiative at treaty-making with the whites; rather, it was the whites. In later days the preliminary procedure in getting the Comanches to make a treaty was about as follows: An agent acting under orders from Washington decided that a treaty was desirable. He then went into the Comanche country to visit with as many of the bands as he could locate. He told them that the "Big Chief" wanted to make peace and be friendly with them; that he hoped to see them at a certain time and place, probably in the vicinity of a trading house. He made a number of promises, gave a few presents, and got some Indian messengers to carry the news to other bands and tribes. If the chiefs promised to come in, and some nearly always would agree, preparations were made on a grand scale for the assembly.

Quantities of beads, hatchets, mirrors, fine combs, matches, cloth, and other articles which the Indians desired or needed were provided. A company of soldiers was sent along (in Texas, Texas Rangers, if available), commissioners to make the treaty, and the agents. By the date set, the council ground was alive with activity, but most of the time the only Indians present were those who hoped by their early arrival to secure more than their share of the spoils. A Comanche seldom kept an appointment on time; to do so sacrificed a measure of his independence. Some of the Comanche bands would not appear at all, because they had no confidence in the white man's treaties or in their own ability to achieve a diplomatic victory over

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

hunt to obtain a portion of their winter supply of meat, and the sale of buffalo robes was the source of a large part of their income. They preferred their own clothing obtained by means of the hunt to that provided by the government. The agent defended their cause, and the final decision was that they might continue to hunt off the reservation, but must be accompanied by a military escort when they did so.[18] 648x

The regulation was tardy, for the day of the old-time summer communal hunt was past. Nevertheless, the whole tribe set out eagerly for their old hunting grounds. But there were no buffalo. Only white bones gleaming ghostlike in the sun, victims of the white hunters' long-range rifles, remained as a reminder of the vast herds that once covered the plains. And even the bones were not to lie undisturbed for long; they were to be ground up for fertilizer. From creek to creek the Comanches journeyed. Their scouts ranged far and wide seeking the herds. The few antelope they met hardly provided them with daily food. Still there were no buffalo, no feasts of marrow bones and tidbits, no racks of meat drying for their winter needs, no buffalo robes to turn the cold north wind.

"They will come when the leaves fall," the Indians said. But the frosts came and the weather grew colder, and still the plains were empty. The time allowed by the agent for the hunt expired. Some gave up hope and returned to the reservation, glad to get their rations of flour, sugar, rice, and beeves. The agent sent an emissary with food to bring the others back to the reservation. The aid came in good time, for they were starving. They had killed some of their ponies and were suffering in the season's early snowstorm. They accepted the inevitable and returned sadly with the emissary to the agency. Sullenness and despair fell upon them. The buffalo had failed, and they now began to realize for certain that their old way of life had ended. Several war chiefs abdicated, and there followed a noticeable trend away from communal life toward family life. 177 648●

Now the Comanches began to turn in all seriousness to a source of religious solace that could not and has not failed them. The Sun Dance had failed them and they felt that their power-giving spirits 177 795

[18] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 60; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1878, and reply, October 14, 1878.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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other Spanish explorers visited the high plains of Texas and the prairie country to the east, but the records they have left do not add greatly to our knowledge of the natives of the region. During the Seventeenth Century the upper Colorado and Concho region became especially well known to the Spanish since adventurers were attractd there by the pearls found in the mussels so plentiful in those streams. They found the Jumano Indian (probably a band of the Wichitas) in this region, who were mortal enemies of their neighbors the Apaches. Naturally the Jumano welcomed the Spanish as possible allies. The prospects of pearls appealed to Governor Cruzate of New Mexico just as the promise of a harvest of souls struck the imagination of Fray Nicolas Lopez, Custodian of Missions. Hence, in 1684-'85, a party of priests and soldiers established a temporary mission among the Jumano near modern Ballinger. Here, according to their chronicle, the Spanish and their Indian allies killed for a certain feast four thousand buffaloes. Although the Spanish had erected a crude building and planted crops the mission was soon abandoned because of conditions and circumstances that need not concern us in this paper.[2] However, it is significant that at this time Caddoan bands were to be found in the Abilene country, in the midst of the more nomadic Athapascans. Our section was border-land between the nomadic tribes of the plains country and the more sedentary Indians of central Texas, who raised gardens and built large and comparatively substantial grass lodges. Camp sites now being discovered and examined by members of this society confirm this fact. A few days ago at a point a few miles south of Abilene, Dr. Ray pointed out to me certain camp sites on or near loose soil well suited for the crude system of Indian farming. Here we found large fire circles and pieces of metates for grinding corn, indicative of the more permanent camp sites of the agricultural Indians; but at another site near by (although it may have been occupied many decades later or earlier), small piles of firestones scattered closely over a narrow valley, indicate that here, for a short while, a more nomadic people lived.

Early in the Eighteenth Century both the Spanish and the French came to know more about the Indians of Texas and their accounts

2. A good summary of these Spanish expeditions into West Texas is given by W. A. Stephenson, in the West Texas Historical Association Yearbook (Abilene, 1926), 11-44-84.

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C
648 are much easier to interpret. During this century there was a southward shift among the more nomadic tribes in what is now eastern Colorado and New Mexico and western Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas. The Osages, in the northeast,[3] tended to drive the Wichitas south. Furthermore, at about the opening of the century, the Comanches, who were probably being crowded by the Cheyennes, came from the north into eastern New Mexico and the Panhandle of Texas. Here they clashed with the Apache tribes and Indian tradition tells of a terrible nine days' battle fought between the Comanches and the Lipan-Apaches on the *Rio del Fierro,* (River of Iron), which Bolton identifies as the Wichita.[4] The Apaches were forced to give way and retreat towards the west and south. The Comanches continued this southward migration and, in 1758, they and their allies, the Wichitas, Hasinaies, and probably some of the Caddo tribe proper attacked the Franciscan mission on the San Saba, near the present site of Menard, and killed two of the friars and several other Spaniards. Thenceforth the Comanches claimed as their home the country as far south as the San Saba, and, indeed, during the years that followed they occupied at one time or another most of the country as far south as Bexar. In his map of Texas in the eighteenth century, Bolton shows the Indian situation in the western half of Texas as follows: The Apaches occupy the region northwest of the *Camino Real,* which ran from the Presidio del Rio Grande to Bexar, with the Lipan-Apache extending as a kind of protruding finger eastward into the country around the present Mason; north of the Apaches are the Comanche tribes and east of these, divided by about the ninety-eighth meridian, were the Wichitas.[5] It would not do violence to the facts to state that the West Texas Indian situation remained thus until the Indians were displaced by white settlers.

W
181 It has already been stated that the Wichitas were an agricultural people, although they relied extensively on the chase for subsistence and were fiercer and more nomadic than their other Caddoan kinsmen. On a framework of poles, sometimes fifty feet in diameter, they
W 342 constructed comfortable grass lodges, the whole when completed looking somewhat like a giant bee hive of the old fashion.

3. See H. E. Bolton, Athanase De Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780 (Cleveland, 1914), 1-19, note 2, for the shifting during the eighteenth century.

4. Ibid., p. 25.

5. De Mezieres, I, Frontispiece.

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342 The Comanche tipi represented a wonderful combination of utility and portability. A dozen or more slender poles were tied together at the top and set up so as to form the frame-work of an irregular cone of such diameter as the material at hand and the size of the family made practicable. This framework was covered with buffalo hides, flesh side out, and offered excellent shelter, while an opening and flap at the top assured ventilation. The flap could always be adjusted so that the opening was protected from the prevailing wind on the same principle that ventilators on our modern buildings are constructed so as to shift with the wind. Recently the writer spent a hot August evening in a Comanche tipi constructed along traditional lines except that canvas rather buffalo hides served for covering. There was no smoke and the place was comfortably cool, notwithstanding the small fire in the center. Close examination re-
[354] vealed the fact that the covering was not drawn completely to the ground, but that instead an air space of several inches was left all around. This, together with the opening at the top, made for perfect ventilation. Had the night been cold, the canvas could have been drawn completely to the ground, thus sacrificing ventilation to comfort.

● 648 The Comanches were a nomadic people and as late as 1850 a
619 wandering band might be found in the valley of the Platte or in
[361] the plains of Durango, fifteen hundred miles further south. There was not a single Comanche tribe, but rather several distinct tribes, having but few relations the one with the other. The Penatekas, were the southernmost band or tribe and are most often heard of in the history of Texas. Occasionally they got in touch with the northern bands when the latter came down to the Brazos or Clear Fork to spend the winter or when some of the young men of the different bands, joined perhaps by their allies the Kiowas, put out for the Mexican border for a joint raid. Sometimes the Penatekas
[578] were even in a state of war with their northern kinsmen. Naturally when the chiefs of a given band made a treaty it was binding only on their immediate followers. Hence, their kinsmen who lived afar off were likely to ignore it even if they should hear of it. Furthermore, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the resultant divisions and subdivisions of the bands into small parties away from responsible leaders made it impossible for the chiefs to control their

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own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted; but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 306-307, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

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492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield 554 "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's 70 tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

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border was still inviting and there the braves could find horses to 721
steal and ranches to plunder; if there must be peace with Texas, 648
there was at least one happy war ground, which according to Comanche ethics, was always a legitimate field of operation. That was Mexico. And hither the young braves would go, notwithstanding the more or less perfunctory efforts of the governments of the United States and Texas to stop them.

War with the Comanches might call forth united tribal effort 721
or it might concern but a small party of warriors, depending on the circumstances. The chief or head man who wished to lead off a war party paraded through the camp, carrying in some cases a long pole with a red flag tipped with eagle's feathers, chanting a war song. If he was a popular leader and the bands was in a war mood, or if he could convince the young braves that his enterprise promised large returns by way of scalps, prisoners and booty, he would soon collect about him many warriors. War dances would be held, the leading men would make talks, runners would be sent to other bands and the expedition would take on large proportions. No warrior was obliged to join, but the young man who always [626]
stayed at camp would obviously soon become the object of much ridicule. However, the tribe was not entirely at the mercy of these young hot-spurs. If the expedition was likely to result in the flagrant violation of a popular treaty or if it was calculated to bring down upon the tribe the wrath of a powerful enemy, a more conservative sentiment would prevail and the movement would be nipped in the bud.

In this connection some description of Comanche weapons should 411
be given. Although they acquired a few guns from white traders at a very early date, primitive weapons were all that a great majority of the tribesmen had as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Their bows were of bois d'arc, rather short for long bows, being ordinarily not more than three feet in length. Sometimes they were wrapped with the sinew of the deer, and the bow string was of the same material. Their arrows were about twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular spike, or point, of iron. Two feathers intersecting each other at right angles were bound to the other extremity of the arrow and served to guide it. They frequently carried lances, one of which is described as "a piece of

177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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[113] Okla., 1932). See also Ralph Linton in Abram [175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society [178] (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

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175 648 This dark picture of conflict is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[14]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the [439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [14] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).
[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38:157–76 (1935).
[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

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175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 products. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
[721] firearms, also incited them to attack the Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

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648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[65] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[29]

21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
657 as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[29] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

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657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

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648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
178 early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
178 date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[53] and further delineated by Kroeber,[54] Sapir,[55] and Whorf.[56] Sapir

[113] [53] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [54] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [55] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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192 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated
552 as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* cikshó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 Early and brief French contacts have left
648 no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and
197 those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread
198 use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]
197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the
[192] Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

601 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to
192 siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking
197 relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

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192 197 synonyms for English loans. Moreover, several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century. 000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arisona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions under which these forms of speech flourish were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
198 tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and slave or servant, missionary and convert, or trader and native seems necessary for the formation of a pidgin or creolized language. Such a relationship never held between the Comanche and Whites for any length of time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
191 steadily eclipsed by English which today has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to function as a living language. The constant contact with Whites, the teaching of English in the schools and, due to the fact that the Comanche live on scattered allotments, the lack of an integrated community or tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the evanescence of the language. English is the language of the dominant culture, the language through which one gets on in the world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
177 the language is far and away the most vitally functioning part that remains of the old Comanche culture. Other traits are gone, empty and broken forms, or compromises with the new. Comanche today affords ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity of language in the face of pressure from a dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship terminology,[140] represent a segment of culture where custom and language are virtually inseparable, and it seems especially appropriate in a study of linguistic acculturation to describe the effects of contacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for comparison between the old and new practices,

[140] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

[p. 243-A]

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(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

OVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[3] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be re- [197]
garded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado,
and from this vantage point they maintained close
contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and
Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Comanches must have first learned of these peoples, and from them too, they may have acquired their first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to shift their camps southward and eastward. No doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtaining mounts, but at the same time they may have been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An added attraction to the south and east were the plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos
and Picurís. Thus were the rustics from the northern
wilderness introduced to the material refinements of
more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the cen- 721
tury and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest. 648

The first persons against whom the Comanches displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos. As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

175 party struck at Apache rancherias above present
721 Trinidad, Colorado. This event was the opening
648 curtain on several decades of intense hostility between the Comanches and the Plains Apaches. By
175 1733 the continual hammering of the mountain Indians had caused Apache power to crumble in a wide swath of country extending from eastern Colorado to Central Kansas.

Remnants of the defeated tribes fled to the security of settlements in New Mexico where in this same year, a mission for 130 refugees was established by the Spanish near Taos. Some of the defeated Plains Apaches, however, were unwilling to submit to the discipline of Christianity, and as an alternative they fled south, out of range of the Comanches who would exterminate them and the Spaniards who would civilize them.

175 By 1715 the government authorities in Santa Fe
648 had begun to pay heed to the growing danger posed by the Comanches. The Spaniards had not fully realized at this early date that the Apaches of the plains were being displaced by an even more aggressive foe. This point was driven forcefully home,
175 however, when the Comanches with their Ute allies
648 assaulted the Taos district in 1716. Other severe
721 raids followed each year thereafter, until the Spanish governor personally led a punitive expedition northward to the vicinity of the Arkansas River in the autumn of 1719. No hostile Indians were encountered, but it was definitely established that the Comanches had filtered through the passes in the Front Range and had occupied much of the valuable buffalo country formerly held by the Apaches.

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
701 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

the several Comanche bands which resided on the 175 648 728
the eastern limits of New Mexico.

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including 175 648 the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were 728 probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the 101 Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during 175 the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered 101 the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band).

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate 175 hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion 728 of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, 648 Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief [643] with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, [431]

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648 the Spanish government through the viceroy in
728 Mexico City authorized an annual distribution of
[431] gifts to the Comanches to be paid for by a special fund created for that purpose.

There were, in truth, a number of cogent reasons why the warlike Comanches were willing to accept Anza's offer of peace in 1786, quite apart from the
[721] elaborate gifts which were to be forthcoming. In the first place, their raids against New Mexico in the 1770's had proved so devastating that the impoverished province, at least for the time being, had little
[164] to offer them. Moreover, a severe smallpox epidemic that had visited most of western North America in 1780-1781 had taken its toll among the Comanches, leaving the tribe greatly weakened for a number of years thereafter. Finally, the Comanches were continuing their drift toward the south and east so that the focus of their attention was moving away from New Mexico and toward the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

Not so understandable is why the Eastern Comanches or Orientales were led to accept peace terms at about the same time as their kinsmen to the west. Apparently, the overriding consideration in this case was the hatred felt toward the Lipan Apaches, against whom the Orientales now joined with the Spanish in common cause. [See Document I].A

The peace established in 1785-1786 with both the Eastern and Western Comanches relieved the settled frontier of serious attacks from this tribe for almost a generation and was one of the few notable achievements registered by Spain in her dealings with the Indians of the northern frontier during the eight-

14 A [See Category 175, pp. 21-22--
Analyst.]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 648 their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the 728 following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the [721] years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 175 648 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased some what—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—[487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with 175 177 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

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175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
701 Indians were organized under their own "generals"
177 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt,
175 of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

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[Document I]. Writers, in lauding the accomplishment of Governor Anza in bringing the Western Comanches to terms, have often neglected the fact that a similar peace was also made with the Orientales. 175

The treaty translated below was included in a general report on Indian affairs made by Pedro de Nava, Commandant General of the Interior Provinces (1792-1800) to the Viceroy of New Spain, Miguel Joseph de Azanza. As Nava notes, harmony between Spanish citizens and the Comanches had been maintained up to the time of his writing (1799) with a few minor exceptions. [648]

Originals of Documents I and II rest in the Provincias Internas section of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico City. Photocopies of these are available in the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library. The remaining five documents are found in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. 113

—Mare Simmons

[p. 18 is blank]

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Document One

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN COMANCHES, October, 1785, from the report of Pedro de Nava Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, Chihuahua, July 23, 1799.

THE COMANCHES are divided in three branches or tribes known by the names Jupe, Yamparicas, and Cuchanec, or Cuchihantica. The first two inhabit the frontier of New Mexico, and the third, that of Texas. At almost the same time, peace was arranged in both Provinces with this numerous and warlike nation; and the terms settled upon in October of 1785 with the eastern tribe were the following:

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1st That hostilities should cease on both sides, and that in whatever place Spaniards and Comanches might meet, they should treat each other as brothers and good friends.

2nd That the preceding condition is understood to apply not only to the inhabitants of Texas but to all the vassals of the King.

3rd That they should return our captives which they took for ransom, ceasing to engage in such acts against any nation.

4th That they should not admit into their camps any strangers, unless they suppose them to be traders who provide them with merchandise in exchange for hides.

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[1785-1799]

175 5th That they should be friends and enemies to those who are ours.

648 6th That they should declare as their enemies, the

728 Lipan Apaches and that whenever the Comanches attack them, some of them should come to [San Antonio de] Bexar to advise us of the results.

7th That they should request the license of the Governor of Texas when they intend to transfer themselves to the frontier of the Province of Coahuila for the purpose of making war on the Lipan Apaches and the Mescaleros.

8th And that each year a gift should be given to the captains and Indian leaders of the Comanches as a proof and as a manifestation of our good friendship.

Some of the Eastern Comanches have broken away from the main group and have created small disorders and have perpetrated robberies, but without the knowledge of the captains or other Indian leaders of that nation, who themselves have continued to observe in an acceptable manner the conditions of peace since the time of the agreement.

Pedro de Nava

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Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace 175
with us, its members have undertaken on 648
their own initiative various campaigns 721
against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico.

On one expedition which they carried out last July 175
with 95 men commanded by one of their captains 648
called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon 727
Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both 701
sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Dn Juan Bautista de Anza. The 175
original copy of this report is being sent to Your 648
Excellency.

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

175 ent Governor [of New Mexico] Dn Fernando de la
648 Concha to compile a careful and exact record of their operations and successes and to pass this information on to me so that I may inform Your Excellency of all developments.

By these documents and by the facts referred to in various reports which I have sent to Your Excellency, ample demonstration has been provided for the usefulness of the system developed for the destruction of the Apaches who are now caught between two frontiers [those of New Mexico and Texas]. And since these borders are free from the attacks of other enemies, [the settlers] may devote their arms and energies to the principal objective of subduing the
000 Apaches. And if by good fortune it should come about that the Mescaleros in the north should be kept at peace, at least for a little while, I feel certain the Province [of New Mexico] would shortly experience the favorable effects toward which my orders made in the field and at the Presidio [of Janos] have been directed. And my future orders will provide for whatever else may be necessary along this line. With regard to new developments, I will keep Your Excellency informed from Chihuahua.

May God keep Your Excellency many years

Janos, 13 of March of 1788

His Lordship Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola

[To] His Lordship
d. Manuel Antonio Florez

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Document Three

FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA TO THE VICE-roy Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Santa Fe, May 6, 1793, regarding inter-tribal warfare between the Comanches and other Indians.

THE FOUR nations of the Comanches, Utes, Navajos, and Jicarillas who have allied themselves with this Province [of New Mexico] continue without change their good conduct and they remain in harmony with the local settlers. But among themselves they still launch raids, and this stems primarily from the hate which the latter tribes feel for the first. 175 648 [721]

At the beginning of last winter, the Utes and Navajos got together for a council and they resolved to go and attack the Comanches. They set out immediately and soon encountered a rancheria left unguarded by [Comanche] men who had gone buffalo hunting. They proceeded with little difficulty to destroy it completely, capturing and killing the women and children, and running off the horseherd that was there. When news of this reached the other Comanches, they swore to avenge the offense and raising a considerable war party, they attacked the village of the Utes in a like manner and completely destroyed one of their rancherias, with the result that both [tribes] have suffered almost equal harm from the other. 175 648 727 [721]

000 [1793]

175 from the other. These acts have been committed
648 outside the Province [of New Mexico].

More regrettable are the consequences which the Province may suffer if the Comanches are not restrained in the just anger which they feel toward the Navajos, because to search out and attack them in their haunts, [the Comanches] will be forced to pass through the center of New Mexico, thus disrupting the tranquil state which has been maintained up to this time.

To try and guard against further harm which may originate [from this situation], since first receiving news of these developments, I have worked constantly to the present day endeavoring through use of means which seem to me most reasonable to bring about a conciliation between the two Nations,[3] all of which must be managed with considerable tact and prudence,

To succeed in this important objective, I have ordered the Navajos through their general, who is a subject with admirable qualities, to gather together all the captives of the Comanche Nation which may be in their power, and that accompanied by the same general and the captains of his retinue, they should conduct [the prisoners] to this Villa [of Santa Fe] to hand them over and to give complete satisfaction to the Comanche general and captains when they reach here.

This same order I have communicated to the Comanches and as a result they have not made any move against the Navajos up to this moment. As soon as they arrive here, as I've already told them, I will notify [the Navajos] who are nearby and I will

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take personal charge of the negotiations. Whatever comes of the meeting between the two Nations, I will advise Your Excellency at the first opportunity.

The Apaches who are at peace at the Puesto de Sabinal asked my license on April 3 to go and collect and prepare mescal which they annually store up. I gave them permission with the express condition that they return by the first of this month to do their accustomed planting. I still have not received word of their return from that place, which is forty leagues from this capital, but I expect it momentarily.

May God Keep You,

6 of May of 1793

[Fernando de la Concha]

[To]
His Excellency Conde de Revilla Gigedo

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(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Four

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA to Governor Fernando de la Concha, Chihuahua, August 8, 1793.

I SEE with satisfaction by the official letter from Your Lordship of last July 25, that friendship and good harmony between the allied [Indian] nations and that Province [of New Mexico] continues, and that the Apaches have made new overtures for peace at Sabinal. To continue, the other news of which your Lordship advises me, I find most regrettable: that concerning the campaign carried out by the Comanches against the Pawnees which resulted in the loss of the [Comanche] Captain Hachaxas, and grave wounds for General Ecueracapa.

The measures which Your Lordship took in dispatching what medical aid was available to the [wounded general] seem to me appropriate. And I await further details which Your Lordship may acquire concerning the encounter between those two Nations, as well as news of the results of the settlement of the Apaches at Sabinal.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua August 8, 1793 Pedro de Nava

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Document Five

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA
To Governor Fernando de la Concha
Chihuahua, December 31, 1793

I Have received the official letter from Your Lordship numbered 449 of the 19th of November in which you advised me of the impending march to attend the council which the Comanche Indians had called to meet along the Colorado River for the purpose of naming a general to replace the deceased Ecueracapa. And I received the later letter numbered 458 in which Your Lordship informs me that the election by universal approbation of the assembled rancherias fell on Captain Encanaguané, whose suitability leaves nothing to be desired, according to what Your Lordship says. 175 643 [666]

I approve all Your Lordship has done on this occasion, of that which I have been informed; and [I am also pleased] with the deference accorded Your Lordship by the Comanche Nation and the respect which you showed their new leader, and the other Indians in line who came to the council. 175 648

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua December 31, 1793

Pedro de Nava

Señor Fernando de la Concha

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Document Six

REPORT ON COMANCHE AFFAIRS BY THE Governor of New Mexico, Joaquin Real Alencaster, Santa Fe, November 20, 1805, to the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces.

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I AM NOTIFYING Your Excellency that three captains of the Yamparika Comanches who formerly lived to the north but now are found along the Rio Colorado [Canadian River], have presented themselves before me, requesting four favors, the nature of which are here explained; First that I should name as generals one of their captains called Somiquaso, and another from among the Cuchanticas called Quegue so that they would have leaders.

Second, that I should clothe them and present them gifts;

Third, that citizens from this Province should go and build them houses of wood forming a plaza along the aforementioned Rio Colorado near that of the Conchas. They agree to maintain the laborers and repay them with goods for their work;

And fourth, that I should set free certain prisoners and criminals.

I agreed to appoint the general whom they had requested and he took the name Carlos. I gave them [643] [431]

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648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
439 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I
[643] offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade.

On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

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(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Series

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COMMANDANT General of the Western Interior Provinces, Alexo García Conde, to Facundo Melgares, Governor of New Mexico, with regard to punishment of the hostile tribes of the East, May 11, 1819.

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AS A RESULT of the hostilities perpetrated in the Provinces of the East [Texas and Coahuila] by the Comanches, Taguacanas [Tawakonis], Taguayaces [Taovayas], and Lipan [Apaches], the Commandant General of the East has initiated a campaign to search out and punish those Indians who can be found in their rancherias. It is to be feared, therefore, that as a result of such operations some of said Indians will flee by way of the outpost of Presidio del Norte [Ojinaga] with the intention of committing hostilities in this province [New Mexico]. To prevent such an occurrence, I have resolved to dispatch from the said outpost, the 20th of next June a unit of 255 men who for a period of 60 days will scout the territory as far as the right bank of the Pecos River.

As a consequence and by virtue of what I have advised the commander of the expedition, Dn Juan Francisco Granados, and so as not to stir up the Western Comanches on the frontier of this province who are observing the peace, you should exercise all

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possible care in avoiding any attack on their rancherias. It should prove useful if you would summon the principal leader of those Indians and make clear to him our plans and our intention to observe good faith with his people. In addition, be sure it is understood that the operations of the troops of this province are directed only toward punishing the Eastern Comanches who threaten us with raids. And explain that in view of all this, it would be well if members of the Western Nation would stay away from the territory where the campaign is in progress so that our troops will not attack them by mistake.

May God Guard Your Excellency

Durango, 11 of May, 1819

Alexo García Conde

To the Interim Governor
of New Mexico
[Facundo Melgares]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

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764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a
764 Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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[p.324-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

618 657 These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Oklahoma. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

[131]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (5 Vols.: Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them [421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a com- 648 723 mon tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres, and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the "Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres 648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for [427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt, 177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves 427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation. The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets. The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] 2. This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 224. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McOwen, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873, 234.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

DAVID G. BURNET'S LETTERS DESCRIBING THE COMANCHE INDIANS WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY ERNEST WALLACE

When the United States purchased Louisiana Territory 175
from France in 1803, she acquired within its upper and 648
western limits several powerful Indian tribes of whom the Anglo-Americans had very little or no knowledge. The Comanche was one of these tribes. They had abandoned 175
the upper Missouri-Yellowstone region during the Eigh- 101
teenth Century for the southern high plains adjacent to the northern settlements of New Spain. The vast domain lying between the Arkansas River and the South Texas Hill Country and between the Cross Timbers on the east and the Pecos River and the mountain ranges of eastern New Mexico and Colorado on the west the Comanche regarded as *Comanchería*, and for more than a century few there were, either red men or white, who intruded against their will.

Convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, 175
the Comanche resolutely refused to compromise with white 648
civilization until they had been defeated and confined to a [186]
reservation. No real mutual trust and friendship ever existed between them and any of their white neighbors. Seldom did a white visitor remain within a Comanche village longer than necessary, and it was most unusual for a Comanche to visit a white settlement except to war and plunder. Consequently, reliable accounts of early Comanche 114
society are rare and meager.

One of the earliest and best descriptions of Comanche society by an Anglo-American observer appeared during 1824 in *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* in serial form under the heading "Indians of Texas." The article is a series of five letters published in six installments. The first four letters, according to the introductory statement, constitute

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 195 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures 175
in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the 121
results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them,

175 131 181 000 175 648 721 175 721

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their
721 *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their
101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time immemorial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the
171 identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 (ca. 1818)
101 of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60
133 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and
648 destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is
721 this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory war-
175 fare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio
175 Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about
721 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether
701 they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin
162 bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks.
101 These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally
133 extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are
175 found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dis-
101 similar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but
184 are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] Although habitually savage and estranged from the
[181] humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee war-
riors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many
of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In
721 the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in
152

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas que el Govr de la Prova de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el Sñr Comte Gral de las Yntern le hace en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre varias circunstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). [113]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the 175
Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made 643
themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with 623
their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all 555
their Nation and the following which they have; in the
councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the
rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs 175
and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have 157
in the Negotiations of the Nation? 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not [728]
come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the gover-
nor has not been able to learn their character, but if the
experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the
ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging],
they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more
friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other
friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that 175
the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look 648
at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them
more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the gov- 175
ernor has made of this nation, he has come to understand 648
that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness 181
and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive
nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harsh-
ness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is 175
indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all 648
love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to
behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they
begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and
manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary
that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call
Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in deal-
ing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

175
648

pleased and content. Through that means and by presenting them with those trinkets which they are accustomed to receiving, by which means he will be able to obtain peace treaties, trade, and communication with them, constant and truthful. That is how much the governor has been able to inquire and investigate the character of this Nation.

Royal Presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, April 30, 1876.

DOMINGO CABELLO.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 578 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- 657 tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties [162] of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about 648 two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 186.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 2, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 502.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
657 given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could
[643] not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1854, 450; September 8, 1854, 557; September, 1857, 434; January 17, 1858, 881; September 14, 1858, 871; October 30, 1858, 841; July, 1859, 882.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
628 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-
101

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

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628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[65] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
618 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
657 between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came
657 and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[657] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 8, 1858, Ibid.

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177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. 157 Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once [648] when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 14, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source
648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 524.

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648 but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, how-
657 ever tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic.
[166] When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

[113] 26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 8, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly cons'ls the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

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657 648 . . . We will attack the reserve with a sufficient force to *break it up* regardless of consequences.[27]

657 In January, 1858, a select committee of the state senate criticized severely the United States Indian policy in the state, referring to the fact that only a fraction of the Comanche Indians were located on the reservation and that friendly Indians were in the habit of passing and repassing into the settlements. Thus, they contended, wild Indians were mistaken for friendly ones and the white people were thus placed at the mercy of marauding bands. In addition to their recommendations for better military protection the committee stated that the agents should not permit the Indians to leave the reservations.[28]

[648] If these charges should be accepted at their face value they would represent within themselves rather convincing proof against the reservation Indians, but the records show that the whole issue was so completely shot through with bias and personal animosity that one is unable to know what to accept or reject. Reference has already been made to the ill feeling that pervailed between Robert S. Neighbors, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, and some of the army officers. Furthermore, John R. Baylor, who seems to have been dismissed from the Indian service through Neighbor's influence, led in much of the agitation.

657 648 But regardless of the merits or injustice of the charges brought against the reservation Indians feeling against them became so widespread and bitter that in February, 1858, Neighbors asked that special instructions be given the military to protect the reserve Indians from attacks by citizens. In May he made a trip to Washington to place the matter before the officials there, alleging that the soldiers could not be depended upon to protect the Indians because of the indifference of their officers.[29] In October, the sheriff of Young county, armed with a writ issued by the county court, set forth from Belknap with a posse of about forty citizens to arrest

[113] 27. W. G. Preston and others to M. Leeper, February 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. John R. Baylor, Comanche agent until he was dismissed in May, 1857, is among the signers of this letter to Leeper.

[113] 28. "Report of Select Committee on Indian Affairs," State Gazette, Austin, March 27, 1858. George B. Erath, Henry E. McCulloch, Forbes Brittin, J. W. Throckmorton, and E. B. Scarborough composed the committee.

[113] 29. Neighbors to Mix, written at Washington, D. C., May 13, 1858. Neighbors complained that Major Paul, at Fort Belknap, Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper, and Captain Givens, who owned a ranch about six miles from the reservation, had opposed him all along and had tried to incite the citizens against the Indians.

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657 a reservation Indian charged with committing an attack on a young
648 man named Johnson some months before. On hearing of the approach of the party Neighbors called on Captain Palmer at Camp Cooper for an escort, advanced with the escort and met the sheriff's party some distance from the reservation and finally persuaded the party to give up their purpose. Whether the sheriff desisted because of the law in the case or by fear of the United States soldiers was a matter of doubt in the minds of observers.[30]

657 The complaints against the agents and the reservation Indians led to the sending of a special agent to investigate the administration of affairs. This agent, Thomas T. Hawkins, stayed at Camp Cooper for five weeks and every opportunity was given the complaintants to make their appearance and testify as to their charges; but few of them did so and nothing of consequence was submitted. Hawkins' report commended the agents and the administration of both reservations very highly. The critics alleged that the investigation was *ex parte* and that it was intended from the beginning to "whitewash" the record of the Indian administration in Texas; but we should have more sympathy with them if they had gone through with their part of the program and submitted whatever evidence they had.

Perhaps the strongest testimony in favor of the Comanches is
657 that of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson of the Ranger forces. They
648 came with their command to the vicinity of the reservation in the spring of 1858 when they and their officers were practically unanimous in the belief that the reservation Indians were committing depredations. These men were seasoned frontiersmen, had the frontiersmen's natural hatred and distrust of all Indians and were determined to secure evidence against the savages that could not be refuted. However, although they stayed for some time and sent out many scouts they found nothing whatever to confirm their suspicions. Ford states in his affidavit that when they found that
657 they could not secure any evidence against the Indians Captain Allison Nelson, one of the foremost critics of Neighbors, suggested to him that it would be very easy to make a trail leading into the reservation, but Ford would not hear to this. Nelson reported that the people in the vicinity of the reservation did not want it broken up and it was decided to abandon the idea. Ford quoted Nelson as

[113] 30. See the letter of a correspondent to the New York Herald, November 15, 1858.

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657 stating that Neighbors had always escaped from the attacks of his enemies, but that men were after him "now" who were going to get his job.[31]

648 Naturally so much excitement and ill will inspired cruelty. In
657 May, 1858, an inoffensive old Comanche was slain by a party of white men who wanted to get his horses and took advantage of the fact that he was away from the reservation without an escort or
000 pass.[32] Late in December, a little party of friendly Indians from the Brazos reservation, known as Choctaw Tom's party, were attacked in their camp at night near Palo Pinto, whither they had gone by the consent of their agent and where they were regarded by the people of the immediate community as friendly and dependable. In fact, Choctaw Tom, the leader of the party, had returned to the reservation, but some of his people had remained near Palo Pinto in order to accept an invitation of some citizens of the community to stay a little longer and hunt bear with them.[33] The party that attacked the Indians was composed of citizens of Erath and neighboring counties further down the Brazos valley. They alleged that these Indians had been committing depredations but there is very little foundation for this contention.

The killing of these Indians created general excitement along the frontier because of the fear that their tribesmen would retaliate. The men who made the unwarranted attack on Choctaw Tom's party were never arrested although the governor by special proclamation called for their arrest. The grand jury of Palo Pinto county refused to indict the men but instead, indicted Jose Maria, the Anadarko chief, for horse stealing and in their report stated that the reservations were nuisances and that the people ought to take up arms
648 against the Indians.[34] "Gatherings" of frontiersmen began to take place and many white men who had up to this time maintained a neutral or indifferent attitude began to join in the clamor against the savages. No doubt many of these men felt that the party from

113 31. Affidavit of John S. Ford and R. N. Burleson, November 22, 1858. University of Texas photostat copy.

113 32. Shirley to Barnard, May 6, 1858; Evans to Leeper, May 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

113 33. J. J. Sturm, farmer at the Brazos agency, to Ross, December 28, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, Vol. I, p. 588. See also, the statement of Daniel Thornton, Peter Garland and others who attacked the Indians, made at Palo Pinto, January 4, 1859, Ibid, p. 606.

113 34. A copy of the report of the Grand Jury may be found in the Runnels Papers, Texas State Archives.

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648 Erath county had made a mistake in attacking the peaceful Indians, but they believed that the kinsmen of these Indians as well as the Comanches would retaliate and that there could be no peace on the frontier until both reservations were broken up. The agitators took advantage of this state of mind and never lost an opportunity to appeal to the fears and prejudices of the frontier people. It must not be understood that these men were "the very worst frontier characters" as the Indians agents sometimes charged. Among their leaders were John R. Baylor, former Indian agent; Peter Garland, of Erath county; R. W. Pollard, of Palo Pinto county; J. B. (Buck) Barry, of Bosque county, all prominent citizens in their communities and highly regarded by most of their neighbors. The years of bitter struggle with the Indians had hardened the hearts of the frontier people. As one of the more conservative of them has written in his memoirs, the frontier people were "always crazed at the sight of Indians and determined to kill,"[35] and when the safety of their families was involved they were wont to act first and investigate afterwards.

[657] However, notwithstanding these "gatherings" of frontiersmen with all their fear and frenzy no drastic action was taken during the winter of 1858-1859, which is to be accounted for in part, at least, by the firm attitude maintained by the army officers who were guarding the reservations. The immediate objective of these threatening movements had been the "lower" or Brazos reservation. This was not because the white men regarded these Indians as the more culpable but rather because they felt that both the Brazos and Comanche reservations must be broken up and the Brazos Indians being the more numerous and powerful were regarded as the chief obstacle to be overcome.

657 Long before this crisis came the agents had felt that the Indians should be moved from Texas and as early as the summer of 1857 Neighbors had recommended that they be taken to the Indian Territory.[36] But the authorities in Washington did not give any consideration to the proposal and it was dropped for the time. Then came the demonstrations against the Indians during the winter and spring of 1859, and Neighbors again insisted that if the Indians

[113] 35. "Memoirs of George B. Erath," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 15.
[113] 36. Neighbors to Mix, August 5, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 were not removed they would be driven away by the mad settlers. The government at Washington was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the agents became frantic in their effort to secure authority to do what they knew was essential to save their wards from destruction. Finally, on March 30, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the Indians would be moved in the fall or winter following. But this announcement did not satisfy the white people and Neighbors continued his efforts to secure authority to remove his wards at once.[37] Neighbors said that he and his associates had "stood their ground" so far, but that they wanted their superiors to share with them the responsibility for determining what should be done when the next crisis came, as it certainly would come. A little later came a resolution signed by a hundred and fifty men demanding that Neighbors and the resident agents, Ross and Leeper, resign.[38]

648 The situation was already critical enough when an army officer by an imprudent act provoked a disturbance that removed the last ray of hope for peace on the frontier until the Indians were removed. A Brazos reservation Indian named Fox, had been killed by a party of Jack county rangers in brutal fashion. This officer led a party of reservation Indians in search of Fox's slayers and caused great consternation by escorting them into the town of Jacksboro one night. This incident gave the radical party an excellent torch and they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement.[39] The citizens at once organized themselves into "ranger companies" and surrounded both reservations, threatening the Indians and their agents day and night and preventing the savages from gathering up 000 their stock.[40] On May 23, John R. Baylor at the head of about 250 men came onto the Brazos reservation; but the soldiers stood their ground and the citizens withdrew, not however, until they had picked a fight with some of the Indians. The Indians pursued them for some distance and considerable fighting took place.[41] 648 The settlers declared that they would raise a thousand men and take

37. Mix to Neighbors, March 30, 1859. Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 2, p. 631. Neighbors to Mix, April 11, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
38. "Resolutions," April 25, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
39. J. R. Worrall of Jacksboro, June 1, 1859, to the Editor, The Dallas Herald, June 18, 1859.
40. Neighbors to Mix, May 12, 1859, and Ross to Neighbors, May 12, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.
41. Report of Captain J. B. Plummer, of the United States Army. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.

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648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches [422] [425] took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

[113] 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 668-671.

[113] 43. Erath to Rose and Neighbors, June 30, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

[113] 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

A [See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
•648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[10] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[621]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo
[113] de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.
[122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of
[113] the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico
[113] (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls.[6] He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1630–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

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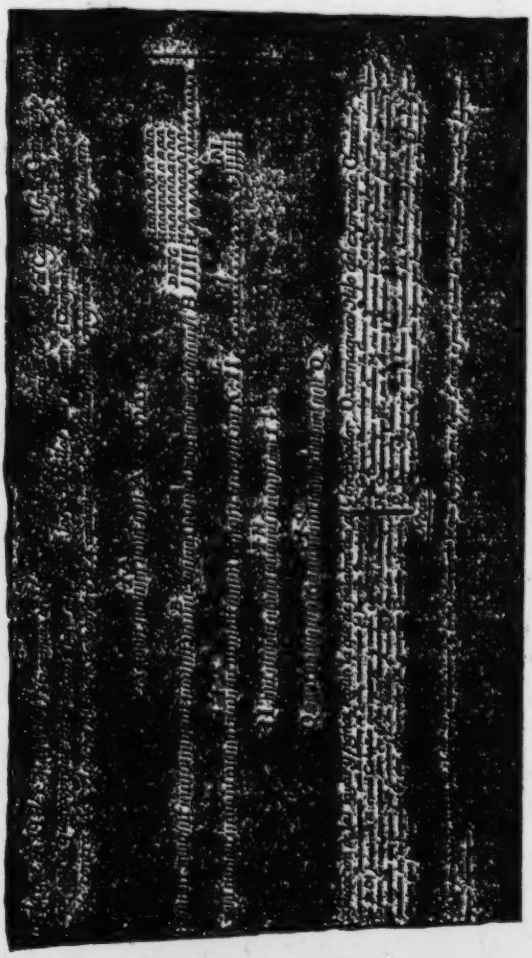

Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures
701 represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinc-
554 tion, was at least half right.

It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances
[171] shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight
[171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche.
171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21]

175 Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent
212 in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General
701 Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his
[648] command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;
a five horses he encountered and recaptured
B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

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[113] [21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders. appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapey		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunít:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

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[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 701 648 726

to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 701 551

Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral:	Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.
Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo:	He raises his hands; second son
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero:	Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[36]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[37]

175

It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandánte General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[36] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[37] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate 173
there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them.

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact 167
with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Coman- 177
ches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first [231]
acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of
Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten 721
or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes.

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater 167
degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century 721
the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settle- 618
ments in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During [177]
this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north [411]
who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken.

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper 177
great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *pɛnaɪʒkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 101 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *pɛnaɪʒkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *pɛnaɪʒkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes." 621 177 619 621 184

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *pɛnaɪʒkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma. 101 619 621 184

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 619 621 184 648 721 619 621 184 721 657

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name 736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood [597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo, 726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing 643 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of 648
mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, 726
would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is defi- 657
nitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, con- 871
cerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade terri- 191
tory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English 871
and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in- 657
law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister 657
and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I be- 871
lieve, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money. 609 191 571

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City. 609 191 797 [794] [551]

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature. 657 191 609

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds. 609

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the 648 657

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land

648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
723 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white

186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and predates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union. 701

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico. 701 648

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops. 439

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye to a River*, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster. 000

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him. 127 768

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

101 **Comanche.** One of the southern tribes of the Shoshonean stock, and the only one of that group living entirely on the plains.
[174] [648] Their language and traditions show that they are a comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming, both tribes speaking practically the same dialect and, until very recently, keeping up constant and friendly communication.
174 Within the traditionary period the 2 tribes
131 lived adjacent to each other in s. Wyoming, since which time the Shoshoni have been beaten back into the mountains by

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ASAHABIT—PENATEKA COMMANCHE

174 the Sioux and other prairie tribes, while the Comanche have been driven steadily
131 southward by the same pressure. In this southerly migration the Penateka seem to have preceded the rest of the tribe. The Kiowa say that when they themselves moved southward from the Black-hills region, the Arkansas was the n. boundary of the Comanche.

[p. 327A]

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
NO6 Comanche NO6

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
175 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa since about 1795. In 1835 they made
648 their first treaty with the Government,
657 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874-75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 154–56, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 118.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005 101

Federal Trust Area 657 161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)

This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter. 199 195 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache. 195 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

648 the goods were often of a most inferior quality and could not be used.
657 Many agents and contractors connived at rewarding themselves from government contracts at the expense of the Indians. When Agent Hugh Brown, who assumed his duties in June, 1893, attempted to force the contractors to deliver in full according to the terms of their contracts, he was removed before the year was out.

At first the policy was to issue the rations to the chiefs, who in turn distributed them among the people of their respective bands. This policy did not always assure a fair distribution. Agent Tatum in 1871 made a count and found 4,444 actual eligible residents as compared to a count of 8,746 claimed by the Indians as being entitled to rations. To remedy this situation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered a change in the distribution system so that each family would receive its own rations directly. Each family was given a card with the family name at the top and the number of persons in the family. The card was punched when rations were issued. A military officer was also required to be present when rations were given out.[23]

Issue day, once a week at times and once every two weeks at others, was a gala occasion. The women with their ration cards filed by various clerks who served them much as in a modern cafeteria. The beef was issued sometimes on the hoof, and here the men came in for participation. The animals were penned in a great corral near the agency, from which they were turned loose one at a time. The waiting men and youths pursued them, making a pretense of their old buffalo hunt. Firing at the fleeing animals from the backs of running ponies, they presently brought them down. They seemingly were not as effective with pistols as their fathers and grandfathers had been with bow and arrow and lance. Waiting women and children hastened to skin and cut up the animals as soon as they were killed. Considerable trouble often arose over the issue of beef, since obviously each family could not have the choice parts.

Issue days were times of feasting, gambling, and entertainment. The trend developed rapidly during the administration of Captain J. Lee Hall, who became agent in 1885. Captain Hall was generous,

[23] Hayworth, *Annual Report*, September 20, 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1876, 52.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

hospitable, and a heavy drinker who allowed the agency to go on sprees. One principal amusement when not eating or gambling was horse racing, as it had been of old. The long, straight road between the agency buildings was the favorite track. But this was the only street of the village. Freight wagons rumbled along it, children played in the middle of the road, and the women crossed back and forth. Fearing someone might be injured, the agent ordered the Indians to hold their races in a near-by pasture. On a level place they laid out two straight tracks side by side, about ten yards apart and one-half mile long. Only two horses raced at a time. When one race was over and the bets paid, another would follow as long as there were any one who would race. Not infrequently a loser left without money, blanket, or food.

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Sometimes the entire week's supply of rations was gone before a family left the station, and it was not unusual for them to beg for more. In 1892, the agent estimated that the Indians were 50 per cent self-supporting, with government rations making up the other 50 per cent of their subsistence.

Those families who lived some distance from the agency spent most of their time going to and from the agency for the purpose of drawing their rations. To avoid this situation, Agent P. B. Hunt issued rations for more than one week to those who were farming and found it a handicap to come to the agency so frequently. In 1886, a ration station was opened at Fort Sill as a means of helping solve this problem. As the Indians became adjusted to the white man's mode of living, only one member of a family went to the station for rations. Before the close of the ration period several families or a community might send in only one or two persons to obtain their supplies.

The thirty years set by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge for issuing rations and supplies ended in 1897. By this time the Indians were becoming established with farms and cattle, supplemented by income from grass leases and from wages received from hauling and for other odd jobs. The end of rationing was delayed, however, until the opening of the reservation to settlement in 1901, when it was rapidly discontinued. Afterwards only those Indians unable to work were given

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

648 rations. During the fiscal year 1909–10 only eighty-seven, all of whom
657 were unable to work, received rations, to the amount of $4,335.90.[24]

The breakdown of established norms of behavior and the change to new patterns of conduct resulted in many social conflicts and disturbances. The whites were not sufficiently well acquainted with the Indians always to apprehend the guilty parties and mete out justice as well as some of the Indians. Horse thieves preyed on the Indians' herds. It was easy to round up a bunch of ponies in the isolated portions of the Comanche lands and run them off into the Chickasaw country or into Texas, where they had a ready sale.

177 To assist the agents in maintaining order on the reservation, Con-
648 gress in May, 1878, provided for a system of Indian police. They were
625 to be provided with badges, uniforms, and guns, and each officer was
657 to receive eight dollars and each private five dollars a month in addition to full rations.[25] Their business was to ride over the country and keep watch for thieves and trespassers, to report any troubles that might arise among the Indians of the reservation, and to keep watch over the Indians' cattle and horses. They would work under the agent's orders.

Agent P. B. Hunt, whose task it was to organize the first police force, found it difficult to secure men willing to serve. He wanted young men, but the compensation was too small to induce men to volunteer for the service. Furthermore, the chiefs declared that it was not right for younger men to arrest the older members of the tribe. The agent reminded the leaders that the police were to work for all their people, to guard their livestock, to carry information to the agent and from him to their people; they would do work similar to the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In order to win the support of those objecting to the police, the headmen were commissioned to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation, thus satisfying them with a semblance of their old authority.[26] To complete the police rolls, Hunt found it necessary to refuse the Comanches the permit for their annual

[24] Supt. Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, *Annual Report*, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[25] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, p. XLII; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, September 28, 1878.

[26] Agent J. Lee Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1886 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27]

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

The Comanches

177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 648 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
●657 I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade out of
695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed. You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

I took this report back to Quanah. It was then up to this fellow to come out with a true account of a braver deed or else give up the land and abide by the decision.

He could not do this, so Quanah and the two warriors decided for the complainer. That man had to give up the land and keep quiet. » » »

This is hardly the way a white court would have decided the validity of a land claim in dispute. And we have strong doubts as to its being the way that it would have been settled by Comanche peace chiefs, if they had been called upon to adjudicate by the Anglo-Americans. But it was sound Comanche reasoning from a war leader's point of view, and in terms of the Comanches' premises it was just.

177 In 1886, provision was made for the establishment of the Court
of Indian Offenses with power to try minor cases. The court as con-
x 648 stituted that year was composed of three judges who were selected
657 by the Indians with the assistance and approval of the agent. The
692 presiding judge was paid thirty dollars a month; the other two, twenty-five dollars each. The agent certified Quanah Parker of the Comanches as presiding judge, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Jim Tehuacana of the Wichitas as the first members of the newly created court. The court was to have jurisdiction over both the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations. It was to meet twice a month.

The plan worked well. The judges fully appreciated the dignity of their positions, and the Indians were more willing to submit difficulties or complaints to their own court presided over by their own chiefs. The presence of two of the three judges from other tribes was intended to assure impartial hearings and sentences. The court assessed fines or jail sentences which sometimes were more severe than the white man's law assigned for like offenses, and a few times

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

177 648x 657● 692

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

177 648x

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

177 648x 795

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

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The old way of life was nearer an end than they feared. The whites were rapidly pushing in. When the Indians and the buffalo had been removed from the plains of Texas, the cattlemen quickly covered the area with vast herds. Many thousand head of cattle were driven northward to market. By 1877 the Comanches were troubled with trespassing cattle, and the agent was instructed to have these cattle removed. A penalty of one dollar a head was to be collected from the owner of such cattle when the animals were driven on the reservation to graze, but nothing was to be collected for what the cattle ate while being driven through the reservation, since "this is incidental."[31]

Some of the cattlemen took advantage of this decision by driving their herds across the reservation where the best grass was to be found, and although the herds might not be turned loose to graze, they traveled at a much slower rate across the reservation than was customary for herds on the north-bound trail. To remedy this situation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1881 established a definite trail across the reservation leading toward Fort Dodge. It crossed the reservation for a distance of about twenty miles, northwest through Greer County. The Abilene Trail followed the east line of the reservation. The Commissioner opposed the opening of a trail in 1883 from Doane's store north by way of Fort Sill on the ground that the cattlemen would start their cattle in the spring and fatten them on the grass of the reservation, which would interfere with efforts to build up the herds of the Indians.[32] Cattle were to move along the trails at the rate of not less than ten miles a day. It was the duty of the soldiers and police to see that the herds were kept on the trail and that they traveled at the required rate of speed.

There was a drought in 1881, and about the same time the government reduced the ration of beef to the Indians. Agent Hunt offered to allow the cattlemen to graze their herds on the reservation during the winter and spring in return for a specified amount of beef for the Indians. They paid willingly, for they received more in return than the value of the animals donated. They were certain that the

[31] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[32] Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kioway Agency, 1882–1884" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Indians would take what they needed anyway. The agreement was unofficial, but to the cattlemen it gave an aspect of legality to their enterprise, and as such it constituted the first paid grazing leases contracted for the reservation. The cattle of the ranchers who paid were allowed to cross the river to the reservation unmolested, but those of the others were driven off. This plan was followed for several years, the twenty or more cattlemen with whom the agreement was made each taking a portion of the range.

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Once the cattle had been placed on the reservation, the owners were slow to remove them at the designated time or to continue to pay for their right to pasturage. There was, after all, much unused grass on the reservation, and to Texas cattlemen the use of the grass was very important. They could see no reason why it should go unused. Consequently, they drove their cattle to the border of the reservation, and allowed them—possibly with some urging and guidance—to wander or stray on to the reservation. The Indian police attempted to guard the border, but the line was long. Each week the chief of police was instructed to remove the cattle illegally grazing the reservation; the government employees tried and failed to keep the cattle off; the troops tried and failed. Agent Hunt said that it would have required an army to keep them off.[33]

Cattlemen resorted to other schemes to get their cattle on the reservation. Emmit Cox, a white, came to the tribe and married the daughter of Quanah Parker and secured his bride's right to graze. In 1881, Cox had a large herd of steers, which he claimed as his own, near Lawton, but it was rumored that they belonged to a Texas cattleman who paid Cox $1.50 a head annually to get them on Comanche land.[34] When the cattlemen failed to obey the orders, Hunt gave them a thirty-day notice and then proceeded to levy fines on violators. But the fines were so small, and it was so difficult to prove that the owners purposely drove the cattle on to the reservation, that most cattlemen disregarded the orders and paid the fine, if they were found guilty. Since Hunt was unable to keep the cattle off, he called upon outside assistance. One of his last official acts before leaving the agency was to post notices in the post offices and stores along the

[33] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, *loc. cit.*, 89.
[34] Claude Southward, *Nocona's Nest*, 30.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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Texas border that no cattle were to be driven on to the reservation and to call upon the Texas sheriffs to assist in enforcing the order. Agent J. Lee Hall reported that during his first summer of tenure the Indian police removed from the reservation ten thousand head of trespassing cattle.[35]

It was only a short step from paying for grass with beeves to contracting a lease for grazing, but even so there were difficulties involved. By 1885, both the agent and a number of the Indians realized that they could not prevent trespassing and that it would be better to lease grazing privileges than to try to enforce the ban on grazing. In February, 1885, a delegation of Indians were told that they might make their own arrangements with cattlemen, but that the government would not handle the business for them. An arrangement was made with several large cattle firms, and the first money payments to the Comanches were made under this agreement in the summer of 1885. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept money for fear that a scheme to deprive them of their lands was involved. In February, 1892, the Indians in council appointed a delegation to go to Washington to discuss grass leasing. As a result, the agent was granted authority to submit one-year contracts for approval. Six leases, aggregating 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892.[36]

Agent W. D. Myers took a census of the Indians for the purpose of paying the lease money due them. To complete the census required several months, for definite and permanent names had to be decided upon and enrolled as such. Very often confusion arose over the spelling of a name; the Indian might use one name among his Indian friends and still another on the ration rolls. Births and deaths were not always reported. The Indians' share of the "grass" money was paid twice each year. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs directed that all heads of families were to give receipts for their own shares, shares of their wives and of their minor children. In the absence of the husband, a wife might sign for him. In case of minor orphans, guardians were designated by the tribal headman.

[35] Hall, *Annual Report*, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1886, 131.

[36] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1893, 29.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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All leases presumably were to be made through the Anadarko office and referred to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington for approval. However, some cattlemen used their political influence to secure leases in Washington without the knowledge of the agent. Fear of increasing encroachment of the land-hungry "boomers" made the cattlemen eager to lease large tracts at the government price of six cents an acre, with the result that the Indians of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in 1893 leased 1,304,958 acres.[37] Most of the requests were for grazing cattle, but sheep and hog owners also asked for permits, although no permits were allowed for hogs.

In 1894, the crops were poor but the grass was excellent, and the agent persuaded the Indians in council to agree to use the semiannual payment of about $50,000 for purchasing fine young cattle. However, the project met with such a storm of protest from the traders to whom the Indians were indebted that it was set aside. The agent then devoted much effort to encouraging the Indians to be thrifty and buy their own individual cattle from their savings.

Meanwhile, the "boomers" made stronger and stronger demands for opening the Kiowa-Comanche reservation. Their principal argument was that the lands were not being used. The cattlemen joined the Indians in opposing the opening of the reservation, since they desired to continue leasing the grass for pasture. They employed an attorney in Washington and brought pressure upon congressmen to prevent it, but with little success, for on October 6, 1892, the Jerome Agreement was made at Fort Sill between the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes and the United States. According to the agreement, each Indian man, woman, and child was to secure 160 acres of land by allotment. Church, agency, school, military, or other public land could not be claimed by an individual. Sections thirty-six and sixteen of each township were to be held for school purposes, and sections thirteen and thirty-three for public institutions and welfare. The allotments were to be held in trust for twenty-five years, after which they were to be conveyed in fee simple to the holder. The period of trust could be extended if the government of the United States deemed it necessary for the best interests of the Indian.[38] During the trust

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] The Agency records show that twenty-eight were given fee patent (complete

X648 period the allotments were to be free from taxation and could not be-
come subject to any indebtedness. In addition, four tracts were re-
● 657 served to the Indians collectively: the "Big Pasture" lying along Red River, an area adjacent to the Wichita-Caddo reservation, an area east of the Big Pasture and adjoining the Chickasaw country, and a small area near Fort Sill for a wood reserve. The four tracts amounted to 551,680 acres; the Big Pasture with 414,720 acres was by far the largest.

For the surrender of their rights to all other lands of the reservation, the government agreed to pay the Indians two million dollars in installments of $500,000 each at such times as the "Secretary of Interior shall deem the best for the said Indians." The money was to draw 5 per cent interest while in the United States Treasury, the interest to be paid annually. The agreement was to become effective when approved by Congress.

X648 Many leading Indians protested that the agreement was secured
unfairly. They accused the interpreter, Joshua Givens, son of Satank,
657 of falsely translating their statements. It is reported that the Indians
754 were so infuriated with Joshua that they made medicine to cause his death as well as the commissioners'. They made an image of Joshua and threw mud at it. The fatal ailment would occur where the mud hit. The mud struck his chest. On the way home from the council, Joshua had a hemorrhage of the lungs. Shortly afterwards he died, and the commissioners did not long survive him.[20]

X648 Since only a part of the Indians had been present at the signing
of the agreement, opponents argued that it was illegal. The opposition
657 party was supported by the cattlemen, and they did not concede without a fight. They sent a delegation headed by General Hugh L. Scott and Lone Wolf to Washington. The delegation obtained a hearing with President Grover Cleveland, who is said to have listened to their case and exclaimed, "I will not permit it. I will see justice done

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ownership) in 1926, and possibly a half-dozen since then. The trust period has been extended from time to time by executive order. The latest order extends it for twenty-five years from August, 1946. Personal communication from Supt. W. B. McCown to Wallace, June 12, 1945, and Executive Order 9659, Federal Register, November 24, 1945.

[20] J. J. Methvin, missionary teacher who went to the reservation in 1887, to Lillian Cassaway, June 22, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, Oklahoma University Library), Vol. XLII, pp. 415–16.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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these Indians as long as I am in power."[40] They hired an attorney in Washington and left him in charge of their fight to block ratification of the agreement.

They were fighting a losing battle. One by one the various chiefs were won over by the "boomers." They saw the futility of protesting longer, for nothing could hold back the mass of land-hungry whites clamoring for admittance. At most they merely delayed the opening, for on June 6, 1900, an act of Congress made the Jerome Agreement the law of the land, and on July 4, 1901, a Presidential proclamation ordered the execution of the agreement. According to the agreement, allotments were to be made as soon as possible. The Secretary of the Interior, acting within his rights, had delayed the execution of the agreement while awaiting the decision of Congress. The agent was not ordered to have the lands surveyed until 1895. But as soon as Congress acted, the work was rushed. Each Indian was allowed to select his or her own 160-acre allotment. Tracts for minors were selected by the parents or by the agent. As soon as a choice was made and the authorities informed, it was recorded and the Indian's title evidenced by the issuance of a trust patent.[41] By the next year the allotments had been completed. The Indian court was abolished on July 1, 1901, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in anticipation of the new status.

The lands not allotted to the Indians were surveyed into homesteads of 160 acres each and thrown open to the public. This opening was more orderly than preceding ones in that it was by lottery rather than by a run. Everyone who wished to get a claim was required to register between July 10 and 26. Prior to the registration, cattlemen were required to remove their herds and pasture fences from the reservation. Two registration booths, one at El Reno and another near Fort Sill, were set up. At El Reno 11,556 registered. The drawing of names from two large iron boxes was held at El Reno on July 29, 1901, before a crowd of 30,000. In a few weeks the country was full of whites who were plowing fields and building homes. Three townsites were laid out—Lawton, Hobart, and Anadarko, the last at the

[40] H. L. Scott, *Some Memoirs of a Soldier*, 201.

[41] Agent J. F. Randlett, *Annual Report*, 1901, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1901, 255.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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site of the Kiowa-Comanche agency. The auction of town lots occurred on August 6.

The change took place so rapidly that a corn field was converted overnight into the town of Anadarko. Other towns sprang up almost as rapidly. Lawton, the largest of the new towns, was for months a wild frontier place, with open saloons, gambling, and frequent fights. Roads leading through the reservation were filled with homeseekers and traders in covered wagons, on horseback, and on foot. The Indians were forced to change their way of living overnight, also.

But the "boomers" were not satisfied with a partial opening of the reservation. They continued to use the same argument—that the Indians were not using the lands. The demand could not long be delayed. Congress on June 5, 1906, provided for the opening of the remainder of the reserve lands of the reservation, the last big opening in Oklahoma. The law specified that these lands were to be sold under sealed bids to be opened by the Secretary of Interior. Before the sale could take place, the 517 Indian children of the reservation born after June 5, 1901, when allotments were completed, had to be given their 160 acres each. The men to whom the pastures were leased were allowed time to remove their cattle. Surveys divided the lands to be sold into 2,531 tracts. The sealed bids were to be placed in the Lawton land office between December 3 and 8, 1906, later extended until December 15.[42] Thus were the Comanches finally stripped of the last of their once vast tribal holdings.

The Geronimo band of Apaches, after having been held captives in Florida and Alabama, were removed to the Fort Sill military reservation in 1894, where they were held as prisoners until 1913. They were then permitted to decide whether they preferred to go to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico or remain in Oklahoma. The majority returned to New Mexico, but eighty-five chose to remain. Those who remained received allotments of land and cattle and were joined in 1913 to the Comanche-Kiowa agency. They are located largely in the vicinity of the town of Apache, north of Fort Sill.

Simultaneously with the opening of the last of the reservation, a

[42] Agent J. P. Blackmon, *Annual Report*, 1906, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1906, 309; Blackmon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1906; Commissioner of Indian Affairs *Annual Report*, 1906, 159.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

movement was on foot for bringing statehood to Oklahoma and Indian Territory. On November 4, 1906, an election was held throughout the two territories for delegates to a constitutional convention. On November 20 that body met and began its work, and on November 16, 1907, Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union. Verily, the phase of reservation life had passed, a short interlude of forty years. The Comanches had entered the White Man's Road. They were Lords of the Southern Plains no longer.

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Comanche became increasingly restive. Raiding,
[136] fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
657 as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 138 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

[p. 144-A]

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganized in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

[p. 144-B]

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
[177] these allotments were widely scattered and
[621] interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
178 date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[33] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[113] [33] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.96-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

[p. 145-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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192 wáhahávicI *Tuesday* (*slept twice after Sunday*); tapûharaihva?atu/páhihávicI *Wednesday* (*slept three times after Sunday*); tapûharaihva?atu/háyarokwihávicI *Thursday* (*slept four times after Sunday*); tapûharaihva?atu/mó?ove?kahávicI *Friday* (*slept five times after Sunday*); tĩhimAhravenItĩ[128] *Friday* (*rationing day*); tĩevuharavenItĩ *Saturday* (*little Sunday*); ?ĩkĩromon *New Year's Day* (*new* or *fresh year* [tomO may mean either *year* or *winter*]); ko·korá?/nóyopĩkhratĩhka?enA *Easter* (*when one customarily eats chicken eggs*); pĩkhrapiarihka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when there is big eating*); pĩkhrako·korá?a·rĩhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when one eats chicken*); pĩkhrawá·cinika?enA *Christmas* (pĩkhra- *when* + wa· (pI) *cedar* + ci- *with a point* + nika- *push into* + -?e, habitual verbal

[128] Up until about 1900 the Government used to issue clothes, groceries, utensils, meat, etc., to the Comanche on Fridays. This is more common than the alternative word for Friday above.

[657]

[p. 237-A]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.
553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
● 657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
[434] money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[113] [145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[A, 244-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXVI

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ tʌa$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu̲$_4$. 2. oku̲se?$_1$ Lawton-a$_2$ kwihne?nakwʌ̲$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ paraiboo?$_3$ kahníba?i̲$_5$. 3. suku̲kuse?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ kahnikʌ̲ku$_4$ waha$_5$ u$_6$ kahnitaikʌ̲ku$_7$ tʌhíma?eeyu̲$_8$. 4. sur̲ʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$ tʌhimʌ̲rabeni$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nobitʌ̲rʌni?eeyu̲$_6$. 5. set̲ʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tabeni$_4$ ukʌ̲hu$_5$ sʌmʌnokima?et̲ʌ$_6$, nobitʌ?eeyu̲$_7$. 6. wihnu$_1$ tʌehbuharabeni$_2$ pʌetsʌ̲kusʌ$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu̲$_4$, nah$_5$ hina$_6$ oyo?kʌ̲sʌ$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ wanakotse?a̲$_{11}$. 7. surʌʌse?$_1$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ wanakotse?a$_5$ petihtai?eeyu̲$_6$. 8. tʌasʌse?$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ wo?arʌhkapʌ̲ha$_3$, —wo?abi$_4$ ma?$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌr̲ʌ$_7$, u$_8$ betihta?eeyu̲$_9$. 9. nʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?se?$_2$ suhka$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ tʌhimana$_5$ urii$_6$ hanikʌ-

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

539 1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_3$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_4$. 2. There
657 to$_1$ (the) north of$_3$ Lawton$_2$ our$_4$ agent$_3$ had a house$_5$.
262 3. There$_1$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_8$ to$_4$ that$_3$ house$_6$ to$_7$ two$_5$ /that$_6$/ rooms$_7$. 4. /That$_1$/ our$_2$ agent$_3$ (on) ration day$_4$ tells$_6$ us$_5$ to camp$_6$. 5. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ that$_3$ day$_4$ all come moving$_4$ there$_5$, (they) camp$_7$. 6. Then$_1$ early$_3$ Saturday$_2$ morning$_3$ (we) get rations$_4$, just$_5$ what$_6$ /all$_7$/ one$_8$ eats$_9$ also$_{10}$ soap$_{11}$. 7. /Those$_1$/ some$_2$ women$_3$ throw away$_4$ that$_6$ soap$_5$. 8. Also$_1$ those ones$_3$ (are) saying$_{6,7}$ (of the) rice$_3$, —It (is)$_5$ worms$_{4}$,— (and) throw$_9$ it$_8$ away$_9$. 9. My$_1$ father$_2$ /that$_3$/ their$_4$ rations$_8$ fixes for$_7$ them$_6$. 10. Those

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Comanche Texts

ʔeeyu̲$_7$. 10. surʌʌse$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tabetʌku̲ʌtsi$_3$, pimoróo$_4$ 539
tʌkwʌ̲sʌ́ʔeeyu̲$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnaahkanʌ̲se$_2$
sʌmʌʔa$_3$ pimoróo$_4$ naʔnʌbeʔku$_5$ tʌháni$_6$ʔeeyu̲$_7$. 12. tʌasʌ-
se$_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌʔ$_3$ suhka$_4$ urii$_5$ hanikʌʔeeyu̲$_6$. 13. setʌ̲se$_1$
nʌʌmʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhkaʔrua$_5$ʔetʌ̲$_6$, tʌasʌ$_7$ tʌhka-
pʌ̲rua$_8$ʔetʌ̲$_9$, pʌʌ$_1$ kahnikʌ̲hu$_2$ pitu̲sʌ$_3$ nomia$_4$ʔeeyu̲$_5$.
14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimia$_4$ʔeeyu̲$_5$. 15. nʌmʌ$_1$
sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatu̲wahka$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌ̲nu̲$_6$. 16. subetʌ̲$_1$.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kill$_5$ cattle$_4$. 11. Four$_1$ 539
families$_2$ butcher$_6$ one$_3$ cow$_4$, dividing (it) evenly$_5$. 12. Also$_1$ 657
my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_6$ that$_4$ for$_6$ them$_5$. 13. Those various$_1$ 262
Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_5$ lots of$_4$ groceries$_5$, also$_6$ (they) get meat$_7$.
(then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$
those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ [829]
our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_6$ us$_5$. 16. That is
all$_1$.

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

● 657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although 764 a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches 171 rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine 114 (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

648 These factors brought the United States government and
657 the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Okla-
[131] homa. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (5 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, 434
the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite 177
routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reser- 427
vation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive [657]
cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left 177
the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and 427
it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been
driven deliberately on the reservation. The government [657]
reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a
drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual
to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that [657]
Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves
to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privi-
leges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed
their action with an appearance of legality; and they were
convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate
cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among
the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the
cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an ar-
rangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed.
There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no
reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort
of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory
system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a 177
monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and 427
asked the government to handle the business for them. The 657
government refused to assume the responsibility, but au-
thorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The
agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 348. [143]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

177 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885
427 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]
657

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6,
427 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation.
[435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6]
[426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] 4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease
[113] money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each
[127] year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] 5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 206. [113]

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10] 427 177 434 [796] [657]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11] 427 434 [177]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the 427 423 427 423 177

10. Superintendent J. A. Bustin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1939 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1938. [113]

11. Superintendent W. R. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 88 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1948. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise. 427 423 177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

427 423 423 657

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

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12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 208-216.

[113]

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427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken
427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians
434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with
465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income.
464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut
465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the
434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, 18.

[113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. 464 During the depression years the government provided most [657] of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants [657] provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income 241 for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes 434 a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the [231] Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in [171] this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the 657 government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural imple- 241 ments to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

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16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 392. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 241 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other [462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as [178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 231 236 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874, but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 845. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 223; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 64.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned. 657 231 236 [262] [286]

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own. 657 231 [177] [471] [261] [434]

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming. 657 241 [361]

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 273, and 1876, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 225.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1916. [113]
24. Dustin, op. cit, ms. II, 15-18, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provis-
241 ions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches
426 are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

241 The government policy of making farmers of the Indians
[657] has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians
[427] have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small
[427] for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

434 In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements.
657 In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who
622 were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a
342 new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his
[554] prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,479; leases, $330,500; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,183 (1942); service man dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,504.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 10, 11.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McOwen, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 228.

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In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, The *Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 33-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 186.

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657 871 [186] to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily [874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocaticnal courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort 657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government 871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm 874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill 242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

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dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38] 657 871 874 242

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year. 797 871 [657] [657]

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 13, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 353; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 88, 92.

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20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year
[871] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94
●657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 88.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1899, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.68; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended. St. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.48.

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ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa chil- 871
dren have attended public schools. The long range policy 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public schools as the principal educational agency. It was gen- [177]
erally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

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657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap be-
797 tween the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1918; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Bustin, op. cit., see. III, 11.

47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

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The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

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50. Nye, op. cit., 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

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exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants. 797 178

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51] 657 743

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52] 657 744 743

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to 657 177 178 [164]

51. Bustis, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

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657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
177
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
177 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the
182 Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

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THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but
●657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains.
121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113] 1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 98.

Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

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657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

[423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy,
829 what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is
[224] killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 24, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1498-1496.

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657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

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657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 657 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 578 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 181 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no 178 longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- [657] sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- [162] tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- 648 withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the 439 southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want any- 648 thing more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Twenty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 862.

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648 On the very day that the chief received this message he had been out with an army officer and a citizen in an effort to help them locate some horses which the Indians were accused of stealing. Whatever may have been his sins of the past the chief was then trying to preserve peace and control his people. But when this message came the Indian did not wait to investigate. The savage in him asserted itself. The information had come from a friend and, the fact is, it contained a great measure of truth! Orders for such a campaign had actually been received at Fort Chadburne and a few weeks later the expedition left under the command of Captain Calhoun. The orders called for a campaign against all Comanches, Northern and Southern alike, wherever they might be found. It is true that the officer did not propose actually to go on the reservation and attack the Indians there, but all Comanches met with outside of that vicinity were to be chastised.[7] The whole affair illustrates perfectly the lamentable lack of cooperation between the military and Indian forces so often in evidence along the frontier. It was unfortunate indeed that of all the times the army might have sent an expedition to punish the savages they chose to go at this critical time. News on the frontier was carried with the swiftness of a breeze and this report set the Indians wild. Sanaco fled with several hundred of his people and the sensible Ka-tem-e-see found it difficult to hold his own followers and prevent their joining in the stampede.

As soon as a measure of quiet was restored runners were sent to induce the renegades to return; but the band had scattered and only a few of these Comanches were ever reached and persuaded 657 to return. Because of this confusion the Comanches were first located on the Brazos reservation, but they were taken to their home on the Clear Fork about the first of May, 1855. By June 10, they numbered 249 with others reported to be coming in.[8]

Rivalry of the Chiefs; the Wild Bands

Thus the Comanche reservation was inaugurated by a stam-

[113] 7. Hill to Neighbors, January 11, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. The affair produced quite a tilt between the army officers and the Indian agents. The army men never did deny the broad scope of the order they were to act under, but they did contend that the troops were not the cause of the run-away since the Indians fled long before the troops arrived in their vicinity.

[113] 8. Neighbors to Mamppenny, June 10, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred
657 souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern
162 Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these In-
[554] dians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

657 It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed
[643] away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and
[578] frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies
657 to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to
273 promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than
657 at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that
[643] given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more
648 lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders.
[273] Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

657 Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He
648 would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 440; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 381; September 16, 1858, 371; October 30, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 323.

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657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger
186 than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

[113] 10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

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628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[65] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the go-
ing and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence
at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
628 settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they
might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their es-
cape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
657 the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the
wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858,
Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near
him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of
the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the
wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the
troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came
65 and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin
on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging
accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[65] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered
this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but
they informed him that they were resting from their arduous
journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

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65 [609] ience. When this was reported to Agent Leeper he called on the detail of troops stationed at Camp Cooper (only twenty men) to come at once. The lieutenant, Van Camp, came at once and surrounded the building. But to his chagrin and alarm, fifty or sixty warriors, armed with bows and guns, together with about thirty women and boys, armed with sticks and clubs, closed in around the cabin and took the side of the visitors so positively that Van Camp saw that a fight was ahead if he forced the issue. He ordered his men to prepare for action and a battle would have followed but for the fact that he discovered that his men had but one round of ammunition. They had used up nearly all their ammunition the day before in target practice. Thus, since it was impossible to apply force, all that was left for the lieutenant to do was to use persuasion. An agreement was patched up whereby the intruders were permitted to leave and this they did at once.

On the following day the Indians who had taken an active part in protecting the visitors came to Leeper and explained that they had offered resistance to the troops because they thought when they saw the soldiers approaching that all Indians on the reservation were going to be attacked and slain and they were determined to die fighting. Obviously they thought no such thing. Their bad faith in the whole matter was made more in evidence by their telling Leeper that they expected him to say that their "talk" was "good." In case he should not assent and say that their "talk" was "good" they would kill him and his family and leave the reservation.[13]

Naturally the army efficers and the Indian agents as well [609] were sorely vexed with the Indians because of this affair. About all that can be said in defense of the savages is that they regarded the intruders as visitors and felt that to abandon them to the soldiers while they were guests at the reservation would be treachery. Some of the older men and women tearfully begged Ka-tem-e-see not to force the issue, just let the man escape and he would not bother them any more.

Inadequate Protection

The lack of proper protection by the troops was largely the

[113] 13. Leeper to Neighbors, August 31, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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cause of the fear and uncertainty that clouded the lives of the reservation wards. During most of the year 1855 there were no troops closer than Fort Belknap, about fifty miles away, and none but infantry there. However, early in January, 1856, Camp Cooper was established on the reservation and for a time the Indians enjoyed a sense of security.[14] But after a few months, ill feeling developed between the army officers and the Indian agents, each side charging that the other would not cooperate. Both the army and the Indian records are well supplied with documents containing charges, denials and counter charges, but it would not be expedient or profitable to follow the quarrel in detail. No doubt the agents were prone to do much complaining and fault finding while the army men responded with a patronizing attitude and cynical remarks about the "beef eating" policy of the Indian department. Once Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper took it upon himself to count the Indians or to attempt to count them and, according to the agent, almost caused a panic by proceeding without the assent and knowledge of the agents. The Indians were ever shy in the presence of soldiers and army officers. Naturally Leeper and Nighbors regarded Stoneman's conduct as an insult for it implied that their reports were nct correct and that supplies were being fraudently drawn. Most of the army officers naturally sided with their fellow officer and the breach widened.[15]

In the spring of 1858, the army forces decided to remove Camp Cooper from its old location near the agency and Indian camps to a point some six or eight miles away from the agency. Leeper intimated that this was for the purpose of locating the post near a ranch owned by Captain Givens of the Second Dragoons.[16] However, it seems more plausible to conclude that the change was made as an act of spite and in retaliation against the charges made by the agents that the soldiers were not properly disciplined and were spending too much time among the Indians. When the agent protested at this move, complaining that he and his wards were left in a defenseless condition, the department commander of the

[113] 14. Baylor's report, September 12, 1854, Thirty-fourth Congress, Third Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 72. See also, George F. Price, Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry, (New York, 1885), p. 4.

[113] 15. George Stoneman, Captain Second Cavalry, Camp Cooper, to Neighbors, September 5, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, December 8, 1857, Ibid.

[113] 16. Leeper to Neighbors, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
[627] tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
[683] might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and
[627] her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

[113] 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 18. Neighbors to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 648.
[113] 19. Bayler to Neighbors, June 8, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1854. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

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177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. 157 Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 (648) At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

(113) 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

(113) 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

(113) 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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626 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses,
623 a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors.
622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty
[657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took
[434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people
[166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this
648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source
648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their
657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 15, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 624.

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648 but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, how-
657 ever tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic.
[166] When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

[113] 26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 9, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

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657 . . . We will attack the reserve with a sufficient force to *break it up*
648 regardless of consequences.[27]

657 In January, 1858, a select committee of the state senate criticized severely the United States Indian policy in the state, referring to the fact that only a fraction of the Comanche Indians were located on the reservation and that friendly Indians were in the habit of passing and repassing into the settlements. Thus, they contended, wild Indians were mistaken for friendly ones and the white people were thus placed at the mercy of marauding bands. In addition to their recommendations for better military protection the committee stated that the agents should not permit the Indians to leave the reservations.[28]

[648] If these charges should be accepted at their face value they would represent within themselves rather convincing proof against the reservation Indians, but the records show that the whole issue was so completely shot through with bias and personal animosity that one is unable to know what to accept or reject. Reference has already been made to the ill feeling that pervailed between Robert S. Neighbors, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, and some of the army officers. Furthermore, John R. Baylor, who seems to have been dismissed from the Indian service through Neighbor's influence, led in much of the agitation.

657 But regardless of the merits or injustice of the charges brought
648 against the reservation Indians feeling against them became so widespread and bitter that in February, 1858, Neighbors asked that special instructions be given the military to protect the reserve Indians from attacks by citizens. In May he made a trip to Washington to place the matter before the officials there, alleging that the soldiers could not be depended upon to protect the Indians because of the indifference of their officers.[29] In October, the sheriff of Young county, armed with a writ issued by the county court, set forth from Belknap with a posse of about forty citizens to arrest

[113] 27. W. G. Preston and others to M. Leeper, February 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. John R. Baylor, Comanche agent until he was dismissed in May, 1857, is among the signers of this letter to Leeper.

[113] 28. "Report of Select Committee on Indian Affairs," State Gazette, Austin, March 27, 1858. George R. Erath, Henry E. McCulloch, Forbes Brittin, J. W. Throckmorton, and E. R. Searborough composed the committee.

[113] 29. Neighbors to Mix, written at Washington, D. C., May 18, 1858. Neighbors complained that Major Paul, at Fort Belknap, Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper, and Captain Givens, who owned a ranch about six miles from the reservation, had opposed him all along and had tried to incite the citizens against the Indians.

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657 a reservation Indian charged with committing an attack on a young
648 man named Johnson some months before. On hearing of the approach of the party Neighbors called on Captain Palmer at Camp Cooper for an escort, advanced with the escort and met the sheriff's party some distance from the reservation and finally persuaded the party to give up their purpose. Whether the sheriff desisted because of the law in the case or by fear of the United States soldiers was a matter of doubt in the minds of observers.[30]

657 The complaints against the agents and the reservation Indians led to the sending of a special agent to investigate the administration of affairs. This agent, Thomas T. Hawkins, stayed at Camp Cooper for five weeks and every opportunity was given the complaintants to make their appearance and testify as to their charges; but few of them did so and nothing of consequence was submitted. Hawkins' report commended the agents and the administration of both reservations very highly. The critics alleged that the investigation was *ex parte* and that it was intended from the beginning to "whitewash" the record of the Indian administration in Texas; but we should have more sympathy with them if they had gone through with their part of the program and submitted whatever evidence they had.

Perhaps the strongest testimony in favor of the Comanches is
657 that of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson of the Ranger forces. They
648 came with their command to the vicinity of the reservation in the spring of 1858 when they and their officers were practically unanimous in the belief that the reservation Indians were committing depredations. These men were seasoned frontiersmen, had the frontiersmen's natural hatred and distrust of all Indians and were determined to secure evidence against the savages that could not be refuted. However, although they stayed for some time and sent out many scouts they found nothing whatever to confirm their suspicions. Ford states in his affidavit that when they found that
657 they could not secure any evidence against the Indians Captain Allison Nelson, one of the foremost critics of Neighbors, suggested to him that it would be very easy to make a trail leading into the reservation, but Ford would not hear to this. Nelson reported that the people in the vicinity of the reservation did not want it broken up and it was decided to abandon the idea. Ford quoted Nelson as

[113] 30. See the letter of a correspondent to the New York Herald, November 15, 1858.

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657 stating that Neighbors had always escaped from the attacks of his enemies, but that men were after him "now" who were going to get his job.[31]

648 Naturally so much excitement and ill will inspired cruelty. In
657 May, 1858, an inoffensive old Comanche was slain by a party of white men who wanted to get his horses and took advantage of the fact that he was away from the reservation without an escort or
000 pass.[32] Late in December, a little party of friendly Indians from the Brazos reservation, known as Choctaw Tom's party, were attacked in their camp at night near Palo Pinto, whither they had gone by the consent of their agent and where they were regarded by the people of the immediate community as friendly and dependable. In fact, Choctaw Tom, the leader of the party, had returned to the reservation, but some of his people had remained near Palo Pinto in order to accept an invitation of some citizens of the community to stay a little longer and hunt bear with them.[33] The party that attacked the Indians was composed of citizens of Erath and neighboring counties further down the Brazos valley. They alleged that these Indians had been committing depredations but there is very little foundation for this contention.

The killing of these Indians created general excitement along the frontier because of the fear that their tribesmen would retaliate. The men who made the unwarranted attack on Choctaw Tom's party were never arrested although the governor by special proclamation called for their arrest. The grand jury of Palo Pinto county refused to indict the men but instead, indicted Jose Maria, the Anadarko chief, for horse stealing and in their report stated that the reservations were nuisances and that the people ought to take up arms
648 against the Indians.[34] "Gatherings" of frontiersmen began to take place and many white men who had up to this time maintained a neutral or indifferent attitude began to join in the clamor against the savages. No doubt many of these men felt that the party from

[113] 31. Affidavit of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson, November 22, 1858. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 32. Shirley to Barnard, May 6, 1858; Evans to Leeper, May 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 33. J. J. Sturm, farmer at the Brazos agency, to Ross, December 28, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Sess'on, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, Vol. I, p. 582. See also, the statement of Daniel Thornton, Peter Garland and others who attacked the Indians, made at Palo Pinto, January 4, 1859, ibid, p. 604.

[113] 34. A copy of the report of the Grand Jury may be found in the Runnels Papers, Texas State Archives.

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648 Erath county had made a mistake in attacking the peaceful Indians, but they believed that the kinsmen of these Indians as well as the Comanches would retaliate and that there could be no peace on the frontier until both reservations were broken up. The agitators took advantage of this state of mind and never lost an opportunity to appeal to the fears and prejudices of the frontier people. It must not be understood that these men were "the very worst frontier characters" as the Indians agents sometimes charged. Among their leaders were John R. Baylor, former Indian agent; Peter Garland, of Erath county; R. W. Pollard, of Palo Pinto county; J. B. (Buck) Barry, of Bosque county, all prominent citizens in their communities and highly regarded by most of their neighbors. The years of bitter struggle with the Indians had hardened the hearts of the frontier people. As one of the more conservative of them has written in his memoirs, the frontier people were "always crazed at the sight of Indians and determined to kill,"[35] and when the safety of their families was involved they were wont to act first and investigate afterwards.

[65] However, notwithstanding these "gatherings" of frontiersmen with all their fear and frenzy no drastic action was taken during the winter of 1858-1859, which is to be accounted for in part, at least, by the firm attitude maintained by the army officers who were guarding the reservations. The immediate objective of these threatening movements had been the "lower" or Brazos reservation. This was not because the white men regarded these Indians as the more culpable but rather because they felt that both the Brazos and Comanche reservations must be broken up and the Brazos Indians being the more numerous and powerful were regarded as the chief obstacle to be overcome.

657 Long before this crisis came the agents had felt that the Indians should be moved from Texas and as early as the summer of 1857 Neighbors had recommended that they be taken to the Indian Territory.[36] But the authorities in Washington did not give any consideration to the proposal and it was dropped for the time. Then came the demonstrations against the Indians during the winter and spring of 1859, and Neighbors again insisted that if the Indians

[113] 35. "Memoirs of George B. Erath," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 18.
[113] 36. Neighbors to Mix, August 5, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 were not removed they would be driven away by the mad settlers. The government at Washington was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the agents became frantic in their effort to secure authority to do what they knew was essential to save their wards from destruction. Finally, on March 30, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the Indians would be moved in the fall or winter following. But this announcement did not satisfy the white people and Neighbors continued his efforts to secure authority to remove his wards at once.[37] Neighbors said that he and his associates had "stood their ground" so far, but that they wanted their superiors to share with them the responsibility for determining what should be done when the next crisis came, as it certainly would come. A little later came a resolution signed by a hundred and fifty men demanding that Neighbors and the resident agents, Ross and Leeper, resign.[38]

648 The situation was already critical enough when an army officer by an imprudent act provoked a disturbance that removed the last ray of hope for peace on the frontier until the Indians were removed. A Brazos reservation Indian named Fox, had been killed by a party of Jack county rangers in brutal fashion. This officer led a party of reservation Indians in search of Fox's slayers and caused great consternation by escorting them into the town of Jacksboro one night. This incident gave the radical party an excellent torch and they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement.[39] The citizens at once organized themselves into "ranger companies" and surrounded both reservations, threatening the Indians and their agents day and night and preventing the savages from gathering up
000 their stock.[40] On May 23, John R. Baylor at the head of about 250 men came onto the Brazos reservation; but the soldiers stood their ground and the citizens withdrew, not however, until they had picked a fight with some of the Indians. The Indians pursued them for some distance and considerable fighting took place.[41]
648 The settlers declared that they would raise a thousand men and take

37. Mix to Neighbors, March 30, 1859. Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 2, p. 681. Neighbors to Mix, April 11, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
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38. "Resolutions," April 25, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
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39. J. R. Worrall of Jacksboro, June 1, 1859, to the Editor, The Dallas Herald, June 15, 1859.
[113]
40. Neighbors to Mix, May 12, 1859, and Ross to Neighbors, May 12, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.
[113]
41. Report of Captain J. B. Plummer, of the United States Army. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.
[113]

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648 both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

657 Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

[162] The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches [422] left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches [425] took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

[113] 42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 665-671.

[113] 43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 653.

[113] 44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen 657 the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning 000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made successful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and 657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The experience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal 171 Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 114.

46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 14, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 701. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

[113]

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657 171 the savages were loathe to accept the monotonous life of farming on the reservation. The old and decrepit might gladly stay but the spirited young warriors would hie away taking with them when they could their families and friends. But the record made by these reservation Comanches proved that the nomadic tribes were amenable to progress and the equals intellectually of their more sedate kinsmen of the progressive agricultural tribes.

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101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

The *pɛnatɜkə* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority 619 621 of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended 657 in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because 177 101 of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing 619 621 the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of 101 Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsuɛka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 69 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-101 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* 619 are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma 621 communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatəkə* continue to be the southern- 101
most of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted 621
the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the 177
process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progres- 619
sive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in 621
contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might 184
be expected, the southern band, the *penatəkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatəkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nəkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatəkə* for 101
the southern people; rather they call them *bənitaiβo*, which means "eat corn 619
like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred 621
to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches 184
who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did 619
not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. 621
During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage 184
of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and 648
their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in 721
Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the 619
northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this 621
time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern 184
Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 721
657

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619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
●657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in
166 order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

619 Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
621 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
184 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
115 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

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tesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded. In due 000
time some of the Indians wanted credit until Grass Money payment 657
time. The government paid fifty dollars twice a year to each man, 452
woman, and child. This represented interest on tribal funds the gov- 434
ernment was holding in trust.

Carrying the Indians' accounts until Grass Money time brought 527
on an unlooked-for complication. We had naturally supposed that when they received their pay, the Indians would return to their allotments. But the campout on the reservation of hundreds of families was too much like the old tribal life for them to return readily to their lonesome allotment camp.

They could feast, visit, gamble, and hold horse races, and those that drank were supplied by the whiskey peddlers. Then too there were many visitors from other tribes, as they knew food, beef, and whiskey would be plentiful.

To get our money we had to go to the reservation and collect 452
while they still had it. They were pleased to see us, and they paid readily. They wanted to keep their credit good, but putting aside the necessary amount so as to pay up on their return was too much planning for them. That was especially true of the drinkers.

My first collection trip was successful and uneventful, and from then on it was my regular chore, and an interesting one. I would be gone from one to two days if the payment was held near the town of Cache, and longer when it was held near Ft. Sill at what was called "The Stone Store."

When death struck our little community, we were poorly pre- 000
pared. Two women and one baby died in a single night. All the needs for a funeral were lacking—no undertaker, no caskets, no cemetery, and no preacher.

Early the next morning caskets were put together from yellow pine and brought to our store and set on sawhorses. There the townswomen covered, padded, and lined them. Black calico was used for the covering of the adult caskets, and white muslin for the baby's. Quilting cotton was used for the padding and pillow, and bleached muslin for the lining.

Handles intended for toolboxes were screwed on the sides of the adult caskets by Dad after the women had tacked the black calico in place. Permission to bury the bodies on the claim adjoining the town on the north was granted by an old German homesteader.

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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
101 tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657]
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595]
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343]
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they
seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

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One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for "*to-o-pac*." (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been "*pina*" for "sugar four bits," "*hocoon*" for "matches five cents," "*mo-be-po-dra*" for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, "*Heepet?*" or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw. 191

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject. 657 871 657

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?" 871 171

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old—a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong—neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

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657 871 171 men but had never spoken to one. I had a great fear of them. They kept us in a circle, with our parents on the outside, and we couldn't run to them for comfort. As I sobbed and cried, I became aware that someone was talking to me—calling me by name—talking loud in our tongue.

"I began looking around, and it was my grandfather. He was a very old man, and he stood back away from the circle of white men and didn't look toward us children. He didn't want the white men to know he was talking to one of us, and neither our white guards nor the Indian ones knew our tribal language.

"He talked loud, so I would hear him above the screaming and crying of the other children. 'Daughter, the white man is all-powerfull' he shouted. 'There is nothing we can do to help you. They are going to take you away and put you in school. They won't really harm you. They want to teach you the white man's way. Should you run away, they will catch you, bring you back, and punish you.

" 'There is a way you can defeat the white man. Learn everything well he tries to teach you. Learn everything about the white man's way. Learn to speak his language. Then you will have defeated the white man. You will be as wise as he in the white man's way; and he won't like it because you will know also the Indian's way.'

"I stopped my sobbing. I stood as straight as my old, old grandfather, and I did as he told me. I learned to speak the white man's language without accent, and I have had a better education than most white people. I mastered every course they offered me. I was always properly behaved and they treated me well. I was able to help many Indian children adjust to the white man's school. But never have I forgiven the white man for the brutal way they rounded up us children and separated us from our parents.

"They had not let our parents know they were coming for us. Had our parents known, they said they would have taken us to the mountains, where no one would ever find us."

657 871 Similar roundups must have taken place among the Comanches in the early Reservation period—the late seventies, the early eighties, maybe into the nineties. They could even have used the army. It was handy, there at Fort Sill. It was Indian Bureau policy—an unfortunate policy forced upon a people with thousands of generations of freedom and independence behind them.

In my time there were older brothers and sisters who had traveled

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the school trail and who softened the emotional jolt on the little ones. 657
But it must still have been a terrible shock for any young child to be 871
taken from his camp home and hauled by hack and train to faraway places, there to be tossed neck and heels into the white man's way of life and forced to eat his food . . . sleep alone in bed . . . and learn life from his books.

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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue. 643 [114]

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area. 595 643 177

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law. 643 595 657

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

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643 choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and
595 build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass
657 Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

[186] It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company.
[563] In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

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simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [613]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

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595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 855 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of 648
mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, 726
would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is defi- 657
nitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, con- 871
cerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade terri- 191
tory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English 871
and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in- 657
law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister 657
and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I be- 871
lieve, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keeichi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Ana- 551
darko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first [177]
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money.

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City.

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature.

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds.

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the

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648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land
648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
923 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white
186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[534] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

283 I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
[177] dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
457 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

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CA-VO-YO, GIVER OF NAMES

I NEVER KNEW but one of the old Comanches that carried the distinction of being a Name-Giver. He was Ca-vo-yo. When the Comanche roll was made out, soon after the surrender in 1876, he was given the birth year of 1840. That only meant the government clerk figured he looked to be thirty-six years old. I remember that when I finally sorted him out as an individual, I judged him to be about the age of my father, a Civil War veteran crowding seventy. 553 127 457

I must have seen Ca-vo-yo first in March, 1902, but then he was one of a large number of older Comanches, whom I termed, for my own convenience, the "old fellows." That meant to me that they were old enough to have been warriors who probably had fought at the battle of Adobe Walls and been present when the surrender took place at Fort Sill. 123

In due time most of the old fellows became individuals to me. I learned their names, where their camps were located, the number of wives each had, if any, and their dispositions toward the white man; and being a trader's son, I learned of their bill-paying reliability, in the event credit was extended to them between Grass Money payments. If a trader extended credit, he needed to know all the wives by name and keep a record of what each wife purchased, though he charged the total bill to the husband.

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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
[871] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
[701] battles.

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The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the pris- 726
oners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better 657
than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, 726
and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we 439
opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as 427
Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian [435]
Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal 137
grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass 657
and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was dis- 427
tributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them 434
that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they [435]
had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

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231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment
[368] area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

361 There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in in-
443 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
[657] He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated
[452] on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.

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camp was southeast of the Red Store, on a dry run that had a good 452
deal of timber along both sides of its gouge.

Nearly every payment, we collectors would hear of someone being 452
caught collecting on the reservation by a couple of deputy U.S. mar- 657
shals, who had taken his money and pistol-whipped him. Until this payment, I had never been approached by a marshal. While they carried commissions, presumably they were on the trader's payroll.

I don't think I had ever been noticed before. I went to the camps 452
of our customers only. Sometimes it would take two or three trips over a couple of days to catch everyone. When through, I hit for home. Often I was carrying considerable money and I didn't feel like visiting.

On this occasion, I was about to miss the Per-da-sop-py camp, and one of the girls—the children had all been to school—called me. I rode to the tent entrance, dismounted, and, holding my horse, waited till she brought out what she owed. As she was paying, a single marshal 657
riding by saw the transaction and ordered me off the campgrounds. 452

We were about a half-mile from the gate, and he rode on ahead. I felt sure he was looking for his partner. I had visions of losing the $300 to $400 of the store's money I was carrying, and being pistol-whipped besides. I had seen men pistol-whipped by officers, and I didn't relish the prospect.

I had already collected from Wer-que-yah, knew his camp was 609
hidden by trees, and rode directly to him. Excited, I told him my story and what I feared was going to happen to me. I knew either he or his son, Enoch, owned a good Colt .44. I asked to borrow it.

He began shaking his head. "Gun no wano! Gun heap bad!" he exclaimed over and over. "Horse heap fast!"

He jumped up, motioned for me to follow him, and started on foot down the bank of the run. Finding a place where the bank was low, he crossed over and continued down the east side. In a hundred or so yards we came to where the run left the reservation, near where it emptied into West Cache Creek.

Someone had pulled the staples holding the wire from a couple of posts, and the wire sagged almost to the ground. My friend stood on the wire and I rode across. I thanked him and hurried on my way. I wasn't by any means over my scare. I rode in the Cache Creek timber as far as I could and put my horse to a long lope—ready to start him running at the first sign of pursuit.

During the summer, a man by the name of Smith had started a 000

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I lit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would
657 have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

657 These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it
452 seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested —just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way
273 439 out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

657 We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

[452] But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legiti-
525 mate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as 525
long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the
money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' 527
hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late sum-
mer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and
horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat [262]
beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could [273]
indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whis-
key peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't [574]
have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior
age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted [198]
or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other
and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the
old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an 443
Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with 452
that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with
the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and
most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, 000
and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen
about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the
odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that after-
noon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark.
Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants 452
from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up
camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could
catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reserva-* 423
tion than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of 657
land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the
area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these
tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one
at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed [443]
trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the [366]
Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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423 principal agent was at Anadarko, but for a time sub-agents were
657 maintained at both Fort Sill and Cache. One of Quanah Parker's daughters, Laura Neda, married A. C. Birdsong, an agent at Cache. The actual Comanche Reservation period ended in 1901, when the members of the tribe took individual allotments.

123 In 1907 I quit working at the store and went away to school. I visited my parents from time to time and often saw some of my Indian friends in town during these visits. But I never saw Wer-que-yah again until late in the fall of 1919. He farmed some of his Post Oak Creek bottomland and had grain for his beloved horses in the winter. The day I saw him, he was selling a wagonload of husked yellow corn. The Record Book shows that he died the following September. Peet-So survived him by twenty years.

123 Some years after his death, my mother told me of a visit he and
609 Peet-So made to her and Dad's home. He had heard of my marriage and that we had a boy baby. He was able to make Mother understand that they wanted to see a picture of my baby.

Mother invited them in. Wer-que-yah and Peet-so sat together, and Mother said they oohed and ahed as though it had been a picture of one of their own grandsons whom they had never seen. It was shortly after the noon hour, and, learning that they hadn't eaten, Mother prepared them a meal. After they left, she was unable to find the photo. Apparently they considered it a gift. They may even have asked for it.

609 About ten years ago I was told yet another story. Glenn Hagar, a druggist at Chattanooga, was the teller of the tale. His father's farm was near the Wer-que-yah home. On days when they were not needed on the farm, he and his older brother often went to the Indian's home and played with his younger sons.

There were trees to climb, Post Oak Creek to wade and swim in, fish to be caught, and cool, clear spring water to drink. There were none of these things on their father's prairie farm.

Mr. Hagar's father's people lived just west of the present town of Faxon. His father's half-sister became seriously ill with typhoid fever. There were serious doubts as to whether she would recover. One morning, while the parents were waiting for the doctor to arrive, Wer-que-yah drove into their yard.

Tying his team, he came to the house and asked about the little

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ancestors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to congratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist. He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient. "Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanksgiving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the overcurious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
657 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
423 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead
177 of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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professed to feel it was all government land, of which the Indians were given the first pick. 77 [157] [423]

The meager description of the Bone-setter, compared to the detailed description of the horse he was riding, fed the flames of those who resented Indians and everything concerning them. They promptly accused Jim of laying a false scent. In number, sorrel horses are in the minority compared to other colors. The dissenters contended that while officers were hunting for a fugitive mounted on a tired sorrel horse, the hunted, on a fresh horse of a different color furnished by Jim, would escape.

Of course, there never was anything to indicate positively that the Bone-setter was a fugitive, nor did any representative of the law ever appear, hunting a mysterious cowboy. The fugitive idea was a product of minds wishing to believe the worst of anyone who gratuitously aided an Indian.

Some insisted that the mysterious Bone-setter hadn't left, but was being harbored by Jim. They wished to form a posse and make a search along West Cache Creek, on Jim's allotments, for the secretive cowboy's camp.

The wildest theory brought forward was the idea of the good Samaritan's having been done away with by one of Jim's squaws. This presumed that Albert regained partial consciousness about the time the Bone-setter finished his job and cried out in a delirium of pain. A nearby squaw used her butcher knife, the theory went, before Jim could rescue their benefactor.

To some, this explained the disappearance of the Bone-setter and the exactness of the description of the sorrel horse. The body could be disposed of in either of two ways. Stripped of its clothing, it could be weighted down in one of the deep holes along Cache Creek. There the garfish would soon dispose of the flesh, while an unbranded horse turned into Jim's herd would go unnoticed. Another suggestion had Jim stripping the body, tying it on a horse, and making a night trip into the Pasture Reserve. There the body could be left for the coyotes and buzzards to dispose of. (When the Pasture Reserve was opened in 1906 with a family on practically every quarter-section, a number of skeletons were found, one only about four miles from Chattanooga. A man named Richardson found it on his homestead. The writer went out the next morning, with the sheriff and county attorney, and helped gather up the bones.)

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [457] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

33: Mooney E-3,4 (no date) 1907
N06 Comanche N06

175 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned
131 under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

175 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed
131 over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
175 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and
648 extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made
657 their first treaty with the Government, and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned
131 reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874-75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be popu-
[165] lous on account of their wide range. Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal Trust Area

657
161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 657
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1948.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

197 175 131 173 231 178 361 311 181 703 262

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

175 648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

(657)

35: United States . W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

642
659

GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162	Population:	
	Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300
162	Labor Force:	
464	Total:	551
	Unemployed:	125
	Unemployment rate:	23%
871	Education: (tribal estimates)	
	Average grade level achieved:	9th
	Number graduated from college in 1972:	11

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year [874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
657 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were
658 made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 363.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 88.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.88; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa chil- 871
dren have attended public schools. The long range policy 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public schools as the principal educational agency. It was gen- [177]
erally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap be-
tween the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 19; Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.
47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

/page 35 continued/

K most of the well known families of the tribe, descendents of chiefs,
665 prominant preachers, and some families made prominant by the army in the past hundred years. The opposition includes Peyotists as Christians. The slogans used by them are anti-graft and hucksterism for the most part. The party in power has, to my knowledge, made no defense campaign except that of a name calling variety in a disorganizing way. They have tried to convince Peyotists that the opposition group is anti-Peyote but this has had no effect as some prominant peyotists are in the opposition. Leaving the whys of factionalism
K [554] aside, the present conflict can be seen as a further breakdown of traditional status and power held by a certain few families. In the furor many accusations are flung about which would seem to reflect the above mentioned split between acculturationist and traditionalist but which in reality are tags to cover up the real intent of both sides.

My own opinion, colored perhaps by the partisanship of my informants, my own background etc., is that at the moment the opposition aristocracy does have the more able leadership. Of course this is never a permanent situation.

C The picture presented by the Comanches is not only different
665 but /36/ also more difficult to grasp. The Comanches have also objected to the present business council and have withdrawn from the
C federated tribal council entirely. But the Comanches do not have a
554 traditional group of good families which have provided leadership in the past. The present leaders of the move to separate are mainly young men of "no family" with a sprinkling of respected older leaders. But even the older leaders of the Comanches cannot be traced back to prominent families. In general, the prestige due to descent is not active among the Comanches. In fact, with the exception of the Parker family (lionized by the Whites) it is difficult to find out who the descendants of the chiefs are.

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

/page 36 continued/

C K 829 665 According to the other view such earlier factioning is recognized but felt to be unimportant. It is maintained that the unity of the tribes was not impaired until during the past four or five years. The older men were sensible and had great integrity. But the age group most active today are the product of a period in which people learned to lean on the government. These men, so the argument runs, are weaklings because they have been able or even allowed, to solve something for themselves. In other words it is a "lost generation" theory of sorts. The remedy for this state of affairs would be for a withdrawal of the Indian Service from virtually all areas of Indian life. /37/It is felt that a sink and swim period would be painful but would ultimately make the Indian self sufficient.

One is led to consider a view which explains present phenomena in the light of earlier cultural conditioning as well as one which attempts to explain in terms of exterior factors acting upon the community in the recent past. The ruminations of the informants on their own problems are not far from the thought processes of the anthropologist analyzing them. Both lines of thought seem rational and realistic if a trifle too pat. But a merging of the two might also be an easy out. Perhaps unfortunately, my own inclination, is to fashion an answer which would satisfy both sides of the argument to a greater or lesser extent.

C K 665 795 It has been mentioned above that the composition of the factions does not correspond with religious cleavages. On the other hand the present picture does not indicate that the Peyotists who are active in politics play a role equal to that of the non-Peyotists. Although there are indications that prominent Peyotists have been active and vocal political leaders in the past this does not appear to be the case at the present. Whether the present picture is a significant one is too early to say.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 37 continued/

C K 665 795 Of the four factions, two Kiowa and two Comanche, only one does not have a Peyotist in a leading position (opposition Kiowas). The Comanche separatists have a Peyote man but it is now almost an exaggeration to say that he is a leader although he has been in the past. Both the anti-separationists and the present Kiowa faction controlling the business council have one Peyotist each in a leadership position. In one case the Peyotist does not speak much, prefers not to take strong positions and lets his son, who has no clear religious affiliations, do most of the talking. The anti-separationist Peyotist is an elderly man who tries to play both sides. He is sympathetic to the separationists as well as to his own party and maintains that he is on the side he is on because of claims made by friendship ties. In any event the actions of the active as well as politically inactive (but prominent) Peyotists seems to be one of avoiding any political action which will place them irrevocably in a certain direction.

While there is no ready explanation for this, especially because we do not know whether Peyotists have always acted this way in politics, a look at one Peyote group and the affiliations of its members will serve to show why the individuals may be afraid of strong political commitments.

The Peyotist attempts to be a peaceful man and if dissension occurs within his local group of co-religionists he is made quite C 665 795 uncomfortable. John Pahdoponi withdrew from political life because he did not want to struggle with the new group coming into power (the present business council). Because of his dislike of the present council he favors separation as a means of side stepping the issue. Some of his former close associates are also active separationists. On the other hand one of his "brothers" in the Peyote community is a leader in the anti-separationist group. To add to this quandry,

/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
592 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[608] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
777 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 43 continued/

In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

/44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Five

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA
To Governor Fernando de la Concha
Chihuahua, December 31, 1793

I Have received the official letter from Your Lordship numbered 449 of the 19th of November in which you advised me of the impending march to attend the council which the Comanche Indians had called to meet along the Colorado River for the purpose of naming a general to replace the deceased Ecueracapa. And I received the later letter numbered 458 in which Your Lordship informs me that the election by universal approbation of the assembled rancherias fell on Captain Encanaguané, whose suitability leaves nothing to be desired, according to what Your Lordship says. 175 643 [666]

I approve all Your Lordship has done on this occasion, of that which I have been informed; and [I am also pleased] with the deference accorded Your Lordship by the Comanche Nation and the respect which you showed their new leader, and the other Indians in line who came to the council. 175 648

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua December 31, 1793

Pedro de Nava

Señor Fernando de la Concha

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pinəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto*.

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced 663 the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of 171 the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill [535] this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr 000 Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 113 Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59. [17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902. [19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

[pp 304-end, not processed]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously deceased individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[26] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[27] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[28] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[26] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[27] Tom Garth, field notes.
[28] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

gate the general cultural background of the Shoshones and to determine, if possible, the basic legal patterns of the Shoshones for comparative reference to those revealed by the Comanches. The comparative results and inferences may be found in Appendix A of this memoir.

With the enlisted interest of the American Council of Learned Societies resulting from the findings in Comanche and Shoshone culture, the Committee on Law History set up a project on American Indian law. In 1935 and 1936 the Committee projected a study of Cheyenne political and legal institutions which was carried out by the present author in collaboration with Karl Llewellyn. Cheyenne institutions reveal much in common with those found in Comanche society, for the economic base of both cultures is similar. Cheyenne culture is more sophisticated than Comanche; less adolescent, one might say. Comparatively, Cheyenne behavior represents a higher level of institutionalization, thus providing to a degree an extension of Comanche trends. The Cheyenne materials are being prepared for separate publication.

121 In studying Comanche legal institutions one must proceed by means of
●671 case histories. The Comanches underformalized their conception of their
153 own behavior. To them legal action was merely an individual response to a
128 threatening circumstance. It was not the playing of a role in a set legal institution. Thus the Comanches had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules. So, when the Comanche informant is asked such a question as this, "What was the rule when one man ran off with another's wife?", the answer comes in this form, "Well, I don't know about that. But I can tell you what happened when my uncle stole Horned Toad's wife." The Comanche and the case-trained American lawman proceed in like manner. What holds perforce for the Comanche should hold for the study of all primitive law. Legal behavior is *behavior* and should be treated as such. Malinowski has long since laid down the canon that behavior-in-fact is by no means in accord with the verbalized ideal to which a society may may give lip-service. The verbalized ideal is an important cultural fact when such ideal exists, but the actual conduct of a people is of more fundamental count. The verbalized ideal of the Comanche is the supremacy and free action of the individual. Case histories, when piled up, show that there were limiting legal mechanisms at work, however. The liberal use of case histories in the text is not for the purpose of providing interesting anecdote. The histories hold within themselves the juice of life-situations, revealing the sway and counter-play of emotion and motive, demonstrating the broad range of variability in conduct in given situations. Case histories give the native's coloring to the report, transmitting to the reader the impondrabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

IS THERE LAW? AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

We are now ready to address that most vital problem related to social conduct: What are the techniques for adjudicating grievances and conflicts of interests? The practical absence of a recognized authority makes the machinery relied upon by the Comanches just that much more significant for the student of jurisprudence and social control. Here we are confronted with legal patterns which are more than mere custom, with norms as to which there is no binding force of hypertrophied reciprocal obligations as in Melanesia, norms which exist without the sustaining force of courts, or police, or other expression of state sovereignty. Since sibs were lacking and associations nearly so, there were no permanent organizations which functioned as equivalents of what we know as government.

No prevailing concept of the nature of law as given in current definitions will fit the facts as we find them in Comanche society. The ideology of orthodox political science and jurisprudence, expressed in terms of "commands of the sovereign," "rules of the state," "an obligation imposed by the law-maker" have no meaning here, nor in the data pertaining to most primitive societies. Not even so sociologically oriented a definition of the law as that advanced by the late Justice Cardozo serves to fit the needs of an anthropological approach to jurisprudence. For when he writes that a principle or rule of law is "a principle or rule of conduct so established as to justify a prediction with reasonable certainty that it will be enforced by the courts if its authority is challenged,"[1] we must conclude: "no courts; no laws."

Professor Malinowski's "anthropological definition of law," to wit, "civil law, the primitive law governing all the phases of tribal life, consists of a body of binding obligations, regarded as a right by one party and acknowledged as a duty by the other, and kept in force by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity inherent in the structure of their society," is really so meaningless from a legal point of view as to be useless in the development of a comparative jurisprudence.[2]

In Comanche society reciprocity is not developed to an exaggerated

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[1] Benjamin Cardozo, *The Growth of the Law* (New York, 1924), p. 52. Compare also MacIver's "Law is the body of rules which are recognised, interpreted and applied to particular situations by the courts of the state." R. I. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York, 1932), p. 272.

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), p. 58. For the debunking of Malinowski's *Crime and Custom* see William Seagle, *Primitive Law and Professor Malinowski* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 275–290.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

●671 degree, so that Malinowski's approach is even less applicable here than it
121 might be elsewhere.

Without courts and without strongly developed obligations of reciprocity to serve as criteria of law, what then is there in Comanche practice that can be identified with what can reasonably be considered "law"? Professor Radcliffe-Brown and Professor Malinowski are at one in agreeing that rules of law are distinguishable from rules of custom as such. The point of distinction is their point of departure. The road taken by Radcliffe-Brown is the road which points us on the way to our working hypothesis. Brown's essential point is that customs (of various types) and laws are both social norms, distinguishable not on the basis of content, but in accordance with the type of sanction which is attached to the norm. However, the tripartate categories (with their subdivisions) of social sanctions developed by Radcliffe-Brown did not prove to be useful in this study.[3]

121 The identification of the legal sanction is the moot problem in the discovery of a working hypothesis for law in society. Interestingly enough, it is in a one-time conceptualization of law formulated by Professor Malinowski that the idea to be developed in this study was found. The hypothesis arrived at by the present author is a development and refinement of a principle since discarded (or forgotten?) by him. In Malinowski's first work he wrote, "A given social norm or rule is legal if it is enforced by a direct, organized, and definite social sanction."[4] This was in 1912. "Direct," "organized," and "definite" do not definitely clarify the nature of the sanctions Malinowski had in mind, but the attributes of the legal sanctions are indicated in these words.

Customs do have sanctions of different kind and degree, and since what we know as law consists in some perceptible external pressure restraining men or coercing them to conform to certain prescribed standards of conduct, then if such coercive sanctions exist in primitive societies, we are confronted

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[3] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Sanctions* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 13, 1935), pp. 531–534. Also *Primitive Law* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1935), pp. 202–206. The author is also directly indebted to Dr. Brown for stimulating his thinking on the role of sanctions with a lucid discussion of his (Radcliffe-Brown's) concepts in personal conversation in the summer of 1932.

The limitations of the categorical approach of Professor Radcliffe-Brown are clearly shown when it is applied to a specific problem as has been done by Dr. John H. Provinse in his study of *The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture* (*Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed., Fred Eggan, Chicago, 1937), pp. 341–374.

[4] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Family Life of the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1912), p. 115.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

121 society, is a legal sanction. The same would apply to similar actions of any group within the society toward members of the group, even when the sanction is applied for the violation of rules which are peculiar to the particular class of persons belonging to the punishing group.

121 The Comanche materials which are to follow serve to demonstrate (as one example) that in primitive society the application of law is not limited 671 to the "political state," whatever that may be, nor even to government. When this fact is realized it will also be seen that "law" in our own society is somewhat more than has ordinarily been allowed. "Primitive law" is the henchman of Legal Realism.[6]

[6] See, Roscoe Pound, *The Call for a Realistic Jurisprudence* (Harvard Law Review, vol. 44, 1930), pp. 697–711. And, K. N. Llewellyn, *A Realistic Jurisprudence—The Next Step* (Columbia Law Review, vol. 30, 1930), pp. 431–461.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1] 684 183 671

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law. 562 671 581

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed. 581 578 183

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"As soon as they started to carry out the corpse, Chew Up followed after them, repeating his warnings to his aunt. 'Don't wail,' he commanded the bereaved woman. 'If you wail for him, I will kill you. Go bury him, and when you have done it, go back to your own people.' 627x 754 683

"The evil medicine man was buried unmourned.

"That night Chew Up himself went to stay with his elder brother. The young man was so sick that he could drink no water—always the sign of a person at death's door. All night long Chew Up held his brother in his arms, until—just as the white dawn came—he died. They wailed for him, and they mourned. The father of Chew Up was a war chief and a rich man. Chew Up explained, 'I am but following the pattern set by my father.'

"What lay behind it all was this: the medicine man uncle had caught his nephew lying with his wife—not in actual intercourse, however. For this reason he had put the curse on him. *Because the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it.* (Author's italics.)

"Just as all this quieted down, Chew Up's other elder brother came home from war. (Chew Up was the youngest, the one who died was the middle brother.) The eldest brother admonished Chew Up. 'You have committed the unheard-of thing: you have killed our uncle.'

"And Chew Up replied, 'Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?'

"To this his elder brother retorted, 'You have done something terrible. You shall not live long.'

"Chew Up answered back, 'I am going to live a long time.'

"The elder brother was killed not long after, and Chew Up lived to be an old, old man."

The thing that strikes hardest in this history of Chew Up is the way in which it emphasizes so completely the non-criminal nature of homicide. But it is also breath-taking in how fast it moved through the ordinary middle-stage of beseeching the sorcerer to remove the curse. "You are a medicine man, why don't you doctor him?" Not an entreaty, but a sarcasm. Then the death-blow. Here the sorcerer faced a tribal strong-man, a man of wealth and position with the pattern of family pride to uphold. How differently the law worked with such a man on the aggrieved's end of the stick than when it was put in the hands of Salt Worn Out to wield for justice's sake! [671 682]

Comanche law, because it was a personal and a kin law, *did* swing upon valor and guts. It was a matter of out-weighing whatever power the offender had on his side. In cases of sorcery this was usually done in the attempt to throw counter-medicine into the scale. But unless the counter-medicine was stronger in its supernatural power than the medicine behind 671 627x

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

671 the curse, its legal value was nil, for it was a sanction without teeth. In
x627 exactly the same way the application of physical force as a sanction turned about the point of relative powers. So in this type of case we found four basic outcomes: 1) where the aggrieved party was a weakling there was no prosecution (Sorcery in this respect presents a contrast to adultery and wife-stealing, wherein the aggrieved had to act. In these latter situations it was purely bravery against bravery, but bravery vs. sorcery seems to have been another thing.); 2) where the prosecution was forceful and so also was defense, the defense being more so, in one instance at least, the prosecution backed down—a primitive "*nol pros*"; 3) where the prosecution was forceful and/or the defendant was weak, the sorcerer was driven out or killed by a party for the defense (In the event of capital punishment through violence we do not know if it would give rise to blood feud, because in the only case which reached the bitter climax, the killing was within the family circle.); 4) where the prosecution was forceful and so also was the defense, the deadlock over the dispute of fact was broken by recourse to the conditional curse on the part of the defendant. The supernatural "tried for guilt," and acquitted or executed the defendant in one act. A reasonable length of time, namely, until the next change in seasons, was allowed for the judgment to take place. The issue was not hurried, but its results were accepted as final.

FORCED CONFESSIONS: THE THIRD DEGREE

x627 It has just been shown how the Comanche utilized divination and con-
684 ditional curse in sorcery. Now let us see how they set about testing marital fidelity. There were various techniques available to the husband as a prosecutor. These were ritualistic and non-ritualistic. The latter were simple and direct third-degree forms. A man took his wife to a lonely spot to build a fire. If the threat of what was coming did not force a confession from the lips of the wife, the husband then held her prone over the fire, lowering her closer and closer to the flames until she gave the information he wanted. Another method was to choke the woman until a confession was forthcoming. Whipping also served the end. One or the other of these methods was used in six out of the twenty-three adultery cases recorded in this study.

Not only was the confession of unfaithfulness forced in this way, but also the naming of the correspondent. On the basis of such confession suit for damages could be begun.

The case of Bone and his wife is illustrative of how evidence given by a witness was reinforced by such confession.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

IX

Government and Law

IN a society as simple and as homogeneous as was that of the Comanches there is little need for the development of governmental institutions. Add to this the extreme individualism of the Comanches, and a situation exists in which neither social needs nor ideology work to stimulate the development of government. Consequently, Comanche government was at a minimum, legal precepts were rudimentary, and the enforcement of the simple substantive law remained the responsibility of individuals rather than of officials. 642

Just as the Comanche made no attempt to organize a philosophy of religion or to systematize a conception of man's place in nature, so he made no attempt to generalize or formalize the rules underlying his legal system or the constitutional structure of his state. For instance, when That's It was asked about the Comanche peace chiefs, he said, "I hardly know how to tell about them. They never had much to do except to hold the band together."

To the Comanche, law was not an expression of social policy, but rather a series of individual responses to threatening situations. Descriptively we can note the Comanche point of view. Analytically we are not content to stop at this level. The Comanches had more law than they themselves recognized. 671

Ralph Linton has expressed that thought in these words: "Different cultures show a tremendous amount of difference in the degree to which their patterns are consciously formalized. My experience

671 with Polynesians and Comanches illustrates this: Polynesians can give you practically an Emily Post statement of what proper behavior should be on all occasions, whereas Comanches, when asked how they do anything, immediately answer, 'Well, that depends.' They genuinely think of behavior as a range of unlimited, individual, freedom of choice, although when you take a series of examples of behavior, as Hoebel did, you actually find quite a high degree of uniformity. But you have to check Comanche behavior to arrive at this."[1]

In other words, to learn about Comanche law, it is necessary not to talk about "law" when doing field work with the Comanches, but rather, through utilization of the case-law method of legal recording and analysis, to accumulate a sizeable body of case histories of dispute situations from which the regularity of legal patterns can be abstracted.[2]

Before presenting the facts of their law, it is necessary to describe the nature of the Comanche state.

642 The basic principle of Comanche political organization was the constitutional separation of civil and military leadership. For a warlike people this separation was quite remarkable, although, of course, it was a general North American Indian practice for which the Comanches cannot be singled out for credit.

622 The peace chief was known as *paria:βo* and each family encampment had its *paria:βo,* whom we shall call either "peace chief" or "headman." There was reluctance on the part of the Comanches to accord him formal recognition, but genuine recognition of his powers was reflected in the attention given to his advice and in the general subordination to his influence. It was one of these family headmen who was elevated to the position of head peace chief of the band; the remainder of the chiefs functioned as an advisory council for the band as a whole and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen to their own group of followers. The chief, or headman, was chairman, so to speak, of the group. He was *primus inter pares.*

There is no explicit way of saying how a man became a civil

[1] Ralph Linton in S. S. Sargent and M. W. Smith (eds.) *Culture and Personality,* 123.

[2] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians,* 181.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

701 The warriors of most of the Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting societies or military fraternities. These organizations were secondarily arms of the tribal government or, at least, they functioned as strong pressure groups.[10] The Comanches, however, in keeping with their lack of internal segmentation, possessed only the slightest trace of military fraternities. Informants explained that their societies were something like a combination of our present-day army regiment and lodge organization. Their dearth of historical data and the paucity of material, combined with the lack of information on the part of contemporary Comanches, indicates that the associations were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. There is no evidence that they played an important role in social control and government.

642 Such formal government as existed was limited to the activities of the peace chiefs and war leaders, who acted separately or through the medium of the band councils. The Comanches, like almost all of the tribes east of the Rockies, militarists though they were, wanted no military *junta*. They knew the value and need for constitutional separation of civil and military power. From their point of view, that government was best which governed least.

● 671 The law system of the Comanche tribe was primitive but dynamic —and exciting. It lacked the maturity and balance of the Cheyenne way. It was crude and lacking in juridical subtlety, but it was fluid, inventive, and colored with its own ideals of justice.

Comanche law-ways functioned without benefit of courts. As might well be expected, in view of the ambiguity of powers of the political chieftains, there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. Comanche law was neither legislated nor judge-made. It was hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct.

It was almost exclusively a system of private law—a law in which the responsibility for instituting legal actions rested with the aggrieved party—a law in which the aggrieved and his personal supporters had

[10] J. H. Provinse, "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Society," in F. Eggan (ed.), *Social Organization of North American Tribes*, 341–449.

to push the process to its conclusion, or nothing would be done at all to provide relief or redress. 671

Nevertheless, a system of law it was. It was absolutely sure that certain forms of wrongs would be prosecuted. There were proper procedural patterns to be followed in the prosecution of a case. There were quite specifically understood sanctions to be applied to the different categories of offenses. And if the defendant was adamant beyond the point of reasonableness, he was, after due process, subject to a violent attack upon his person.

The essence of law, whatever specific forms it may take from one social system to another, comprises regularity, force, and official authority. Comanche law-ways had all those essential attributes.

"Dot" Babb's statement that on the whole there was little infringement on the rights of others among the Comanches, that they did not fight, quarrel, and commit murder as did the white man,[11] is contrary to the facts as we know them. The Comanches were most litigious, not, it is true, from any love of going to law for the savor of it, but because they were extreme individualists given to crowding each other in the unceasing struggle to outrank each other in personal prestige. A man could climb the social ladder by piling up a war record at the expense of enemies, and this was the legitimate way. But he could also reach toward his goal by aggressively challenging the status of a rival through stealing his wife, or seducing her, or taking his horse. This was the illegitimate way. It was illegal, but it was also customary enough. Forty-five cases of old-time legal actions arising from adultery and wife stealing alone were recorded from Comanche informants by one of the authors in his study of Comanche law-ways. Of these, twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three were cases of simple adultery. 684 577 674

If the Comanches were lawless, it was not through an absence of law, but rather because of a reckless tendency to break the law in the face of certain and severe penalties. Seven of the forty-five erring wives paid the death penalty: four for running off with another man, three for committing adultery. Of the remaining twenty adulteresses, five were mutilated by their husbands: four had the tips of their noses cut off and one had the soles of her feet slashed so that she could not 684

[11] Babb, *op. cit.*, 102–104.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to
202 absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compul-
[692] sion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; does his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made. 624 671

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble." 691 578

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them. 684 [554]

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk. [837]

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery. [124]

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances, 837 584

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

He was a medicine man and a ranking war leader, which meant that he was perforce a man of status, even among the tribal full-bloods. 627x 682

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, it should be noted however, that from a general social point of view, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered mean by the people; yet if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through *coups*, there was little to prevent him from being as free a Bluebeard as he wished—except that wives became harder for him to get. 602

Attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare. The one case, given by Talker, is interesting for its many facets, and significant for its outcome. It shows that given time to let the revenge feeling cool, coupled with a recognition of provocation to kill, certain murders might be overlooked.

Case 18. Murder: Wife destroys husband
Informant: Talker (Abstract of History recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.) 627x

The husband had been abusing his wife in attempts to force a confession of unfaithfulness from her. One day when he had prepared a fire over which to roast her, she seized and stabbed him and cremated him on the pyre he had intended for her torture. Then she fled for many days to the west until she met Ute Indians. There she was adopted as a wife and lived for a season or two. Then she told her entire story, ending, "and then I threw his body on the fire that had been prepared for me. Because both my husband and I have many relatives on both sides, and because I feared a conflict between the two families, I started out so that there might be no trouble between the two families." 682 593

Later she escaped and returned to her people. She repeated the whole episode to the dead man's father, and as she finished, all her relatives burst forth in a great wail for the man whom she had slain. But there was no trouble. The dead man's father announced, "Because my son was so mean to her, and because I had tried to talk to him, and he would not listen nor heed my word, and because both our families are respectable, to do anything at this late date would be unbecoming."

Thus there was no feud, no retaliation.

ACCIDENTAL HOMICIDE

Though the Comanches were more rude than other Plains tribes in their failure to recognize composition for murder, they showed more perceptive discrimination than most primitives in drawing a clear line between murder and accidental homicide. Intent to assault was a necessary feature of murder. A clearly defined case illustrating this principle was given by White Wolf. 627x 672

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 *Case 19. Accidental Homicide*
●672 *Informant: White Wolf*

"Two young boys were out hunting turkeys one time, when one of them stepped on a dry stick. It scared away the birds, and the other boy got so angry that he shot at his friend. He fell wounded in the side.

"In a panic of fright the boy fled from the spot where his friend lay bleeding on the ground. As he came into the village, he was met by his father, who asked where his friend was. The youth said he did not know; he told his father that his friend had left him an hour or more before, to come home.

"Later on the mother and sisters of the wounded boy got worried; they went out into the mountains calling his name. Finally they heard a low moaning; there, among the rocks, they found their boy lying in blood. In his mother's arms the boy told her he was dying. He begged her not to kill his friend, because it had been accidental. Revenge would not bring him back.

[764] "When the wounded youth died, the parents of his friend covered all the funeral necessities and provided gifts to be buried in the grave with the body."

Whereas murder allowed no adjustment other than death, accidental homicide could be settled by proper payment to the *family* of the deceased. Thus the boy who did the killing was not punished. However, it should be noted that the principals in the case were minors. It may have been otherwise with adults.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In addition to horses, woman must be placed largely in the category of 422
property, for her legal disabilities and low status made her very much a 562
chattel, first to her father and brother, later to her husband. The several facets of this problem have been repeatedly examined in preceding sections.

In addition, domesticated dogs must be included in the category of pri- 422
vate property. They abounded, but were of little economic value or im- 231
portance save as camp scavengers and to warn of prowling enemies. (Except the notorious Comanche canine, Mákutavai, whose name was on the agency roles for many years as that of an Indian. His owner drew double rations from the government on this ruse.) The number of dogs arose from the existence of a tabu against killing them. Because of their identification with Coyote, dogs are believed to possess some power. To kill one brings bad luck expecially to one's children. People without children trained some dogs as pets, babying them and nursing them like a child. When the band was moving camp, these people would put such dogs on a horse to ride.

The idea of liability for acts of animals did not exist. There was no re- 672●
compense for a dog bite. Nor could damages be sought for injuries received 231
from a kicking horse. A quick-tempered man, however, might kill the horse on the spot. In such event, informants said there would be no call for damages to compensate for the horse. So it was with a dog, owned by another person, which was killed in anger. Post Oak Jim thought that "something might have been done about it" if the dog had been given to the owner by a dead friend, but not if the dog had been raised by the owner himself.

Finally, in regard to food, principles of generosity placed a sort of public 574
lien upon the game a Comanche hunter brought down. A man who returned 224
to camp with meat was obliged to share it with all who came for some. He had to give the best part to his wife to take to her father. Other portions he gave to those who asked. "If a man won't give it away, they camp on him until he does." This means obligation. But performance was not always spontaneous or achieved. In a hard winter She Invites Her Relatives observed that some people moved out of the camp so that they would not have to share their food with the others. Any persons who came upon a hunter and his game could claim any quarter by touching it. If there were enough claimants, the only part going to the slayer was the hide. The hunter asserted his right to this by seizing the tail. How similar this rings to Eskimo practice! The obligation seems here more than mere generosity; "They would camp on him." Generosity based on ethics appears rather in the buffalo hunt, a communal venture with a prospectively full supply, where the slain brutes were individually claimed. There young men were taught to kill a fat cow or two for the old men, who would even make

Government and Law

Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics, the institution of land tenure, the disposition and inheritance of property, the treatment of chattels, and the obligations of contract form the most important aspects of civil law. Yet among the Comanches these had almost no significance. The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly, nor communally. One may speak of their country as being merely communally occupied. There are no records of any disputes between the bands over hunting grounds. The external boundaries of the Comanchería were not firmly fixed, but vaguely felt. Allies and friends were welcome to hunt and visit, but other outsiders entered on peril of their lives. 423 674

Wealth for the Comanches centered largely in horses, as has already been shown; horses were individually owned by both men and women. They were acceptable as a medium of exchange and could be used as payment of obligations in damage suits. Women, too, might be listed in the category of chattel property—first of father and brother and later of husband. Dogs must also be included under the heading of private property. They abounded, but after the acquisition of the horse had little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and sentries. The idea of liability for the acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite; nor could damages be collected for injuries received from a kicking horse. 674 422 [672]

The Comanches owned a number of captives who were chattel property until adopted as brothers by their owners if they were boys or married by their captors if they were girls. There were a few personal slaves held by blood covenant by individual warriors. They were generally captives, Mexicans forming the bulk of the number. A blood ceremony, according to Josiah Gregg, was performed with blood taken from a vein on the back of the captive's hand or arm. The ceremony was repeated whenever ownership of the slave changed. The slave had the right of life, food, and protection, since no one dared molest the property of another, and the owner could sell or transfer him at any time to whomever he chose.[25] There are indications that the Comanches captured and sold slaves merely as articles 422 567 [675]

[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

32; Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

452 Soon I came to a slip with a mistake of a dollar in the Indian's favor.
797 It was my mother's writing. The Indian had brought back a pair of girl's shoes, taken another pair that cost more, and also bought supplies —groceries and dry goods. I called the preacher's attention to the mistake, and he agreed. "Yes, it should be a dollar more." And he wrote it down that way. When he totaled the entries, the amount was exactly a dollar more than the amount I had given him.

During the auditing of the slips, both the minister and the Indian had remained grave and distant. The atmosphere wasn't friendly. Maybe they were embarrassed. I was. I was only in my fifteenth year, though I was operating in an adult sphere. My head was only a fifteen year-old head, and the same went for my experience. It was the first time anyone had seen fit to check our bookkeeping. In a way, I was feeling accused.

But when the preacher explained to Wer-que-yah, in the Comanche tongue, that our bookkeeping was honest, there was a bit of a lilt to the missionary's voice. And now the Indian was all smiles. As we arose from the ground, he exclaimed, "Wano! Wano!" a number of times and patted my back vigorously.

Then it was Reverend Deyo's turn. He extended his hand, saying, "I want to thank you for dealing with *my people* honestly. I checked your prices. I already knew you sell to the Indian and the white man at the same price. I shall tell *my people* you deal honestly. Not all merchants treat uneducated Indians fairly."

439 This incident may have accounted for some of our success as in-
452 dependent Indian traders. We, in turn, had to depend entirely upon
[672] the honesty of the Indian. He could neither be sued, nor could a judgment be levied against him.

000 Several years ago, two of my nephews were living with me and attending the university. One popular song you heard each time you tuned in on a radio program was "Don't Take Your Guns to Town, Son!" It was a plea of a mother to her son, just approaching young manhood, not to go to town armed, lest some gunman might see an easy way to get another notch on his gun and kill her offspring.

609 I told the boys I had once received much the same advice from an
452 old Indian from whom I tried to borrow a gun while I was badly scared. It was Wer-que-yah. It happened during another Grass Money payment at the same Cache reservation. This time Wer-que-yah's

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to [622] participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all 685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, 684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known 177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 624 they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a crime.

● [674]

×627 602 In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

×627 593 682 602 Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

×627 602 Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

to push the process to its conclusion, or nothing would be done at all to provide relief or redress. 671

Nevertheless, a system of law it was. It was absolutely sure that certain forms of wrongs would be prosecuted. There were proper procedural patterns to be followed in the prosecution of a case. There were quite specifically understood sanctions to be applied to the different categories of offenses. And if the defendant was adamant beyond the point of reasonableness, he was, after due process, subject to a violent attack upon his person.

The essence of law, whatever specific forms it may take from one social system to another, comprises regularity, force, and official authority. Comanche law-ways had all those essential attributes.

"Dot" Babb's statement that on the whole there was little infringement on the rights of others among the Comanches, that they did not fight, quarrel, and commit murder as did the white man,[11] is contrary to the facts as we know them. The Comanches were most litigious, not, it is true, from any love of going to law for the savor of it, but because they were extreme individualists given to crowding each other in the unceasing struggle to outrank each other in personal prestige. A man could climb the social ladder by piling up a war record at the expense of enemies, and this was the legitimate way. But he could also reach toward his goal by aggressively challenging the status of a rival through stealing his wife, or seducing her, or taking his horse. This was the illegitimate way. It was illegal, but it was also customary enough. Forty-five cases of old-time legal actions arising from adultery and wife stealing alone were recorded from Comanche informants by one of the authors in his study of Comanche law-ways. Of these, twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three were cases of simple adultery. 684 577 674

If the Comanches were lawless, it was not through an absence of law, but rather because of a reckless tendency to break the law in the face of certain and severe penalties. Seven of the forty-five erring wives paid the death penalty: four for running off with another man, three for committing adultery. Of the remaining twenty adulteresses, five were mutilated by their husbands: four had the tips of their noses cut off and one had the soles of her feet slashed so that she could not 684

[11] Babb, *op. cit.*, 102–104.

Government and Law

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[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

The Comanches

848 Many forms of social conduct which are considered Abnormal in our own society were not considered criminal by the Comanches. Their attitudes toward illegitimacy, which seems to have been rare, show no vindictiveness, although the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father.

Premarital sex relations were common, but in case a child was born as a result, the father usually married the mother. The father could claim the child at any time.

835 Incest, which consisted of sexual relations between two persons within three degrees of relationship, was tabu, but there was no legal control. The few men who were known to have committed incest were called *posa,* "crazy." Beyond this, there was only informal ostracism—and more sneering references. Thus, when Pointing to the Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet, his own sister refused to address him as *monapɔ,* "son-in-law," which would have been the respectful and proper thing to do, had it been a proper marriage. The People did not let it pass, however; they made it a point always to refer to him, her elder brother, as her son-in-law.

The Comanches actually had strong feelings against incest—brother-sister avoidance was enjoined on this basis—but they felt no need to impose strong sanctions against it. Most men were too concerned with the maintenance of their personal prestige to mar it with such an act. And perhaps more important is the fact that Comanche supernaturals were in no sense projected images of a rewarding and punishing father. Incest was not a sin against the gods any more than it was a crime. There was no need to punish the offender in order to protect the community from supernatural wrath. The act remained an offense against good taste, nothing more.

839 Rape, except upon captives, occurred infrequently and was not part of the general pattern. Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. But before the advent of the white race's demoralizing influence, Comanche women rated high in chastity.

674 577 Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently, it must fall into the vague class of unapproved, abnormal acts which were outside the scope of the law. Generosity was so highly valued that he who had need of something had only to indicate his desire, and he would receive it as a gift.

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that there was no commonly accepted formula to which retailers of the story could hold fast. Without this unconscious prompter of memory, the truth was soon dissipated and the event is described according to individual notions. 428 183

CONTRACT

Rounding out the survey of situations of possible legal significance, attention must be given to the phenomenon of contract wherein a party or parties assumed a definite, but limited, obligation by virtue of agreement. These obligations are not to be confused with such status-obligations as sharing food with one's father-in-law. These latter may be entered upon by acts of agreement such as marriage, but once entered upon they were social and legal duties inherent in the new relations and carried on indefinitely. Standing economic obligations of a reciprocal nature are not "contractual" in nature. Contract is a specific obligation undertaken at a specific time; the contractual arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. 675

In addition to the transfer of medicine powers and the payment of goods to settle a grievance there were other contract situations involving the rendering of personal services. Of these the most usual was curing; the next most important was the undertaking of responsibility to lead a revenge war party. A third was occult prophecy, or seer-seeing. And a fourth was sorcery for hire, or putting the enemy of another person on the spot through evil use of medicine powers. The last is not substantiated by any case material, but was attested by informants. Saddle and arrow making, if done on order, would also come under this heading.

In seeking a medicine man to perform a cure, there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The proposal and acceptance followed an institutionalized pattern which marked the occasion ceremonially as one of significance. In the first place, it was well to use a "political lawyer" to get the thing done, especially so, if the practitioner sought was a well known medicine man. A friend of the medicine man was known throughout the band as the best person to send to the doctor. The doctor would listen to him with willing ears. The petitioner was also familiar with the ways in which the medicine man liked to have the smoke handed to him and could make the petition smooth in many ways. Such intermediaries received their compensation not from the sick person, but from the doctor, as a share in the gifts received by him.[8] 675 756

[8] The use of a pipe lighting assistant is of limited Shoshonean distribution. Cf. W. S. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Chicago, 1938), p. 127.

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675 756 The go-between went to the doctor carrying in the right hand the loaded pipe or rolled cigarette. Before speaking, the emissary lighted the tobacco and puffed a few puffs. Then he told the medicine man what was wanted. Sometimes he added what might be expected in the way of gifts. Then, if he knew the ways of the medicine man, he proffered the smoke. If not, he first asked the medicine man how he would like the pipe handed to him. The medicine man was not universally obliged to accept. But some medicines required acceptance of a commission if the emissaries did certain things. Thus with Break Something, if the emissary circled his tipi to the left before entering, he was bound to accept. But usually a medicine man, if he thought the case too much for him or was not interested, refused to accept the smoke. The acceptance of the proffered smoke bound the contract, and the medicine man set out with the emissary to visit the patient. A curing contract was for four treatments to be given in two days. If at the end of two days the patient were not completely well, continuation for another two days' cure could be arranged, or the doctor withdrew to make way for another practitioner.

Break Something told how a practicing medicine man in an impasse called in consulting specialists. Break Something's medicine enabled him to specialize in pneumonia cases. One medicine man, after two days without success, sent his wife to get Break Something. He went and found the other medicine man waiting with the cigarette. This doctor told Break Something he would like his help in this pneumonia case. He took the smoke. "When medicine men smoked together they were as one doctor." They doctored for two days; first the one medicine man, then Break Something. The patient was cured. But there was no fee-splitting. All pay went to the first doctor. All Break Something got tangibly and immediately was the smoke. However, they had an agreement after that that Break Something could call on the other doctor for assistance at any time if he needed him.

The Comanches aver that medicine men who undertook a cure got paid regardless of the outcome, providing a fee had been agreed upon. But there was at least one exception in fact. Went To See His Son was called upon to doctor a sick man. He performed his cure for two days; the patient got well; the relatives were happy, so they gave Went To See His Son a fine horse. Then the patient died. The horse was a good one and Went To See His Son was running it in races. Then a relative of the defunct patient came and said he wanted the horse back. Obviously, he said, Went To See His Son had not cured the deceased, so he had no right to the horse. But the doctor was fond of the horse and said he was going to keep it; so the relative pulled his pistol and shot the horse dead. Went To See His Son was sorry to lose

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the horse, but he didn't do anything. Apparently he did not believe he had 675
an established right to his horse, or we should have seen a more typical 756
Comanche reaction to the killing.

Nevertheless, when no fee had been indicated in advance, Comanche doctors were happy to receive gifts. But the true professional spirit prevailed, for it is said that if people were too poor to give gifts, it was of little concern to the medicine man. "He was glad to help out." But who knows perfection? Some medicine men hid when they thought they were going to be called upon for charity. However, if a female relative of a sick pauper asked the wife of a desired medicine man where the doctor might be, she she was "custom-bound" to tell.

While women were a nuisance in this way, medicine men had another way with others of them. A doctor could dream that if a certain woman came to ask for his help, the sick person would surely get well, providing the woman did his bidding during the cure. This is reputed to have been a not uncommon practice. Some of the more unscrupulous practitioners used it as a ruse to seduce reluctant women of their fancy, we were told. But whether a woman *had* to aid, or what she received for it, could not be determined.

On the other end of the contract, what happened when the promised fee was not given after the cure had been made? The Comanche practitioners were without legal means of restitution.

A Comanche of mean disposition would in native opinion have had recourse to sorcery, "but the honorable medicine man would forget it." Persons who failed to pay explicit fees, however, were the ones the doctors dodged, while the creditor medicine man never again took a case for the defaulters. The result was a normal, but guild-manifestation, of Malinowski's principle of withdrawal of reciprocal services in reprisal for deficiency of conduct.

The sale and transfer of supernatural powers among the Comanches was 675
a form of contract in incorporeal property rights. As between close friends 756
and relatives the offer and acceptance was informal and direct. It was when 425
an ambitious youth yearned to purchase power of a strong medicine man with whom he had no close kinship that more formal steps were taken. First steps were taken by the neophyte's mother. She approached the head wife of the shaman. The woman thought it over. Then she learned from her husband what gifts would be required to satisfy him. These she described in detail to the mother at a later time. Anything within reason could be asked for, for "no matter what it costs them, they are going to have that medicine."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

675 756 425

When the proper gifts had been collected, the boy's father loaded them upon a horse; he led it to the medicine man's lodge and tethered it a short way east of the tipi. Walking about the tipi counterclockwise in ceremonial custom, he passed through the door to be recieved by the shaman. Sitting by the medicine man at the west side of the lodge, the father offered smoke and stated the purpose of his visit. If the medicine man took the smoke it was an acceptance and the deal was closed.

The "sale" of power, it should be added, was not an alienation of the right of the original owner to use it himself. Our closest analogy is the revelation of a trade secret, use of which requires special talent. What the "seller" did was to prepare the neophyte in such a way that the guardian spirit of the medicine man would provide a vision visitation in which the power itself would be bestowed. No mortal could give supernatural power. He could merely lend his influence to lead to a cut-in.

The purchase of medicine was only a start on the road to success for young men. The most potent powers were never shared. Indeed, it was only when a shaman had more than one medicine that he was willing to sell an access to one of them. Then it was always his poorer. The presumable motivation is that prestige rests in rarity.

made "a hit"—that the sharp eyes which could detect a 727
trail so far had failed to penetrate the thin veil which covered the deception. Up to this time, and never afterwards, did they attempt to open it, or exhibit any inclination to manage it themselves; nor did any other than Moko, the youngest wife of Big Wolf, ever have it in charge.

Moreover, I now became submissive, and when untied obeyed every order that was given me. I ran to the waterside and filled the Big Wolf's buffalo horn when he was thirsty, pounded his corn when he was hungry, spread his mattress and lighted his pipe, in fine, made myself generally useful. As Aikens had predicted, their vigilance did relax to such a degree that I was permitted to wander through the village, but not beyond it—to have a knife in my possession—to sleep without being bound—and so far ingratiated myself into their confidence and esteem that they christened me *Chemakacho*—"the good white man."

This was not done, however, until after I had entered 727
into a solemn league and covenant with the chief. It was 675
a singular bond, not to be found in any book or legal forms. A stick of wood eight or ten inches long and about two inches square was produced. On its different sides were carved numerous figures representing skeletons, scalps, tomahawks and other like devices. Receiving the stick from Big Wolf, I opened a vein on the back of my hand and carefully painted the carved characters with blood. The condition of this sanguinary agreement, as it was understood, at least by the party of one part, was that I would remain in the quiet and peaceable possession of said Big Wolf, his heirs and assigns, without any attempt, design, effort, idea, or intention of running away, while he, the aforesaid Big Wolf, on his part, for and in consideration thereof, covenanted, promised, bargained, agreed, and

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
554 The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

Government and Law

Among settled peoples with fixed property and diversified economics, the institution of land tenure, the disposition and inheritance of property, the treatment of chattels, and the obligations of contract form the most important aspects of civil law. Yet among the Comanches these had almost no significance. The Comanches had no concept of land value. As herding hunters, land was a matter of unconcern for them, being held neither individually, jointly, nor communally. One may speak of their country as being merely communally occupied. There are no records of any disputes between the bands over hunting grounds. The external boundaries of the Comanchería were not firmly fixed, but vaguely felt. Allies and friends were welcome to hunt and visit, but other outsiders entered on peril of their lives. 423 674

Wealth for the Comanches centered largely in horses, as has already been shown; horses were individually owned by both men and women. They were acceptable as a medium of exchange and could be used as payment of obligations in damage suits. Women, too, might be listed in the category of chattel property—first of father and brother and later of husband. Dogs must also be included under the heading of private property. They abounded, but after the acquisition of the horse had little economic value or importance save as camp scavengers and sentries. The idea of liability for the acts of animals did not exist. There was no recompense for a dog bite; nor could damages be collected for injuries received from a kicking horse. 674 422 [672]

The Comanches owned a number of captives who were chattel property until adopted as brothers by their owners if they were boys or married by their captors if they were girls. There were a few personal slaves held by blood covenant by individual warriors. They were generally captives, Mexicans forming the bulk of the number. A blood ceremony, according to Josiah Gregg, was performed with blood taken from a vein on the back of the captive's hand or arm. The ceremony was repeated whenever ownership of the slave changed. The slave had the right of life, food, and protection, since no one dared molest the property of another, and the owner could sell or transfer him at any time to whomever he chose.[25] There are indications that the Comanches captured and sold slaves merely as articles 422 567 [675]

[25] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 434.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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herd at the death of the owner was prejudicial to tribal interest, for, since the animals were freely lent, several people might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts, and they would be seriously handicapped in hunting and in war if the animals were killed. Also, in case of food shortage, horses were food. By 1870 it had become customary to kill only the deceased's favorite mount and to distribute the remainder of his horses among the surviving relatives and friends. No absolute rule governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was often hard feeling among the heirs. The culture apparently was moving toward a settlement of the problem through bequests and recognition that certain relatives and close friends had the right to take their choice of the property, but the lines were not yet clear.[26]

Although there seems to have been no absolute consistency in rules of disposal, property appears to have passed to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. She could not retain all the property herself. The first outside claim could be that of the deceased's best friend. He was entitled to the favorite horse, if it was not slaughtered at the grave. During the later period, a man often expressed the desire that his horse be given to a specified friend rather than slaughtered. Surplus horses went to the wife, father, mother, brothers, and other relatives according to the degree of relationship. Outsiders who had no personal claim to share in the estate could establish an obligatory claim either by providing property of their own to be buried with the person or by being helpers in mourning who "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop."[27] If death occurred in battle, the amount of wailing and the value of goods demanded in payment might be increased.

Contract occurs when a party assumes a definite and limited obligation by virtue of agreement. The contractural arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. Included among Comanche contractural agreements were the transfer of medicine powers, curing, the obligation to lead a revenge war party, occult prophecy, sorcery for hire, and hiring a specialist to help in the making of material objects such as arrows, saddles, and tipis. In the making of most con-

[26] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 297.
[27] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 133–34.

The Comanches

675 tracts there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The most common method of sealing the contract was by offering smoke. If the second party took the smoke, it was an acceptance and the deal was closed. The failure of one of the parties to meet the terms of the contract terminated the contractural obligations of the other. In cases where such a procedure worked an injustice on one of the parties, the legal procedure followed the same general pattern as in other cases of disputes—if the aggrieved party felt inclined to act. He was, however, under no social pressure to proceed, as was the man who had suffered impingement on his rights as a husband. The contract situation rarely involved prestige rivalry and did not contain the spark plug that ignited legal action as in the highly charged adultery and wife-absconding situations.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

self confidence, and who were unable to muster a party for themselves, was (e) to entreat a war chief to act for the plaintiff in the matter. The ţékniwap undertook to see the matter to its close, whatever the consequences, once he agreed to open proceedings on behalf of the aggrieved. An aberrant form of the same type which completely reversed the principle involved was (f) the sending of an old woman to "prosecute" in a situation where the aggrieved feared the defendant, hoping through presenting his cause pitiably to touch the compassion of the offender and so gain larger damages than he himself would dare demand.[6] 627x

The crux of the procedure was bargaining. There was no question of evidence—except in sorcery. In the damage-seeking cases the evidence was obtained before action was brought. In wife-absconding cases the presence of the woman with the absconder was *prima facie* evidence which need go no further. In all our cases but one the bargaining was begun with guilt accepted by both parties. In cases of adultery, beyond *in flagrante delicto*, evidence came from witnesses or by confession of the wife. However it may be, except for cases of sorcery, there was no technique for obtaining evidence from the defendant. Nor was the defendant usually confronted with witnesses. The aggrieved had to ascertain to his own satisfaction who the guilty party might be. After this had been done the defendant could then be confronted.

And what if guilt was denied? Usually it was not. When the defendant refused to own up, the procedure apparently came to an impasse. The aggrieved might be angry enough to take illegal steps (violence), or he might possibly kill some of the accused's horses to satisfy his desire for damages. The latter course would be likely to lead to retaliation, however, for the defendant, in denying guilt, denied cause for damages and such peremptory taking of damages was to him illegal. The reaction of the defendant if the first recourse were taken by his accuser is problematical; it would depend pretty much on his temperament and guilt in fact. Denial 627x 681

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[6] *Case 7. Wife-Absconding: Husband sends old woman to collect*
Informant: Rhoda Bluefoot

A woman deserted her husband by joining a raiding party led by a noted warrior, who took her as wife. On their return to the main camp her husband did nothing to get her back because he was afraid of the warrior and his three brothers. So he sent an old woman to plead for her. Since the warrior wished to keep her, he sent back a gift of horses and goods to the husband in place of the woman. 627x 684

This gift the husband had to accept, and he dropped proceedings.

Later the warrior was killed in a battle, and one of his younger brothers inherited the woman as wife. [587]

X627 of guilt by an accused (except in sorcery) was so uncommon that there are
[68] not cases enough to draw sound conclusions.

Cases were opened with formal politeness and smooth words; the man who had come to prosecute addressed the one he was about to accuse as "brother."[7] While the defendant listened, he was told why the accuser had come as prosecutor and informed what must be given in damages to satisfy his visitor. Inasmuch as the defendant usually knew what had called forth the visit, the prosecutor was not invited into the tipi to take the seat of the guest of honor opposite the door. Ordinarily the defendant was sitting beside the door of his tipi as the prosecuting party arrived, and the negotiations took place before the tipi.

The aggrieved usually stated his demand for damages specifically, but the damages rendered were those which the defendant agreed to give and the aggrieved was willing to accept. "Willingness," with either or both, could of course be anything but willing. There was no judge to determine what should be paid in composition for the wrong, nor was there any specific customary code regulating payments in accordance with degree of wrong. Consequently, only by agreement could the case be settled. Without the aid of an arbitrator, the sole way to agreement was bargain.

X627 The factors which operated in the process of settlement were manifold
577 and delicate, each factor having many shades and facets. Who can say what the forces shaping the attitudes which determine the actions of any individual in any special circumstance may be? It is clear, however, that the will to push or resist was of greatest moment. Sometimes the defendant acquieseed only too willingly to the first demands made upon him. Sometimes the prosecutor placed a timid request for compensation, which he accepted with a sign of relief, glad that the thing was done. It is in this very will to push or to resist that the personal factor entered and resists reduction to written words. Nevertheless, personal courage and aggressiveness were the potent traits which counted in the Comanche male. Each party mentally weighed the other and decided accordingly, most of this being done before any action recounted in a story could occur. The one outstanding factor around which the settlement of a dispute turned was not the question of the right or wrong of the situation, but rather the relative bravery in warfare of the two parties involved. A reputation as a doughty slayer of enemies was a handy thing. The real point was that in Comanche law, as in all law, the ultimate power was resort to force. But

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[608] [7] In Shoshone and Comanche theory, men who had shared a woman sexually were supposed to be brothers. For a discussion of the brother terminology and its relation to Shoshone-Comanche marriage practices, see E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hikandika Shoshone Relationship Systems*, pp. 448–449.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

across the face with his quirt. He'd never been whipped. He got to thinking about it, so he got out his gun and shot himself. The people didn't know why he did it, and suggested things out of the way. Sometimes when Indians go on a raid they catch a disease and commit suicide because they don't want to go back that way. This man was a brave warrior; he had killed lots of enemies; he had power." 762

Among the Comanches a sense of the injustice of a formally justifiable act at times took the form of a protest-suicide. Or perhaps it might be released in some retaliatory act, such as killing a favorite horse or mutilating the good-looking sister of the man who had pushed the law too far. A boyhood prank of Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man produced these double repercussions of incensed reactions to an over-strict legal settlement. 681 762

Case 37. Adultery and Retaliations
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man 684 882 689

"I was down by the creek one day with a friend when a woman came down for water. She was the sister of my friend's step-mother. I proposed that we seek intercourse with her. My friend agreed. So I went over to make the proposition to the woman. She was quite willing, provided that we would wait until she had taken the bucket of water back to camp. On her return I met her first, as I had demanded the first chance. While we were together there, her sister (my friend's step-mother) saw us, but she slipped quietly into the brush and said nothing. When my friend had his turn, his step-mother again spied and saw them together. She went right away to her sister's husband and informed him of his wife's doings with us.

"The man came to my father's tipi. He told him what had happened. 'What do you intend to do about it?' he asked my father.

"We were called in and he blamed us both with adultery. I denied any contact with the wife, but when my friend was charged he boasted, 'Sure I did it. It's an honor to be able to do such a thing as that.' The husband demanded damages, and when he received two good horses from my father, he departed satisfied.

"Then my elder brother came home from a raid and heard that two horses had been given because of our activity. He was angry. He took his bow and arrow and shot two horses dead in the herd of the woman's husband.

"Nothing further happened at that time. But then the younger brother of the husband came back from a raid and heard the story. He was angry that the two horses had been shot. Thinking that his older brother had been ill-treated all around, he went over and cut off the nose of my friend's beautiful sister.'

The whole difficulty generated from the fact that the wrong-doers were youths. Adultery does give cause for suit for damages, but boys were always in a favored position and indulgence should have been shown them.

The Comanches

177 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and
231 afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the
431 staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions
436 had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." And in seek-
231 ing legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his
681 friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

The Horse and the Buffalo

« « « I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican (a personal name) wanted in claim. 231 681

They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.

I told them I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another horse just as good.

Atsaci answered, "We want that horse or none."

I tried three times to try to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, "All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough." I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaci I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

"What?" he said.

I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my "daughters" (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. "If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take my daughters back from you. You are my son-in-law, and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love." » » »

With that Breaks Something won his point.

Killing another man's favorite horse was akin to murder, and in two Comanche cases people were killed in revenge.[4] Favorite horses were emotional objects, like people. 231 [685]

Just how and when the Comanches first obtained horses is not known, but within a short time after they migrated to the South Plains they possessed them in great numbers, and, henceforth, a considerable portion of the male's working hours were spent astride a horse. The first modern horses on the plains were brought by Coronado and De Soto, but those escaping from these expeditions could not possibly have been the progenitors of all the herds of a later date.[5] The Spaniards of northern Mexico possessed a great many horses,

[4] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–70.

[5] For this point of view, see Francis Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 429–30.

684 walk. A cut nose was a social disgrace which was extremely difficult to live down. However, since these public marks had a tendency to decrease the value of a woman should the husband transfer her to another man, erring wives were not always disfigured. Nevertheless, Colonel Dodge reported seeing one Comanche woman with four separate gashes in her nasal organ,[12] while Kills Something claims to have known a woman with five. These were all legal penalties which it was the privilege-right of the husband to impose.

As for the offending male correspondent, in every case save four, he had, in conformity to law and custom, to pay damages to the husband. Comanche law required the aggrieved husband to prosecute. Public opinion forced him to, for if he held back, he would stand as a lily-livered coward before all The People. No man risked that. Thus, although the aggrieved husband was in fact prosecuting a wrong against himself, he was also put in a position of maintaining the public standards, whether he wanted to or not. He was in a sense a public prosecutor as well as the protector of his own private interests.

627 The payment of damages loomed so large in the interests of the
●681 Comanches that they coined a word for it—*nanɛwɔkə*. Such settlements were ideologically in sets of four different kinds of articles: horses, guns, blankets, and clothing. More often than not, they were paid only in horses, numbering from one to ten. Almost inevitably the demands of the husband, if he was a warrior of any consequence, included the favorite horse of the defendant as essential to his satisfaction. His personal prestige had been hurt by the affront, and it was his intent to re-establish it by forcing the aggressor into the humility of giving up that which was most dear to him. It was more than a "money" equivalent that was sought, for it was all part of a prestige battle.

627 In initiating the procedure, since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. The case was carried to the offender wherever he could be found. The aggrieved could prosecute by accosting the defendant himself, stating the offense and the amount of damages necessary to satisfy him; he might send a third party to prosecute for him; or he might send or accompany a group who stated the charges and then negotiated.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 304.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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own men. It is safe to say that the wild Comanches never kept a 619
treaty and in the matter of treaty breaking some excellent ex- 648
amples were set by their white neighbors.[13]

The records available—and they are exceedingly scant and un- 622
satisfactory—indicate that the political institutions of the Comanches 631
were meager and poorly defined. Each band had a head civil chief and a head war chief, selected by the council of chiefs and leading men. In this connection I may state that I have never seen any satisfactory account of the manner in which chiefs were selected, or any definition of just what constituted a chief. It appears that heredity was one consideration but not the only matter of determining the status of a man in the tribe. Absolutism and the idea of divine right found little consideration in a Comanche camp. The chief or head man who proved tactless, cowardly, or inefficient would soon be supplanted: but this readjustment would likely take place gradually and by common consent rather than by formal procedure.

In all matters, even war, the head civil chief was superior to his war 622
chief, but if the civil chief was aged and decrepit and the war 624
chief vigorous and popular this civil superiority would be more theoretical than real. Verily, among the Comanches the man made the office and not the office the man. However, the war chief was apt to be the son, natural or adopted, of the head civil chief; and the most insolent Comanche brave had respect for the council of his elders.[14]

In theory, at least, the council was supreme, but its decisions 623
were often indefinite and left each chief or head man a large measure of freedom of action. Generally the majority made little effort to impose its will on the minority.

During the later period, custom and the concensus of opinion, 622
public opinion, we might call it, were practically the only sanctions [681]
behind Comanche law. However, it is likely that before the tribe

13. The Spaniards often commented on the difficulty of holding the Comanches to treaties. See The Baron de Ripperda to the Viceroy, August 25, 1772, in Bolton's De Mezieres, as cited, I, 342. The Anglo-Americans found that this problem increased with the passing of the years.

14. These statements represent my own opinions based on extensive reading and study in both Spanish and English sources. The tribal practices in these matters varied if we are to reconcile the different conflicting accounts. Josiah Gregg gives the matter some consideration. See Commerce of the Prairies (New York, 1845), 366-367, in R. G. Thwaite's Early Western Travels, XX, 342-343.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 instance of this method of procedure was to send the unfaithful wife herself on the onerous task of demanding damages from her lover.[4]

If the aggrieved deemed it wise to form a party to act in the prosecution of the case, he (c) took his group and sat aloofly astride his horse while his confreres laid the charge and negotiated. But he sometimes got impatient with the progress of the action and interceded himself. This led to violence. At every step, strong individual reactions threatened the proceedings.[5] It was not unusual, however, for the aggrieved to (d) send his group to carry out the whole procedure, refraining from appearing upon the scene himself. The situation is not the same as in (b) above.

Another alternative relied upon by men without war honors, lacking in

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x627 684 [4] *Case 5. Adultery: Husband collects damages through wife*
Informant: Visits Her Relatives

"A woman used to go regularly to a hill to get power. Claiming to be a medicine woman, she induced her parents to build her a special tipi in which she could go to rest when she had returned from her pilgrimage for power. This went on for some time, when her husband began to suspect that her movements were not in the interest of medicine, as she claimed. He followed her one day and found her horse down by the creek. Turning back, he went by the tipi of a young man and heard his wife's voice inside. Looking in stealthily, he saw the pair lying together.

"Feeling very wrathful, the husband went home and asked his mother-in-law to take down his wife's special tipi. She refused. He then told his sister to do it, and she could not refuse him, so she removed it.

"When the woman came home and went to rest in her tipi, she found it gone. She went to her husband to ask where her tipi was. He invited her to come into his tipi and sit beside him. When she had done so, he pulled out his knife and cut her hair off close to the scalp, then cut her skirt short. In this bedraggled state he drove her through the camp with his whip. When they came by her lover's tipi the husband bade his wife call to him to come and see her. She called, but her lover did not appear.

"Her husband then sent her to collect damages from him. He demanded six horses, a saddle, bridle, and war costume. When she appeared before the young man in her sad state he was sorry for her and said, 'You look so pitiful; you may have anything you want that I have!'

"His mother loaded his horse with all his portable belongings, and the wife led it publicly through the camp to her husband. This satisfied him, so he kept her as a wife."

x627 684 682 [5] *Case 6. Adultery, Homicide: Procedure breaks down*
Informant: Post Oak Jim

While one of the bands was out on the warpath, a man learned that his wife had committed adultery. He decided to let the matter ride until they were back in safer territory. When again out of danger the aggrieved husband went with two friends to the culprit to ask for damages.

Negotiations were proceeding amiably when the husband became impatient with the procedure and shouted, "That's no way to talk. Why don't you beat him up or kill him!"

This made his adversary so angry that he stabbed the husband dead. At that the two friends of the slain man killed the offender.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

HOMICIDE

MURDER AND RETALIATION

x627 The description of proceedings thus far set forth reveals clearly enough that the native law made little effort to conceal the importance of coercion and force in its functioning. The Comanches, particularly, were a fighting people who did not fear violent action. To them *ability* to possess was "nine points of the law." Even so, it has been shown how far they had gone in modifying the primitiveness of this principle by setting up a legal mechanism of adjudication and compromise for certain offenses.

For murder, however, there was no adjudication or compromise in ●682 Comanche society. In the event of murder the *lex talionis* was invoked. The case was not closed until the kin of the dead man had taken the life of the murderer. There was no acceptance of composition as was the case with some other tribes of the plains.[1] Nor was there intervention and banishment pronounced by the chiefs as among the Cheyenne or the Omaha.[2]

602 682 Among the Comanches, where kin organization was weak, the principle of kinship liability was not potent enough to result in feud. In principle a simple retaliation was all that was required; the murderer must be the victim. There was no ruthless taking of life of whomsoever happened to be related to the murderer. The kin feeling was strong enough, however, to induce the kin of a murderer to do their best to protect him for some time. As long as vigilance was maintained, unless the murder led to hot-blooded vengeance on the spot, no attempt at attack seems to have been made. The avengers simply waited until time wore down the watchfulness of the protectors; then the avenging thrust was made.

There is but one case known to us in which the kin groups met in open clash. And that was a strange mix-up.

Case 13. Murder: Cooks Dried Meat vs. Püsku
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Cooks Dried Meat had a wife. Early one morning he told her, 'We're going hunting.' After they had gone quite a way, Cooks Dried Meat told his wife to dismount. She did so. Then he took her to a tree and tressed her to it. He faced her and said accusingly, 'You and your uncle (a classificatory brother of her mother) are intimate.' The woman denied it. But he persisted, 'I saw you helping him fix his hair. You were looking for lice on his scalp.' With that he whipped her hard and then took her home.

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[1] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), p. 403.

[2] A. Fletcher and F. LaFleche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 27, 1906), p. 215.

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"That evening just before dark the wife left his lodge and went to the tipi of her uncle. She arrived just as he and his wife were finishing eating. When they had finished their supper, they asked what might be on her mind. 'I have come to carry tales,' she said. 'Go on,' he replied. 'Well, your son-in-law, Cooks Dried Meat, accused me of being intimate with you, and he whipped me badly.' Her uncle was indignant. 'The brute, the bad thing, the devil—you shall not go back to him.' His mother and father were living in the same tipi, so he asked the woman to stay there. 682 602

"A little later there was the sound of something outside, and a voice said, 'I have come for the person who is visiting you.' 'Go home!' the uncle shouted back, 'she is staying here.' It was fall and cool enough to have a fire and eat indoors. They went to bed.

"The uncle's tipi was at one end of the encampment; the husband's was at the other. Just at white dawn a voice shouted out from the tipi of Cooks Dried Meat. 'Get ready Pítsku (the uncle). Prepare yourself!'

"It stirred a terrible commotion. Everybody woke up and asked what was going to happen and angry voices were heard. Cooks Dried Meat strode forth accompanied by his father, the aged peace chief, Tongue, and a young man. They went towards the tipi. 602 682 579

"Close to that tipi was one of an old man who lived with his grandson. He stuck his head out and received an arrow full in the throat. As his relatives pulled loose the shaft they cried, 'We shall wipe Cooks Dried Meat out. We shall join Pítsku to do this. Then they fired and killed Tongue. The fight was on. Pítsku got badly wounded in the rump. Hard by was my mother-in-law's tipi—a big one. Into this Pítsku scurried for shelter. Next the son of Cooks Dried Meat was killed, making two men shot on each side. Cooks Dried Meat came to my mother-in-law's tipi to get Pítsku, but the old woman warned him away. 'You don't kill him in my tent,' she threatened. 'If you do, it will not be well for you. The man of this house is a great warrior and a strong medicine man. It will go ill with you if you shed blood in his tipi.'

"By that time a group of men had intervened. 'Stop it,' they ordered. 'It is enough that two men have been killed on either side. Stop.'

"Cooks Dried Meat then fled from the camp. He was chased by the grandson of the old man he had shot in the throat, but he escaped and never came back to the band. He moved away from it.

"Pítsku died of blood-poisoning. Tongue was the peace chief. If he had not taken his son's side, it would have been his duty to have stopped the fighting."

Other acts which to the Comanches were so heinous as to warrant lethal retaliation on the aggressor were the slaying of a favorite horse, and insulting conduct which was insufferable to the aggrieved. These factors appear severally in different cases, but are combined into one single complication in a famous Comanche case known to many informants. There are slight variations in the telling, but the main points of action remain the same. 685

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685 One version has it that the two groups involved were members of a single war party which was returning from a long raid and split because of disagreement over how fast they should travel. Another has it that two small Comanche war parties happened to meet, and thus the action occurred. The facts as reconstructed from several accounts produce running history as follows.

Case 14. Horse Slaying and Murder: Pepper vs. Múβa
Informants: That's It, Talker

Pepper, a Comanche of the Those Who Move Often band, was returning from a successful raid with his captive friend. They were bringing home a bunch of good horses and had reached the Comanche country when they met and camped with two men of the Antelope band, Múβa and his captive friend. In the morning four more Comanches, Man's Forehead, Breaks Something, Harness and Tsiwiwta rode up. They all talked awhile before Pepper and his captive made ready to leave. They rounded up their horses, except one, which was left behind either because it was lame, or had gotten into the herds of the others.

The warriors who had stayed behind were hungry and were considering what to eat. Múβa settled it by ordering his captive to kill the horse their friend had left behind. Some say he chose it because it was better to kill a lame horse; others, because it was nice and fat. They said they would give Pepper the choice of horses when they saw him. But the meeting with Pepper came sooner than was looked for, for he began to repent having left his horse behind. He turned back to see what had become of it. He rode up on the feasting group.

"You have butchered my filly. If you wanted to butcher, why didn't you kill your own horse?"

"Yes, we have done that," Múβa agreed. "But look here, my friend, there are our horses and pack mules over there. Take your choice."

685 So Pepper rode towards the grazing beasts. He drew his bow—the men watched to see what he intended. Twang! He sent an arrow into Múβa's best horse and one ●682 into his captive's mule. With the animals writhing on the ground, he rode off.

That made Múβa angry. "What a mean fellow!" he cried. "The way he shot down those horses. Get our horses! We are going to talk to our friend." As they rode forward to catch up with Pepper, he laid out his plot to his captive. "He will strike you because you are a captive. Hit him back and fight with him. Then I will kill him."

They came abreast of Pepper and started to talk with him. Soon Pepper began to abuse the captive. "You, what did you come here for? Do you think anyone would grant your wish or give you anything? If anyone wanted to horsewhip you, is there any reason why they should not?"

"Well, try it," the captive dared.

"Well, why not?" He struck the captive across the face.

The captive slashed back. They grabbed each other's hair and rolled to the

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ground. Múβa watched for his chance until he could shoot a wounding arrow into Pepper. 685

"Can't you do better than that?" Pepper cried. So a second arrow was used to kill him. 682

Without attempting to take the dead man's horses, they went back to where the other Comanches waited. "I have killed our friend," Muβa announced. The four who were there then mounted and went out to look for the body. They stayed a long time preparing a grave, wailing and mourning for the dead man. Múβa and his captive spent the time preparing a meal from their dead mule, which Pepper had shot.

When their friends came back from their mortuary undertakings, they ate heartily. In the meanwhile, Pepper's captive drove his master's horses into camp. There was great mourning among his master's relatives. Because Pepper had no father, a war chief named Bakamuts, a brave and respected man among the Those Who Move Often, called for attention. 627x 682 619

"Listen to me, all!" The wailing ceased. "There is a young brave named Múβa. He is of a large household and in it are many brave warriors. It is my mind that we let this matter go; because his friend first did the wrong thing, it was not his fault. Pepper was mean to have started the fight over a horse."

Bakamuts took these steps to close the incident because both he and the Antelope chiefs were afraid that the two bands would exterminate each other. They did not want a senseless fight between their bands. Crazy Bear and another Antelope chief counselled, "Let us forget this thing which has happened. Our children have intermarried; for their sakes, let us forget it."

Thus tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the rationale is on the kinship basis. The Comanche had not yet reached the state of pure polity. As to the materials of the action, the murdered warrior's resentment at the butchering of his horse was rooted in the very personal nature of horses as property. Comanche horses were highly regarded and imbued with a degree of personality. It is not unlikely that the slaying of horses was to the owner close to murder and hence no light thing to compose. Two horses killed for one horse butchered is in one sense a more-than-murder retaliation. The revenge-killing of Pepper roots no less obviously in a pattern that atonement deemed ample, and freely offered, was to be accepted, not to be insultingly refused by shooting horses instead of receiving them. 231 627x [619]

The extremes to which feelings on a favorite horse could go are also demonstrated in the famed murder of Rocky Thorn by Crowding A Person. 627x 682

Case 15. Killing a Favorite Horse and Murder: Rocky Thorn vs. Crowding A Person
Informant: That's It

"The trouble resulted from a raid on a Comanche camp by enemies. As the raiders were making their get-away, a young boy jumped on the nearest loose horse to

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join the pursuit. It was a fast buckskin, the favorite pony of old man Crowding A Person.

"The boy beat everyone to the enemy and overtook and killed a raider, but the rest got away. It was the boy's first coup. It made him so eager to get back to camp and to the acclaimed glory which would be his that he overrode the buckskin until it dropped dead.

"The youth's mother went to the lodge of Crowding A Person. There she told him of the enemy her son and slain. 'But at the same time,' she continued, 'he has had a misfortune.' She told him his buckskin had died.

"The old man was angry. He said he loved that horse better than any living person.

" 'Why,' he stormed, 'did the boy have to pick on that horse when there were so many other fast ones about?'

"When he acted like that the mother got angry too. She scorned him and hurled taunting words in his teeth. 'What are you talking for?' she cried. 'You couldn't do anything. You could not have killed this enemy. You do no brave deeds. You are a coward anyhow. If you love that horse better than me, why don't you kill me, if you dare?'

"The old man slowly answered, 'Rocky Thorn, do you mean that?'

"She said, 'Yes.'

"He took up his bow and fitted an arrow. He drew the string and shot. Two times he shot her, and she was dead. Then he prepared himself to meet his end. He moved his lodge outside the village, awaiting the return of Rocky Thorn's brothers from a raid.

" 'If they are going to kill me,' he said, 'let them do it away from the camp.'

"His best friend, an old man too, joined him out there and they waited. That night the war party came in. The brothers heard, and in the morning five men, all relatives of Rocky Thorn, went armed to visit the old men. When Crowding A Person saw them coming, he entered his lodge to prepare himself. Soon he came out again, knife in hand, to advance serenely against his enemies. They started shooting immediately. And yet he was as if charmed, for none of the arrows found him. He was almost among them. Then Chew It Up put an arrow through his breast and he was dead."

Such was the operation of the law of retaliation for murder. The kin of the dead were obliged to take revenge. This is the first principle of collective liability.

A second principle of collective liability frequently expressed as to primitive law is that a group cannot proceed against itself. Hence, a wrong committed by one member of a kin group against another within the same group is said to be not punishable in the same way as a wrong done by an out-grouper.

A unique occurrence illustrating adherence to the principle was the

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attempted parricide upon old Brown Robe. It was a notorious and most "unnatural" offense. 627x 682

Case 16. Homicidal Assault: Brown Robe vs. Crazy Bear
Informants: That's It and Visits Her Relatives

"Brown Robe was a Yep Eater with three wives. Two were sisters; the third was a chore wife. The elder sister had married him first and the younger had been given to him later. When he brought home the third wife, the elder sister said to him, 'I see you have a new wife.'

"Three young men were living in his household with him. They were Buffalo, who was his son by a former marriage, Crazy Bear, his grandson, child of his daughter who had died, and also Buffalo's nephew. The third young man was a captive whom Brown Robe had taken as a child, raised, and called 'son.' The two sisters each had a child by Brown Robe, but the chore wife had no children.

"One day Buffalo and Crazy Bear ambushed the old man. Buffalo shot him with an arrow. (His father had given him medicine as was customary for a father to give a son his medicine. This medicine was that of the brown bear; it gave invulnerability to bullets. A bullet won't go through a bear, except at a certain spot. An arrow will. That is why Buffalo used an arrow to shoot his father, because he knew a bullet would not harm him.) Then Buffalo ran off with the chore wife. She was not pretty, either. She was real dark. Crazy Bear ran off with Young Woman, his grandfather's younger wife. The elder wife and the captive boy stayed with the old man. He did not die from his wound, for he was doctored back to health by a medicine man. While they were out hiding, children were born to the two young men; each of them had a boy.

"Later on these couples and their children returned to Brown Robe's camp. He greeted them without malice. 'What you have done to me is forgiven. Just forget what you have done. Let us live in peace.' Everything did go smoothly after that. His former wives, who were now his daughters-in-law, treated him respectfully as a father-in-law. And when Brown Robe died about ten years later, his son and all his establishment mourned for him."

Community reaction in such a case could be only in the form of public disapproval. Legally the whole affair was a private matter. And as She Invites Her Relatives explained it, Brown Robe could not retaliate because the offenders were blood relatives. Or as Kwasi (Dr. Mirsky's informant), phrased it, "His feeling for his son and grandson over-balance the women (meaning the wrong alone). The women were of no consequence compared to his own flesh and blood." Brown Robe's receiving the whole group back was above criticism, "because he was a war chief." 627x 624

But the fact that Buffalo, his son, was also a war chief did not save him from public censure. People talked in strong terms of his conduct. When he and the others returned to the main camp, public opinion was so sharp that

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they had to live apart on the outskirts of the village. The social sentiment was there. A norm making a crime of parricide could have developed from it. But as it was, it remained not a matter for "legal" interference by society. Therefore murder was still essentially a wrong and only vaguely a crime.

In case 27, p. 94–95, a young warrior slew his mother's brother because of black magic performed against his brother. The uncle was said to be putting a curse upon the youth for suspected adultery with the uncle's wife. Here were two intra-familial actions: the first, for a violation of marital rights; the second, a retaliation before the fact in anticipation of the death. In the words of the informant, however, "The quarrel was in the family, so no one else could take it up to do anything about it." This case sharply defies the supposed principle of inability of blood to proceed against blood. At the same time it resubstantiates the private nature of murder.

Supporting and contradicting the hypothesis that action could not be taken against an aggressor within the family, is a second case of parricide in which Capture killed his father, who was a "captive white man who had grown from boyhood among the Comanches." His father had remarried after his first wife's death. The new wife was young and beautiful—and indiscreet. She took her step-son as a lover. When his father got suspicious, Capture shot him to get him out of the way. Then he fled. His flight, however, led him into the vicinity of That's It's camp. That's It was a foster relative of the dead man—through his adoption into That's It's family. That's It called him "younger brother." That's It took a party of his kinsmen to confront the murderer. "Son," he said, "for one thing I have come. It is as it is—it is done (the deed). I am taking the woman and the horses." Then the informant explained, "That's It took the horses and the woman, not as a form of damages, because Capture was his 'son': you don't collect damages from a son. He did it as a punishment, because the woman meant more to the boy than anything else."

Taking a group of kinsmen over to divest an erring relative of his ill-gotten wife and horses was not collecting damages; it was punishing him! It had to be so, because one did not collect damages from a son. Is legal logic restricted to the civilized mind? One could not proceed against a kinsman, but one could punish him.

The truth seems to be that the "principle" itself rests on confusion. Where families or kin are the legal units recognized by the society as a whole, then *before the society as a whole or its officials* it may well be that "a group cannot proceed against itself." But there remains the self-regulation of the group. The Comanche instances show two things: that what happened

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inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627x
that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602
personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562
band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682
in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their 684]
husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581
band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562
true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602
marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587
establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562
not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682
was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

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000 was at the same time the wife of his brother. But when a son-in-law gave
586 personal offense to a parent-in-law, it was possible to order dissolution of
606 the marriage.

Case 17. Murder of Sister-in-law: Lost vs. his nephews
Informant: Post Oak Jim

×627 "Once some white men caught some Indians and held them prisoners. Those
●682 that were left were short of food. There was a Mexican captive who went to a girl
602 and said that if he could get a horse he'd buy something for them to eat with it. He wanted to take the best horse. The girl bawled him out. 'There are plenty of horses, and I don't want to take the best.' She said she didn't want to give it to this crazy Mexican. After that he wanted to make up again, but they sent him off. He was interpreter for the Indians at that time.

"The Mexican went up to his wife. He wanted to know where his bow and arrows were. He took them and went up to the woman who owned the horse and killed her. Four of her sons were gone. After she died, her people cried and cried, and buried her out on the prairie. All the rest of the Indians had it in for the Mexican, but they didn't know what to do about it. The Mexican was a medicine man and a war chief. The four boys got back. The others were crying for the dead mother. The boys told them to be quiet for a while. They said they were not going to cry until they finished everything. The Mexican's wife told him his nephews were back. His wife was the dead woman's sister. The sons did not eat. They got several men, and told them what they were going to do.

" 'We're just going to keep still about it for awhile. We'll find out all about it. This man is a medicine man, and we'll try to take away his medicine. Early in the morning we'll pack up and leave.' In the morning the men and the four boys got their guns and got ready to start.

"The Mexican had his horse tied up. There were eight men with the boys. The Mexican untied his horse, saying, 'They won't come.'

"His wife was all anxious and nervous. She said, 'Lost, what are you going to do? Your nephews are coming.'

"He said, 'I've no need to be on horseback to fight them. They are just like women.'

"They came around the tipi, calling, 'Come out, you are nothing but a coward.' As soon as he came out one of them shot him, and they went on. His wife didn't know what to do. He was dying; blood was just pouring out. There was one medicine man there, but he didn't have much power. The following evening he was doctoring Lost, but he died. The wife came down to camp the next morning. Nobody did anything to the boys. They had it in for him, killed him, and that was all. Lots of people were glad. He was real mean. Chew Up was the man who killed him."

It is not likely in this instance that the fact of Lost's being a captive laid him open to attack where a full-blooded Comanche would not have been.

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He was a medicine man and a ranking war leader, which meant that he was perforce a man of status, even among the tribal full-bloods. 627x

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, it should be noted however, that from a general social point of view, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered mean by the people; yet if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through *coups*, there was little to prevent him from being as free a Bluebeard as he wished—except that wives became harder for him to get. 682 602

Attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare. The one case, given by Talker, is interesting for its many facets, and significant for its outcome. It shows that given time to let the revenge feeling cool, coupled with a recognition of provocation to kill, certain murders might be overlooked.

Case 18. Murder: Wife destroys husband
Informant: Talker (Abstract of History recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.) 627x

The husband had been abusing his wife in attempts to force a confession of unfaithfulness from her. One day when he had prepared a fire over which to roast her, she seized and stabbed him and cremated him on the pyre he had intended for her torture. Then she fled for many days to the west until she met Ute Indians. There she was adopted as a wife and lived for a season or two. Then she told her entire story, ending, "and then I threw his body on the fire that had been prepared for me. Because both my husband and I have many relatives on both sides, and because I feared a conflict between the two families, I started out so that there might be no trouble between the two families." 682 593

Later she escaped and returned to her people. She repeated the whole episode to the dead man's father, and as she finished, all her relatives burst forth in a great wail for the man whom she had slain. But there was no trouble. The dead man's father announced, "Because my son was so mean to her, and because I had tried to talk to him, and he would not listen nor heed my word, and because both our families are respectable, to do anything at this late date would be unbecoming."

Thus there was no feud, no retaliation.

ACCIDENTAL HOMICIDE

Though the Comanches were more rude than other Plains tribes in their failure to recognize composition for murder, they showed more perceptive discrimination than most primitives in drawing a clear line between murder and accidental homicide. Intent to assault was a necessary feature of murder. A clearly defined case illustrating this principle was given by White Wolf. 627x 672

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"As soon as they started to carry out the corpse, Chew Up followed after them, repeating his warnings to his aunt. 'Don't wail,' he commanded the bereaved woman. 'If you wail for him, I will kill you. Go bury him, and when you have done it, go back to your own people.' 627x 754 683

"The evil medicine man was buried unmourned.

"That night Chew Up himself went to stay with his elder brother. The young man was so sick that he could drink no water—always the sign of a person at death's door. All night long Chew Up held his brother in his arms, until—just as the white dawn came—he died. They wailed for him, and they mourned. The father of Chew Up was a war chief and a rich man. Chew Up explained, 'I am but following the pattern set by my father.'

"What lay behind it all was this: the medicine man uncle had caught his nephew lying with his wife—not in actual intercourse, however. For this reason he had put the curse on him. *Because the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it.* (Author's italics.)

"Just as all this quieted down, Chew Up's other elder brother came home from war. (Chew Up was the youngest, the one who died was the middle brother.) The eldest brother admonished Chew Up. 'You have committed the unheard-of thing: you have killed our uncle.'

"And Chew Up replied, 'Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?'

"To this his elder brother retorted, 'You have done something terrible. You shall not live long.'

"Chew Up answered back, 'I am going to live a long time.'

"The elder brother was killed not long after, and Chew Up lived to be an old, old man."

The thing that strikes hardest in this history of Chew Up is the way in which it emphasizes so completely the non-criminal nature of homicide. But it is also breath-taking in how fast it moved through the ordinary middle-stage of beseeching the sorcerer to remove the curse. "You are a medicine man, why don't you doctor him?" Not an entreaty, but a sarcasm. Then the death-blow. Here the sorcerer faced a tribal strong-man, a man of wealth and position with the pattern of family pride to uphold. How differently the law worked with such a man on the aggrieved's end of the stick than when it was put in the hands of Salt Worn Out to wield for justice's sake! [671 682]

Comanche law, because it was a personal and a kin law, *did* swing upon valor and guts. It was a matter of out-weighing whatever power the offender had on his side. In cases of sorcery this was usually done in the attempt to throw counter-medicine into the scale. But unless the counter-medicine was stronger in its supernatural power than the medicine behind 671 627x

587 brother's daughter naturally belongs to the same clan as her father's sister. Such marriages are nothing more than the extension of the sororate to a lower generation and, like the levirate and sororate, they function to keep the bond between two families or marriage groups firm when one of the links has been snapped. In at least one Comanche instance, recounted by Slope, such a marriage was made for this explicit reason. The widowed husband was said to be a very good man, and his brother-in-law wanted to keep him in the family. As he had no other sister, he gave him his daughter instead. Previously, the widower had been his *haints* and they had joked as brothers-in-law do. Now brother-in-law had become son-in-law to his friend, and they both changed their behavior and address terms to the more circumspect relation required of son-in-law and father-in-law.

582 Avowedly a man could also marry his stepdaughter, but we have
●682 no examples of such marriages. So, too, he could marry his stepmother when his father died, but not his real mother. In the heinous case of attempted parricide of Old Buffalo, who had three wives, his son and grandson shot him and ran off with the two wives from whom they were not descended. They were ostracized ("people didn't like it") and had to live on the edge of the camp, but not so much for marrying the stepmothers as for their attempt on the life of their father and grandfather.[19]

582 Marriages between persons of any degree of recognized genetic
591 relationship were absolutely forbidden. Most marriages took place within the band; hence, a couple lived customarily in the same group as their parents. The groom brought his wife to his private lodge, which was set near that of his parents, and there they were likely to live until a growing family made a larger dwelling necessary. Since residence in inter-band marriages was more often virilocal (residence in the locale of the husband), children usually belonged to the band of the father. When, however, a man took a first wife from another tribe, he generally went to live with her, since his own tribe held him in light esteem afterwards.

606 The bride's mother with other relatives and friends of the couple ordinarily helped the couple get started housekeeping. She helped make much of the furnishings and possibly a new tipi. There was no

[19] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

627 hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way.[15] » » »

In a few rare instances an inversion of the institution of the champion was employed, as in the case of the husband who was so afraid of the warrior who stole his wife that he sent an *old woman* to try to get his wife back for him. The absconder said he was going to keep the woman, but he sent back a horse loaded with goods in her place.[16]

Whether by force or by insinuating himself upon the grace of the great aggressor, Comanche law and custom guaranteed compensation to a husband, if not necessarily the return of his wife.

627 For murder, however, there was no adjudication or compromise. Indeed, the murder of a fellow tribesman was most unusual, but it
● 682 sometimes happened. In such an event, the *lex taliones* was invoked; the punishment of the murderer was primarily the concern of the murdered man's relatives. The case was not closed until the kin of the dead man had taken the life of the murderer. But the privilege of a revenge killing might not be recognized by the kin of the murderer. Kinsmen could legally strike back.

However, kin organization was weak; the principle of kinship liability was not sufficiently pronounced to result in feud. There was no ruthless taking of life of whoever happened to be related to the murderer. The kin feeling was strong enough, however, to induce the kin of the murderer to protect him for some time. As long as vigilance was maintained, an attempt on the life of the murderer was unlikely, for legal right usually gave way to determined resistance. In actuality it was extremely unlikely that a murder resulted in a deadly clash between groups of kin. Tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the responsibility for obtaining justice rested with the relatives and friends of the dead. This is the first principle of collective liability.

[15] *Ibid.*, 62–63.
[16] *Ibid.*, 53.

Government and Law

A group might intervene to stop a fight, yet it had no legal authority to do so. The offended party, if disposed to compromise, had the privilege of accepting a commutation and releasing the murderer, according to David G. Burnet's observation in 1824.[17] This was seldom the case, however, and by mid-century, if our informants are correct, it was out of the question. Comanche law was hardening through the decades in this one respect. The murderer might flee the camp to another band and thereby escape vengeance for an indefinite period, if he was lucky. Whether or not any kind of settlement was reached, the man who had done the killing was usually more or less ostracized by his fellows. It made no difference how prominent the man might have been or how good his family, should he shed the blood of a fellow tribesman, a stigma was cast over his family and his relatives shared in the disgrace. The matter was not only talked about, but might even blight the lives of his children after his death. 627 682

Those who committed murder were often men of great bravery whose success in war and whose standing in the tribe had made them somewhat arrogant and impatient of those who did not do as they demanded. Other men committed murder in revenge.

In Comanche law the killing of a murderer by the kinsmen of the victim was a privileged act. *It did not lead to feud.* A killing called for a counter-killing. And there it stopped. The society at large and the kin of the murderer also recognized and granted the privilege-right of the execution of the murderer by the hand of his victim's brothers. This made it a truly legal sanction. No single case contravening this norm in action is remembered by any Comanche informant. The Comanches in this remarkable (in the light of the usual feudal tendencies of primitives) self-imposed restraint raised this aspect of their law to a higher than ordinary level for people of their general cultural attainments.

Favorite horses were so endowed with personality that killing a man's favorite horse was akin to killing his brother. The owner might, and sometimes did, kill the horse-slayer in return.[18] 627 [685]

A wrong committed by one member of a kin group against an-

[17] Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154.

[18] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–72.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818] 000

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost 562
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 175
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 684
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of muti- 175
lation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interpo- 696
sition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwith- 175
standing the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 571
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but 175
have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 771
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 776
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- [775]
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity, 771

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

622 624 554 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 701 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

623 Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally [622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 203 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 685 684 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, 682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. 673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own 538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, 177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the [797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking [175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted. 684 627 593

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taß βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you." 684 627 782

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6] [784]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act. 684 627 782 593

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter. 684 627 782

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk. 684 627 593

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder. 682 [593]

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90–91.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[578] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
776 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
776 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII,A most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white. 756 789

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9] 754 755 754 683 627 754

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair. [682]

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89–90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94–95.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

754 resentment a crisis could arise which focused all this resentment on the
626 sorcerer's unfortunate head, congealing public sentiment to direct and vigorous public action. When this point was reached, tort merged into crime.
626 The result was lynching. But such lynching was an act of social policy and
683 not the venting of mob hatred. The purpose and end can be seen to be the same as in many of those outbursts of fury which occur in our own society, but the temper was different. In our society lynchings are frequently associated with the outraged feeling that the "law" will not operate severely enough or that it may be evaded. Comanche lynchings were deliberately executed by spontaneous, but stated, social agreement in the absence of any other established procedure. This was a movement towards a higher juridical level; ours is a relapse. Finally, the crime of which the Comanche victim was guilty was rarely indeed *an* act; it was rather the acquired status of "publiely dangerous person," akin to our recent conception of Public Enemy No. 1. History and reputation made the status; danger, or the sorcerer's old age, or loss of grip furnished the motivation; any given particular outrage was at last a fulminating cap upon the charge.

x627 Comanche lynching was apparently not of frequent occurrence. It could
683 not be called a *predictably* established practice. Our records are limited to three accounts of such an event, though most Comanches will formulate the generalization that evil medicine men were killed by the people. These accounts were explicit and to the point, leaving no doubt as to their being definite Comanche reactions. It cannot be stated with surety that they are not all versions of the same incident.

Case 20. Excessive Sorcery: People vs. (?)
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"There was a nice young man got bewitched by an old Beaver medicine man; he was wasting away. Someone asked another medicine man to find out what was wrong with the boy. This second medicine man told them about the sorcery the Beaver man had made. He also told them that that same old man was the cause of other cases like that.

"When this was learned, all the men in the band had a conference at which they decided to kill the sorcerer. They made believe they were going to have a curing for the sick boy. They set up a Beaver lodge and put the sick boy in it. Then some of them went and smoked with the sorcerer and asked him to come to perform the Beaver ceremony cure for the boy. He accepted the smoke and came to the lodge. The people went inside, but they left two young warriors outside the lodge to kill the medicine man when he came out after the ceremony was over.

"Later on, he came out and started for home with a small boy as companion. When they had got half way home, and the women were all asleep, the two warriors sent the little boy away and killed the medicine man."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 20a
Informant: Slope

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"An evil medicine man lived among the band called Those Who Move Often. He was so hated by the people that he finally moved away. He went west and there located with another band. After he was there awhile, a man got sick. Another medicine man took the cure and saw that it was this evil man from the Those Who Move Often who had caused the sickness.

"The people got together and plotted to kill the fellow. They arranged for him to doctor a sick person—then they would kill him as he came from the tent. They did it just as they had planned. Just as he was stepping over the bottom part of the tipi door they shot him with bow and arrows. He made one big jump and fell dead on his face."

Case 20b
Informant: Talker

"How Gawky, the evil medicine man, died. He bewitched all the Those Who Move Often, old and young, men, women, and children; he was about to exterminate them. He placed a curse on a rich man. That man died. It was found out that it was Gawky who had cursed him.

"People talked this thing over; they said, 'There is not much we can do with Gawky; we can't fight him. The only thing for us to do, the sure thing, is to cause him to break his tabu.' His forbidden thing was the eating of any food cooked on a long stick—a spit.

"Someone invited him to dinner where it had been arranged to put a spit with meat upon it (just as was forbidden) under the robe on which he was to sit. He sat right on it.

"He ate his dinner and left.

"That night a voice was heard to cry, 'Gawky is dying.' 'What is he dying of? He can't; he is invincible.' Then Gawky spoke out, 'Nothing can save me; nothing can cure me. Through my rectum into my intestines has gone this forbidden spit. I am not going to get well.'

"He died. And after he died he became an evil spirit, but it ended sorcery among the Those Who Move Often. Just the contact of the spit had entered him magically and killed him.

"Bad medicine men become evil spirits."

What we see reflected in these cases is: (a) specific delegation of power to individuals by community agreement in order to rid society of a menace, (b) group slaying of the public enemy after community agreement (i.e., lynching). This is what made of excessive sorcery a crime.

Though not an historical case, one epic battle of sorcerers in legend is pertinent in the exposition of Comanche attitudes towards sorcery. 754

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 683

To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[5] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

x627 787 694

But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

787 x627 755

Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

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[5] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and 787
symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could 627x
occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went 755
into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer.

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the 627x
cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature 755
of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of 683
his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse.

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly 796
throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so 276
far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by Ms E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938).

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 23. Sorcery: Bull Elk vs. Barking Buttocks
Informant: That's It

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"Barking Buttocks was using his medicine in a bad way against Bull Elk. Bull Elk was awfully sick. They called in one doctor after another to work on him. Not one could do a thing. One right after the other, they gave it up. Finally, they called on Traveller's Road. He was a captive, but he had medicine.

"This captive got up his songs; he acted as though he were flying over Bull Elk with his medicine feathers, so he could see who had put the spell on Bull Elk. Then he started right in doctoring. He did his cure three times, but nothing happened.

"Bull Elk had four brothers. Two of these brothers now talked to Traveller's Road. 'What did you learn?' they asked him. 'What is it in our brother there?'

" 'It is a bad medicine,' he replied. 'It is the evil medicine of Barking Buttocks.'

"The brothers looked at each other. 'Well now,' they said, 'We'll just ask him to remove that curse from our brother there. We won't do him any harm, friend. No, we won't attempt to harm him. We promise that. We will just ask him to withdraw his medicine. But how do you know it is the medicine of Barking Buttocks?'

" 'When I was flying the feathers over your brother, I saw his shadow. The medicine of Barking Buttocks is in him,' was the answer.

"That settled it. On the next morning Bull Elk's brothers sent his wife to seek the bad medicine man. They told her to invite him to come to the tipi where Bull Elk lay dying. The brothers were waiting in the tipi, sitting near the door, the sick man lying at the rear. Barking Buttocks came, and they moved apart for him to sit between them. Both of the brothers had weapons.

"They started talking to the sorcerer. 'Friend,' they said, 'We have a question to ask of you. There is our brother. He lies sick, about to die. You are the man who has done this thing. Take pity, we beg of you. Take pity on our brother there. Can you not see that he is an old man, even as you? Take away your medicine. Take it home with you.'

"Barking Buttocks replied that he had nothing to do with it. Who gave them the idea it was his medicine? Who said he was responsible anyway?

" 'Traveller's Road,' they answered.

"Now Barking Buttocks was angry. 'That captive has no sense,' he cried. 'He is a fool. His medicine makes him lie. Why do you listen to him? Bring that idiot in here so I can talk to him.'

"The wife went out to get the doctor. He came through the door, and they made a place for him to sit by them. Traveller's Road walked by. 'No,' he declined, 'I have my place.' He sat down at the foot of the sickbed. As he listened, one of the brothers explained the reproach of Barking Buttocks.

"Traveller's Road listened to the end. He was gravely silent. At last he pointed the finger at Barking Buttocks. 'How *can* he deny it?' he asked them. 'How can he deny it when he *knows* he did it?'

" 'Captive,' sneered the sorcerer.

" 'I saw his shadow over your brother,' reiterated Traveller's Road.

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"'What about it, friend?' they pressed Barking Buttocks.

"He did not answer them. He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore. 'Early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!'

"The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you. We drop it.'

"During the winter Barking Buttocks with his family drifted away from the main camp. In the spring he went hunting with his nephew. The first storm of the season came: a cloud rolled up in the sky. Lightning flashed! One, two, three. The fourth bolt found Barking Buttocks. The medicine man fell dead. That settled the question. He was finished and Bull Elk was saved."

In this situation four approaches were taken: two on the supernatural plane, one on the profane, and then back again to the supernatural. There was the usual attempt to overcome sorcery with medicine. This failed without giving so much as a trace of the sorcerer. Then followed Traveller's Road's success in detection and his failure to cure. Direct action was taken, beginning with indirection. The sorcerer was entreated. The sorcerer denied responsibility. With denial a new tone appeared. The atmosphere was charged with threat of violence. Conciliation had failed; now came into play the law's earthly sanction—force. In this case, however, it did not come to violence. The medicine man preferred the supernatural. He introduced the fourth and final term by invoking the conditional curse—not on the accuser, but on himself.

The need for authoritative evidence had to be met. As between two medicine men, whose word was to be taken? The interesting thing in this case is that only the word of one party was tested. It was always so. The test was—"Is Barking Buttocks guilty as charged, or not?" That was the question put to the sun. The test was not—"Is Traveller's Road or Barking Buttocks the false speaker?" Hence the sorcerer called the conditional curse down upon himself. The presumption must be that either the sorcerer believed himself innocent, or else held the conditional curse lightly. It would be a bold Comanche who held to the latter. Skeptics may raise an eyebrow as to the end of Barking Buttocks in the manner described. Still there is legal significance in the native belief in the sorcerer's demise—for belief makes the sanction real as example for those who survive. The conditional curse in the sorcerer's trial was therefore the supreme appeal.

As counter-medicine occasionally failed, so also did sometimes threats of direct action. After all, while law is law, and sorcery illegal, sorcerers were dangerous personages. (One thinks twice, and more, before going to law with a gangster.) One trod cautiously when going to the mat with a sorcerer.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The diplomatic game of threatening sanctions was played in Comanche law: there was much bluster, but we know of only two cases in which actual physical harm was done the sorcerer (aside from the planned executions above). One of these was a "lynching," the other a murder, but done within the family. In the case of No Bed, the sorceress whose story is recounted below, the attempted violence was circumvented. Indeed, so circumspect was the handling of sorcerers with mundane techniques, so much was it front without substance, that such a terrorizer as Looking After His Son could bully the would-be prosecutors into submission. 627 × 633 ● 754

Case 24. Sorcery: ? vs. Looking After His Son
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

"Looking After His Son was a boastful medicine man always talking about his power. Whenever he went among the people it was his boast that he could kill anyone within a vicinity of a quarter mile, should that person raise his displeasure. After all this big talk people began to get suspicious of him.

"One day a young man fell sick. People took to muttering about Looking After His Son. Rumors flew about until finally Looking After His Son heard that people were accusing him of the deed. He heard that the relatives of the sick youth were threatening to kill him.

"It was not long before a relative of the youth who lay ill came to call at the sorcerer's lodge. Looking After His Son welcomed him. 'Hello, friend,' he said. 'I am happy to see you here. Sit down. We will tell stories tonight.'

"At midnight the visitor made excuses to go. The medicine-man motioned him to keep his place. 'I have a certain question to ask. You must accept it,' he ordered. 'I understand your relatives are saying I cause them death. They are making threats at me. Now you look out. Before you leave here, swear that you will stop them, or else—. Well, I'll fix you for certain.'

"The man swore.

"Early the next morning, without stopping for breakfast, he sought out his kinsmen. He pleaded with them for his own sake not to offend the sorcerer further. They heard his plea, and deemed it wisest to acquiesce; they said nothing more about Looking After His Son after that." [602]

It was the opinion of the narrator that Looking After His Son was as guilty as guilty can be. Yet what could be done about it? Sorcery was the the affair of the relatives; they shirked it with cold feet. The sorcerer's bold front and the power behind it were his impunity.

A comparable outrage was recorded from Carrying Her Sunshade. It was a situation in which she figured as a girl, thus placing it shortly before 1860.

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Case 25. Sorcery: Salt Worn Out vs. Robe On His Back
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

"Robe On His Back propositioned Salt Worn Out's wife and she turned him down. Robe On His Back did not like that one bit; so he brooded over it, and settled on revenge. His medicine centered in a black kerchief. He worked on this handkerchief with his spells until it brought a curse on Salt Worn Out's little daughter. She bled from her lungs.

"My husband was a medicine man, so Salt Worn Out brought his daughter to us. My husband worked and worked, but he got no results.

"Finally he called on me, 'Breathe four times on her,' he commanded. I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed—behold! The blood stopped flowing. 'Again,' ordered my husband. I breathed, and I breathed and I breathed, and I breathed. He had me do it over and over until the girl felt better.

"Next he advised Salt Worn Out to move his tipi over to ours, so we could doctor during the night.

"For quite awhile my husband had me repeat my medicine over the girl. It was good medicine, but she never got completely well. We had to find out who was causing the illness, so my husband took out his copper bowl painted red about the rim. He filled his bucket with water, and sang his songs. Then he called us all to look into the water. What did we see but Robe On His Back holding his black handkerchief! Every time he fluttered the kerchief, the girl coughed blood. My husband called the girl's mother to look in, too. 'You have refused Robe On His Back,' he told her. 'I have seen this thing' (in his dreams). This was the proof of all the trouble.

"Salt Worn Out was a coward. He was afraid to protect his daughter. He shrank from approaching Robe On His Back. He shrank from even so much as begging him to remove his evil medicine. Never did he think of threatening him. Instead he stayed with us for a whole year to keep our help and protection. Finally, he decided to move away; they drifted off to some other band where they hoped they could escape from Robe On His Back's hatred."

In this instance the issue of guilt was not put to the test because of Salt Worn Out's cowardice. Here there was not even a preliminary blustering before the back-down. Robe On His Back was free from legal molestation, showing again how distinctly sorcery was a tort. Success in handling supernatural aggression hinged, like success in prosecuting the aggressor against marital rights, upon relative power—either supernatural, or physical and moral. In handling sorcery, however, it was not so easy to attain a balance. Especially is this true of the second phase of anti-sorcery procedure—that which was followed when counter-medicine had failed. We have seen the situation in which the case proceeded to its perfect legal end, that in which Barking Buttocks appealed to the conditional curse. We have revealed two instances in which fear of the aggressor stilled the aggrieved. We were able to record but two cases wherein actual physical coercion was attempted against the body of the sorcerer.

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Case 26. Sorcery: ? vs. No Bed
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

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"No Bed was a powerful medicine woman. Her power was one of the strongest in the tribe. She shared it with her daughter, whom she had initiated into its mysteries. Quite a few rules went with the medicine, such as the tabu against yellow paint. Another was that whomsoever they dreamed about, on that person they must put the curse. If they did not make bad medicine against that person, they themselves would sicken and die!

"No Bed dreamed one night. She dreamed about a young man in the camp, a young man well-liked by every one. Even No Bed liked him. Nevertheless she made her medicine. Pretty soon the poor boy fell sick. The wasting-away sickness was upon him.

"Everyone thought about No Bed. Sure enough, the medicine man on the case saw she was guilty, so he had them send for her. She refused to go at first. 'Why do you come for me?' she complained. 'I have no power. What do they want me for?'

"The messenger begged her. 'Do come before it is too late,' he implored. 'You can remove the curse if you come now. Before long it will be too late.'

"Well, she would go along, she said. But all the time she kept repeating over and over that she had nothing to do with it and could be of no possible use. She was still wagging her tongue as they approached the tipi, when they heard a wail emerge. She stopped. A great chorus of mourning came out from the sick lodge. The boy was dead!

"No Bed took to her heels and ran. Her escort seized a spear, and charged after her. She sped for the lodge of Grey Flat Lying Object, who was a chief of the Quick-Stinger band. She rushed through his door, and throwing her arms about him, she begged for protection.

" 'Well, what is the matter, then?' queried Grey Flat Lying Object. No Bed babbled out her story. 'Yes,' the chief assured her, 'I will give you protection as far as I can. Now sit down; let us talk this thing over.'

"Grey Flat Lying Object recognized her danger. He knew she would be killed if she stayed in camp; he could not protect her forever. He decided to spirit her away until the trouble blew over. No Bed assented, so her daughter was sent for. The two stayed hidden in the chief's tipi until dark, when Grey Flat Lying Object led them out of the camp and away. No Bed left her tipi standing with all her belongings so as to fool the people. By hard travelling they found a camp of Caddo in the east. Grey Flat Lying Object left them there, and returned home.

"No Bed and her daughter lived for many years among the Caddo. The daughter is still living; she is a Christian now, but she still has her medicine. It is no longer so bad now; times have changed.

"No Bed died some years ago. After she came back to our people she befriended an old man. She cooked him food and helped him. But that was because she was going to put her bad medicine on him. A certain medicine man dreamed about this. He hurried to warn the old man of his danger. 'There is only one way you can save yourself,' he told him. 'The next time you see that old woman, put some yellow

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x62 paint on yourself in some secret place.' When this happened, it broke No Bed's
754 tabu against yellow paint—she was killed in the end by her power."
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Here is a case where we see a chief (Grey Flat Lying Object was one of the great Comanche war leaders) taking the role of the champion in a new situation, this time acting for the defendant. We *should* know something of his motives in expousing her cause. We found no evidence of institu-
[183] tionalization of a right of asylum.

The next and the only other case we have in which a *real* attempt was made by relatives of a sick person to do direct violence to a sorcerer comes from Dr. Mirsky.

Case 27. Sorcery: Chew Up vs. Bull Roarer
Informant: Talker

"There was a man named Chew Up. He was a Yep-Eater, and had just returned from a war-raid. He asked his father, 'What is that tent doing there?' (pointing to a tipi close to his own).

"His father said, 'Your brother is very ill.'

" 'And what may be the matter with him?' he asked.

" 'Some one has shot him with his medicine. Some one put his curse on him.'

"Chew Up went into his father's tipi; there he found his mother getting food ready for him. His father followed him in and addressed him. 'Son, there is something I cannot keep from you. I cannot keep you in darkness. Bull Roarer is doctoring your brother. Bull Roarer is a very great medicine man—his diagnosis is always right.' The father told him what Bull Roarer had discovered.

"At that moment the mother's brother of Chew Up entered. 'Nephew,' he hailed him, 'you have returned. I overheard you talking. That is why I came in.' That was all he said; taking his leave, he went to the sick man's tipi.

"Chew Up rose and followed him. He found the uncle sitting at the foot of his brother's bed. Chew Up gave sympathy to his brother, encouraging him with promises of his recovery. Then he turned to his uncle. 'You are a medicine man who can doctor. Why don't you doctor him?' he demanded. To his uncle's wife who sat at the far end of the tipi he then gave an order to leave. As soon as she was out the door, he drew his knife.

" 'Oh,' cried the uncle, 'I have failed. I cannot relieve him.'

"As he said that, Chew Up seized him by the hair, and pushing down his head, he stabbed his uncle twice. Then he went out. He had killed him.

"He went striding back to his father's tipi, where his mother was still cooking. 'Mother,' he said, 'I have killed your brother. Now go tell your sister-in-law what I have done to her husband. But tell her this, she is not to mourn for him.'

"His mother went to her sister-in-law with his bidding. 'Come,' she directed her, 'we will get your husband's body out of the tipi.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"As soon as they started to carry out the corpse, Chew Up followed after them, repeating his warnings to his aunt. 'Don't wail,' he commanded the bereaved woman. 'If you wail for him, I will kill you. Go bury him, and when you have done it, go back to your own people.' 627x 754 683

"The evil medicine man was buried unmourned.

"That night Chew Up himself went to stay with his elder brother. The young man was so sick that he could drink no water—always the sign of a person at death's door. All night long Chew Up held his brother in his arms, until—just as the white dawn came—he died. They wailed for him, and they mourned. The father of Chew Up was a war chief and a rich man. Chew Up explained, 'I am but following the pattern set by my father.'

"What lay behind it all was this: the medicine man uncle had caught his nephew lying with his wife—not in actual intercourse, however. For this reason he had put the curse on him. *Because the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it.* (Author's italics.)

"Just as all this quieted down, Chew Up's other elder brother came home from war. (Chew Up was the youngest, the one who died was the middle brother.) The eldest brother admonished Chew Up. 'You have committed the unheard-of thing: you have killed our uncle.'

"And Chew Up replied, 'Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?'

"To this his elder brother retorted, 'You have done something terrible. You shall not live long.'

"Chew Up answered back, 'I am going to live a long time.'

"The elder brother was killed not long after, and Chew Up lived to be an old, old man."

The thing that strikes hardest in this history of Chew Up is the way in which it emphasizes so completely the non-criminal nature of homicide. But it is also breath-taking in how fast it moved through the ordinary middle-stage of beseeching the sorcerer to remove the curse. "You are a medicine man, why don't you doctor him?" Not an entreaty, but a sarcasm. Then the death-blow. Here the sorcerer faced a tribal strong-man, a man of wealth and position with the pattern of family pride to uphold. How differently the law worked with such a man on the aggrieved's end of the stick than when it was put in the hands of Salt Worn Out to wield for justice's sake! [671 682]

Comanche law, because it was a personal and a kin law, *did* swing upon valor and guts. It was a matter of out-weighing whatever power the offender had on his side. In cases of sorcery this was usually done in the attempt to throw counter-medicine into the scale. But unless the counter-medicine was stronger in its supernatural power than the medicine behind 671 627x

754 power had shown him a victim in a dream, and it was believed, if this occurred, that the sorcerer had to kill the person or his power would kill him instead.

The sorcerer would be revealed in the diagnosis of a medicine man when he was called in to cure. "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." When the sorcerer was announced, it was usual for the brothers of the sick person to pay him a visit in order to ask him to remove the power. In most of the specific cases of which we have accounts, the sorcerer denied his guilt. Then his petitioners either went away and engaged their own medicine man to counteract the witchcraft or they threatened bodily injury to the sorcerer. If their curing doctor was strong enough and was willing to go on with the case, he turned the power back, and the sorcerer died of his own malefactions.

The sorcerer who maintained his innocence, when threatened with force, in each recorded case immediately forestalled further legal steps by throwing the whole affair over to supernatural judgment. He swore his innocence with a conditional curse. If he was guilty he was killed by powers of the Sun and the Earth. If he survived, his innocence was accepted as proved.

The sin for which he died was perjury before the supernatural powers. The penalty was not imposed by man, but by the "gods."

Isolated instances were not, therefore, legal offenses.

754 Excessive and repeated sorcery was another matter. It built up a condition of social anxiety that led to a fairly dispassionate and quite
● 683 deliberate execution of the sorcerer by general consent. In two instances, sorcerers were lured into ambush on the pretext of engaging them to make cures. In one of these cases the sorcerer was assassinated by two delegates chosen by the people. In the other, he was shot just as he left the tipi.

In a third case, the members of the Those Who Move Often band were afraid to assault a dangerous sorcerer, so they contrived a successful ruse to cause him to break his tabus. Thus they destroyed him.[24]

000 Many forms of social conduct which are considered abnormal in

[24] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Case 23, 89–90.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

578 Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of ac-
[627] tion had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his
657 side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that
[683] might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs
[627] and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

[113] 17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix. October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
[113] 18. Neighbors to Greenwood, June 16, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 536.
[113] 19. Baylor to Neighbors, June 8, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white.

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9]

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair.

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89-90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94-95.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

LEGAL ACTIONS IN ADULTERY AND WIFE-STEALING

CONFLICTS IN MARITAL LAW AND SOCIAL CUSTOM

Though it was illegal for a Comanche wife to desert her husband, to do so was a well established Comanche custom. More than that, custom provided for effective group cooperation in extension of aid to the would-be deserting wife and her absconder. Custom and law worked at cross-purposes. The cause lay in the clash of two opposing fundamental interests which could not be integrated. The result was such "lawless" behavior as Mr. Jerome Frank describes as arising from the "pretend rules" which are so common in human societies, rules which give expression in law to principles mouthed but not wholly believed in.[1] 684 183 671

Before the law Comanche woman was a quasi-chattel; her man was her *baron*. Under the system of contract marriage which prevailed, a girl was bestowed upon a man ofttimes many years her senior and not of her own choosing. According to the ideal pattern she adjusted herself to the arrangement, settling into a smooth and dutiful marital career. It is the expressed belief of the older Indians that such marriages were more successful and lasting than those which were formed of romantic liaison. Unfortunately, one cannot determine the relative percentages of successful marriages for the Comanche. The Comanche law system buttressed this marital arrangement by providing institutionalized instruments for the collection of restituitive damages by any husband whose sexual claim upon his wife was infringed upon by an adulterer or wife-absconder. The husband could mete extreme punishment upon the unfaithful and hapless wife. A marriage had the full protection of the law. 562 671 581

The basic belief that a man's rights in marriage were exclusive (except for the privileges extended to a brother under the anticipatory levirate) and not to be impinged upon unless he had released these rights through recognized divorce, ran into counter currents of custom in the existing notions of romantic marriage (wherein younger couples sought love-mates of their own choosing) and the prevailing behavior of males in the competitive struggle for personal ranking and the attainment of bravery status. The competition for bravery ranking which was institutionalized in coup counting found its opportunity for expression *within* the tribe in the taking of women from their husbands. This threw the wife-taker and the husband into direct conflict. Not raw conflict, however, for as shall be seen, mechanisms for settling the issue without fighting had been developed. 581 578 183

[1] Jerome Frank, *Lawlessness* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1937), p. 227.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

183 The Comanche populace greatly enjoyed the spectacle of wife-stealing.
684 The culture enhanced the procedure by providing for group cooperation in the absconding act. It is clearly discernible in this, that though the Comanches "believed" arranged marriages between an older man and younger woman were the best, their sympathies were with the young couple who tried to get together in spite of the formal pattern. Absconding took place when war parties were leaving the camp. The would-be absconder made himself a member of the raiding group and arranged for the woman to join him in the group at the first-night rendezvous. So the couple rode off on the foray with the gang of warriors.

171 Absconding with a war party is apparently unique among the Comanches, their own invention. The practice did not exist among the Shoshoneans from whom the Comanches stem. Among the Cheyennes such conduct was absolutely forbidden.[2]

PROCEDURE IN ADULTERY AND WIFE ABSCONDING

684 626 A Comanche male who had suffered a legal wrong was under social obligation to take action against the offender. For a man not to do so was not looked upon as an act of social grace; indeed, such behavior was a social disgrace. A man so acting was stamped not as magnanimous, but as lily-livered. Adultery and taking another's wife were direct attacks upon the prestige of the wife's husband. Both acts were unmistakable challenges which could not be ignored by the man who would maintain enough face to make life livable.

Naturally, the aggrieved party was not always inclined to act, nor was the reason always cowardice. If the wrong were not made public, it is obvious that public opinion could not drive a man to institute prosecution. Ridicule was the weapon used by society to cause a man to proceed after the cause for action had become public.

This is clearly brought out in the account of an adulterous youth as told by That's It.

Case 4. Adultery: Husband Slays Boy's Pony; Also That of Boy's Grandfather
Informant: That's It

"An old man had a handsome grandson. Being very proud of the boy, the old man liked to boast of him in public.

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[2] An enterprising warrior tried it once. The leader of the party immediately convened his followers in council to determine the action to be followed. The man and the woman were sent back to camp, but the warriors all promised gifts to be given to the aggrieved husband. On their return from the raid the promises were handsomely fulfilled. But they also effected a formulation of the rule that no man should ever take the wife of another on a raiding party. No subsequent violations of the rule ever occurred. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One day the boy sat in a tipi playing the stick game. There were many people present. The grandfather came in and squatted beside the boy as he was playing. The old man looked around and saw a good-looking woman there. He nudged his grandson in the ribs. 684 626

"With a sly look he whispered, 'That looks like the woman you had last night.'

"The boy looked up and told his grandpa to go away. Then the old man was hurt and said he said nothing wrong. He said it looked like her; no harm in that, is there? Then he was quiet for a few minutes.

"But the old man just couldn't keep still. He kept repeating his observation, how that good-looking woman looked like the one the boy had had the other night. He wouldn't shut up.

"The woman's husband was also there. Pretty soon he spoke up, saying, 'Yes, that's the fellow.'

"The old man left the tipi.

"Pretty soon the game broke up, and all the people went home. The woman's husband just got on his pony and rode over and shot the red mare which was the old man's favorite horse. The he went and killed the boy's pony. He had been letting the matter ride until that old grandpa talked about it in public.

"The boy was real sad and he said, 'Grandpa, you sure done wrong. Look what you got us into.'

"The old man couldn't say anything. He just went off and wept."

The Comanches in this respect were like Malinowski's Trobriand Islanders[3] and many another society. An act may be known by the public and winked at, but when the act is publicly labelled, self-conscious public indignation flares up and blasts the culprit with its hot breath.

Since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. Each case was met by the parties concerned as it arose, and the location was limited only by the necessity of carrying the action to wherever the offender could be found. At home, this was usually at the doorway of his tipi. If the offender was with a raiding party, the aggrieved could await the return of the absconder, or could pursue him. In prosecution, the aggrieved (a) accosted the defendant himself, stating the offense and the extent of damages which would satisfy him. This he might do if he were brave enough. Or, (b) he sent others to prosecute for him, signifying that he considered the matter not worthy of his personal attention, and at the same time minimizing the chance of violent outbreak. An extreme 627x

[3] Concerning incest among the Trobrianders: "If the affair is carried on *sub rosa* with a certain amount of decorum, and if no one in particular stirs up trouble—'public opinion' will gossip, but not demand any hard punishment. If on the contrary, scandal breaks out—every one turns against the guilty pair and by ostracism and insults one or the other may be driven to suicide." (Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 80.)

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×627 instance of this method of procedure was to send the unfaithful wife herself on the onerous task of demanding damages from her lover.[4]

If the aggrieved deemed it wise to form a party to act in the prosecution of the case, he (c) took his group and sat aloofly astride his horse while his confreres laid the charge and negotiated. But he sometimes got impatient with the progress of the action and interceded himself. This led to violence. At every step, strong individual reactions threatened the proceedings.[5] It was not unusual, however, for the aggrieved to (d) send his group to carry out the whole procedure, refraining from appearing upon the scene himself. The situation is not the same as in (b) above.

Another alternative relied upon by men without war honors, lacking in

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[4] *Case 5. Adultery: Husband collects damages through wife*

Informant: Visits Her Relatives

684 "A woman used to go regularly to a hill to get power. Claiming to be a medicine woman, she induced her parents to build her a special tipi in which she could go to rest when she had returned from her pilgrimage for power. This went on for some time, when her husband began to suspect that her movements were not in the interest of medicine, as she claimed. He followed her one day and found her horse down by the creek. Turning back, he went by the tipi of a young man and heard his wife's voice inside. Looking in stealthily, he saw the pair lying together.

"Feeling very wrathful, the husband went home and asked his mother-in-law to take down his wife's special tipi. She refused. He then told his sister to do it, and she could not refuse him, so she removed it.

"When the woman came home and went to rest in her tipi, she found it gone. She went to her husband to ask where her tipi was. He invited her to come into his tipi and sit beside him. When she had done so, he pulled out his knife and cut her hair off close to the scalp, then cut her skirt short. In this bedraggled state he drove her through the camp with his whip. When they came by her lover's tipi the husband bade his wife call to him to come and see her. She called, but her lover did not appear.

"Her husband then sent her to collect damages from him. He demanded six horses, a saddle, bridle, and war costume. When she appeared before the young man in her sad state he was sorry for her and said, 'You look so pitiful; you may have anything you want that I have!'

"His mother loaded his horse with all his portable belongings, and the wife led it publicly through the camp to her husband. This satisfied him, so he kept her as a wife."

[5] *Case 6. Adultery, Homicide: Procedure breaks down*

Informant: Post Oak Jim

684 While one of the bands was out on the warpath, a man learned that his wife had com-
682 mitted adultery. He decided to let the matter ride until they were back in safer territory. When again out of danger the aggrieved husband went with two friends to the culprit to ask for damages.

Negotiations were proceeding amiably when the husband became impatient with the procedure and shouted, "That's no way to talk. Why don't you beat him up or kill him!"

This made his adversary so angry that he stabbed the husband dead. At that the two friends of the slain man killed the offender.

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self confidence, and who were unable to muster a party for themselves, was (e) to entreat a war chief to act for the plaintiff in the matter. The tɛ́k-niwap undertook to see the matter to its close, whatever the consequences, once he agreed to open proceedings on behalf of the aggrieved. An aberrant form of the same type which completely reversed the principle involved was (f) the sending of an old woman to "prosecute" in a situation where the aggrieved feared the defendant, hoping through presenting his cause pitiably to touch the compassion of the offender and so gain larger damages than he himself would dare demand.[6] 627x

The crux of the procedure was bargaining. There was no question of evidence—except in sorcery. In the damage-seeking cases the evidence was obtained before action was brought. In wife-absconding cases the presence of the woman with the absconder was *prima facie* evidence which need go no further. In all our cases but one the bargaining was begun with guilt accepted by both parties. In cases of adultery, beyond *in flagrante delicto*, evidence came from witnesses or by confession of the wife. However it may be, except for cases of sorcery, there was no technique for obtaining evidence from the defendant. Nor was the defendant usually confronted with witnesses. The aggrieved had to ascertain to his own satisfaction who the guilty party might be. After this had been done the defendant could then be confronted.

And what if guilt was denied? Usually it was not. When the defendant refused to own up, the procedure apparently came to an impasse. The aggrieved might be angry enough to take illegal steps (violence), or he might possibly kill some of the accused's horses to satisfy his desire for damages. The latter course would be likely to lead to retaliation, however, for the defendant, in denying guilt, denied cause for damages and such peremptory taking of damages was to him illegal. The reaction of the defendant if the first recourse were taken by his accuser is problematical; it would depend pretty much on his temperament and guilt in fact. Denial 627x 681

[6] *Case 7. Wife-Absconding: Husband sends old woman to collect*
Informant: Rhoda Bluefoot 627x 684

A woman deserted her husband by joining a raiding party led by a noted warrior, who took her as wife. On their return to the main camp her husband did nothing to get her back because he was afraid of the warrior and his three brothers. So he sent an old woman to plead for her. Since the warrior wished to keep her, he sent back a gift of horses and goods to the husband in place of the woman.

This gift the husband had to accept, and he dropped proceedings.

Later the warrior was killed in a battle, and one of his younger brothers inherited the woman as wife. [587]

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X627 556 The principle of "soak the rich" was also a practice of Comanche law. Damages were scaled partly in accordance with the wealth of the offender. There was no feeling that a rich man *ought* to pay more. It was just that he could, and the Comanche prosecutor stuck the defendant for whatever he could squeeze.

X627 231 Damages usually sought were horses. Blankets, guns, saddles, clothing, robes or any other article of personal property *except medicine powers and related paraphernalia* were frequently asked for in addition. The horse, however, remained the basic consideration. For adultery or wife-absconding, from one to ten horses were transferred, seldom more. Special pains were often taken to specify the horse or horses demanded by the aggrieved, and quite frequently the demand was for what both punished and humiliated: the favorite horse of the defendant. No matter how many horses the defendant might offer which were just as good, a prosecutor would be adamant in his demand that the favorite be delivered over to him. Such horses were favored by the owner for qualities of grace, speed and stamina, or just as often because the animal had been the gift of a beloved friend. Old men today in reminiscent thought will say that in the old days a warrior ofttimes loved his horse more than his wife, or child, or any other human being. It is in the light of this that the demand for a favorite horse indicates that such damages—indeed, any damages—are more than mere economic compensation. As the wronged man suffered a spiritual hurt, so must the guilty party suffer a spiritual loss. Thus, damages collected were in part damage done to [558] the wrong-doer's "face."

X627 231 554 The *beau geste* which crops up in so many cases is simply another indication of this point. The magnificent and haughty slaying of horses given, or due, in damages was no act of economic nature. This fine disdain indicates a psychological satisfaction more precious than the mere reception of wealth in payment of a wrong.

X627 ●684 Doubly, therefore, was bargaining tense, with pride and punishment playing upon the economic factors. The jockeying and sparring of the bargain, with some of the imponderabilia of impinging attitudes are strikingly revealed in the following typical case.

Case 9. Levirate Claim: Mexican vs. Breaks Something
Informant: Breaks Something

"Mexican was a friend of Touched With A Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched With A Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

"We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me.

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They were Mangey Coat and Atsaçi. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her. 627x 684

"They answered, 'We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched With A Closed Fist and this woman is his wife.'

"I called her and asked her if she were married to another man.

" 'No,' she said. She denied having anything to do with him or wanting to have anything to do with him.

"I was satisfied. Then I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican wanted in claim.

"They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.[9]

"I told them that I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another just as good.

"Atsaçi answered, 'We want that horse or none.'

"I tried three times to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, 'All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough.' I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaçi I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

" 'What?' he said.

"I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my 'daughters' (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. 'If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take back my daughters from you. You are my son-in-law and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love.' [595] [602]

"Then Mangey Coat broke in right away. He said that Atsaçi wasn't thinking about what he was saying. He said they would agree to take another horse.

"That was what I wanted. Atsaçi was silent. He was ashamed. He was really older than I was and he had forgotten about being my son-in-law in that way. Then I asked him what he had to say to the agreement.

"He mumbled, 'Well, it's up to Mangey Coat. He is older than I am. It's up to him to have the say.'

"Well, I told them I was willing to do the right thing, so I gave them a grey mare, a bay horse, a good saddle and a gun. Later on that grey horse got to be a very good racer and won lots of money." [541]

Here is one of the few cases in which the *danger* of sending intermediaries appears. But ill-advised choice of counsel is a risk, even with us. Note also that a breach even of the levirate bites, though the brother-tie be purely classificatory; and that rights of the wife's "father," though but of the "father"-group, are available after marriage. 627x 602

[9] In strict form it was customary to ask for four different articles in damages.

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×627 595 Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."[19]

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff
Informant: That's It

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

887 558 It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

×627 ● 684 *Case 11. Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior*
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

[19] Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131–132.

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and broke its neck. They all stood around looking at it. Then one of my brothers spoke up for my nephew, 'Well!' he said to the husband, 'We intended to do right by you. Now there is nothing left but to offer to let you whip him.' 684 627x

"The boy took off his shirt to get ready.

"Then a man spoke up for the other side, and said, 'We see that your intentions are good. He's a young and fine man; we won't hurt him if he promises to be good in the future.

"The boy was glad to promise, and the case was settled right there."

Could anything bring out more strongly (a) the social approval behind the justified plaintiff; (b) the extent to which the aggrieved might want vindication rather than reward—and was under *pressure* to be magnanimous?

In a case of wife-stealing it was not incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. It was sufficient if he demanded the return of his wife, making the demand good. It also served if he slaughtered his wife for her act of desertion. Thus, in two of the twenty-two specific cases of wife-stealing of which we have record, the wife was slain outright by the husband without negotiation for her return or for damages. In slightly less than half of these cases the husband negotiated for the return of his wife and got her. In most of these instances no damages were paid. In an equal proportion of the absconding cases, the husband sued for damages, received a satisfactory settlement, and released his claim on his wife, thus permitting (or acknowledging) her change of marital status.

The unfaithful wife was in any event subject to severe chastisement, unless her husband feared her lover or absconder. Unless her lover's protection was adequate, her husband almost certainly whipped her, gashed the soles of her feet, or more commonly, cut off her nose. Though thus disfigured for life, there was no marked social stigma in noselessness. Pity, rather, was felt for the unfortunate woman, for the Comanches placed a high value on good looks. [832]

INTERMEDIARIES AND THE CHAMPION-AT-LAW

Women who were deserting their husbands rather consistently chose brave men as partners in absconding. Or, if the absconder was doubtful as to his own fighting ability, he placed himself and his runaway woman under the temporary protection of a war party leader. It is also said (no cases) that a would-be absconder sometimes induced a war party leader to steal the desired woman, then to release her for the lover after the settlement had been made. Consequently, the husband was more frequently than not the weaker party in the bargain situation. He was impelled to 627x 684

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X627 684

take action by the force of social opinion; yet he had small chance of succeeding.

It is true that his kin would avenge his death if he were killed in carrying out his social obligation to prosecute. Small comfort in that. What he sought was not death but an adjustment in accordance with his legal rights. Where the balance of prowess lies normally on the side of the wrong-doer in an individualistic system, the process of law will be checked. This is because the ultimate legal sanction is force, the very power in which the prosecutor may find himself shorthanded. If this prevails generally, then the foundation is sapped from under the structure of legal order. But if the power of the wronged party equals that of the transgressor, a different situation exists. A settlement can be effected through bargaining. Here the sociological principles of compromise are clearly operative: an avoidance of force to effect exchanges in terms of mutual concessions. John R. Commons writes, "Arbitration is never accepted until each party to a dispute is equally afraid of the other, and when they have reached that point, they can adopt something better than arbitration, namely, negotiation."[11]

X627 602

Unconsciously operating on this principle, a Comanche prosecuted by himself only if sure of his own courage in relation to that of the defendant. But Comanche society took an important step forward in effecting an equalization of powers when the aggrieved was not strong enough to prosecute by himself. The aggrieved was allowed the privilege, apparently not customarily granted the defendant, of marshalling his kin and friends to aid him in seeking restitution. In many instances these partisans took over the complete responsibility of negotiations. In other cases, the aggrieved accompanied them on their mission, but refrained from entering the bargaining activities. In no single specific case did the defendant take recourse to similar reinforcements. It does not seem to have been his privilege. Consequently, the collectivization of the bravery of blood relatives and friends by the prosecutor may be viewed as a social mechanism whose function was to give added protection to the rights of the husband.[12]

This practice often allowed for such a show a force on the side of the aggrieved that the defendant could actually be cowed. Though this might seem unfair, there is more justice and stronger check to illegal action if it is

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[11] J. R. Commons, *A New Way of Settling Labor Disputes* (American Review of Reviews, Vol. 23), p. 328. Commons' truth is an overstatement. Not "equally afraid," but "enough to make battle highly inconvenient," is more accurate.

[12] The only contradictory evidence to this is the statement by Post Oak Jim that once there was trouble over damages between a couple of groups fighting with rifles, "so I didn't get close enough to see much." The fact of rifles indicates that it is a late case.

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×627 The Comanches showed a sense of justice at work and an awareness of the function of legal institutions in their society when they accorded the aggrieved party a customary massing of subsidiary force which was apparently denied to the aggressor. The dynamic quality of Comanche culture and the mark of creative genius is to be seen in the way in which this principle of equalization was refined and fitted to meet the needs of the person who had no group of "brothers" to back him in need. Comanche juridical processes were more than a mere phase of the status struggle among males. Men whose status was so low that on the personal and kinship basis they were, in effect, without status were still guaranteed protection under the Comanche law. This was done by harnessing the status drive in the society to the needs of the weak and aggrieved. There was the institution of *champion-at-law*.[14]

The functioning champion-at-law is best revealed in action through cases.

Case 12. Wife-stealing: Red Crooked Nose vs. a young warrior
Informant: Visits Her Relatives

×627 "The wife of Red Crooked Nose absconded with a young, good-looking warrior.
●684 In the raiding party were four other men and another woman. For two years the
581 pair remained away, and no one in the main camp knew where they were living. But one day some hunters found their camp and reported it to Red Crooked Nose. He was determined to get his wife back, but he had few war deeds to his credit. So he asked a brave, well-known warrior to go with him. The warrior consented to go.

"When they reached the absconder's camp, the woman saw them coming and ran to her young husband, saying that she wanted to stay with him. But when the young man saw Red Crooked Nose's champion he said, 'Against such a man I have no chance to keep you.'

"So they met outside the tipi. Red Crooked Nose picked up a quiver of arrows belonging to the young man, but his wife told him, 'Put them down. You can't do any better with them than their owner can.'

"Food was offered the newcomers, and they stated their mission. They said that they would accept no damages in place of the woman, that Red Crooked Nose needed her to care for their young child. So the young man ordered her horse brought, upon which was a good saddle, a silver-braided bridle, and good blankets. He told the woman to dress up. He told her, 'Take everything nice that belongs to you. This old man can't get things like these for you.'

"She gathered all her belongings, including fifteen horses. She was ready to

[14] There is no special word in the Comanche lexicon for this personage. A man acting as champion-at-law was simply referred to as tékniwap (war leader). Only men who were war leaders were sought to act as champions. Their legal activity on behalf of others was merely an incidental function of their status as ranking braves in the tribe.

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start back with them, but she cried pitifully to have to leave her young lover. After they had started, she lagged behind sullenly. 627x

"They had gone. The young absconder broke camp. He mounted and rode on past them. As his horses ran by, Red Crooked Nose killed one of them and called upon his party to take the meat he had shot for them. Then the owner of the dead horse scorned him, 'My feelings aren't hurt. *I* can get plenty of horses—like the grass, so many!' And he rode on.[15] 684● 581

"He knew that Red Crooked Nose would not have dared to kill his horse without the warrior as protector.

"While stopping one night they heard that enemies were coming. The women were sent on. The men prepared for war. Before the battle started, the young man donned his best war paraphernalia. With his feathers flying he rode past the camp of Red Crooked Nose. He fought conspicuously and was killed.

"The champion saw him go down.

"He called to Red Crooked Nose, saying, 'It was we who caused him to be killed. I know you are a coward, but you have to go and walk in front of the enemy to protect us while I carry off his body.'

"Thus they took the young man off the field, and put his body on a horse. When the woman saw his body brought back, she tore her dress apart, slashed her body all over with her knife, and cut her hair off short. She embraced his body and wanted to throw her jewelry away in mourning. But the people pulled her away, telling her to keep it in remembrance of him.

"Red Crooked Nose and his champion rode up and mourned him. Then he was wrapped in blankets and buried. The camp broke up and continued on its way."

Though it is the activities of the intermediary which we must here examine, the fine devices of sarcasm and ridicule which make this history so rich in intrinsic sanctions deserve attention. The woman mocks her husband. The lover mocks. These are expressions of rage, or attempts to egg him into overreaching his position. The latter occurs. Again the lover mocks. But the combination of grief and shame works in him as his mockery seems to have worked in the husband. He seizes the occasion for a protest-sacrifice equivalent to suicide, save that it serves his tribe. The champion turns upon the championed. Red Crooked Nose's mourning is a penance. And one may be certain that his later repute suffered. The people told *her* to keep her jewelry in remembrance of a "wrong-doer," who, over-penalized, had made himself a hero. 627x 558

[15] No empty boast for the young man. And it cut two ways. In itself this killing of a horse, over and above taking back the woman, is wholly proper. The overdoing lies in these points: the woman had brought double a heavy indemnity, the adjustment was over, and the strength of the husband was not equal to the deed he was performing. He was over-reaching and the young man's disdainful ignoring of his act showed him up in just that way.

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inside the kin group was the business of nobody outside the group; and 627x
that inside the group, the way of handling a situation depended largely on 602
personality and temperament.

PRIVILEGED HOMICIDE

One type of killing which was not murder was the privilege of the hus- 562
band to kill his wife. This is a variant of the purely in-group character of 682
in-group friction. For this there was no retaliation. It was the acknowledged right of the man, and no one would lift a finger to legal action. Not only was the position of woman largely that of chattel, but the chattel passed from the original family to the husband. In return the obligation to provide food for the father-in-law lay on the husband. Escape for the woman lay in absconding,[3] but the number of instances in which the run-away wife was slain or mutilated by the husband is notable. In the twenty-two cases of wife-absconding collected from the Comanches the woman disputed was killed by her husband in four. Three adulterous wives were killed by their [684]
husbands in twenty-three instances of discovered transgression. Thus in forty-five Comanche cases of marital infidelity, seven women were slain at the hands of the husband or his henchmen. This is one in six.

Though the sample is admittedly too small to be *statistically* significant, and is possibly biased through selection on the part of informants, it is not without significance that eighteen percent of the adulterous wives were killed. That the statistical proportion cannot be greatly in error is buttressed in the wry observation of Rhoda Bluefoot that the wives of her father and his brothers never ran away; they were afraid of what would happen, because their men were well known as fierce fighters.

That the kinship group showed no inclination to retaliate when a hus- 581
band killed his wife—their blood relative—can mean nothing else than a 562
true relinquishing of the kinship bond upon marriage in favor of a supreme 602
marital bond. That a father had to beg his son-in-law not to harm his daughter who had erred, and even offered gifts that her husband would not harm her (see pages 101–102) proves this.

The fact of potential marriage through sororate rights did not, however, 587
establish the legal right of a brother-in-law to kill his wife's sister. She was 562
not yet his wife; therefore, not his for disposal—not even when the woman 682
was *also* the wife of the slayer's brother, giving thereby additional *expectant* rights through the levirate. The Comanche captive, Lost, met his death for killing the sister of his wife, who according to She Invites Her Relatives, was at the same time the wife of his brother.

[3] Women informants used by Dr. Mirsky held that household sabotage was the easiest way out. A woman could shirk her duty until her husband threw her out in disgust.

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671 the curse, its legal value was nil, for it was a sanction without teeth. In
×627 exactly the same way the application of physical force as a sanction turned about the point of relative powers. So in this type of case we found four basic outcomes: 1) where the aggrieved party was a weakling there was no prosecution (Sorcery in this respect presents a contrast to adultery and wife-stealing, wherein the aggrieved had to act. In these latter situations it was purely bravery against bravery, but bravery vs. sorcery seems to have been another thing.); 2) where the prosecution was forceful and so also was defense, the defense being more so, in one instance at least, the prosecution backed down—a primitive "*nol pros*"; 3) where the prosecution was forceful and/or the defendant was weak, the sorcerer was driven out or killed by a party for the defense (In the event of capital punishment through violence we do not know if it would give rise to blood feud, because in the only case which reached the bitter climax, the killing was within the family circle.); 4) where the prosecution was forceful and so also was the defense, the deadlock over the dispute of fact was broken by recourse to the conditional curse on the part of the defendant. The supernatural "tried for guilt," and acquitted or executed the defendant in one act. A reasonable length of time, namely, until the next change in seasons, was allowed for the judgment to take place. The issue was not hurried, but its results were accepted as final.

FORCED CONFESSIONS: THE THIRD DEGREE

×627 It has just been shown how the Comanche utilized divination and con-
684 ditional curse in sorcery. Now let us see how they set about testing marital fidelity. There were various techniques available to the husband as a prosecutor. These were ritualistic and non-ritualistic. The latter were simple and direct third-degree forms. A man took his wife to a lonely spot to build a fire. If the threat of what was coming did not force a confession from the lips of the wife, the husband then held her prone over the fire, lowering her closer and closer to the flames until she gave the information he wanted. Another method was to choke the woman until a confession was forthcoming. Whipping also served the end. One or the other of these methods was used in six out of the twenty-three adultery cases recorded in this study.

Not only was the confession of unfaithfulness forced in this way, but also the naming of the correspondent. On the basis of such confession suit for damages could be begun.

The case of Bone and his wife is illustrative of how evidence given by a witness was reinforced by such confession.

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Case 28. Adultery: Bone vs. Cómatsit
Informant: Visits Her Relatives (niece to Bone) 627x

"Bone and his younger brother were living together with Bone's wife. She was called Little. One day Little was out collecting sticks for the fire; it took her a long, long time, until Bone began to suspect things. He called on his little ten year old sister to go see what his wife was up to. The little girl went looking about. Finally she found the pile of wood near a tipi, so she went over and looked in. There she saw her grown-up sister-in-law lying in bed with a man. 684

" 'What are you doing there, auntie?' the little girl asked. 'My brother wants you to come home right away. You'd better hurry up.'

" 'Oh,' Little tried to reassure her. 'I just came in here for a smoke. You run along now.'

"The little sister did just that. She ran home as fast as she could to tell her brother she had seen his wife lying in bed in a certain tipi: how she had seen her there with Cómatsit (a Mexican name). Soon after, Little came home. 'Now we are going hunting,' announced Bone. 'Come, brother, we are going after game. We shall not stop to eat. You are coming, too,' he told his wife. Then they started out, but as soon as they were out of slight of the camp, Bone stopped the procession. He ripped the clothes from Little and violently threw her upon the ground. 'Now tell me,' he thundered, 'what were you doing in that tipi?'

" 'Oh, my husband,' Little wept, 'I did nothing there. Your little sister has told you an untruth. She does not know what she says.'

" 'We'll see,' muttered Bone. So saying, he placed his hands firmly on her throat. 'Now tell me,' he commanded. Then he choked her and choked her and choked her.

"At last she gasped, 'Yes, I did it.'

"Then he let go of her. With his freed hands he drew his knife and deftly cut off half her nose. 'Come, brother,' he said. So the brother picked up their wife's clothes, and away they went, leaving poor Little lying on the ground where they had mutilated her. When they got back to the camp, Bone sent his little sister out again. 'Go to our wife's grandmother and tell her to go get her.' So the old grandmother went and found Little and took her home.

"Next Bone and his brother went to Cómatsit to sue for damages because of the offense he had committed. They got most of that man's fine clothes and six horses from him besides."

Another case shows how the third degree instituted on purely circumstantial evidence brought a confession and led to a damage suit which was settled by the defendant giving up three horses. Carrying A Sunshade told how Yellow Bear found a red bead under his bed one time when they were getting ready to move camp. How did that bead get there? It was not his own! And it was of the kind worn only by men. So he called on his *haits*[1] to accompany him with his wife to a lonely spot. Once there they started to "question" her. She denied everything at first, but after they had put [301]

[1] [i.e., his formal friend — Analyst]

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*627 pressure on her, she owned up that the bead belonged to Touch A Person
684 With A Closed Fist. When these words escaped her mouth, the friend, Little Medicine, shot her dead. Yellow Bear turned away with his friend, and they walked off leaving the dead woman to be sought after by her mother. Later they went over to Touch A Person With A Closed Fist and got the three horses from him.

[562] Such techniques of procuriug evidence, so effective with women, could not be applied to men. Procedure had to rest on the evidence forthcoming from the woman's confession or upon definite knowledge possessed by the husband. When the defendant denied complicity in sexual transgression there could be no suit. Acceptance of guilt by the accused was a necessary basis to legal action. In only one instance were we able to get an example of denial maintained.

Case 29. Adultery: Defendant Denies Guilt and Is Shamed
Informant: Slope

"Early one evening a young man came to see a married woman. Unfortunately for them, the woman's husband came home early and saw the two near the tent. Startled, the young man ran off before the husband recognized him. But the husband questioned his wife to discover the boy's name. She told him who it was: a young fellow still living with his father. Her husband decided to go over the next morning to demand damages. When day came, the husband left for the boy's home. There he found that the offender was still in bed, so he called to his father saying, 'I want to see you. I've come to collect damages.'

"The father answered, 'Who's it on?'

" 'That boy of yours.'

"By this time the culprit had appeared, and they all sat down to talk the matter over. The husband asked the young man to sit next to him, and calling him 'brother,' declared that he didn't want much. Four horses would satisfy him.

"At this the boy spoke up. 'Who are these four horses on?'

" 'You.'

"The youth acted surprised. 'Why you must be mistaken,' he said. Then his father asked him whether it was true or not that he had wronged this man, and the boy denied it flatly.

"This denial enraged the husband. He pulled his knife and slashed off one of the young man's long braids of hair. Throwing it at his feet he cried, 'I was not going to do this, but if you insist on lying like a coyote, I'll sure make you look funny!' The boy and his father sat silent while the husband continued, 'That's all I'll do. *627 I won't take any horses—but you sure do look funny.' And with that he stalked
684 out."
558

This was a grievous insult—doubly so. To be minus a braid of hair made one conspicuous. Everyone would ask what had happened. To be compared

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to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch. 627x 684● 558

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic approaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath. 627x 782

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ta*β*é*β*ekat. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[8] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in. 627x 177 562

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

[8] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

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went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor. 627x 688

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[10]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians. 627x 754 684 627x 754 684 522

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

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×627 754 684 522 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and [558] begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

606 581 562 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

×627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

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absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture. 627x

Papítsɔin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so." [602]

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech. 627x 789

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers. [522]

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the 627x 684

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches. [171]

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

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x627 tongues were collected and roasted by the women. When they were cooked
●684 and taken from the fire to be cleaned, men and women lined up and started dancing. When they stopped, all was ready. Then a war leader called for a virtuous woman to come forth to cut the tongue—not a virgin, but a wife who had never betrayed her husband. The leader warned the husbands that if their wives stepped forward and were disqualified they must not get angry or punish them.

The men were in one group; the women in another. There was silence and embarrassment when the call to come forward was given. At last one bolder than the rest stepped out. From the group of men could come an anonymous voice. "Go back!" It would be the command of a secret lover. The woman obeyed, for the leader had announced that if any unfaithful wife was permitted to cut the tongue, she would die. One woman after another would make the try and be sent back by her lovers, until finally one came forth who stood the test. To her the knife was given; she cut the tongue amidst the *"li-li-li-li"* (cry of applause) of the other women. One [726] informant said that this ceremony was used to bring success to a large war party before it set out. If a virtuous woman did the cutting, success was theirs. If an unfaithful wife were to do it, they would meet disaster. As she interpreted it, lovers revealed their secrets because it was their duty to safeguard their fellow-warriors' lives. Because it was a religious ceremony under the patronage of the supernatural, women were safe from their husbands when their lovers told on them. No one ever heard of a husband molesting his wife for being found out in this test.

x627 To complete the record of the supernatural relations to evidence and law an account of oaths as used by the Comanches in certain non-litigational situations is needed.

Among the Comanches unwitnessed deeds had to be verified by a simple ritual *ex parte* statement (akin to affidavit) before they were first recounted publicly. When a lone scout returned from his reconnaissance, he rode into the camp and scattered a pile of buffalo chips which the waiting warriors had placed before them. This guaranteed the truth of his statements. If the scout had killed a man, he rode directly to the pile and ran his spear through a chip for each man killed. With each chip speared, he cried, "*ahé*" ("I have claimed it.")

A Comanche adventure with the Utes shows the efficacy of the buffalo chip ritual (accompanied, here too, by tangible evidence), for even in the face of some skepticism, the story had to be accepted on the basis of the manure test (and the horse and woman taken). The Victory Dance was even given to celebrate the feat.

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RAPE

Rape was an act beyond the pale of normal conduct. It, too, was of infrequent occurrence and not part of the general pattern. Sex relations were so free that there seems to have been little cause for rape. 839

Case 35. Rape: Blow it Away
Informant: Holding Her Sunshade

"Blow It Away was a chronic offender. He was not favored by the women and was generally avoided by them. He made up for this by attempting surreptitious night unions with women in their tipis. He would sneak in and try to arouse them to desire. He never had much success. Then, too, he would attempt to rape such women as he found alone away from the camp. These attacks he would make in the daytime and in these he was usually successful. No one ever caught him attacking a married woman, so he was never called to account by a husband. But one night he tried his night-stealing on a large married woman and she broke him. 684

"The woman awoke to find Blow It Away feeling her. She struggled with him; then she got him down. Holding him to the ground, she ripped his breech clout from his loins and grabbed his penis. She was starting to drag him from the tipi when her son awoke and saw them. Her boy begged her not to do that to the man, but the mother was going to teach that nuisance a lesson. Holding him as she had him, she dragged Blow It Away through the door out into the open spaces between the tipis where all the people could see him.

"This was the first time anyone took action against him. It was the last time he tried to force himself on a woman."

This is shaming par excellence, plus a very painful conditioning.

Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. Thus, it was out of the category of abnormal conduct. 836

THEFT

Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently it must fall into the vague class of unapproved abnormal acts which were outside the scope of law. One informant after another avowed that it never happened within the tribe. No clear cut cases of theft under aboriginal conditions were recorded. 685

GRAVE ROBBERY

In recent years the Comanches have been considerably annoyed by ghouls. The ancient custom of burying a person's individual belongings with him and of throwing articles of value into the grave with the body persists today. Predatory whites have been given to exhuming bodies to strip them of whatever valuables might be found. The grave of the son of a certain rich

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across the face with his quirt. He'd never been whipped. He got to thinking about it, so he got out his gun and shot himself. The people didn't know why he did it, and suggested things out of the way. Sometimes when Indians go on a raid they catch a disease and commit suicide because they don't want to go back that way. This man was a brave warrior; he had killed lots of enemies; he had power." 762

Among the Comanches a sense of the injustice of a formally justifiable act at times took the form of a protest-suicide. Or perhaps it might be released in some retaliatory act, such as killing a favorite horse or mutilating the good-looking sister of the man who had pushed the law too far. A boyhood prank of Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man produced these double repercussions of incensed reactions to an over-strict legal settlement. 681 762

Case 37. Adultery and Retaliations
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man 684 882 689

"I was down by the creek one day with a friend when a woman came down for water. She was the sister of my friend's step-mother. I proposed that we seek intercourse with her. My friend agreed. So I went over to make the proposition to the woman. She was quite willing, provided that we would wait until she had taken the bucket of water back to camp. On her return I met her first, as I had demanded the first chance. While we were together there, her sister (my friend's step-mother) saw us, but she slipped quietly into the brush and said nothing. When my friend had his turn, his step-mother again spied and saw them together. She went right away to her sister's husband and informed him of his wife's doings with us.

"The man came to my father's tipi. He told him what had happened. 'What do you intend to do about it?' he asked my father.

"We were called in and he blamed us both with adultery. I denied any contact with the wife, but when my friend was charged he boasted, 'Sure I did it. It's an honor to be able to do such a thing as that.' The husband demanded damages, and when he received two good horses from my father, he departed satisfied.

"Then my elder brother came home from a raid and heard that two horses had been given because of our activity. He was angry. He took his bow and arrow and shot two horses dead in the herd of the woman's husband.

"Nothing further happened at that time. But then the younger brother of the husband came back from a raid and heard the story. He was angry that the two horses had been shot. Thinking that his older brother had been ill-treated all around, he went over and cut off the nose of my friend's beautiful sister.'

The whole difficulty generated from the fact that the wrong-doers were youths. Adultery does give cause for suit for damages, but boys were always in a favored position and indulgence should have been shown them.

684 Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man denied his guilt and nothing happened.
882 The other boy boasted, aggravating the situation. The elder brother, how-
689 ever, would not be imposed upon. To him it was lack of good taste and fairness for the old man to take two horses; hence his summary retaliation. The collaterals to the other party reacted in turn to this action as indecently harsh. They retaliated with mutilation of the sister. This last retaliation should not be confused with the principle of group liability (i.e., that the sister paid because she shared the responsibility). It was rather that the sister belonged to the brother and, as a good-looking girl, had value to him. Spoiling her visage was like mutilating his horse (possibly more so).

689 So too in the murder case (pp. 66–67 above) in which a war leader was slain for killing the two fat horses which had been offered him in compensation for one fat horse of his which had been eaten without his permission. The horses were his by acknowledged agreement. But that the chief should so scornfully kill them was too much for the other party. It was an insult to a man who had sought to do right. Though the killing was undertaken by one man and his captive, yet the entire group acquiesced, making no effort to dissuade him. Their inaction showed at least passive approval.

It appears that one should not press his bald legal rights too far. Too much pressure under the wrong circumstances generated the same type of back-fire which in recent decades has troubled modern Continental lawyers with the concept of "abuse of rights."

689 The sharpest back-fire in such situations was in protest-suicide. Witness
762 the action of a disowned mother, who was rightfully denied by the son she had deserted.

Case 38. Suicide
Informant: That's It

"This woman was widowed with her four-year-old son. The band was moving camp and she had her boy tied in his little saddle on a pony. They were straggling along so much that they dropped behind the other people. A young man dropped back and proposed to the mother that they run off and marry. She agreed to that. But they did not want to be bothered with the child, so they tied his horse to a tree in the midst of a grove and left him there to starve.

"Later on some hunters, who were out after a bob-cat, came to the grove. One hunter said to the others, 'There's a horse standing over there.' The group went into the grove and saw the boy sleeping. They watched him. Some said they should wake him up. They woke him up and asked about his mother. He didn't know, but he told them the direction she had gone. The hunters followed the trail and came up to the main band. The mother was not there, so the boy was taken by his grandfather and raised to manhood, and got married.

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●684 762 who had been out hunting, returned with meat at the same time they arrived in camp. The next morning at breakfast both Rocky Creek and Thunder asked their sister to add some more fat to their meat. 'I did not endanger my life on the hunt in order that you should enjoy the best of it all,' their brother-in-law muttered. When he said this mean thing, Thunder pushed his meat aside.

" 'Sister,' he requested, 'take this food away.' She obeyed him. The brothers washed their hands; Thunder motioned to the door, 'Come,' he said to Rocky Creek, 'let us go outside.'

"They left the camp to go up into the mountains; there they stayed all day even though it was winter. Towards evening another young man came along. He hailed them. 'What is the meaning of this? Why are you here? I know you have been here since early morning.'

"Thunder answered him, 'We are just thinking things over.'

" 'What things?' the stranger asked.

" 'I have no father or mother,' Thunder replied. 'There is only one thing left for me. Tomorrow I start out to seek death.'

" 'Where then?'

" 'In the white man's territory. I shall probably not return from there either.'

"The stranger said he would join them.

"As they started slowly on their way, they were met by several others in the same plight—young men without a place to go—tákapana. They travelled for days and days. Then they were being trailed by some soldiers who were led by an Indian scout. The young men stopped and killed some cattle for meat which they carried into a ravine to cook. Just as they sat ready to eat, one saw a cloud of dust. 'It is a whirlwind, I think,' he remarked to the others.

" 'No,' said another. 'It is the soldiers on our trail.'

"Thunder spoke up then. 'Listen to me, brothers,' he commanded. 'Those of you who care to can still escape. Go now! I stay here. Here by this fire, for I have come seeking this very thing.'

"They waited. The soldiers were upon them. Here and there a man was picked off as the firing began. Rocky Creek approached his brother. 'I am shot,' he said. 'A bullet has wounded me.'

" 'You can still escape. There is a way out down the creek. Go! But I am staying.'

" 'Brother, come with me,' Rocky Creek pleaded.

"Thunder only answered, 'I am not leaving our fire.' The guns rattled on.

"By noon all the tákapana save one were dead. The firing ceased. Of all the young men this one alone lived to tell the story of what had happened to this homeless group.

"The brother-in-law who had begrudged food to his wife's brothers was an exception. When he acted so, it wounded their prides so that they went out to seek death. Many young men in the same circumstances courted death at enemy hands."

[558] So, too, did lovers who had lost face when a braver husband forced them to give up a stolen woman. Cases will be remembered from previous sections.

meet him secretly, or her real husband will be angry." It was also 595
expected that when a man was on the warpath, his brother could sleep with his wife. If all the brothers were out on a raid, the wives were sent to stay with their husbands' sisters. In wife-exchange the rights of the husband were fully recognized, and he was compensated for restraining his jealousy partly by social approval of his generosity, partly by his expectation of a return in kind. So strong was the idea that brothers share a wife that it logically followed that men who had sexual relations with a married woman were, in a formal sense, brothers. So it was that an outraged husband prosecuting an adulterer, [684] ●
demanding heavy damages, nevertheless addressed the man who had cuckolded him as "brother."

This practice indicates that brothers with their sisters formed a 593
marriage group, which established relationships with another mar- 595
riage group on the basis of inter-family exchange marriage. Although 601
individual marriages took place between the members of the two groups (no group marriage), there was a projection of the marital rights of each member of the group to all its members of the same sex —in the present through sororal polygyny and fraternal polyandry (anticipatory levirate); in futurity through the sororate and levirate. One's father and the father's brothers were thus equated in the kinship system as *ap'*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's mother under polyandry or the levirate. One's mother and her sisters were equated as *pia*, because they were actual or potential mates to one's father as members of the same marriage group. A man called his brother's child his own (*tua*, "son," or *bɛt*, "daughter"), since they were descendants of his marriage group, but he terminologically distinguished his sisters' children, *aɛa*, because they were in another marriage group. Likewise, a woman called her sister's child "son" or "daughter" but distinguished her brother's child, *paha*. A woman who lost her husband by death was inherited by a brother of her husband. Thus brothers were potential husbands of a woman whether they ever became such in actuality. Hence, there was no separate word for brother-in-law, only *kumaxp*, "husband."

The marriage of a man to the daughter of his deceased wife's 587
brother was not a standard Comanche practice; the custom is usually found only in societies that have patrilineal clans in which the wife's

to push the process to its conclusion, or nothing would be done at all to provide relief or redress. 671

Nevertheless, a system of law it was. It was absolutely sure that certain forms of wrongs would be prosecuted. There were proper procedural patterns to be followed in the prosecution of a case. There were quite specifically understood sanctions to be applied to the different categories of offenses. And if the defendant was adamant beyond the point of reasonableness, he was, after due process, subject to a violent attack upon his person.

The essence of law, whatever specific forms it may take from one social system to another, comprises regularity, force, and official authority. Comanche law-ways had all those essential attributes.

"Dot" Babb's statement that on the whole there was little infringement on the rights of others among the Comanches, that they did not fight, quarrel, and commit murder as did the white man,[11] is contrary to the facts as we know them. The Comanches were most litigious, not, it is true, from any love of going to law for the savor of it, but because they were extreme individualists given to crowding each other in the unceasing struggle to outrank each other in personal prestige. A man could climb the social ladder by piling up a war record at the expense of enemies, and this was the legitimate way. But he could also reach toward his goal by aggressively challenging the status of a rival through stealing his wife, or seducing her, or taking his horse. This was the illegitimate way. It was illegal, but it was also customary enough. Forty-five cases of old-time legal actions arising from adultery and wife stealing alone were recorded from Comanche informants by one of the authors in his study of Comanche law-ways. Of these, twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three were cases of simple adultery. 684 577 674

If the Comanches were lawless, it was not through an absence of law, but rather because of a reckless tendency to break the law in the face of certain and severe penalties. Seven of the forty-five erring wives paid the death penalty: four for running off with another man, three for committing adultery. Of the remaining twenty adulteresses, five were mutilated by their husbands: four had the tips of their noses cut off and one had the soles of her feet slashed so that she could not 684

[11] Babb, *op. cit.*, 102–104.

684 walk. A cut nose was a social disgrace which was extremely difficult to live down. However, since these public marks had a tendency to decrease the value of a woman should the husband transfer her to another man, erring wives were not always disfigured. Nevertheless, Colonel Dodge reported seeing one Comanche woman with four separate gashes in her nasal organ,[12] while Kills Something claims to have known a woman with five. These were all legal penalties which it was the privilege-right of the husband to impose.

As for the offending male correspondent, in every case save four, he had, in conformity to law and custom, to pay damages to the husband. Comanche law required the aggrieved husband to prosecute. Public opinion forced him to, for if he held back, he would stand as a lily-livered coward before all The People. No man risked that. Thus, although the aggrieved husband was in fact prosecuting a wrong against himself, he was also put in a position of maintaining the public standards, whether he wanted to or not. He was in a sense a public prosecutor as well as the protector of his own private interests.

627 The payment of damages loomed so large in the interests of the
681 Comanches that they coined a word for it—*nanɛwɔkɔ*. Such settlements were ideologically in sets of four different kinds of articles: horses, guns, blankets, and clothing. More often than not, they were paid only in horses, numbering from one to ten. Almost inevitably the demands of the husband, if he was a warrior of any consequence, included the favorite horse of the defendant as essential to his satisfaction. His personal prestige had been hurt by the affront, and it was his intent to re-establish it by forcing the aggressor into the humility of giving up that which was most dear to him. It was more than a "money" equivalent that was sought, for it was all part of a prestige battle.

627 In initiating the procedure, since there were no courts or assizes to be waited upon, action could be instituted at any time. The case was carried to the offender wherever he could be found. The aggrieved could prosecute by accosting the defendant himself, stating the offense and the amount of damages necessary to satisfy him; he might send a third party to prosecute for him; or he might send or accompany a group who stated the charges and then negotiated.

[12] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 304.

The Comanches

627 Although it was unusual to resort to fighting and killing over the loss of a woman, society theoretically recognized the right of the offended male to take the life of the offender if he refused to make settlement after guilt was established.

Should the accused deny his guilt, either party might appeal to the supernatural powers as a way out. When accused by an irate husband, one informant denied that he "had broken the law." His accuser proposed that they make smoke and call on the Sun. The informant smoked and then addressed the Sun: "Sun, if what I say is not true, strike me dead. If I am not guilty, strike my accuser dead." When he heard these words, the accuser withdrew his charges and thereby ended the whole affair.[13]

It was, as we have already noted, incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. If he demanded damages and received a satisfactory settlement, his claim upon his wife could be released, thus making legal a divorce and consequently freeing her to change her marital status. In case of divorce or separation, the children legally remained with their father. In many cases the husband took the wife back.

[587 684] A woman who remarried after the death of her husband without first getting a verbal, but formal, quit-claim from her husband's youngest brother was technically guilty of desertion; her new husband was subject to *nanɛwɔkə* demands, and he had to pay up.

Breaks Something was the unwitting victim of such an action, as his own account shows.

« « « Mexican was a friend of Touched with a Closed Fist. They called each other brother. When Touched with a Closed Fist died a long time ago, Mexican went to claim the widow for his wife. That was Woman. Woman didn't want to live with him, so she came to me.

We were living down at Red Store when one day two men came to see me. They were Mangy Coat and Atsaci. We talked, and then they said they had come to get damages for Woman. I was surprised. I asked them which one of them had a claim on her.

They answered, "We have come to you from Mexican. He was the brother of Touched with a Closed Fist and this woman is his wife."

[13] Informant: Kills Something.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

622 became demoralized through contact with the white race and the desperate struggle for existence this brought about, the chiefs exercised more authority.[15] Cases of the formal arraignment and
622 trial of a warrior or chief, were exceedingly rare, if such ever
627 occurred; for the writer has never discovered a well authenticated record of such a procedure. A chief or leading brave might lash
[578] a boy or woman, but to strike another brave or chief generally meant a feud or civil war. Differences between tribesmen were settled by those directly concerned or by the relatives of the slain party. Of course, the law of an eye for an eye prevailed, but generally the heart of the offended party could be softened by judicious gifts. Generally the chiefs could make the men behave while they were in their presence and most men followed the admonition of their elders and leaders as a matter of course.

595 Polygamy was common, but before the advent of the white race
● 684 and its demoralizing influence on the savages the chastity of Comanche women rated high. During the period of Anglo-American relations it was not uncommon for a woman to run away from her husband in company with a spouse more to her liking. Traditional Comanche law provided that in such cases the offended husband might punish the woman by cutting off her nose, but this horrible practice was not always followed. In at least some cases the husband took back his erring spouse and rejoiced in his good fortune at being able to recover her.

221 For sustenance the Comanches depended almost entirely on game,
224 particularly the buffalo. These animals were generally hunted on horseback and brought down with the lance or shot with arrows at close range. Dependable authorities state that at times the Indians would drive the arrows completely through the carcass of the animal.[16] The natural tendency was for the bands to follow the buffaloes in their northward and southward migration, which practice made a sedentary existence impossible. At certain seasons, when the animals were fat, the hunt became a tribal affair and the slaughter of the great beasts took the shape of a cooperative

15. It is Mooney's opinion that the authority of the Kiowa chiefs suffered a sharp decline as a result of the advent of the white race and it is likely that the same thing occurred among the Comanches. See the Kiowa Indian Calendar, as cited, 233.

16. See Marcy, Exploration of Red River, as cited, 98.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected 597
with adoption.

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and 848
especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection
of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it [558]
would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to
marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him
teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship [551]
at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate
happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older
man.

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the 845
mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially
true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the
child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of power-
ful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, [184]
but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and [847]
offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone
invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died,
all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried
with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what
was offered in the way of other clothes.

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's 604
side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even 593
if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother
is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly
major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a
girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and
uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any
children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with
her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in
the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this ex-
tended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even
distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost
continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and
uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother,
incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized
patterns.

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-hus- 593
bands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of 684
children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they
chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment,

593 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. How-
684 ever, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe
586 that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband.
[482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he
[841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously superior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors,
[684] it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818- 819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of government, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal concerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no late) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

622 [ca. 1870]
624 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his
554 reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of
701 a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes
623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to
[622] participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in con-
203 travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all
685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which,
684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour,
682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him.
673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn eve-
nings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own
538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables,
177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the
[797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking
[175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1854. Ibid.
[113] 21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858. Ibid.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβtsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewoka*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

customarily asking for four different kinds of articles (four was the mystic number in which most Indians conceived things). Horses were always demanded, numbering from one to ten. The size of the demand varied directly with the wealth of the defendant and the fortitude of the husband and inversely with the war record of the defendant. The husband hoped to squeeze out as much as the traffic would bear and the wrongdoer was willing to yield.

The defendant on his side would pay in the end, but it would be unseemly to yield readily or to first demands. The procedure was one of higgling and haggling—with always the risk of a violent breakdown in the offing. For the husband, if mean-tempered or short of patience, might well cut the palavering short with a quick attack upon the defendant. Theoretically, then, the injured husband had recourse to use of physical force, if the offender failed to recognize his duty to pay up with a settlement that was reasonable in the eyes of the injured party. In fact, however, this was not a genuine legal privilege-right, since in event of homicide retaliation prevailed. The husband who pressed his suit to the killing point was bound to be slain in turn by the defendant's kinsmen. Here was the fatal weakness of the primitive system of the Comanches. Yet in forty-one of the forty-five recorded adultery and absconding cases the offender paid up and the matter became *res judicata* with an award in favor of the plaintiff. It is evident that the Comanches had a strong sense of the fitness of the law and that, willful as they were, wrongdoers submitted to its dictates.

This condition was implemented by two facts: (1) action was not initiated unless the facts were predetermined—guilt, as we have said, was rarely an issue except in sorcery cases; (2) the elopement pattern worked to tone down the first burst of anger; (3) usage saw to it that the husband could in the final resort always muster a greater amount of force than could the defendant.

In the nature of things, the adulterer or wife-absconder was (or thought he was) a more dangerous man than the husband he was wronging. If he had been left wholly to his own resources, the aggrieved husband would more often than not have been in a poor way to exact restitution. In the achievement of justice Comanche practice saw to it that if the husband were man-to-man on the short end of the power stick, he could marshal his brothers or friends to go a-lawing with, or for, him. When confronted with this deputation, the defendant rarely had recourse to marshaling *his* friends or brothers. It was not good form. And more than that—he had made his bid for prestige, and he would surely look bad if he failed to carry it through alone.

The plaintiff who called to his brothers for help naturally lost prestige to some degree, and in addition he had to turn over all that he received in damages. His "lawyers" got the a' of it.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

727 Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their [597] captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated after a time into the kinship system through adoption as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that 627 only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new [571] instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

627 The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance 555 to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

627 The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

684 Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And [627] this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse [599]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted.

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taβ βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you."

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act.

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter.

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk.

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder.

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90–91.

/page 32 continued/

C Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in dis-
K tance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort
48 the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know..

C Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say
K that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found.
601 Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by infor-
829 mants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship
177 patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system
602 has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all
C the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods,
[562] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly
[191] affected by inter-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior
C patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is
K the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has
601 forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent.
177 Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and
602 Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants
[161] are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional
[582] ones, however.
[588]
[684]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"That evening just before dark the wife left his lodge and went to the tipi of her uncle. She arrived just as he and his wife were finishing eating. When they had finished their supper, they asked what might be on her mind. 'I have come to carry tales,' she said. 'Go on,' he replied. 'Well, your son-in-law, Cooks Dried Meat, accused me of being intimate with you, and he whipped me badly.' Her uncle was indignant. 'The brute, the bad thing, the devil—you shall not go back to him.' His mother and father were living in the same tipi, so he asked the woman to stay there. 682 602

"A little later there was the sound of something outside, and a voice said, 'I have come for the person who is visiting you.' 'Go home!' the uncle shouted back, 'she is staying here.' It was fall and cool enough to have a fire and eat indoors. They went to bed.

"The uncle's tipi was at one end of the encampment; the husband's was at the other. Just at white dawn a voice shouted out from the tipi of Cooks Dried Meat. 'Get ready Pítsku (the uncle). Prepare yourself!'

"It stirred a terrible commotion. Everybody woke up and asked what was going to happen and angry voices were heard. Cooks Dried Meat strode forth accompanied by his father, the aged peace chief, Tongue, and a young man. They went towards the tipi. 602 682 579

"Close to that tipi was one of an old man who lived with his grandson. He stuck his head out and received an arrow full in the throat. As his relatives pulled loose the shaft they cried, 'We shall wipe Cooks Dried Meat out. We shall join Pítsku to do this. Then they fired and killed Tongue. The fight was on. Pítsku got badly wounded in the rump. Hard by was my mother-in-law's tipi—a big one. Into this Pítsku scurried for shelter. Next the son of Cooks Dried Meat was killed, making two men shot on each side. Cooks Dried Meat came to my mother-in-law's tipi to get Pítsku, but the old woman warned him away. 'You don't kill him in my tent,' she threatened. 'If you do, it will not be well for you. The man of this house is a great warrior and a strong medicine man. It will go ill with you if you shed blood in his tipi.'

"By that time a group of men had intervened. 'Stop it,' they ordered. 'It is enough that two men have been killed on either side. Stop.'

"Cooks Dried Meat then fled from the camp. He was chased by the grandson of the old man he had shot in the throat, but he escaped and never came back to the band. He moved away from it.

"Pítsku died of blood-poisoning. Tongue was the peace chief. If he had not taken his son's side, it would have been his duty to have stopped the fighting."

Other acts which to the Comanches were so heinous as to warrant lethal retaliation on the aggressor were the slaying of a favorite horse, and insulting conduct which was insufferable to the aggrieved. These factors appear severally in different cases, but are combined into one single complication in a famous Comanche case known to many informants. There are slight variations in the telling, but the main points of action remain the same. 685

●685 One version has it that the two groups involved were members of a single war party which was returning from a long raid and split because of disagreement over how fast they should travel. Another has it that two small Comanche war parties happened to meet, and thus the action occurred. The facts as reconstructed from several accounts produce running history as follows.

Case 14. Horse Slaying and Murder: Pepper vs. Múβa
Informants: That's It, Talker

Pepper, a Comanche of the Those Who Move Often band, was returning from a successful raid with his captive friend. They were bringing home a bunch of good horses and had reached the Comanche country when they met and camped with two men of the Antelope band, Múβa and his captive friend. In the morning four more Comanches, Man's Forehead, Breaks Something, Harness and Tsiwiwta rode up. They all talked awhile before Pepper and his captive made ready to leave. They rounded up their horses, except one, which was left behind either because it was lame, or had gotten into the herds of the others.

The warriors who had stayed behind were hungry and were considering what to eat. Múβa settled it by ordering his captive to kill the horse their friend had left behind. Some say he chose it because it was better to kill a lame horse; others, because it was nice and fat. They said they would give Pepper the choice of horses when they saw him. But the meeting with Pepper came sooner than was looked for, for he began to repent having left his horse behind. He turned back to see what had become of it. He rode up on the feasting group.

"You have butchered my filly. If you wanted to butcher, why didn't you kill your own horse?"

"Yes, we have done that," Múβa agreed. "But look here, my friend, there are our horses and pack mules over there. Take your choice."

685 So Pepper rode towards the grazing beasts. He drew his bow—the men watched
682 to see what he intended. Twang! He sent an arrow into Múβa's best horse and one into his captive's mule. With the animals writhing on the ground, he rode off.

That made Múβa angry. "What a mean fellow!" he cried. "The way he shot down those horses. Get our horses! We are going to talk to our friend." As they rode forward to catch up with Pepper, he laid out his plot to his captive. "He will strike you because you are a captive. Hit him back and fight with him. Then I will kill him."

They came abreast of Pepper and started to talk with him. Soon Pepper began to abuse the captive. "You, what did you come here for? Do you think anyone would grant your wish or give you anything? If anyone wanted to horsewhip you, is there any reason why they should not?"

"Well, try it," the captive dared.

"Well, why not?" He struck the captive across the face.

The captive slashed back. They grabbed each other's hair and rolled to the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

ground. Múβa watched for his chance until he could shoot a wounding arrow into Pepper. 685

"Can't you do better than that?" Pepper cried. So a second arrow was used to kill him. 682

Without attempting to take the dead man's horses, they went back to where the other Comanches waited. "I have killed our friend," Muβa announced. The four who were there then mounted and went out to look for the body. They stayed a long time preparing a grave, wailing and mourning for the dead man. Múβa and his captive spent the time preparing a meal from their dead mule, which Pepper had shot.

When their friends came back from their mortuary undertakings, they ate heartily. In the meanwhile, Pepper's captive drove his master's horses into camp. There was great mourning among his master's relatives. Because Pepper had no father, a war chief named Bakamuts, a brave and respected man among the Those Who Move Often, called for attention. 627x 682 619

"Listen to me, all!" The wailing ceased. "There is a young brave named Múβa. He is of a large household and in it are many brave warriors. It is my mind that we let this matter go; because his friend first did the wrong thing, it was not his fault. Pepper was mean to have started the fight over a horse."

Bakamuts took these steps to close the incident because both he and the Antelope chiefs were afraid that the two bands would exterminate each other. They did not want a senseless fight between their bands. Crazy Bear and another Antelope chief counselled, "Let us forget this thing which has happened. Our children have intermarried; for their sakes, let us forget it."

Thus tribal consciousness checked a possible internecine war. But note that the rationale is on the kinship basis. The Comanche had not yet reached the state of pure polity. As to the materials of the action, the murdered warrior's resentment at the butchering of his horse was rooted in the very personal nature of horses as property. Comanche horses were highly regarded and imbued with a degree of personality. It is not unlikely that the slaying of horses was to the owner close to murder and hence no light thing to compose. Two horses killed for one horse butchered is in one sense a more-than-murder retaliation. The revenge-killing of Pepper roots no less obviously in a pattern that atonement deemed ample, and freely offered, was to be accepted, not to be insultingly refused by shooting horses instead of receiving them. 231 627x [619]

The extremes to which feelings on a favorite horse could go are also demonstrated in the famed murder of Rocky Thorn by Crowding A Person. 627x 682

Case 15. Killing a Favorite Horse and Murder: Rocky Thorn vs. Crowding A Person
Informant: That's It

"The trouble resulted from a raid on a Comanche camp by enemies. As the raiders were making their get-away, a young boy jumped on the nearest loose horse to

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

RAPE

Rape was an act beyond the pale of normal conduct. It, too, was of infrequent occurrence and not part of the general pattern. Sex relations were so free that there seems to have been little cause for rape. 839

Case 35. Rape: Blow it Away
Informant: Holding Her Sunshade

"Blow It Away was a chronic offender. He was not favored by the women and was generally avoided by them. He made up for this by attempting surreptitious night unions with women in their tipis. He would sneak in and try to arouse them to desire. He never had much success. Then, too, he would attempt to rape such women as he found alone away from the camp. These attacks he would make in the daytime and in these he was usually successful. No one ever caught him attacking a married woman, so he was never called to account by a husband. But one night he tried his night-stealing on a large married woman and she broke him. 684

"The woman awoke to find Blow It Away feeling her. She struggled with him; then she got him down. Holding him to the ground, she ripped his breech clout from his loins and grabbed his penis. She was starting to drag him from the tipi when her son awoke and saw them. Her boy begged her not to do that to the man, but the mother was going to teach that nuisance a lesson. Holding him as she had him, she dragged Blow It Away through the door out into the open spaces between the tipis where all the people could see him.

"This was the first time anyone took action against him. It was the last time he tried to force himself on a woman."

This is shaming par excellence, plus a very painful conditioning.

Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. Thus, it was out of the category of abnormal conduct. 836

THEFT

Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently it must fall into the vague class of unapproved abnormal acts which were outside the scope of law. One informant after another avowed that it never happened within the tribe. No clear cut cases of theft under aboriginal conditions were recorded. 685

GRAVE ROBBERY

In recent years the Comanches have been considerably annoyed by ghouls. The ancient custom of burying a person's individual belongings with him and of throwing articles of value into the grave with the body persists today. Predatory whites have been given to exhuming bodies to strip them of whatever valuables might be found. The grave of the son of a certain rich

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

685 Indian is said to have been opened at least a half dozen times. Attention is naturally directed to the possibility of grave robbery among the Indians before the depredations of the white man. Here again inquiry was met with denial, until one instance was finally related by Slope.

Case 36. Grave Robbery
Informant: Slope

"A wealthy man was in a cave. His body was dressed in his best clothes; and when he had been laid in the cave, the opening was closed up with rocks. The mourners went away down the hill toward the camp.

"As soon as they were out of sight, a tákapa (poor man), who had hidden nearby, came out and removed the upper rocks from the opening. Putting his hand in, he felt of the man's beaver-wrapped hair, and his silver ear-rings. The fresh air brought the dead man to life and he caught the hands of the marauder. So frightened was the youth that he uttered a piercing cry and struggled to get away. But the man spoke to him and begged him to get some water for him to drink. He asked the poor boy to run and tell the departing relatives that he was alive, and said he would give the youth anything he wanted.

"The boy set off at a run to tell the mourners what he had seen. When he caught up with them, he confessed his attempt to rob the grave and what had happened to him. They immediately turned about and went back to the cave. There they found their relative revived as the boy had said. They took away the rest of the rocks and gave him a drink of water. In gratitude to the poor boy, they forgave him for his act and gave him the good clothes which the man had been buried in and four horses."

It is evident enough that the robbing of graves was not in the category of usual forms of misconduct. Apparently no particular pattern of attitudes was worked out as to how to treat such violators; there was no need. The one case cited could easily have been otherwise handled if it had not resulted in the saving of the life of the "dead" man. One suspects that it may be more legendary than factual.

SUICIDE

Suicide because of an overwhelming sense of shame was a definite 762 Comanche pattern.

"When I was about fourteen years old I saw a woman who was either sick or pregnant hang herself," said Post Oak Jim. "She was ashamed of having a child when she was so old. She would stay away from camp all day. Finally she hung herself." And again, "Once there was a man who was whipping a horse in the face. The horse dodged, and he struck himself

The Horse and the Buffalo

« « « I turned to those two men and asked what Mexican (a personal name) wanted in claim. 231 681

They answered that he wanted a certain horse I had got from a dead friend, another horse, a saddle, and a Winchester.

I told them I would not part with that first horse. It was dear to me. I told them I would give them another horse just as good.

Atsaci answered, "We want that horse or none."

I tried three times to try to get them to agree on another horse, but they refused. Finally, I told them, "All right, if you take that horse, you get nothing but that horse. It is enough." I had something else to say, too, and I told Atsaci I wanted to tell him something after we finished.

"What?" he said.

I told him not to forget that he was married to two of my "daughters" (they were daughters of my brother). In these words I spoke to him. "If I accept these terms, and you insist on that horse, you can have it. But if you do, you will lose your two wives. I will take my daughters back from you. You are my son-in-law, and yet you are not caring what you say; you are trying to get the horse I love." » » »

With that Breaks Something won his point.

Killing another man's favorite horse was akin to murder, and in two Comanche cases people were killed in revenge.[4] Favorite horses were emotional objects, like people. 231 [685]

Just how and when the Comanches first obtained horses is not known, but within a short time after they migrated to the South Plains they possessed them in great numbers, and, henceforth, a considerable portion of the male's working hours were spent astride a horse. The first modern horses on the plains were brought by Coronado and De Soto, but those escaping from these expeditions could not possibly have been the progenitors of all the herds of a later date.[5] The Spaniards of northern Mexico possessed a great many horses,

[4] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–70.

[5] For this point of view, see Francis Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL (1938), 429–30.

A group might intervene to stop a fight, yet it had no legal authority to do so. The offended party, if disposed to compromise, had the privilege of accepting a commutation and releasing the murderer, according to David G. Burnet's observation in 1824.[17] This was seldom the case, however, and by mid-century, if our informants are correct, it was out of the question. Comanche law was hardening through the decades in this one respect. The murderer might flee the camp to another band and thereby escape vengeance for an indefinite period, if he was lucky. Whether or not any kind of settlement was reached, the man who had done the killing was usually more or less ostracized by his fellows. It made no difference how prominent the man might have been or how good his family, should he shed the blood of a fellow tribesman, a stigma was cast over his family and his relatives shared in the disgrace. The matter was not only talked about, but might even blight the lives of his children after his death. 627 682

Those who committed murder were often men of great bravery whose success in war and whose standing in the tribe had made them somewhat arrogant and impatient of those who did not do as they demanded. Other men committed murder in revenge.

In Comanche law the killing of a murderer by the kinsmen of the victim was a privileged act. *It did not lead to feud.* A killing called for a counter-killing. And there it stopped. The society at large and the kin of the murderer also recognized and granted the privilege-right of the execution of the murderer by the hand of his victim's brothers. This made it a truly legal sanction. No single case contravening this norm in action is remembered by any Comanche informant. The Comanches in this remarkable (in the light of the usual feudal tendencies of primitives) self-imposed restraint raised this aspect of their law to a higher than ordinary level for people of their general cultural attainments.

Favorite horses were so endowed with personality that killing a man's favorite horse was akin to killing his brother. The owner might, and sometimes did, kill the horse-slayer in return.[18] 627 [685]

A wrong committed by one member of a kin group against an-

[17] Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154.

[18] Cf. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 68–72.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his reputation for courage and skill in war.

The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in contravention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which, according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him. These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables, probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1 59) Texas

628 mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red
101 River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas,
to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the
618 fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the
Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands
628 frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking
[65] near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to
648 control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas
settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed
628 near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done
628 both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to di-
685 rect the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered
628 severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During
the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement
65 between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was
628 near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

609 On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing
65 a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the
[65] best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-
[622] e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

[113] 11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move [593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never 682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant. 627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of 602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever 682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and 627 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom [598] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder, 685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re- 627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but [825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest 787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion. 776 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen 789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him. 776 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super- 784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help 756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war 789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Roberts' Rules of Order, but their procedure was on a very high level of parliamentary decorum. 623

Such a council was held in 1843 to decide the fate of the ambassadors sent by President Sam Houston of the Republic of Texas to invite the Comanches to discuss a treaty. Each speaker, as his turn came, delivered a vociferous oration, but was never interrupted. When all who were entitled to speak had finished, the head chief, whose turn it was, remained silent, and no one moved or spoke from noon until four o'clock. Either the chief was pondering the weighty matter or seeking by his silence to impress upon his audience the importance of the decision before the body. When he spoke, he gained such support that when the vote was taken the ambassadors were spared.[7]

The council considered such matters as moving the camp, undertaking a tribal war, making peace, seeking an alliance with other tribes for the purpose of proceeding to war against a common enemy, the selection of the time and place of the summer hunt, community religious services, the disposition of spoils belonging to the band (but not of spoils acquired by a raiding party), the allocation of supplies to widows and the needy, and the regulation of trade with outsiders.

When any important decision had been reached, it was announced by the camp crier, who, mounting his horse, heralded the news as he rode through the village. If by any chance the decision was not in accord with public feeling, the action was likely to be modified. In practice, however, this seldom happened, for public sentiment had been well ascertained before the council met. The older men were always slow to take any radical action. [202]

Decisions of councils generally were regarded by the warriors as sacrosanct. Punishment for violating these decisions was certainly neither common nor necessary. The warriors obeyed more from fear of arousing the anger of their chiefs and the displeasure of the supernatural powers than because of any respect for authority in the abstract. The nomadic character of the Comanches, however, made it impossible for the chiefs to keep in touch with their warriors at all times, and when a warrior committed an offense, his punishment, so far as the chief and council were concerned, usually went no further 687

[7] M. M. Kenney, "Tribal Society among Texas Indians," *The Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association, Vol. I (1897), 31.

The Comanches

687 than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

623 While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, head-
555 men, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

624 War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won
701 leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

701 The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

RITUAL AND EVIDENCE

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF SORCERY

The occurrence of supernatural sanctions may be legally irrelevant, for sin need not be illegal. But sometimes an act may be both sinful and illegal and the invocation of a supernatural sanction is one way of dealing with a grievance. When the sanction depends on invocation by the aggrieved or by an official, we have one form of resort to law—though it be also, or even exclusively, religious law. 121

There is a notion current among social scientists that religious tabu precedes legal strictures in the hypothetical time sequence of social development. Law emerges from religion, they say. This is one of those over-generalizations which trap seekers of sequences. Because in our own social history and that of Greece and Rome we can note an early precedence of religion as a source of some law, or because in some primitive societies tabu and supernatural injunction dominate human conduct, does not mean that such circumstances are characteristic of human society in general.[1]

Yet this erroneous notion is commonly accepted as self-evident fact. Harry Elmer Barnes' restatement of Franz Oppenheimer's thesis may be noted as an example. "Primitive punishment is inflicted either to remove the stain of impurity from society or to prevent a supernatural being from taking revenge on the tribe."[2] This is partly true of the punishment of murder among the Cheyennes. It would also be true for the punishment of incest among most natives of Australia. It holds only in very minor part for the Comanches. In none of the incest cases will the reader find a trace of fear of the supernatural expressed. Though religion penetrates the legal complex, law in this society does not reinforce religious beliefs. 121 688

Like all Indians, the Comanches were essentially religious. Their religion shows affiliations with characteristic forms of the Plains and in some respects with the Shoshonean peoples of the Great Basin. 771

It was an exceedingly simple, highly vital religion. The concept of the guardian spirit[3] was its heart and core. Success and excellence in any action

[1] Mr. A. S. Diamond (*Primitive Law*, London, 1936), has recently attempted to demonstrate the lack of validity of the "law from religion" doctrine by an historical examination of the development of the early legal codes of Asia Minor and Europe in particular. The codes, however, are the terminus, not the beginning of primitive law, a fact which makes his argument spurious as far as legal beginnings may be concerned.

[2] H. E. Barnes, *The Story of Punishment* (New York, 1924), p. 3.

[3] For the cultural significance and generalized nature of the complex see Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 29, 1924), p. 29.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

627 "But you listen, I deny this thing. Now look out! I am going to smoke too.
177 If you are putting the lie on me, the sun will get you instead." That put a
562 different complexion on the situation; the husband was not begging for such a bargain. "So," as That's It put it, "he called off his sun-killing and gave his wife sugar-words."

Later another husband called the deal and paid the price. A man named Brother-in-law, according to Holding Her Sunshade, tried his wife on false evidence. When he put her to the curse, she made her denial and ended by calling to the supernaturals, "If he cuts off my nose, grant that he shall not live long." Brother-in-law accepted the challenge. He did cut off her nose, and within a month he was dead.

x 627 In earlier days when such notions had not yet occurred to women, there were, nevertheless, other escapes, if the aid of a powerful practitioner
●688 could be enlisted. For in the case of Looking For Fun, we have one fortunate woman who was able to dodge death through the invocation of strong counterpowers.

Case 30. Adultery, Conditional Curse: Looking For Fun
Informant: That's It

"Her husband suspected her of adultery. This Looking For Fun denied. So her husband made sun-killing. Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the sun saying, 'You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall.'[9] Then to the earth he said, 'You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you.' Whereupon he gave the pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.

Even though she was guilty and knew it, she swore to the powers, 'Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true!'

"That ended the ceremony.

"After a few months Looking For Fun had fainting spells and began to waste away. She was frightened and went to a medicine man for help. He told her to wait to see what his powers offered. After three or four days he came to her and said he believed that the husband's charge was true! The great powers were punishing her. At this she owned up. She told the medicine man she had not confessed because she was afraid of what her husband would do to her. As for the curse, she said she didn't believe in its power and so had lied about it. The medicine man told her that that being the situation, it was too dangerous a matter for him to handle. His power was not strong enough to cope with the sun. He recommended that she take her case to another medicine man who was a specialist in such matters. Looking For Fun was eager and asked her adviser to tell her mother of the situation. The medicine man

[9] Compare this wording with the Crow Indian conditional curse in coup-counting disputes—"It was I struck the enemy. Sun, as you looked down, you saw me. May the one who lies die before winter." R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 217.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor. 627x 688●

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[10]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians. 627x 754 684 627x 754 684 522

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke. 575 887 522

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents. [689]

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[2]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[2] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

224 social authority emerged most clearly amongst the Plains tribes. "Indeed,"
689 Professor Lowie has written, "disobedience to their (the soldier-constabulary) orders on that occasion and consequent imperilment of the food supply may be regarded as the one crime against society recognized by all the Plains tribes."[3]

The Comanches are the great exception. To prove that it was entirely foreign to his people, White Wolf cited the experience of a Comanche who was living with the Cheyennes. In his ignorance this individual violated the Cheyenne law by seeking out the herd alone. In consequence, he was visited by the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, who began slashing his tipi and blankets and killing his horses. The Comanche vigorously protested the punishment to the leader of the group; he argued that it was no offense to hunt alone among his people; he had not known that the Cheyennes felt differently about it.

The Comanches were not unmindful of the need for limitations of individual action. The spontaneous germ, social recognition of communal danger which lay in individual hunting, was clearly there. Experience had taught them the danger of stampeding a herd. Such measures as they did develop show how naturally the buffalo problem did become a focal point for the excrudescence of criminal law in some originating Plains tribe. Thus it was said that if the chief *thought* a certain man was likely to sneak out alone or to break before all were ready, he told the *people* to keep an eye on that fellow.

Suppose some rugged individualist escaped the "eyeing," however. Slope recalled an occasion when he was on a hunt and one man crept out from the camp before daybreak, disregarding the impropriety of his action. While the others were still dreaming of shooting buffalo by the hundreds, he was out shooting those he could get, not stopping to butcher them, eagerly pushing on while the game was good. The band rose early too. The hunters were soon in the field. It was not long before they stalked upon the carcasses. Indignation was high. They moved to drastic action. The hunters pulled their skinning knives and slashed the hides to shreds. The chiseller would have no robes. Then they vindictively scooped sand and dirt from the ground, rubbing it soundly into the flesh. That fixed the sneaker. He knew what they thought of him. The hunt leader pointed the finger at him and told the people to keep an eye on him thereafter. He suffered no physical chastisement, as he would have among the Cheyennes. But the incident and the reputation it left must have dogged him.

Beyond this, however, the Comanches did not go.

[3] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 415; affirmed also by Professor Boas, cf. *Anthropology*, (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. I, 1935), p. 89.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

across the face with his quirt. He'd never been whipped. He got to thinking about it, so he got out his gun and shot himself. The people didn't know why he did it, and suggested things out of the way. Sometimes when Indians go on a raid they catch a disease and commit suicide because they don't want to go back that way. This man was a brave warrior; he had killed lots of enemies; he had power." 762

Among the Comanches a sense of the injustice of a formally justifiable act at times took the form of a protest-suicide. Or perhaps it might be released in some retaliatory act, such as killing a favorite horse or mutilating the good-looking sister of the man who had pushed the law too far. A boyhood prank of Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man produced these double repercussions of incensed reactions to an over-strict legal settlement. 681 762

Case 37. Adultery and Retaliations
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man 684 882 689

"I was down by the creek one day with a friend when a woman came down for water. She was the sister of my friend's step-mother. I proposed that we seek intercourse with her. My friend agreed. So I went over to make the proposition to the woman. She was quite willing, provided that we would wait until she had taken the bucket of water back to camp. On her return I met her first, as I had demanded the first chance. While we were together there, her sister (my friend's step-mother) saw us, but she slipped quietly into the brush and said nothing. When my friend had his turn, his step-mother again spied and saw them together. She went right away to her sister's husband and informed him of his wife's doings with us.

"The man came to my father's tipi. He told him what had happened. 'What do you intend to do about it?' he asked my father.

"We were called in and he blamed us both with adultery. I denied any contact with the wife, but when my friend was charged he boasted, 'Sure I did it. It's an honor to be able to do such a thing as that.' The husband demanded damages, and when he received two good horses from my father, he departed satisfied.

"Then my elder brother came home from a raid and heard that two horses had been given because of our activity. He was angry. He took his bow and arrow and shot two horses dead in the herd of the woman's husband.

"Nothing further happened at that time. But then the younger brother of the husband came back from a raid and heard the story. He was angry that the two horses had been shot. Thinking that his older brother had been ill-treated all around, he went over and cut off the nose of my friend's beautiful sister.'

The whole difficulty generated from the fact that the wrong-doers were youths. Adultery does give cause for suit for damages, but boys were always in a favored position and indulgence should have been shown them.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

684 Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man denied his guilt and nothing happened.
882 The other boy boasted, aggravating the situation. The elder brother, how-
689 ever, would not be imposed upon. To him it was lack of good taste and fairness for the old man to take two horses; hence his summary retaliation. The collaterals to the other party reacted in turn to this action as indecently harsh. They retaliated with mutilation of the sister. This last retaliation should not be confused with the principle of group liability (i.e., that the sister paid because she shared the responsibility). It was rather that the sister belonged to the brother and, as a good-looking girl, had value to him. Spoiling her visage was like mutilating his horse (possibly more so).

So too in the murder case (pp. 66–67 above) in which a war leader was
689 slain for killing the two fat horses which had been offered him in compensation for one fat horse of his which had been eaten without his permission. The horses were his by acknowledged agreement. But that the chief should so scornfully kill them was too much for the other party. It was an insult to a man who had sought to do right. Though the killing was undertaken by one man and his captive, yet the entire group acquiesced, making no effort to dissuade him. Their inaction showed at least passive approval.

It appears that one should not press his bald legal rights too far. Too much pressure under the wrong circumstances generated the same type of back-fire which in recent decades has troubled modern Continental lawyers with the concept of "abuse of rights."

689 The sharpest back-fire in such situations was in protest-suicide. Witness
762 the action of a disowned mother, who was rightfully denied by the son she had deserted.

Case 38. Suicide
Informant: That's It

"This woman was widowed with her four-year-old son. The band was moving camp and she had her boy tied in his little saddle on a pony. They were straggling along so much that they dropped behind the other people. A young man dropped back and proposed to the mother that they run off and marry. She agreed to that. But they did not want to be bothered with the child, so they tied his horse to a tree in the midst of a grove and left him there to starve.

"Later on some hunters, who were out after a bob-cat, came to the grove. One hunter said to the others, 'There's a horse standing over there.' The group went into the grove and saw the boy sleeping. They watched him. Some said they should wake him up. They woke him up and asked about his mother. He didn't know, but he told them the direction she had gone. The hunters followed the trail and came up to the main band. The mother was not there, so the boy was taken by his grandfather and raised to manhood, and got married.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One night his mother came back to the band. She went right into her son's tipi and shook his arm. She told him to get up and get some bison before they moved camp, because the people were going to a place where buffalo were scarce. 689 762

"The young man woke up and looked at her. He said, 'Did you call me "son"?' 'No,' he replied to her avowal, 'I have no mother. You tell me you're my mother. You don't know what you are talking about. Go away!'

"His mother uttered a groan and went back to her own tipi. Then she went out. She went down by the creek to a tree and threw a raw-hide rope over a branch. She stood on a log and put the rope about her neck. After that she kicked the log out into the stream and hung herself.

"The body was discovered by some hunters. All the people ran down there to cut her down and they buried her not far from the creek. The brother of the dead woman was angry. He said he would kill his nephew's wife. He said she must have had something to do with it; otherwise it would not have happened. But the young man and his wife ran away. They stayed with some other people until the trouble was forgotten."

Here again the son was legally right, for his mother had given up proper claim to him. For that in itself the son was not blamed. And yet to cause her such anguish that she committed suicide was going too far. In the uncle's thinking the son would not have done that of his own volition; his hussy of [157] a wife must have urged him to it! The forgetting of the trouble, by lapse of [152] time, shows the role of momentary passion, such as grief, or outraged dignity, in a hot-tempered people.

Nor should we fail to include the seeking of death in flaming glory on the battlefield, sought with reckless abandon by men whose honor was stained or whose failing constitutions held out the prospect of death on the sick-bed. These, too, were suicide: but suicide turned to public benefit.

Case 39. Suicide
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Among the Yep-Eaters were two brothers: they were Thunder and Rocky Creek. They grew up together and never quarrelled. When they were yet young men their last remaining relatives died, leaving them alone. They were single men.

"Then came the time when Rocky Creek eloped with Eat Something; he took her on the war-path, for she was married to an old man. His brother was with him in this venture. But then they returned, Rocky Creek let her go; because she was a mean woman he did not want her.

"These brothers had a sister, Breaks Wind While Sitting, who was married. When they returned from the war-path they went to visit her.[1] Their brother-in-law,

[1] The rules of avoidance lapse when brother and sister have been married.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

The Comanches

177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 648 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
657 I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade out of
695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed. You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

I took this report back to Quanah. It was then up to this fellow to come out with a true account of a braver deed or else give up the land and abide by the decision.

He could not do this, so Quanah and the two warriors decided for the complainer. That man had to give up the land and keep quiet. » » »

This is hardly the way a white court would have decided the validity of a land claim in dispute. And we have strong doubts as to its being the way that it would have been settled by Comanche peace chiefs, if they had been called upon to adjudicate by the Anglo-Americans. But it was sound Comanche reasoning from a war leader's point of view, and in terms of the Comanches' premises it was just.

177 In 1886, provision was made for the establishment of the Court
of Indian Offenses with power to try minor cases. The court as con-
x 648 stituted that year was composed of three judges who were selected
657 by the Indians with the assistance and approval of the agent. The
● 692 presiding judge was paid thirty dollars a month; the other two, twenty-five dollars each. The agent certified Quanah Parker of the Comanches as presiding judge, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Jim Tehuacana of the Wichitas as the first members of the newly created court. The court was to have jurisdiction over both the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations. It was to meet twice a month.

The plan worked well. The judges fully appreciated the dignity of their positions, and the Indians were more willing to submit difficulties or complaints to their own court presided over by their own chiefs. The presence of two of the three judges from other tribes was intended to assure impartial hearings and sentences. The court assessed fines or jail sentences which sometimes were more severe than the white man's law assigned for like offenses, and a few times

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

657 The early reservation days were largely
times of turmoil and discontent. Rations
were often scant and inferior, schools and
hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands with-
out payment or permission, and altercations
between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed
that each family should be located on a
piece of land on which they were to remain,
and no Indian was allowed to leave the
reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long
before the Territory was opened to the
flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx
of prospectors, squatters, farmers, mis-
sionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers,
adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the
Indians were said to have disliked them so
much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by
Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and
ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and
cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men
for grazing privileges, was instituted in
1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court
was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint
delegations of reservation Indians went to
Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
Comanche Indians marked the end of
reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as
Indian Territory except one tract called
"the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

[p. 144-B]

21: Burnet 1-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated
628 to its more special use and occupancy.

621 These three great national parties, are subdivided into
622 captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief,
175 whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination
621 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These
175 subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but
221 derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encamp-
[231] ment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent re-
175 movals. When about to abandon a position, they generally
202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or
643 grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-
175 acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system
[642] of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and
[671] these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compulsion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when
[692] imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 683

To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[5] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

x627 787 694

But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

787 x627 755

Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

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[5] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27]

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

The Comanches

177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 648 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
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● 695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed. You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with-882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of 591 residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. 166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre-157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818] 000

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost 562
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 175
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 684
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always 175 696
yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 175
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, 571
they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but 175
have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 771
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 776
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- [775]
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity, 771

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
241 of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
657 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1854. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858. Ibid.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

721 never looked for horses; its object was to scalp; it turned back as soon as a single scalp was taken. The Scalp Dance was held upon the return.

Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a party drummed and sang war songs in his tipi. Those who wished to go came and joined him in the singing there. A war dance was held the night before departure. During the afternoon the entire party rode at a lope through the camp. They rode in a single file behind the organizer. The last horse carried two men, one of whom had performed the honorable deed of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle-danger. No onlooker could forget this ever-present obligation, nor the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it. The ceremony is known as the Pony Dance.

In the War Dance only braves leaving on the raid could participate; each was helped by a young girl partner. Others were onlookers.

A rendezvous outside the village had been set by the leader. During the night the warriors stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way.

POWERS OF THE WAR LEADER

●701 624 The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all of the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be looked for. The invariable conviction of the Comanche is that a man never failed to do what the leader asked. It was always said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. Each did what he was told. Not a single instance of the use of force or other punishment as sanctions in the hands of the war leader could be uncovered. If a man did not trust in the ability and wisdom of the war leader he did not join the party. Once in, he was in, so long as he stayed.

So long as he stayed. Some Comanche raiding parties were gone for an entire year or more. Disaffection could and did set in in such a period of time. The solution of such difficulties was simple. The party split. The disgruntled fighter and those who sided with him withdrew to go their own way.[6] This, be it noted, is also the procedure followed when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. A man followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; he obeyed that leader to the utmost; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere of influence.

The powers of the chief were (a) to determine the objective of the raid,

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[6] Cf., Case 14, pp. 68–69, below.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

(b) to delegate the scouts, (c) to determine the camping places and periods of rest, (d) to appoint the cook and water carriers, (e) to lay the general strategy of attack, (f) to divide the booty, (g) to make a truce with the enemies, and (h) to order turning back of the expedition. 701 624

In battle, though the leader set an example of courage and daring, each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his medicine and his personal inclinations. After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear guard actions.

When raiders had put two to three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. Rest was needed. There were spoils to divide. The leader's eyes had been open to industry and willingness. He had noted or been told of the actions of his followers while in engagement. To the man who excelled, he allowed first choice of the horses. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his service as determined by the chief. The leader took his pick *of what remained*. Then the succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. If there was an acute shortage of horses, the cook was always taken care of. A nice adjustment, this: the cook had been burdened with the meat supply. If there were too few horses, only the bravest got any return. The leader, no matter what his deeds, got nothing at all if there were not enough horses to go around; in this, as in civil prosecutions, reputation and prestige-obligation counted for more than their visible badge: horses. (It is interesting to speculate on whether this would have persisted, had a *large* herd of horses had a productive economic use as well as a prestige value.) 727

A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Some men say that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, did not do this; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses himself. Their fathers refused to go on raids with him. 624

If a man on a raid was killed before the horses were divided, he was counted out. This is in curious contrast to the strong revenge feeling and the treatment of the cook. There can be no question of any principle akin to "out of sight, out of mind." And there would normally be heirs at home. However, if the horses had already been divided and he had claimed some as his own, then, were he killed, those horses went to his heirs.[7] 727 428

[7] The generalized principles included in the preceding paragraphs were not only given as statements by informants but were confirmed by the text of the war histories collected from the Comanches.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 brave man who was not necessarily a war chief. It, too, was decorated with
554 a row of eagle feathers. These had the breast feathers tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head.

554 In the Buffalo Eaters band such a bonnet was assumed by any brave
431 who felt worthy of wearing one. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man, who possessed such a bonnet, says that sometimes it was the gift of friends to a brave man. One friend might suggest it to another with the result that they would gather up the feathers. A woman made them into a scalp bonnet, after which it was presented by them to the mutual friend as a token of esteem.

554 The acceptance of a buffalo scalp bonnet was a serious matter. People watched a man who took one to see if he was really worthy in his next battles. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. Becomes A Middle-Aged Man could have risen to the rank of ţékniwap. He did not, because he felt that he was not brave enough. And yet this man is one (the sole survivor) of the band of six who entered the fortified corral at Fort Sill sixty-nine years ago to drive out one hundred and twenty-one horses under the very noses of the guards without being detected! When the final capitulation to the whites was made, he hung his buffalo scalp bonnet in a tree, leaving it there never again to be worn. In his words, "A man who has surrendered his freedon is not fit to wear such an honorable badge." In the old days, it was the practice upon the death of a chief to hang his bonnet in a tree where it could not be seen, so to allow it to waste away.

626 Women among the Comanches were also privileged to bestow war bonnets upon "deserving" fighters. But it was a hat which rested uncomfortably upon the head of the receiver. Braggarts, whose words spoke louder than their deeds, were neatly handled by the plotting, sniggering females. They made him a war bonnet in secret (if we only knew what kind!). When the moment was ripe, they made a public presentation with such words as these. "Here, you're such a brave fellow. You ought to be a ţékniwap. Surely, anyone as brave as you ought to be without fear in the face of the enemy. Yes, you deserve a war bonnet. Now it is yours to wear."

So what was Talking Bigger Than His Deeds to do? He had to live up to the obligations of that war hat, or lose it and become an "elder sister." There was a sanction!

554 A most special type of war bonnet was the Crow Feather Tassel (haimud-
● 701 ya).[11] The Crow Feather Tassel was made of five feathers clipped short

[11] The details of the haimudya complex are from information obtained by Dr. Mirsky.

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except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem under the tutelage of a man who possessed one. They put a tassel on their left shoulder and one in their hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. There were never many such—two to four fighters in each generation. Men of two distinct backgrounds took this road of life. There were those who had the family tradition, and those who had no surviving family. For the latter the career of the Tassel-wearer was the road to death or tribal prestige. They had little to lose and much to gain. For the former it was the means of keeping high a family reputation.[12] It was the peak of all men's war activities.

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The few Crow Tassel Wearers formed an intimate association. They ran in their own lonely pack. By their way of life they could not spend more than one night at any time in the camp with their people. "They were gone and gone and gone—so long that Red Young Man, who had been a young man when he first went, was now middle-aged." War was their business. If they were approaching camp ay any time, should they meet a war party on the out-path, they turned their steps—again to the enemy.

An excellent history of a group of Crow Tassel Wearers among the Comanches was given to Dr. Mirsky. Part of it follows:

Case 2. History of Crow Tassel Wearers
Informant: Talker

"While they (the Crow Tassel Wearers) had been gone all these years Red Young Man's father had died. His mother and grandmother (kaku) were living. None of the party was married. As they came to the camp look-out, this man told Red Young Man that his father had died not a year since. Because of this the men cancelled their plans to parade; they entered the camp quietly—without fanfare or pomp.

"That night his friends, the Tassel Wearers, came to see him in his tipi. They mourned and wailed with him for his father. When they had ceased crying, his mother spoke, 'Now that I can see you, it makes my heart heavy that you have taken up this role. I have not seen you for many years. You were young; now you are a grown man. And I hope you will agree to what I propose.' Therewith, she begged him no longer to wear his emblem of the Crow Feather Tassel. Would he honor her wishes? 'You have put in time enough to have had your fill of it,' the mother urged.

Our informants spoke vaguely of certain men who went continuously to war, who were a "stage beyond the war bonnet." We found no one who could give us facts, however.

[12] It reminds one of those American lineages who glory in a record of participation in every war of our country's history.

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"Red Young Man turned to his friends and said, 'You have heard the request of my mother. To it I now agree. After you eat—all of you—bring your fathers here.'

"They did as he asked; they brought their fathers to his tipi. Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'You are all familiar with what we have been doing—you know our rules. Look upon us all! My father did not live to see me. I missed him. I have called you here because I have something to say to you. I entered this order when I was young, when I was without ties. These friends joined me under the same circumstances.'

"A father said, 'You speak truly.'

"In this group of young men was Red Young Man's nephew (aza), whose father was Red Young Man's brother-in-law (tɛts). The brother-in-law said, 'My wife's brother, you have been in this from your youth; now you are of middle-age. Even so is your nephew, my son. I speak as your mother spoke. I wish both of you would discontinue this. This is my opinion and desire.'

"The father of one of the others agreed with the mother and the brother-in-law. The father of the youngest put in his word for it, too—'because we are so happy to have you back after so many years.'

"Then Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'Today, at this very instant you finish with us, we will take off our tassels. We will disband forever. Before we come to that I wish that you well-seasoned men of wise counsel would give us your advice and blessing. That is all. Let us fill our pipe.'

[788] "They filled the pipe to bless the dissolving of the band. There was silence as the pipe was lit. The brother-in-law took the pipe; he presented it to Sun, the Father and to Earth, the Mother. 'Accept this, Father,' he said, 'today in a few moments these young men shall be broken asunder.' He passed the pipe to the next father who did the same and said the same. Then to the third father. He finished the prayer with these words, 'They have devoted their whole youth to this cause. Now that they are middle-aged they are going to lead a quiet, stay-at-home life.' They did not pass the pipe to the mother—but she spoke and voiced her happiness at the outcome of the decision.

"Red Young Man spoke again, 'We have come to dissolve,' He speared out a black kerchief. 'We are going to take the tassels from our shoulder and our head.' He prayed. He prayed, saying how in his youth he had followed the dictates of his heart—a Crow Feather Tassel Wearer. He had lived alone without regard to family ties. The Great Power Which Pervades All Things be his witness! By taking off the emblem he was now ready to devote himself to family obligations.

"He then called his nephew. 'We started out with only one thought, you and I: that we would be killed together. I, who put this emblem on you, now take it off.'

"Then he called the older friend to do the same with him. At last he called the younger one. 'Behold our younger brother (támi), who tirelessly performed all the duties we placed on him! You be witness that I take from him his emblem.' All the tassels were laid on the kerchief.

"When night came the obligations were done. Then Red Young Man tied up the kerchief. He said to the father, 'Tomorrow we do what we have not yet done

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with you: we will stay with you all the day and for the rest of our lives. By morning everyone will know what has transpired.' He took the bundle with the Crow Tassels and put it by his bed. 554 701

"He started out next morning from the tipi carrying the bundle. You never bury anything of which part is a feather. You return it to a tree and tie it there. Thus was ended Red Young Man's war career.

"Red Young Man never again went with a war party. He became a camp-moving peace chief; he confined himself to his home duties. When he took off his tassel and put on his war bonnet, he became the highest war chief. When visiting tribes came to call, everyone would hold their breath when Red Young Man counted coup. He was the pride of the band.

"As time went on, he finally married. He married his own niece, his sister's daughter. Though he was so very great and so important, he did not escape being slightingly referred to as 'niece-wife.' The talk was that that wife had been loose before he married her, so he married her to make her behave. She was young and pretty. It was her first marriage and they had children." [582]

In this practice the social ideal was exaggerated to social negation. The Crow Tassel Men pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were no longer of the larger society. Thus during the period of their calling they were of little significance in civil affairs. Yet when years of success without death, or the death of one of their membership, caused them to dissolve the band of special comradeship and warlike duty, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige. 554

The Crazy Dogs and the Big Horse Owners were also limited groups among the Comanches. The Crazy Dogs arrived at their state by an intrinsic waywardness in personality. The Big Horse Owners chose their road as a way of life for much the same reasons as motivated the Crow Tassel Wearers.[12] "I might make many errors and fall down many times," said Black Horse on taking up the insignia of the Big Horse. "I shall take my father's road, and maybe I'll come out a somebody." 701

The Crazy Dogs were contraries. They did everything backwards. Tell them to bring water, and they would fetch fire. She Invites Her Relatives told of a widow who lamented her lot and her lack of a buffalo robe. A Crazy Dog heard her. He told the old woman to hold her peace; he would get her a robe. When he returned to camp he brought with him the skin of a flayed enemy. This he hung from a pole before the widow's door. Such men were a great nuisance. They urinated like dogs. Going about the camp they could 701 158

[12] It is difficult now to distinguish what traits belonged to the Contrary Men and what to the Big Horse Owners. Among them were a gourd rattle as insignia and a slit sash worn over the shoulder. In attack the sash was pegged to the ground, so that the wearer could not retreat unless released by another Comanche.

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701 158 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ţénapa). [555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 554 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special insignia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 726 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ţékniwʌp mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ţékniwʌp to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

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Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]

In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

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Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

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Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yep Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

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A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe*, *Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

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[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

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chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed. 114 175 619

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches. 114 701

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu- 756

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

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number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers tɔ́ɔkoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

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It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

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Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

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[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
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The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno*, the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

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687 than rebuke and admonition. The people in general, however, showed great respect and obedience to their chiefs and headmen.

623 While warfare was still going on, the exactions of the chiefs, head-
555 men, and counselors who stood at the top of the scale of society were kept in check by fear of reprisals should some man of lower rank later rise to supremacy. Thus the warriors prevented the tipping of the scales toward undue governmental authority. The end of warfare froze the social system, depriving able young men of all chance of social advancement, since this primary means of achieving status was blocked. As a result, the old men became arrogant in a way that they dared not in earlier times.[8]

624 War chiefs were men who had war records and who had won
701 leadership by personal bravery and exhibitions of courage and skill. Each band seemed to have recognized one individual as the leading war chief. Apparently his elevation to the position was given official recognition by the council of elders. Yet, again, in this matter the council apparently followed public opinion, which in this case would be the wishes of the warriors. The war chief was apt to be a younger man than the civil chief and in times of war might possibly overshadow the leading civil chief.

In the event of the death or decline and withdrawal of a war chief, the warriors in council selected one of their number and installed him as their leader. The discussion and the expressions of opinion usually showed clearly who was the most popular man for the place. There appears to have been no formal balloting; the discussion continued until sentiment had crystalized around one man. In addition to the number-one war chief, each band had a number of war leaders of lesser rank.

701 The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party, and there was no power to restrain him. A warrior who wished to organize a war party made known his intention. If his military reputation had been established in combat, if his "medicine" was powerful, and if he was known to be liberal in the division of the spoils, he seldom had difficulty in securing a large following. Continued successes would lead to his elevation to the chieftainship.

[8] Ralph Linton, "The Distinctive Aspects of Acculturation," *loc. cit.*, 506.

Government and Law

A heroic and possibly legendary story of the making of a war chief in the Water Horse band, full of the flavor of the Comanches, was told by That's It. It reveals his influence and reflects Comanche marital and legal attitudes. 701 539

« « « There were two young brothers about sixteen and twenty-five years old. Neither was a medicine man.

In the old days lots of trouble began over women. The oldest brother was out wandering about the camp one day when he met a young woman coming down a cow trail. She proposed to him that they go on the warpath. They had seen each other at the dances; she wanted him and had plotted the meeting.

"I am a young man," he rebuffed her. "I take orders only from my people. You are beautiful and married. If we do this thing, there will be trouble."

Later she accosted him in the same spot.

"For a young man, you're an awful coward," was her taunt.

This made him kind of sore. He answered her, "Well—you come at sundown with your stuff. I shall be here with two horses."

Her husband was in the habit of having some old men in for a smoke in the evening. He told her to clean up the tipi. When the old men were all there, he told her to bring the fire stick and then to lie down and listen.

While she was lying there, the sister of her lover came over with a rare blanket, which she slipped to her under the edge of the tipi.

After a while she told her own sister she was going out to get some air. Putting the blanket over her head, she walked right by the men smoking outside.

One of them remarked, "My, there goes a boy with a beautiful blanket."

She met her lover at the rendezvous and they made their get-away.

In the morning her husband missed her. He went up to the boy's tipi and asked his father where the lad was. He got the answer that they did not know; he had not been in all night.

"Well," said this man, "he has run off with my wife." The father told him he was sorry, and the husband went away.

Later on, when nothing was seen of the couple, the husband came back again.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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●701 "What is it you want," he was asked.

539 "I want *nanɛwɔkə* (damages)," he declared.

The father agreed to this, telling him that he could have his pick of all their herd. The younger brother gave his assent, too, saying, "That is all right, if only you leave my favorite."

The husband laughed, "That's just the very horse I want."

"Well, in that case, it's just as good as yours. But I won't give it up until my brother comes back."

His mother pleaded the same thing, so finally the husband agreed to let the whole matter of the settlement rest until the elder brother returned.

Before long a war party was being organized.

The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. "It is good," he said. "And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people."

When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him.

A couple of nights later they set up a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there, he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zigzagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hilltop.

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The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, *"ahe!"* The others came and took the scalps. 701 539

It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a Scalp Dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses.

The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory, he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other.

Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

"Now," said the youth to one of his followers, "you do as I have just done." Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example, they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while, when the Comanches got tired, they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

They got ready and set up a buffalo-hide tipi painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words,

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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"This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead."

Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, "This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends."

The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him.

Ten years later (he was then twenty-nine), he led another big raid—this time to the Mexican border. They attacked a small camp beside an elbow-shaped hill. What they did not notice was that there was another camp—a big one—around the crook of the elbow. They met a lot more resistance than they expected. The Comanches were driven off, their leader surrounded and forced into a draw. He fought fiercely and killed a good many of the enemy until they went away and left him. He was himself shot in the legs.

After he had recovered his strength, he followed slowly after his companions. He traveled eleven days, but could not find them. The eleventh day, he put in at a creek at sunset. He climbed a hill to look about. On the other side he saw some horses and located the smoke from a fire. Leaving his horse behind, he stole up on the lone lodge—a brush hut. He listened and heard a man speaking to a woman. Their talk was Comanche!

He took off his weapons and walked up to them. The man greeted him. He invited him in; he fixed him up with new clothes and gave him a blanket to sit on. This man was an old man; he was living out all alone with his family. He was glad to have some one to talk to him. Supper was served up right away. When it was finished he said, "Now we'll tell stories."

The chief remarked that his host had been telling his wife that

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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he was going to shoot a hawk to get some feathers for their boy. "Well, I have some feathers over there in my bundle. Go get him some."

The man was pleased with this offer, and he told his wife to get some of them. When she opened the visitor's bag, he was surprised at all the war materials in it; he saw he had a war chief with him. He wanted to know who he was, so he asked his guest for the name of his father.

"Well, my father is nobody," was the reply he received. "But I got these feathers"—and then he told of all his war deeds that his feathers represented. He also told how his brother ran away.

Then this lonely man knew that here was his own brother. They were happy to be together again.

The older brother asked what had been done about the *nanɛwɔkə* for the wife he had. He learned that it had never been settled because he had never come back to the band. Now was the time to go back.

Together with his younger brother, the chief, he started back to look for their people. His wife and children were with them.

When, at last, they approached the camp, they were met by a lookout. He told them to wait where they were while he rode into the camp to warn their parents. The chief had been given up for dead; his family was in mourning for him. His mother fainted when she heard the good news, but she recovered and washed the caked blood from her gashes. She dusted herself all over with red powder. She was overjoyed.

Then the two brothers came in; after thirteen years the family was reunited. The old man, the father, traded four horses for two large tipis—he got them from a Kiowa who was present. These were the new homes for his sons.

They were waiting for the old man, whose wife the elder brother had stolen, to come up and collect that *nanɛwɔkə*. They wondered why he did not come.

The younger brother, the great chief, told his older brother he would have to give his wife back. "If you can't get another wife, I shall take care of your children myself."

Their mother talked to the older brother.

"Your brother is a big war chief now," she admonished him. "What he says must go."

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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So they sent down for the old man to come up. He did not want to go, but one of his wives urged him into it—he now had four wives. 701

The young chief dictated the whole thing. When the old man came into the tipi he told him to sit between his brother and his wife. The old man hesitated. He was afraid. 539

"It is all right," he was assured by the elder brother.

When he was seated, he hugged the children and was very pleased.

"We are going to give you back your wife," the chief told him, "Tomorrow when you come back, we shall have a feast here. Bring one of your wives. Then when we have eaten, you can take this woman and her children to your lodges."

The old man and the woman were not as one once again until they were on their horses and ready to go the next day.

Thereafter the old man told the two brothers to pitch their tipis back of his. "We are brothers now. My wives are yours any time you want. Just for the asking." » » »

On the raid or warpath the leader of a war party was in supreme control of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be expected, but a warrior seldom refused to obey his leader. It was said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that disobedience might bring disaster to the party. The leader did not use force or punishment. If a man did not trust the ability and wisdom of the war leader, either he did not join or he separated himself from the party. A warrior followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere. This, be it noted, was also the procedure when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. 726

The powers of the war chief included determining the objectives of the raid, designating the scouts, deciding upon the camping places and periods of rest, appointing the cook and water carriers, formulating the general tactics of attack, ordering the expedition to turn back, making a truce with the enemy, and dividing the booty.[9] 726 624

[9] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25.

The Comanches

701 The warriors of most of the Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting societies or military fraternities. These organizations were secondarily arms of the tribal government or, at least, they functioned as strong pressure groups.[10] The Comanches, however, in keeping with their lack of internal segmentation, possessed only the slightest trace of military fraternities. Informants explained that their societies were something like a combination of our present-day army regiment and lodge organization. Their dearth of historical data and the paucity of material, combined with the lack of information on the part of contemporary Comanches, indicates that the associations were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. There is no evidence that they played an important role in social control and government.

642 Such formal government as existed was limited to the activities of the peace chiefs and war leaders, who acted separately or through the medium of the band councils. The Comanches, like almost all of the tribes east of the Rockies, militarists though they were, wanted no military *junta*. They knew the value and need for constitutional separation of civil and military power. From their point of view, that government was best which governed least.

671 The law system of the Comanche tribe was primitive but dynamic —and exciting. It lacked the maturity and balance of the Cheyenne way. It was crude and lacking in juridical subtlety, but it was fluid, inventive, and colored with its own ideals of justice.

Comanche law-ways functioned without benefit of courts. As might well be expected, in view of the ambiguity of powers of the political chieftains, there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. Comanche law was neither legislated nor judge-made. It was hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct.

It was almost exclusively a system of private law—a law in which the responsibility for instituting legal actions rested with the aggrieved party—a law in which the aggrieved and his personal supporters had

[10] J. H. Provinse. "The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Society," in F. Eggan (ed.), *Social Organization of North American Tribes*, 341–449.

727 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.
535 On the fourth day of *Mʌmsɔkɔ's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated
554 part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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who felt worthy and desired to accept the responsibility it imposed upon the wearer. There was definitely no ceremonial bestowal. Usually the bonnet was made by friends of the warrior and presented to him as a token of esteem. The acceptance of a buffalo-scalp bonnet was a serious matter, for the people afterwards expected him to prove himself really worthy of their confidence. Failure meant ridicule and disgrace. After the surrender of the Comanches at Fort Sill, Gets to Be a Middle-aged Man hung his buffalo-scalp bonnet in a tree, never to wear it again. "A man who is beaten has no right to wear such a thing," he said.

Women sometimes made a war bonnet in secret to bestow upon a braggart whose words spoke louder than his deeds, and the presentation was made in public at an opportune moment. The recipient of such a war bonnet had to live up to the obligations of that war bonnet or else lose it and become an object of ridicule and scorn.

The Comanche war leader was under obligation never to retreat except under certain conditions which were well understood, and then only when the other warriors were safe first. He protected the rear as they retreated. The war bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanches to be protected at all costs, "just like the flag." The mere fact that he assumed such responsibility made the war leader a rallying point for all other fighters. The war-bonnet wearer could be rescued with honor by a fellow warrior who dared to dash in and carry him from the field. It was also the duty of a war leader to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and thereby cause him to lose his status and right to wear the war bonnet if judged guilty. If a war-bonnet wearer cast off his bonnet and fled, he lost his right to wear it, and all other men would address him as *paßi*, "elder sister." An aspirant brave who wished to obtain the status of war leader might immediately do so by dashing in and recovering the bonnet. He hung it on a bush and protected it all day in the face of the enemy. At sundown, if he charged the enemy four times, the bonnet and all its honors and obligations were his. The lower-rank bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto.

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet

The Comanches

Young warriors who had not attained the rank of war-bonnet
701 wearers sometimes seem to have banded together into semi-military
554 fraternities or dance groups. Among those noted in more or less de-
575 scending popularity, according to informants, were the Crow, Shield, Big Pony (Big Horse), Little Horse (Little Pony), Fox, Buffalo, Gourd, and Drum. These groups seem, however, to have been limited to the northern bands. A youth was likely to join the group of his brother or father, but there was no obligation to do so. He made known his choice, and if the group was willing to accept him, he was admitted. There was keen rivalry among the dancers to secure members who gave evidence of becoming brave warriors. Sometimes the pipe was forced into their mouth. Members were somewhat like brothers. They went on the warpath together and helped bury and mourn a dead fellow member. They had their own distinguishing insignia, songs, and dances, which could not be used by anyone else. When a group sponsored a dance, none but members could attend, except by invitation. They had social get-togethers and held dances in the day or evening, but more frequently in the evening. Dances occurred more often immediately preceding the departure or following the return of a war party or at the time of the communal hunt. Both men and women took part in their social dances. The warrior groups also competed in athletic events, sports, and military exercises. When a member determined to lead a revenge or raiding party, he could usually rely on the support of his own group, but other warriors were welcome to join a party. And when a leader had the support of the majority of the members of his dance group, the War Dance was referred to by the name of his society.

There were minor differences in the purposes and interests of the several organizations, but in general they were much the same. All the members of the Shield group carried identical shields which had been inspired by a vision. The shields were sacred, and among the many requirements for handling them was the one that they could not be permitted to touch the ground. The sacred-shield bearer often found it essential to have a wife accompany him on the warpath to care for his shield.

The Crow Tassel Wearers wore a special type of war bonnet made of fine feathers clipped short except for one large one which was trimmed to scalloped edges. The wearers prepared their own emblem

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

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Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*.

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Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

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There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

The Comanches

●701 888 « « « This *pukutsi* was going through the camp, singing as usual.

An old woman stopped him and said, "*Pukutsi,* I want you to kill me a buffalo. I need the hide to use for my saddle; I have no boys to get one for me."

He went and was gone from the camp for a long time. Finally he came back at night with the whole skin of a Pawnee, even with hands and feet still on it, and he hung it up like a man standing there against her arbor.

Some man saw it there and called in to her in her lodge, "That *pukutsi* is back. Your hide is out here on the arbor."

Early in the morning she got up and went out to get it. That human skin frightened her. Then that man came by and told her she should not have asked a *pukutsi* to do such a job. "He is afraid of nothing."

"Well, I didn't ask him to bring me an enemy," she complained. But that's the way it is with *pukutsi*. You ask them to do one thing and they do just the opposite.

When she got over her first scare, the old woman jumped up and down and sang. She had an enemy scalp, which she kept. » » »

728 648 The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a matter for the chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own party on his own authority, but such a peace was not binding upon other members of the band or upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon consent of the war leaders, the council of elders, and the head chief. Tribal peace could be attained only when agreed upon and recognized by all the bands.

For all their devotion to war, the Comanches accepted the fact that a people cannot fight everybody on all fronts at once. The home base had to afford some measure of security for hunting and everyday living. Thus the Comanches worked out a sort of national policy of defensive alliances with their more powerful neighbors to their north, keeping their southern, western, and eastern frontiers open for far-ranging aggressive action.

Peace with the Kiowas was cemented in 1790 through the good offices of a mutual Spanish friend.[29] No details of this step are known,

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group 796
returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the tri- 544
umph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling [203]
on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front 796
of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the 701
lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his [411]
war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct 796
approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all 535
finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's 70]] tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for example, almost a thousand warriors devastated the
701 Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 648 their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the 728 following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the [721] years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 175 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased some 648 what—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared— [487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with 175 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation 177 had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

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175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
701 Indians were organized under their own "generals"
177 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt, of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question
175 of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace with us, its members have undertaken on their own initiative various campaigns against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico. 175 648 721

On one expedition which they carried out last July with 95 men commanded by one of their captains called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Dn Juan Bautista de Anza. The original copy of this report is being sent to Your Excellency. 175 648 727 701 175 648

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, 621 associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had [535] nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four 101 bands:—

Yápairẽ̀ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pẽ'natẽ̀ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairẽ̀ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī 621 nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewṑku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse 535 dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatẽ̀ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō̄'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā̀r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances [726] prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast."[3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in 701 war times, were organized in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark, 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 595 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nä'wapinär had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nïotsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [287] 727 [287]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpałet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 625 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinf said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 101 133 648 721 175 175 721 701 162

(ca. 1818)

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

175 101 133 175 101 184

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 619 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701 726 701 624 622 624 554

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

622 [ca. 1870]
624 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his
554 reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of
701 a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes
623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally
[622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in con-
203 travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all
685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which,
684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour,
682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder, the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him.
673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn eve-
nings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own
538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables,
177 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the
[797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking
[175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls.[6] He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

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[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104-6-23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780, 1: 79-122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89-90, 121-133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650-1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129-133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

554 A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
701 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 139, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

According to one informant the chief (any chief) long ago carried an otter-wrapped hooked stick . . . . with the crook of which he would catch a fleeing enemy and pull him from his horse.[15] 171

Kroeber, describing an Arapaho ceremonial organization of five degrees, also notes the presence of hooked sticks. In the ceremony he states all the participants carry lances; the two dancers of the second degree hooked ones; the dancers of the third degree straight lances.[16] The excellent plate of an Arapaho warrior with a hooked lance shown in Kroeber's *The Arapaho* reveals a detail that may be significant here. It will be noted in that plate that the turned down tip is held in position by a string or cord tied to the perpendicular part of the lance itself.[17] The Spanish copyist of the original Comanche report intended to indicate, possibly, a similar connection by the straight line drawn across the perpendicular of the "f" shaped figure, which gives those figures in the present reproduction their distinctive "f" character. 175

It is significant to note here, also, that the straight lances are indicated with point downward.[18] (See pl. 17.) This was the common method of carrying both straight and hooked lances. These lances were commonly thrust into the ground by the bearer, who must fight beside them no matter what the outcome until his standard was plucked out by one of his fellows and he was thereby released. The "f" shaped figures, placed at intervals in the line are also suggestive inasmuch as it was characteristic of Indian leaders to take position, not in front of their fellows, but within the line, which incidentally was a skirmish line.[19]

The lance was not only a standard carried in battle but was likewise a characteristic sign of office carried by the leaders.[20] The [701] [554] [113]

[15] Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthr. Pap., 20: 283, 1924.

[16] A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Bull. 18: 159.

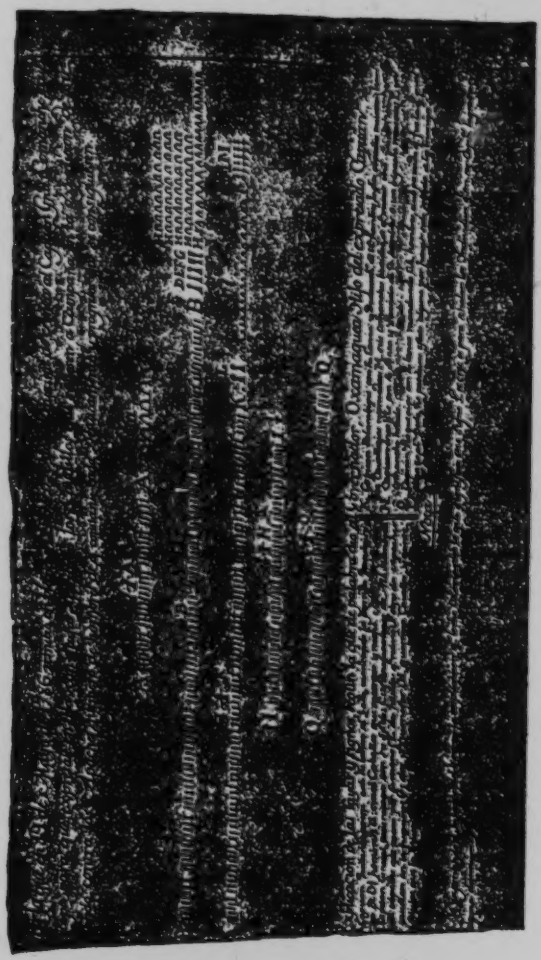
[17] Kroeber, The Arapaho, facing p. 175.

[18] The photographic reproduction here of the figure holding two lances, points downward, is from the original inscribed on a ledge of rocks eleven miles east and six miles north of Kenton, Oklahoma, in what is known as North Canyon. This was in general Comanche territory. The writer is indebted to Mr. W. C. Baker and Mr. C. A. Esmay, photographer, of Boise City, Oklahoma, for the photograph. [128]

[19] Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 569, 578.

[20] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 847, 896; Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, 560.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)



175
212
701
648

Tally Sheet of Governor Anza, showing a Comanche military formation in 1786.

[facing p. 294]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 701 554 Spaniards' guess in the *Note*, accordingly, that the "f" figures represent individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction, was at least half right.

[171] It is perhaps significant that of the number of leaders' lances shown here there are only two kinds, for it is usual in the Plains societies to have only two ranks or degrees of leaders. Further, the limited number of each kind shown suggest that they are emblems of rank. But as to the question whether leaders of the first rank among the Comanche would carry straight lances, those of the second rank hooked ones, there seems to be no certain answer. It is quite possible that this is the meaning of the straight [171] and hooked lances in their positions here. Both types of lances were in general use throughout the Plains. But it cannot be determined that the straight lance is consistently that of a first rank leader and the hooked lance that of a second rank leader. However, this is a distinct possibility among the Comanche. 171 Both types occur as first and second rank emblems among the Plains tribes; the order, and in fact their use or non-use, is quite variable.

TARJA[21]

175 212 701 [648] Tally Sheet (*Tarja*) which Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza sent in blank on the 19th of May, 1786, to the Comanche Captain General Ecueracapa so that there might be indicated on it by means of lines and signs the chiefs who might set out on the campaign, in the expedition under his command, against the Apaches, the number of men which each detachment may be composed, and the successes that might be achieved. (See pl. 18.)

Explanation of the lines and signs, according to what Oxamaguea, son of the above-mentioned captain, gave to the Governor by word of mouth:

A Chief Quetaniaveni, with his lance by his side, commanding the reconnaissance party of thirty-one men;

a five horses he encountered and recaptured

B CaptainGeneral Ecueracapa with his sword[22]

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[113] [21] As indicated in footnote 1 above the original of this Tally Sheet is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A copy of this Tally Sheet, the Informe of Ortiz, the Noticia, and the document here entitled Fourth Enclosure, are the four enclosures accompanying the Relacion. See footnotes 3, 4, and 7 above.

[22] The Spanish word given here, *sable*, for sword, technically signifying a weapon in Spanish military orders. appears to indicate the New Mexican Spaniards' recognition of the formal organization of the Comanche in military societies. So far as the writer knows no description of Comanche tribal life written by Spaniards has been

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C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand
E two wounds which he received
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children. 175 592 728

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

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Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[27]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[28] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[29] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange[30] of the group Yupe	50
Queremilla:	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

[114]

[27] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[28] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[29] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[30] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

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NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for 175 701 648 726

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

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to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

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Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral: Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.	
Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo: He raises his hands; second son	
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero: Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.	
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa és:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[*]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[**]

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It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[*] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[**] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who returned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a
701 band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute, Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days,
721 the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

701 On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed.
624 He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American Indian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

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was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and pre- 701
dates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union.

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 701
1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for 648
a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico.

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, 439
during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops.

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye* 000
to a River, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster.

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number 127
C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings 768
no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him.

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157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[14] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
492 411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 492 224 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside

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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 778
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without 726
waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his 778
[595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
[87] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
[701] battles.

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595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] [251] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 567 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

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124 agonizing time came after he had told me who Mo-cho-rook was, where he came from, and many of his peculiarities when I asked him, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook?" placing the emphasis on Mo-cho-rook. In other words, what does Mo-cho-rook mean? Without going through the painful steps we used to arrive at it, this was his explanation. "White man say, Comanche so cruel he makes white man's blood run [551] cold. Mo-cho-rook means, he is so cruel, he makes Comanche's blood run cold."

This, then is the story of Mo-cho-rook, after placing all the frag-
721 ments together, and with the editing of the squaw man. Sometime in the middle twenties of the last century, an unusually well-planned raid was made into Old Mexico. It was made by a leader of excellent re-
[702] pute. His raids had always been successful, and he always picked out a select group from the volunteers. This time he selected about a hundred young but proven warriors. Each was to provide himself with two good horses, one to have a pack saddle. The end of the raid was to be the capture of a town that had never been raided from north of the river.

It was well protected on north, east, and west by unhospitable land. It was fifty miles from the nearest water, on those three sides. This rather large ranch town sat near the head of a fertile, well-watered valley. It was twenty-odd miles to the next nearest town, with only ranches lying in between.

These people were very rich in good horses and cattle. Upward of a hundred or more families lived in the town. As the plans were laid out the Comanches would move in to well-concealed hideouts in the hills below the town. The town was too large to be taken by direct attack. At siesta time, part of the warriors would make an attack on the horse herders and stampede the horses to the west out onto the desert. After the pursuit was well away from town, the herd would be headed to the north.

As many of the pursuers as possible would be ambushed, as they would be presumably strung out. But the pursuit was not to be discouraged, and they were to be led as far away from town as possible.

Once the pursuit was well away from town, the rest of the warriors were to attack the town, where the only opposition was supposed to be the old men and the boys. The available horses would have been taken by the able-bodied men of the town for the pursuit. All the old

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COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal
Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

657
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE
The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.
For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.
Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

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2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

enlarged, it being considered improbable, I suppose, that I 593
would tear myself away from the partner of my bosom. I was no longer made the center-post at their war dances, but permitted to wear the gayly colored feathers in my hair, and with the warriors, "round about the cauldron stout, to dance right merrily." But I was by no means entirely at liberty, nor did their apprehensions that I would escape, if opportunity occurred, entirely vanish. I was not allowed to leave the village alone, nor to carry arms. My duties were those of an attendant upon the chief. He kept me near him always, whether on buffalo hunts or visits to the neighboring tribes. He frequently made these visits, when they required but one day's ride, with no one accompanying him but myself. At such times he was mounted on a power- [714]
ful horse, armed with bow and arrow and a musket—a tomahawk hanging from the pommel of his saddle, and a long knife in his belt; while I rode before him on a sluggish mule, entirely unarmed. We never passed the night together alone on one of these excursions. In a thousand little ways it was made evident he did not regard it exactly safe to place himself within my power.

The most thrilling incident I witnessed during my so- 578
journ with the tribe of the Rolling Thunder was an Indian duel. Among his warriors were two young men, both proud and spirited, between whom there had long existed a deadly animosity. The cause of their quarrel I could never fully understand, further than it appeared there was a young squaw in the case. Time and time again their differences had been brought before the council without any adjustment being satisfactorily effected. At length, when negotiation had become useless, it was determined to settle the matter forever in a most bloody manner.

It was a pleasant morning towards the close of autumn,

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 411 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form, about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 776 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches. Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a [782] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 535 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nä'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nîotsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [237] 727 [237]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

701 formerly certain "dauntless men," called pía rē'kap ē'kapit (Large Red Buffalo Meat), but these, too, were not associated with a special group. They were expected to act very quietly and practise uncommunicativeness [714] (nafimeàpalet). One of them, who was killed by the Navajo, had a blue or some other cross painted on his quiver, and carried a singular tomahawk with long blade and eagle feather tied to the handle. There was nothing distinctive about the dress worn by these dauntless men.

486 224 625 In connection with the buffalo hunt there does not seem to have been any police body, and though the tribesmen were warned not to advance ahead of their fellows, the only punishment meted out to offenders was to reprove them. On the other hand, the Big Horse company does seem to have regu- 515 lated traveling. They had no other political function except to act as [486] guides when the Comanche were on the march and to make peace with other tribes. Wakinî said that the Big Horses numbered about twenty and were [533] always mature men. They had a distinctive song, but never danced by [302] themselves. They painted their bodies red, down to the waist, and tied [301] hawk and sparrowhawk feathers to the back of the head, so that these would [534] flutter as their wearers moved. They carried dewclaw rattles and wore a [292] sash made from a part of the skin of a buffalo taken from its neck.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration. 175 727

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cavalry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds. 175 726 492 175 492

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant parade through the village mounted and accoutred, and bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These 175 726 [714]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their [492] movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em- bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the [593] saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross
727 the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
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21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encum- 175 726
brance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness [492]
of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Span- [714]
ish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet 175
long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For 411
defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buf- 175
faloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which 714
fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or [237]
circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not [558]
attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the 175
use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the 411
weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and 175
their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which
enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert 721
Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
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 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields
Figures 19–23
Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–78. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

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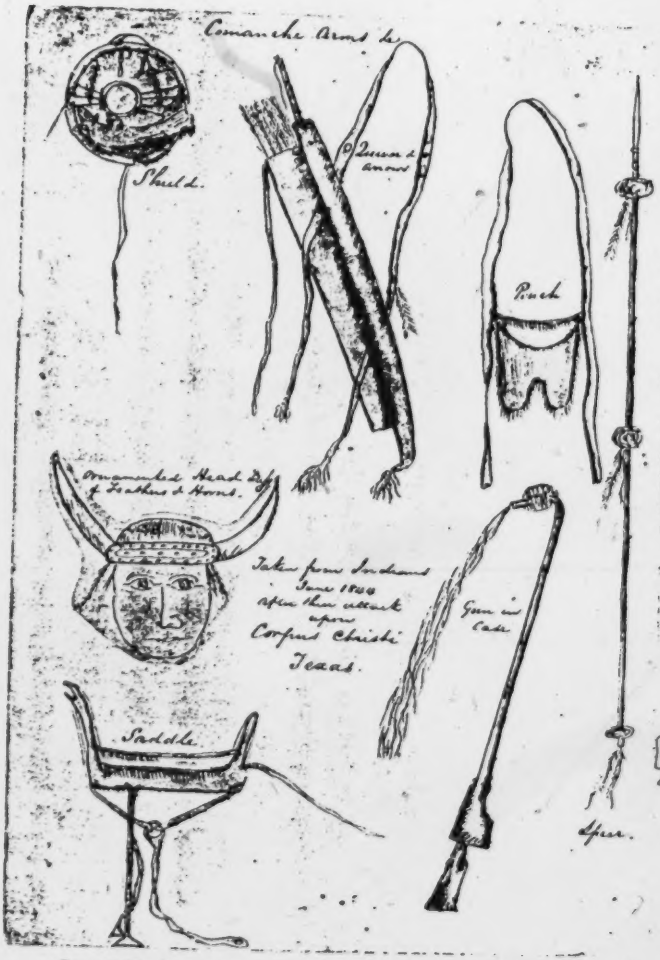

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FIGURE 18. Weapons and equipment captured from a Comanche war party that raided Corpus Christi, Texas, in June 1844. Sketch by William Bollaert.

[p.169]

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FIGURES 19-20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 4439.)

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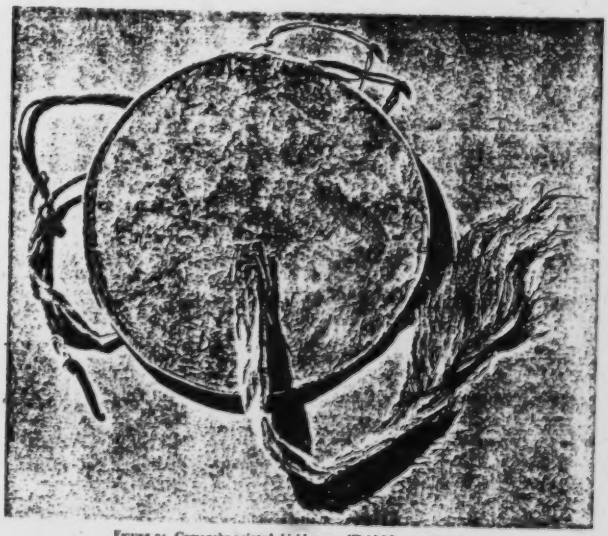

FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 60,579.)

[p. 170]

ently the body cavities of these small animals were stuffed with grass before they were tied to the shield. The shield is 59 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Its front surface is further decorated with a painted reddish-brown stripe about 2.5 cm. wide, flanked with white stripes, two small green circles (one above and one below the stripe), and two U-shaped designs in green. The narrow loops of rawhide which pass through the shield surface provide an attachment at the back of the shield for a carrying strap of horsehide 7.5 cm. wide. 171 714 [237] [531] [283]

This shield is provided with a loosely fitted cover of soft skin, 60 cm. in diameter, which is held in place by a buckskin drawstring that gathers the outer edge of the cover at the back of the shield when pulled tight and tied. This cover is painted in a geometric design composed of a thick black border and an eight-pointed motive outlined in black and filled in with yellow paint (see Figure 20). The latter may be a conventionalized sun symbol. 714 415 [283] 714 415 531

A second shield base is but 31 cm. in diameter and 4 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. Only its cover is decorated (see Figure 21). A black line encircles the circumference of the cover; black and red concentric circles are painted at the center, and a hoofed mammal with horns—a buffalo or deer?—is painted in black. The tail of a cow, with the hair left on, is tied to the center of the cover as a pendant.[5] [237]

The most elaborately decorated of the three shields is shown in Figures 22 and 23. Its cover (Figure 23) is 53.5 cm. in diameter and bears a conventionalized painting of a bear in black (12 cm. long), a black circle filled with black dots at the center, a black stripe below this, and two black dots to the left of the center. Four small feathers are also tied to the center of the cover. The base of this shield (Figure 22) is 50 cm. in diameter and 5 to 6 mm. thick at the edge. A border of red trade cloth 7 cm. wide is tied at intervals to the outer edge of the shield base. To the inner edge of this cloth are tied 73 pelican feathers as pendants. The trade cloth is decorated with a rectangle of blue pony beads about 7 by 6.5 cm. in size. [237] 714 531 [237]

The base of this shield (with trade cloth and feather border removed to reveal the shield painting completely) is pictured in color on Plate 18. A The large, horned figure in the center may represent either a buffalo or a man (much simplified and conventionalized) wearing a horned headdress. The two monochrome human figures, flanking the central figure, one black and one yellow, are rendered in the same style. Both have featureless rings for heads; short, solid necks; solid, roughly rectangular bodies; and linear ex-

5. This specimen was cat. no. 1436 in the Smithsonian collections but was transferred to the Field Museum, Chicago, in 1901 and is preserved in that museum as cat. no. 82379. Donald Collier, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum, has kindly supplied photographs and measurements of this specimen. [113] [128]

A [See Plate 17, p. 180-A—Analyst.]

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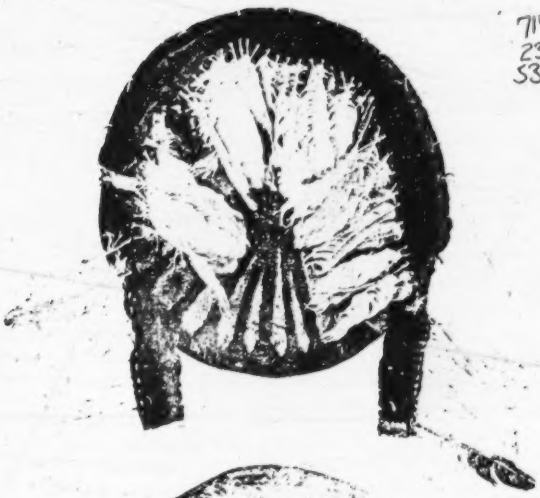

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FIGURES 22-23. Comanche decorated shield and painted cover. (USNM 4430.)

[p. 172]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet. 714 531

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions. 532 172 531

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs. 531 714 789

Comanche Quivers Figures 24-25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8] 411 237 531 237 237 825

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa Indians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1890s. This piece measures 8 cm. in diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 415 237 415 531 714

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII-CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII).

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1834, p. 180.

9. See Plates 20, 21, 14, and 15.

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FIGURE 26. Comanche powder horn. (USNM 1472.)

FIGURE 27. Comanche war whistle. (USNM 5964.)

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FIGURE 28. Karankawa war club. (USNM 5458.)

[p. 175]

 profusely with brass tacks in four bands near the base end, and two crosses spaced at equal distances of the length of the horn. 415 531

Comanche War Whistle Figure 27

Berlandier mentions the Comanche war leader's use of a whistle to blow commands to his followers while in action against the enemy.[10] One of these whistles, collected by Berlandier, is pictured in Figure 27. It is made from the ulna of an eagle and is 19.5 cm. in length. Open at both ends and with a triangular finger stop cut in one side, the whistle is provided with a cord of twisted rawhide for suspension from the leader's neck. While among the Comanche in 1883, shortly after the intertribal wars ended, Ten Kate was told of the former use of an eagle bone whistle to sound signals in battle.[11] George Bird Grinnell describes the Cheyenne use of a bone war whistle.[12] This was not an instrument peculiar to the Comanche. 534 202 714 237 283 171

Karankawa War Club Figure 28

A war club of the Karankawa Indians of the Gulf Coast is made from a single piece of ironwood (Ostrya sp.). The burl forms a head 10 cm. in diameter, and the projecting branch provides a handle 36 cm. in length. Although this club weighs but one pound, ironwood is an exceptionally hard and strong material. This must have made an effective weapon in close combat. The Indian who made this weapon must have shown considerable ingenuity in recognizing the potentiality of this abnormal tree growth as a war club. It is improbable that ironwood burls were typical Karankawa weapons, because they were uncommon in nature. 000

This club was obtained by John Varden, proprietor of the Washington Museum in the District of Columbia, while he was in New Orleans on a collecting trip in 1838. He recorded the specimen as a "War club of the Crank-a-War Indians of Texas" from a "George W. Chambers." Although Berlandier did not collect this piece, it is contemporaneous with the specimens in his collection. It may be the only war club that has been preserved from the Karankawa, whom Berlandier met in 1829, less than three decades before that tribe became extinct.

Comanche Painted Rawhide Case Plate 18

Women were the painters of geometric designs on parfleches and other rawhide cases among the Plains Indians. A fine example of Comanche women's painting on rawhide appears in Plate 18.[A] This case is made from a single piece of rawhide folded twice to form the front, back, and triangular top flap of the case. When folded the case is nearly square—26 cm. high by 28 cm. wide. The case is laced tightly together at the sides with long narrow strips of rawhide, which also provide decorative fringes, some as long as 48 cm. This form of case was well known among the Blackfoot and neighboring tribes of the Upper Missouri as early as the 1830s and was used to hold sacred objects. The painted designs in green, red, and black on the front of 415 531 462 415 531 415 171 531

10. Page 71.
11. Ten Kate, 1885, p. 7.
12. Grinnell, 1962, vol. 1, p. 204.

A [See p. 180-B--Analyst.]

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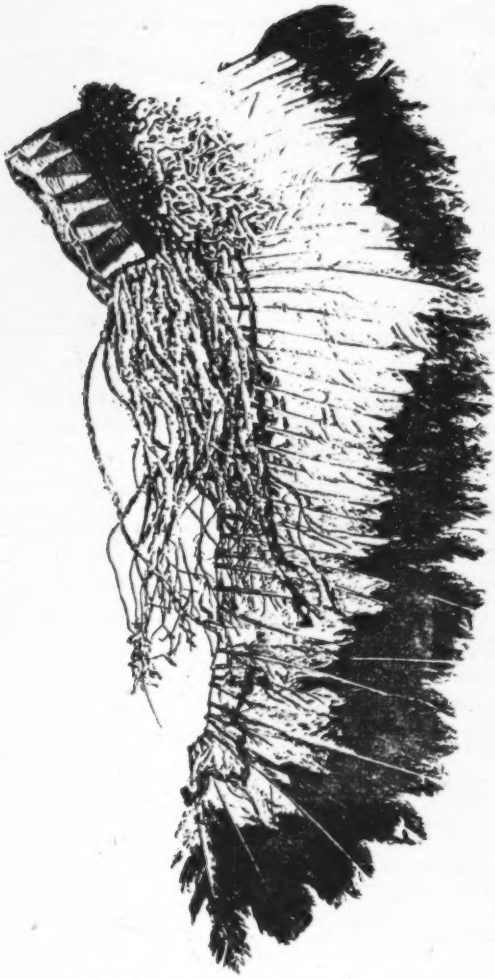

FIGURE 25. Comanche feathered bonnet. (USNM 1475.)

[p. 177]

180 of the head at the front. The designs are long, interlocking triangles of the larger size embroidering beads, sometimes referred to as "pony beads," sewn to the base in a lazy stitch. The triangles pointing forward are of sky blue and those directed backward of white beads. Toward the back of the cap a band of clipped turkey vulture feathers extends over the top, behind which are sewn short narrow strips of rabbit skin. Much longer strips of rabbit skin, each tied to the lower edge of the red cloth, serve as dangling pendants from each side of the cap. 292 331 292 237

The trailer consists of 43 secondary wing feathers of the immature golden eagle. The uppermost six feathers are tied to the back of the cap. Each feather is secured in place by passing it through a hole in a strip of rawhide (2 cm. wide), looping the basal end of the feather around a buckskin cord, and wrapping it with sinew. The slotted rawhide strip through which the feathers pass serves as a spacer to keep the feathers an equal distance apart. 284

In view of the known relationship between the Comanche and Shoshoni, it is of interest to find similar caps worn by Shoshoni Indians pictured in Alfred Jacob Miller's drawings and paintings based upon his visit to the fur traders' rendezvous in Wyoming during the summer of 1837.[15] 171

Although a Comanche warrior may have worn this feathered headdress in battle, there is no reason to believe it was more or less typical of Comanche war headgear than several other types. The headdress of the famous Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), was described as early as 1768 as "a green horn on his forehead, fixed in a headdress, or on a tanned leather head piece."[16] A two-horned bonnet captured from the Comanche who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 is depicted in Figure 18.[A] Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolor of Comanche warriors (Plate 3)[B] shows both a horned buffalo hide cap and a bonnet of upright plumes. David G. Burnet, who knew the Comanche in 1819, wrote of them, "The head-dress is as various as their fancies can suggest and their means supply. Parrow-a-fifty's parade head-dress was a cap made of the scalp of a buffalo bull, with the horns attached in proper position. . . . They sometimes load their heads with feathers, arranged in lofty plumes, or dangling in the air in pensile confusion, or wove into an immense hood."[17] It is apparent that individual preference was reflected in the variety of Comanche headgear worn prior to 1850. 292 714 237 292 714 237 292

Feather Ornaments Figures 30-31

A circular ornament composed of 57 clipped turkey vulture feathers, carefully strung on a thin buckskin cord by doubling the end of each feather around the cord and tieing it securely with sinew, is shown in Figure 30. 301 237 284

15. Ross, 1951, pp. 34, 127, 199.
16. Thomas, 1940, p. 167.
17. Burnet (1851, p. 133) and Wallace and Hoebel (1952, pp. 82-83) claim that the well-known "war bonnet" of the Plains Indians (presumably the brow-banded type) was not common among the Comanche before the 1870s. 171

A [See p. 169--Analyst.]
B [Plate 3 has not been processed for the Files--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 184]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6
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PLATE 17. Comanche painted shield. (USNM 4430.)

[p. 180-A]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. "Obviously," he writes of the Crow, "the idea was not primarily to reduce a hostile force but to execute a 'stunt'; to play a game according to whimsical rules."[5] 727 555

In addition to the standardized honors any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by a Shoshone or Comanche.

WAR INITIATIVE

The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party. There was no chief or power which could say him nay. Were the individual not, however, a man of proved reputation or the possessor of potent medicine, his raid would remain strictly personal and private. He would simply be unable to muster a following. Nevertheless, no one would object to his going out alone. It was quite a different matter, on the other hand, if a man whose qualities had been attested in combat let his intention to take the war path be known. All fighters who wished to do so came to signify their desire to join his party. Dreams about a successful raid were not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, but in most cases such dreams were the effective stimulus. 721 [787]

There were two primary motivations for organizing a war party. The first was an entirely personal matter, depending simply upon desire for action, honors, or horses. Merely to feel the urge was to be at liberty to muster such men as would volunteer to go. On the other hand, a war party instigator might bind himself to avenge the death of a fellow tribesman by enemy hands. A slain man's father carried a heavy weight upon his heart while his dead son remained unavenged. "His conscience is not clear." There was but one thing for him to do. He must seek out the lodge of a brave warrior who had compassion for his suffering and whom people would trust and follow. Carrying his sacred pipe, the father or relative of the dead man offered smoke. The warrior knew what was wanted. If he accepted the pipe, smoking with the emissary, he bound himself in contract to take out a party which would not return until it had taken an enemy scalp. (We were unable to discover a single instance in which the pledge was unfulfilled.)

The warrior made known to the camp that he was going forth. He was to avenge the death of "their" slain friend. He exhorted. He said the young men would join him; he told the people that braves did not care, though it meant death. The Vengeance Dance was held before departure. The dancers were those who were going to join the war party. This sort of war party

[5] R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

●721 never looked for horses; its object was to scalp; it turned back as soon as a single scalp was taken. The Scalp Dance was held upon the return.

Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a party drummed and sang war songs in his tipi. Those who wished to go came and joined him in the singing there. A war dance was held the night before departure. During the afternoon the entire party rode at a lope through the camp. They rode in a single file behind the organizer. The last horse carried two men, one of whom had performed the honorable deed of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle-danger. No onlooker could forget this ever-present obligation, nor the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it. The ceremony is known as the Pony Dance.

In the War Dance only braves leaving on the raid could participate; each was helped by a young girl partner. Others were onlookers.

A rendezvous outside the village had been set by the leader. During the night the warriors stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way.

POWERS OF THE WAR LEADER

701 624 The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all of the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be looked for. The invariable conviction of the Comanche is that a man never failed to do what the leader asked. It was always said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. Each did what he was told. Not a single instance of the use of force or other punishment as sanctions in the hands of the war leader could be uncovered. If a man did not trust in the ability and wisdom of the war leader he did not join the party. Once in, he was in, so long as he stayed.

So long as he stayed. Some Comanche raiding parties were gone for an entire year or more. Disaffection could and did set in in such a period of time. The solution of such difficulties was simple. The party split. The disgruntled fighter and those who sided with him withdrew to go their own way.[6] This, be it noted, is also the procedure followed when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. A man followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; he obeyed that leader to the utmost; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere of influence.

The powers of the chief were (a) to determine the objective of the raid,

[6] Cf., Case 14, pp. 68–69, below.

composed chiefly of a peculiar kind of clay—so that it would 727
be difficult for a stranger to distinguish me from one of their 302
own number. As I became more and more acquainted with those who inhabited the little village we had joined, I observed four girls, the youngest twelve, and the oldest, perhaps, eighteen, whose appearance attracted my attention. They had the copper-colored complexion, but not the high cheek bones and the course black hair and the peculiar expression of countenance that always distinguish the aborigines. On the other hand, they possessed the Anglo-Saxon face—their gait was different from that of the other women of the tribe—and what was the most extraordinary, they had fine light hair, inclined to auburn, and upon one of them it curled. They were a mystery to me, until one day I saw the women coming from the river where they had gone to bathe, and walking among them were these four, perfectly white. The paint had been washed from their faces in the water, revealing to me their race. I made assiduous inquiries of Big Wolf and others, and of themselves, but could obtain no satisfactory information. They knew no other than the language of the Comanches, and in all respects conformed to their manners and customs. It was, therefore, evident to me they had been captured in early childhood and remembered no other life than that they were then leading.

More or less of the tribe were almost constantly absent 721 ●
on the war path. Sometimes they would sally forth of their own motion; at others, a number of them would join a party from a different village happening to pass that way. Even- 727
tually they returned, and the manner of their approach indicated whether they had been successful, or the reverse. On one occasion, during the summer, they brought in a captive, blindfolded as I had been, and had a rousing war-

The Demands of Appetite

the buffalo-skin saddle, I sat down upon it and consulted with myself as to what it was best to do. My safety depended much upon circumstances. If the body of the chief should happen to be discovered immediately, my escape was doubtful. The moment it was found, my knowledge of savage life taught me, a party would instantly and eagerly start upon my trail, and at the same time messengers be sent to all the tribes far and near, calling on them to keep a sharp lookout for my approach, so that I had as much to apprehend in front as in the rear.

I was provided with the dead chief's rifle and ammunition, and consequently had the means of kindling a fire, but making the one or discharging the other, at least for some days, would be a dangerous experiment, inasmuch as the noise of the rifle or the light of the fire might expose me. The demands of appetite, however, would render it necessary to risk both, and, in fact, already were they becoming clamorous, having fasted since our early departure in the morning from the camp of the Wild Horse. Being impossible at that hour to capture game, my thoughts turned upon the mule. She had followed me unexpectedly and could be of no possible use; on the contrary, in all probability, would prove an annoyance. Necessity, which is, indeed, the mother of invention, suggested how I could turn her to account, and the suggestion was adopted. Walking up to the tired and patient beast, as unsuspicious of harm as was her now stark owner when he bent down to drink, I grasped the long knife that was wont to grace his girdle, and drew it across her throat.

When life was extinct, I cut from her hams long thin slips of flesh to the measure of some ten pounds, and having done so, resolved to run the venture of kindling a fire, trusting that the Rolling Thunder was still reposing undis-

492 the Comanche usually took it into a sand-bottomed creek or into deep water for his first mountings. This precaution took the bounce out of the bucking and made for softer landing.

721 Capturing wild horses had its points, but to the Comanche stealing them was better. And the Comanche was the top horse thief of them all. When he went raiding, it was sometimes for scalps, but usually he was more interested in plunder and horses than in killing.

Acquisition of horses by plunder appealed to a Comanche, for it enhanced his prestige. Taking horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for valor and cleverness, and it was in its own right a form of coup: stealing horses from enemies was a distinguished mark of honor, and those most successful in this enterprise were highly respected. Captain Marcy reported that Is-sa-keep, a chief of one of the Northern Comanche bands, said that he was the father of four sons who were a great source of comfort to him in his old age for they could steal more horses than any other men in his band.[18] Some, like Rhoda Greyfoot's father and his two brothers, made it a point of honor never to return from a raid without horses.

The Comanche taking a guarded horse was a ghost. There are instances on record of Comanches' stealing hobbled and guarded mounts of soldiers. Colonel Dodge says that a Comanche could crawl into a "bivouac where a dozen men were sleeping, each with a horse tied to his wrist by the lariat, cut a rope within six feet of the sleeper, and get away with the horse without waking a soul." The Colonel also cites an instance of two Comanche raiders entering a stable under apparently impossible circumstances and making off with two of the best horses. The stable was built of heavy timbers set on end surmounted by a heavy plate doweled into place. The stable yard was enclosed by a heavy picket fence with similar dowel construction. Both yard and stable were guarded by sentries. Yet one stormy night the two Indians cut the dowels, removed enough timbers to permit a horse to go through, and made away with the two best animals without alarming either sentry. They were some sixty miles away before they were overtaken.[19]

[18] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 159.
[19] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 401–402.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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The Horse and the Buffalo

Northern Mexico afforded a golden harvest of horses with little danger to the Comanche raiders. Padre Jacob Sadelmeyer wrote in 1744 that the Comanches were raiding the Río Grande frontier for horses. Long years of internal strife and revolution after revolution had impoverished the Spanish borderlands, and the poor inhabitants were without adequate means of defense. Spanish and Mexican authorities, fearing revolution, resolutely sought to deprive the people of arms. The fierce Comanche raiders struck the defenseless towns, haciendas, and ranches like a whirlwind, capturing thousands of horses, mules, and cattle, and many Mexican children. They swept south to Durango, within five hundred miles of Mexico City, and over Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, San Luis, and Nuevo León. "For days together," said one traveler who passed through the country from Mexico City to Santa Fé in 1846, "I traversed a country completely deserted on this account, passing through ruined villages untrodden for years by the foot of man." The same authority stated that from the fall of 1845 until the time of his visit in September, 1846, on the northern frontier of Mexico "upwards of ten thousand head of horses and mules have already been carried off, and scarcely has a hacienda or rancho on the frontier been unvisited and everywhere the people have been killed or captured.[20]

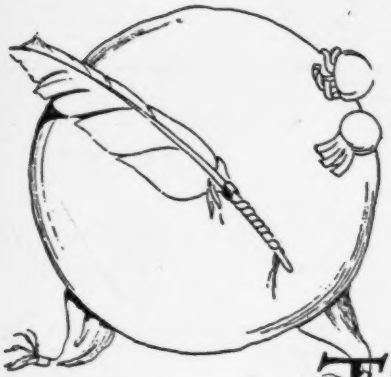
When "Dot" Babb, for many years a captive and later an adopted warrior-member of the Comanche tribe, expressed the view that the Comanches had a limited vocabulary,[21] he was reflecting the view of earlier centuries that primitives are incapable of abstract thought—an incapacity reflected in paucity of language. Of course, it is perfectly true that primitive peoples, whose simpler cultures have fewer objects to identify and fewer abstract concepts demanding expression, do have need for fewer words. But this is no indication of any inability to refine a vocabulary. Boas pointed out long ago that Eskimos, to whom the condition of snow is a life and death matter, have more than a score of words for snow in various degrees of temperature, crystallization, moisture, and compactness. LaBarre, in his recent work among the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, who made potatoes their mainstay in prehistoric times, recorded more than two hundred words

[20] George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 112.
[21] Babb, *op. cit.*, 144.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

X

Warfare



THE motives which led the Comanches to go to war were plunder, love of fighting, a desire for glory as a means of achieving personal status, eagerness for revenge, and a determination to take and afterwards to hold free from all trespassers, both white and red men, the hunting grounds of the South Plains. Their bravery and their desire to win prestige for themselves inspired them to take many risks. Prior to the introduction of the horse, Plains warfare was sporadic and not bloody; but the introduction of the horse furnished all the Plains tribes a new and strong motive for war, for by war men might acquire something of great value and they now had the mobility with which to strike at each other. Concomitantly with the horse came another new factor: the pressure of the whites on the eastern frontier, setting in motion a chain reaction of tribal displacements that caused group after group to fight for a place under the western sun. War became the pattern of life; the military cult became the ideal of the aspiring young man. The old peace chief ideal still survived, but it was destined to be overshadowed by the ideal personality type of warrior.

721 554

War honors provided the basis of the whole system of rank and social status in Comanche society. Consequently, the life of the male came to be centered around warfare and raiding. The men were all warriors. War was regarded as the noblest of pursuits, one which every man should follow; and from earliest youth boys were taught

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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to excel in it. They were taught that success in war brought in its train the respect and admiration of the men, women, and children of the tribe, and that the most worthy virtue for a man was bravery. They were taught that death in battle, aside from being glorious, protected one from all the miseries which threatened later life and were inevitable to old age.

The Comanches, in conformity with the general Plains pattern, adhered to institutionalized procedure in giving social recognition of war honors: the practice of counting coup. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, after it had been socially and publicly recognized as worthy of distinction. In some respects it was a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement. It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him at a distance with an arrow or a bullet. Since the quality most highly esteemed was courage, striking an enemy thus gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not necessarily do so. To scalp an enemy was not especially creditable, for anyone could scalp a dead man; hence scalping was only of secondary importance. But if the scalping were done under danger, it was considered worthy. How much of the scalp a Comanche took depended upon circumstances. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he were pressed for time or the situation were very dangerous, he seized only what he could get. The scalp was a trophy, proof of success to be used in the Victory Dance, and it was also desirable as a decorative fringe for shirts, shields, and tomahawks.

The bravest act that could be performed was to count coup on a live enemy. When hunting, if a dangerous animal was killed or wounded, boys and young men might race to see who could be the first to touch it, just as women sometimes raced to see who could be the first to touch the first fallen animal in a buffalo hunt. The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines or as drawing blood from an enemy in hand-to-hand combat. In addition to the standardized honors, any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by the Comanches.

Contemporary Comanches tell a tall tale of two warriors who

went on a coup-seeking expedition to see which was the better man. They traveled until they came to a Ute camp. 721 554

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said one.

After dark, he drew his blanket over his head and sauntered into the Ute encampment. From within one of the lodges he heard the songs of a hand game in progress. Protected by his disguise, he walked right through the door to join the spectators. Nobody paid any attention to him. Casually and slowly moving about, he touched one after another of all the Utes in the lodge. When he had touched them all, he strolled out and rejoined his friend.

"He had counted coup on twenty enemies at one time. It was a great deed," said Post Oak Jim.

His friend was put to a real challenge. They traveled on, it is said, until late the next day they came to a lone ranch homestead.

"Tonight I'll go in to see what I can do," said the second Comanche. When the lights were out in the cabin, he crept forward. He entered the little house and found the rancher and his wife sleeping together in their bed. With all the stealth he would have used in untethering a picketed horse before the lodge of an enemy chief, he lifted the sleeping woman from the side of her unsuspecting husband. Without wakening her, he brought her to the side of his friend. Together they took her back to the main camp. The People said this was the greatest coup of all. No Comanche had ever done anything like that before!

It sometimes happened that a man, if he had been ill for long without hope of recovery or if some misfortune of such significance that he no longer wished to live had befallen him, determined to give his life by some daring act of bravery against the enemy. This was suicide, but a socially recognized way of ending one's life in a most honorable manner. He went out in one grand coup.

A daring exploit was not of itself in the strictest sense a coup. Rather it was the raw material for one. If unrecognized, the deed remained only a matter of individual memory, for only recognition in due "legal" form turned the deed into a coup. It often happened that an exploit claimed by an individual was unwitnessed, not believed, or claimed by one or more other warriors. The man who believed he had a right to claim a coup made a strong fight for recog-

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

721 554 nition of his deed. Other than securing witnesses or presenting circumstantial evidence in support of his claim, he might take a formal oath that what he claimed was true. It is evident that in the confusion of battle a man might believe himself entitled to honors claimed by others. At the first opportunity after the fight, the chief called the warriors together, preferably before they arrived at the main camp.[1] But the procedure varied from band to band and according to circumstances. One account has the leading warriors seat themselves in a semicircle. Near the opening of the circle was placed a buffalo hide. Some of the Indians danced to the beat of drums. A warrior rode into the circle, stopped suddenly, and plunged his spear in the buffalo hide. Music and dancing stopped, and the warrior under oath narrated in detail the circumstances connected with the deed which he claimed as a coup. When he had finished, he dismounted and joined his comrades in the semicircle, and the dancing and drumming were renewed. Then a second warrior was called upon. The same procedure was continued until each claimant for honors had told his story. Those seated in the semicircle either publicly recognized the deed as a coup or rejected the claim.

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A scout who was out alone sometimes ran unexpectedly into an enemy, perhaps killing or counting coup on one. In such a situation there was no one to witness his deed; it was necessary for him to attest its truth. If he was a member of the Water Horse band, he did so by taking the buffalo-chip oath. On returning to the band, he signaled that he had important news. Before entering the camp, he waited for all the warriors to assemble. They all lined up in a row behind three or four buffalo chips, which were stacked on end, tipi wise. When they were ready, the scout rode in and speared a chip for each man he had killed or struck. With each blow he cried, "*A:he!*" If he had counted no coup, he merely walked around the pile and then [717] scattered it as a sign that the news he was bringing was true. The false asseveration of a coup brought bad luck and death.

554 The Comanches recognized two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Cheyennes counted coup on an enemy three times, while the Arapahos touched four times. In battle, members of one tribe counted coup

[1] Informant: Yellowfish.

The Comanches

554 424 A coup was regarded as a type of incorporeal property, which could be transferred by the owner to a comrade in public ceremony. The practice may have emerged only since the advent of the reservation, when the restrictions upon fighting imposed by the whites made the coup a commodity of scarcity, so that the ingenious Comanches devised the transfer technique. It was done in public in order that the recipient's right to the honor would be witnessed and duly recognized. It was considered best if the giver of the honors announced a dance, inviting all members of the band to be present. After the dance had continued for a time, the host, walking to the center of the ring, called a halt. There, in the presence of all the people, he narrated the details of a coup, swearing to the powers that the deed was his, and concluded by saying, "I now give this to my brother, ———." The man named then stood and claimed the deed, with the following words, "I now take this deed. Sun, Father, Moon above, and Earth, Mother, witness that it is mine." The drum was struck a resounding blow. If those present gave their assent, the transfer of the coup was complete. The coup was bestowed only upon brave men; it could be neither sold nor inherited.[5]

721 The prosecution of warfare was a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war or raiding party, for there was no legal authority to restrain him. Although a vision was not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, it was in many cases the effective stimulus. Should a man inexperienced in warfare and without an established reputation attempt to organize and lead a party, he would be unlikely to secure a following. A young warrior was usually content to serve under others until he had gained experience. He must know when and how to attack and how to retreat without loss of men when the fighting went against him. On the other hand, a man whose qualities of bravery and leadership had been demonstrated in combat seldom found any difficulty in mustering a following when he announced his intention to go on the warpath. Nobody would risk leading a party without power. He may have received it through a vision or a dream. When a man declared that he knew how, he certainly felt that he did, else he would be afraid to say so. It was for each individual to determine for himself whether his own and the leader's power was working for success.

726 they should act. Sometimes they sang. Perhaps before going to sleep the leader sang a spiritual song—a prayer to the guardian spirits for help and wisdom. Occasionally the leader might carry the pipe and have the men dance at night along the route. Ishatai carried the pipe around and had each society dance every night while on the way to Adobe Walls in 1874.[11]

War parties are difficult to distinguish from raiding parties, for the Comanches conducted both in much the same manner. The distinction rested for the most part in the stated objective of the undertaking, although a raiding party, if confronted with enemies, would fight; and a war party was not likely to pass by a chance to make off with horses or booty.

●721 Only the vengeance party moved with a singleness of purpose. The Comanche parent who had lost a son to the enemy "never rested in his mind until he had an enemy scalp to make things even." If he was still of a fighting age, he could seek a scalp or organize his own vengeance raid. But if this was beyond his abilities or if the aggrieved person was a widow who had lost a son or a husband, he or she would take a pipe to a war leader and offer smoke. If he accepted, the war leader bound himself to organize a vengeance expedition. He had a camp crier announce the project to all the camp. "The young people don't care if they get killed on this raid," he cried for all to hear. "They want revenge."

With the taking of a single scalp, the revenge raid accomplished its mission and was inevitably turned back by its leader, even if bigger prospects were near at hand. One scalp was all that was necessary for the Scalp Dance, and this was what they were after.

726 In their most destructive raids, the Comanche war party proceeded to some convenient point within striking distance of the settlements to be raided and established a temporary camp in which they left most of their supplies, horses, guards, and women. The leader sent out scouts to gather information. If their report was favorable, he informed the warriors of the plan of attack. The party often broke into a number of small bands, and the destructive work was begun. The preferred time was the period following the full of the moon. They

[11] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish's father went to Adobe Walls with Ishatai, and afterwards told him the details of the raid many times.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

492 upon the side of the horse thus making of the animal a perfect screen between themselves and an imaginary enemy. "In this wonderful condition," he relates, "he will hang whilst his horse is at fullest speed, carrying with him his bow and his shield, and also long lance of fourteen feet in length, all or either of which he will wield upon his enemy as he passes; rising and throwing his arrows over the horses' back, or with equal ease and equal success under the horse's neck." Finally the artist learned that a partial explanation of the marvel was in the fact that a short hair halter was passed under the neck of the horse and both ends tightly braided into the mane on the withers. Through this loop the young warrier ran his arm and thus secured an anchor and rest for the fore part of his body.[20]

556 231 Horses were naturally the only form of wealth available to the Comanches. They were both useful and easily moved and an Indian's wealth was measured by the number of horses he possessed. Their horses were of good, indifferent or poor quality, depending on the success a given band had had in recruiting their scrubby mustang herds with better bred animals taken from the Mexican or Anglo-American frontier. With these Indians horse-stealing was both a science and an art and no warrior's training was complete until he was proficient in this respect. At the camp on the Clear Fork, in 1854, previously referred to, one warrior carried a shield [554 701] "Ornamented with a *human scalp*, a grizzly bear's claw and a mule's tail, significant of the brave warrior and successful hunter and horse-thief."[21] Chief Is-sa-keep, of a band of northern Comanches, once told Captain Marcy that his four sons were as fine young men as could be found, that they were a great comfort to him in his old age, "and could steal more horses than any other young men in his band."[22] The brave's best horse was always saved for the hunt or war party and the Indian had that love for their favorite steed that always characterizes good horsemen.

721 648 As is the case among most savage peoples, war was a normal condition with the Comanches. For instance if expediency dictated that there be peace between the Comanches and Osages, the Texas

20. North American Indians, II, 73-74.
21. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 195.
22. Exploration of the Red River, 97.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

border was still inviting and there the braves could find horses to 721
steal and ranches to plunder; if there must be peace with Texas, 648
there was at least one happy war ground, which according to Comanche ethics, was always a legitimate field of operation. That was Mexico. And hither the young braves would go, notwithstanding the more or less perfunctory efforts of the governments of the United States and Texas to stop them.

War with the Comanches might call forth united tribal effort 721
or it might concern but a small party of warriors, depending on the circumstances. The chief or head man who wished to lead off a war party paraded through the camp, carrying in some cases a long pole with a red flag tipped with eagle's feathers, chanting a war song. If he was a popular leader and the bands was in a war mood, or if he could convince the young braves that his enterprise promised large returns by way of scalps, prisoners and booty, he would soon collect about him many warriors. War dances would be held, the leading men would make talks, runners would be sent to other bands and the expedition would take on large proportions. No warrior was obliged to join, but the young man who always [626]
stayed at camp would obviously soon become the object of much ridicule. However, the tribe was not entirely at the mercy of these young hot-spurs. If the expedition was likely to result in the flagrant violation of a popular treaty or if it was calculated to bring down upon the tribe the wrath of a powerful enemy, a more conservative sentiment would prevail and the movement would be nipped in the bud.

In this connection some description of Comanche weapons should 411
be given. Although they acquired a few guns from white traders at a very early date, primitive weapons were all that a great majority of the tribesmen had as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Their bows were of bois d'arc, rather short for long bows, being ordinarily not more than three feet in length. Sometimes they were wrapped with the sinew of the deer, and the bow string was of the same material. Their arrows were about twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular spike, or point, of iron. Two feathers intersecting each other at right angles were bound to the other extremity of the arrow and served to guide it. They frequently carried lances, one of which is described as "a piece of

177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a Spanish general, describes the situation in 648 his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

[721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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(113) Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram
[175] Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society
(Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and
[178] E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17–25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776–1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p 142-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[19] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural
175 producta. It seems probable that the French,
648 in addition to supplying the Comanche with firearms, also incited them to attack the
[721] Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[20] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[21] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[19] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[20] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [21] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

[p. 143-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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648 agencies along the frontier, and to furnish
439 blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[657] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[29]

> 21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

648 Due both to impoverishment caused by
721 the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to
178 the pressure of White settlers, the Coman-
[136] che became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the
648 Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical
657 of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer
657 as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[29] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

[p. 144-A]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

OVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be re- [197]
garded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado,
and from this vantage point they maintained close
contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and
Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Co-
manches must have first learned of these peoples,
and from them too, they may have acquired their
first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to
shift their camps southward and eastward. No
doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtain-
ing mounts, but at the same time they may have
been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to
the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An
added attraction to the south and east were the
plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos
and Picurís. Thus were the rustics from the northern
wilderness introduced to the material refinements of
more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the cen- 721
tury and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 648
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest.

The first persons against whom the Comanches
displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches
who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos.
As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

175 party struck at Apache rancherias above present
721 Trinidad, Colorado. This event was the opening
648 curtain on several decades of intense hostility be-
175 tween the Comanches and the Plains Apaches. By 1733 the continual hammering of the mountain Indians had caused Apache power to crumble in a wide swath of country extending from eastern Colorado to Central Kansas.

Remnants of the defeated tribes fled to the security of settlements in New Mexico where in this same year, a mission for 130 refugees was established by the Spanish near Taos. Some of the defeated Plains Apaches, however, were unwilling to submit to the discipline of Christianity, and as an alternative they fled south, out of range of the Comanches who would exterminate them and the Spaniards who would civilize them.

175 By 1715 the government authorities in Santa Fe
648 had begun to pay heed to the growing danger posed by the Comanches. The Spaniards had not fully realized at this early date that the Apaches of the plains were being displaced by an even more aggres-
175 sive foe. This point was driven forcefully home,
648 however, when the Comanches with their Ute allies
721 assaulted the Taos district in 1716. Other severe raids followed each year thereafter, until the Spanish governor personally led a punitive expedition northward to the vicinity of the Arkansas River in the autumn of 1719. No hostile Indians were encountered, but it was definitely established that the Comanches had filtered through the passes in the Front Range and had occupied much of the valuable buffalo country formerly held by the Apaches.

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
701 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

175
648 the Spanish government through the viceroy in
728 Mexico City authorized an annual distribution of
[431] gifts to the Comanches to be paid for by a special fund created for that purpose.

There were, in truth, a number of cogent reasons why the warlike Comanches were willing to accept Anza's offer of peace in 1786, quite apart from the
[721] elaborate gifts which were to be forthcoming. In the first place, their raids against New Mexico in the 1770's had proved so devastating that the impoverished province, at least for the time being, had little
[164] to offer them. Moreover, a severe smallpox epidemic that had visited most of western North America in 1780-1781 had taken its toll among the Comanches, leaving the tribe greatly weakened for a number of years thereafter. Finally, the Comanches were continuing their drift toward the south and east so that the focus of their attention was moving away from New Mexico and toward the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

Not so understandable is why the Eastern Comanches or Orientales were led to accept peace terms at about the same time as their kinsmen to the west. Apparently, the overriding consideration in this case was the hatred felt toward the Lipan Apaches, against whom the Orientales now joined with the Spanish in common cause. [See Document I].A

The peace established in 1785-1786 with both the Eastern and Western Comanches relieved the settled frontier of serious attacks from this tribe for almost a generation and was one of the few notable achievements registered by Spain in her dealings with the Indians of the northern frontier during the eight-

14 A [See Category 175, pp. 21-22—Analyst.]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 648 their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the 728 following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the [721] years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 175 648 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased some what—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—[487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with 175 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation 177 had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 ComancHe NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace 175
with us, its members have undertaken on 648
their own initiative various campaigns 721
against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico.

On one expedition which they carried out last July 175
with 95 men commanded by one of their captains 648
called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon 727
Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both 701
sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Dn Juan Bautista de Anza. The 175
original copy of this report is being sent to Your 648
Excellency.

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Three

FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA TO THE VICE-roy Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Santa Fe, May 6, 1793, regarding inter-tribal warfare between the Comanches and other Indians.

THE FOUR nations of the Comanches, Utes, Navajos, and Jicarillas who have allied themselves with this Province [of New Mexico] continue without change their good conduct and they remain in harmony with the local settlers. But among themselves they still launch raids, and this stems primarily from the hate which the latter tribes feel for the first. 175 648 [721]

At the beginning of last winter, the Utes and Navajos got together for a council and they resolved to go and attack the Comanches. They set out immediately and soon encountered a rancheria left unguarded by [Comanche] men who had gone buffalo hunting. They proceeded with little difficulty to destroy it completely, capturing and killing the women and children, and running off the horseherd that was there. When news of this reached the other Comanches, they swore to avenge the offense and raising a considerable war party, they attacked the village of the Utes in a like manner and completely destroyed one of their rancherias, with the result that both [tribes] have suffered almost equal harm from the other. 175 648 727 [721]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

796 If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several in-
72 formants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even
[535] exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy
[216] that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned war-
[533] rior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

535 During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several
[796] dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the
[242] dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

[621] The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápairē'ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you. 175 121

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them, 175 131 181 000 175 648 721 175 721

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate
721 is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their
175 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The
648 national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions
175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their
721 *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called,
101 are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult
{173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif-
175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know
173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons
175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent
181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their
175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient
533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to
175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their
101 wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion of the country through which they have ranged time imme-
171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers
721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are 175
located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are cer- 721
tainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted [181]
from their political importance, by their habitual indolence,
and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and
protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the pre- 175
sumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly 114
opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements,
they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has
obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The [101]
idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish [162]
from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary
prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their 114
numbers and general character as a close observation dur- 128
ing a residence among them for several months, has en- 175
abled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is 101
divided into three great parties, each of which is distin- 175
guished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, 101
range through a section of country that is watered by the 133
Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits 175
both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

of the St. Saba, which empties into the Colorado about 60 miles north of St. Antonio. Their migrations are bounded on the west by the mountains, which are generally barren and destitute of game, and on the east by the river Brazos. It is this band principally, that is engaged in the predatory warfare upon the inhabitants of Texas, which they have prosecuted with great assiduity for several years past and which they have continued, with short intervals of peace, from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Their incursions have not been confined to the province of Texas, which the miserable attempt at revolution in 1812 has effectually, drained of its once immense herds of mules and horses, but they extend their depredations to the several contiguous provinces beyond the Rio Grande. This party can probably bring into the field about 1500 warriors; but to parade this number, I doubt whether they would not be obliged to put in requisition the virgin bows of unfledged boyhood. The largest party they have been known to muster for a campaign, was estimated by eye-witnesses at 12 or 1500 men; and those who are apprised of the imposing spectacle exhibited by a Comanchee parade, will not suspect a *coup d'oeil* estimate, of extenuation. It was known that many of their kindred band, the Yamparacks, were associated with them, and contributed to eke out the formidable array.

I will resume my remarks as opportunity may offer.

B*****.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 15, 1824]

Letter II

The next party in geographical order is the Yamparacks. These occupy the head waters of the Colorado, occasionally extending their migrations to the tributary streams of the Rio del Norte. They frequently intermingle with, and are found among the Comanchees and are, in no respect dissimilar to them, in manners, customs or appearance, but are virtually the same people, speak the same language, and are characterized by the same peculiarities. There is one

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages. 175 101 184 [157] [439] [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards. 175 721 701

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation. 175 [177] [439] [609] 175 701 721

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec- 175 101 133 439 175 628 175

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encumbrance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Spanish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buffaloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

175 726 [492] [714] 175 411 175 714 [237] [558] 175 411 175 721

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NOo Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and
721 lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in
152

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1786 BY THE GOVERNOR OF TEXAS*

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY ODIE B. FAULK

The Comanches first appeared in New Mexico in 1706. By mid-century they had driven the Jicarrilla Apaches from the northeastern region of that province and were devastating the Spanish settlements east of the Rio Grande. Continuing their advance southward, these fierce warriors drove the Texas Apaches back upon the Spanish settlements at San Antonio and below the Rio Grande. Their victory at San Saba in 1758 over the Spaniards, whom they considered to be Apache allies, assured their domination on the plains. 175 648 721

Under the illusion that the Comanches would remain away from the settled areas of their control, the Spaniards determined in 1779 to form an alliance with them with the intent of the total destruction or reduction of the Apaches. Although participation in the American Revolution interfered to some extent with the plan, Spanish officials proceeded, nevertheless, with their efforts to bring the Comanches into an alliance. In New Mexico Governor Juan Bautista de Anza (1778-1788) secured the desired treaty with the Western Comanches (Yamparikas) in July, 1785, and in Texas Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles (1778-1786) achieved the same goal in October, 1785, with the Eastern Comanches (Kotsetekas and Penatekas). 175 648

The acting commandant-general of the Interior Provinces, José Antonio de Rengel (1784-1786), desiring information which would indicate whether the Comanche raiders would keep the peace treaties they had just signed, sent the gover- 175 128

*Domingo Cabello, "Respuestas qe el Govr de la Prca de los Texas da a las Preguntas que el SAr Come Gral de las Ynters le hase en oficio de 27 de Enero de 1786: sobre barias circumstancias de los Yndios Cumanches Orientales," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives (University of Texas Archives, Austin). [113]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others 439 is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not 621 possible to ascertain the number of people that compose 224 them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they 175 keep their strength gathered with the caution with which 721 they always live; they never situate themselves in a place 621 that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining them- 175 221 selves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no [241] crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that [262] are abundant in the territory in which they travel.

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record. 175 127

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2] 175 648

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces- 175 648 721

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103-5-6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1821. [113] [121]

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540-1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599-1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928. [113]

A [See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted
648 their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under
•721 the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

175 In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most
101 of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these
175 Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found
[361] eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly
[10] forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square.
[162] Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,
[621]
[113]

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number.
[122] The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[113] [4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico
[113] (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

177 ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied
101 the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from
[177] the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger
105 Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in
105 the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life.
177 With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

72 It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.
178
[113]

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–10.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of
[119] American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.
Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.
Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.
Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.
Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.
Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.
Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.
Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.
Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.
Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.
Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.
Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

622 in commenting on the band headmen, or peace chiefs, remarked, "I hardly
[642] known how to tell about them; they never had much to do except to hold the band together." The headman was a magnet at the core of the band, but his influence was so subtle that it almost defies explicit description. He worked through precept, advice, and good humor, expressing his wisdom through well-chosen words and persuasive common sense. He was not elected to office or even chosen. "He just got that way." His role and status were only slightly more institutionalized than were those of the Eskimo headman. In the making of any important decisions of group policy all men were free to have their say. Yet among them all, the wiser old head, whose time-tested judgment the people respected, was the leader. In matters of daily routine, such as camp moving, he merely made the decisions himself, announcing them through a camp crier. Anyone who did not like his decision simply ignored it. If in time a good many people ignored his announcements and preferred to stay behind with some other man of influence, or perhaps to move in another direction with that man, the chief had then lost his following. He was no longer chief, and another had quietly superseded him.

624 War chiefs were outstanding fighters whose accumulated records of
555 honored deeds were tangible evidence of their prestige status. Any Comanche
701 was free to initiate a raid or organize a war party—if he could muster a band of followers. The Comanches were chronically at war with the Ute,
721 Pawnee, Apache, Osage, Tonkaway, and sundry other tribes. In later days, the whites of Texas and the Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Grande were fair game. War, for the Comanches, was certainly a national pastime, if not the conscious practice of a national political policy. We suspect it was both. But so far as it was a national policy, it was not explicitly directed
[555] by a governing military or political body. It was a matter of individual motivation, prepared by training since infancy and spurred by a social system that gave rich psychological rewards to the men who were bravest in the face of the enemy or most successful in running off the horses of hostile tribes or the horses and cattle of Texas ranchers.

701 On the raid the leader of the war party—the man who had organized
it—had temporary dictatorial powers such as a peace chief never enjoyed.
624 He determined the objectives of the raid; he appointed scouts, cooks and water carriers; he set the camping places and the route of march; he divided the booty, if booty there was. In all his directives he was implicitly obeyed. If anyone seriously objected, he was free to leave the party and go his own way. Success on the raid demanded tough leadership, and the followers of a war chief submitted to it. Yet so strong was the Comanche sense of individual freedom that at any point a man could pick up his arrows and go home.

624 In view of their basic values of individual supremacy and the related

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

584 and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had 581 the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the *woman* was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong 581 current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adoles- 832 cent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on 897 a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man 721 in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make 897 an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined [182] by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses 684 were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the 627 hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the de- 684 fendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche 627 brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs: 602

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewɔkɔ*, 684 restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high, 627 [801]

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkai*. That has meaning of "*red* Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them. 173

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Comanches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes. 167 177 [231] 721

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken. 167 721 618 [177] [411]

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 177 101

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
621 sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[778] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[795] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[794] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
72 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[225] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *pɛnatɜkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 101 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *pɛnatɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *pɛnatɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes." 621 177 619 621 184

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *pɛnatɜkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma. 101 619 621 184

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 619 621 184 648 721 619 621 184 721 657

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759 northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution: 657 595 [643]

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace. 595 721 648 175

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained. 162 165 595

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

52: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

545 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 492 [224] The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buffalo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and 462 721 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 [492] [231] The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred [224] [251] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat, the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After 462 281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything [249] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither [283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone [412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] [493] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be [436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized 567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The 727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur- [582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives. [702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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12 agonizing time came after he had told me who Mo-cho-rook was, where he came from, and many of his peculiarities when I asked him, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook?" placing the emphasis on Mo-cho-rook. In other words, what does Mo-cho-rook mean? Without going through the painful steps we used to arrive at it, this was his explanation. "White man say, Comanche so cruel he makes white man's blood run [551] cold. Mo-cho-rook means, he is so cruel, he makes Comanche's blood run cold."

This, then is the story of Mo-cho-rook, after placing all the fragments together, and with the editing of the squaw man. Sometime in 721 the middle twenties of the last century, an unusually well-planned raid was made into Old Mexico. It was made by a leader of excellent re- [702] pute. His raids had always been successful, and he always picked out a select group from the volunteers. This time he selected about a hundred young but proven warriors. Each was to provide himself with two good horses, one to have a pack saddle. The end of the raid was to be the capture of a town that had never been raided from north of the river.

It was well protected on north, east, and west by unhospitable land. It was fifty miles from the nearest water, on those three sides. This rather large ranch town sat near the head of a fertile, well-watered valley. It was twenty-odd miles to the next nearest town, with only ranches lying in between.

These people were very rich in good horses and cattle. Upward of a hundred or more families lived in the town. As the plans were laid out the Comanches would move in to well-concealed hideouts in the hills below the town. The town was too large to be taken by direct attack. At siesta time, part of the warriors would make an attack on the horse herders and stampede the horses to the west out onto the desert. After the pursuit was well away from town, the herd would be headed to the north.

As many of the pursuers as possible would be ambushed, as they would be presumably strung out. But the pursuit was not to be discouraged, and they were to be led as far away from town as possible.

Once the pursuit was well away from town, the rest of the warriors were to attack the town, where the only opposition was supposed to be the old men and the boys. The available horses would have been taken by the able-bodied men of the town for the pursuit. All the old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

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The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

[p. 352]
[pp 1- 351 not processed]

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd.

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California.

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire.

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information

726 fun of a little fighting; they could snipe with bows and arrows from the fringe of the fray, although Rhoda Greyfoot says they never went on the "hardest" raids. For a married woman to join up with some man who was going on the warpath was, as has already been shown, the commonest manner of absconding.

When the entire band intended a series of onslaughts upon a distant enemy (three to four hundred miles from headquarters was a commonplace distance for a raid), they not infrequently took women along. The women carried small lodges and a few supplies to set up a temporary camp, the preferred location being one which provided a convenient place from which to strike at the enemy and was at the same time far enough removed to be safe from pursuit. Although the Apaches took their best medicine men along and the Kiowas included in the party a buffalo doctor who had power to heal wounds and an owl doctor with power to tell what was going to happen, the Comanches encouraged their medicine men with the greatest healing power to remain in camp and care for the wounded as they were brought in.[9]

723 487 A war party carefully studied and mapped any unfamiliar country that it expected to traverse. All those needing information about the route and the terrain were assembled and instructed by the well-informed elders. After they were seated in a circle, a map was plotted on the ground showing rivers, hills, valleys, water holes, and any other identifying or unusual features. Then a line was drawn to represent the route planned for the first day. From a bundle of sticks, marked consecutively beginning with "one," a stick with a single notch was stuck at the point where the party was to camp at the end of the first day's journey. When the novices had committed this much to memory, the second day's journey was illustrated in the same manner. Instruction continued in similar fashion until it was felt that each man could follow the route satisfactorily. Thus a group could usually traverse without difficulty a region entirely new to members of the party. It is reported that one such instructed party, none of whom were over nineteen and none of whom had ever been in Mexico, were able to travel from their main camp on Brady's creek, Texas, and raid as far as the city of Monterrey without mishap and

[9] Lehman, *op. cit.*, 38, 148; Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 35.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

with no other guidance than the instructions furnished before starting out.[10] 723 487

The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained with the party. 726 The legal governmental powers of the leader have been considered elsewhere, but for the sake of clarity some repetition here is essential. The men obeyed their leader implicitly and willingly. Each knew that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. If, on the other hand, disaffection did set in, the disgruntled warrior and those who sided with him merely withdrew to go their own way.

It was the duty of the leader to determine the objective of the raid, to plan the routes, to determine the camping places and the periods of rest, to designate the scouts, to appoint the cook and water carrier, to plan the general strategy of the attack, to divide the booty, and to order a retreat or make a truce with the enemy.

One or two scouts were kept from a one-half to a day's march ahead. A war party rarely traveled at night by choice, and the men rode without much talking, steady and quiet, all intent on where they were going. About midday they stopped to rest and water the horses. At night they camped, preferably in a grove near fresh water. If they were in enemy territory and a hill was available, the war party circled gradually up and around the hill until it reached a camping spot halfway up the hill on the side opposite the direction from which it had approached. The leader sent two sentries to the top of the hill, and the rest of the party slept soundly through the night. An enemy following their trail was exposed on the side of the hill under the view of the sentries in plenty of time to warn the sleeping encampment.

The leader carried a sacred pipe. When the evening meal was over, the pipe was formally filled, lighted and, after the usual offerings to the spiritual powers, passed to each warrior in turn. Then the leader talked to his men, telling them of the country, the best routes, and the safest places of retreat, giving them advice and telling them how

[10] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 414, from an account by Pedro Espinosa, a Mexican-Comanche warrior.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

never by choice made an offensive attack in the dark; they never raided when the moon was a crescent with the horns pointing upward, for the moon was then "full and running over" and there was the likelihood of rain, after which their trails could be easily traced on the moist earth.[12] They struck swiftly on moonlight nights or surprised undefended, isolated settlers by day when circumstances were favorable, killing or capturing their victims and driving their stolen animals back to their rendezvous, where they were attended until such time as they could return to the main camp. When approaching the camp or settlement, the warriors separated and entered it by pairs or small groups. If an enemy dog barked, the raiders tossed it a piece of meat to quiet it. The older, experienced men cut loose the more valuable horses and led them out, while the younger men gathered up the loose animals. At times it was understood that the horses taken by each man were to be his own; at other times, they were common property to be divided by the leader of the expedition. By means of signals, the raiders kept in touch with one another and would reunite when they had completed their foray or when considerations of safety demanded. 726

Frequently, of course, the Comanches engaged an enemy prepared to offer resistance. One simple strategy was to send forward a small party on swift horses to lead the enemy into an ambuscade. Sometimes this plan was successful, but often those hidden in ambush were unable to restrain their eagerness and rushed out too soon, causing the stratagem to fail. Although the leader planned the attack, when the battle began each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his own medicine and his personal inclinations. 723 726

As a rule the Comanches relied upon surprise, upon the effect of a sudden and furious dash, accompanied by an unearthly, blood-curdling war whoop. They avoided a pitched battle when they were matched by an equal or greater number. They preferred to surprise a much smaller party. If the enemy was not surprised or put to flight at once but stood his ground, the wedge-shaped mass of Comanches quickly assumed battle formation. The wedge turned into the shape of a huge ring or wheel without hub or spokes, whose rim consisted 725

[12] Julia Estill, "Indian Pictographs near Lange's Mill, Gillespie County, Texas," Texas Folklore Society *Publications*, IV, 105.

fore the noise subsided, the drummers would strike up the next war song and the dancing would be resumed, shortly to be interrupted again. Dancing warriors might occasionally interrupt the dance to narrate exploits of their own. Finally, the leader spoke of the necessity of the war party and its aim, and ended by appealing to his followers to display their accustomed courage while on the raid, that their people might be proud of them and not consider them cowards. 726

Shortly afterwards, the leader silently and without ceremony left the dance. The dance continued for a time, but occasionally a warrior and a maiden quietly slipped away into the dark for a few minutes together before parting, for the Comanches enjoined no continence, although they must not be seen leaving together. There might be several parties going out under as many leaders. In such a case, instead of having so many War Dances going at once, each party might end its dance in a short time and make way for another leader and his party. The leader had previously designated a rendezvous outside the village, and after the dance, the warriors returned to their lodges to get their horses and equipment; then silently they stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way. [834]

Under no circumstances could the War Dance or departure occur in daytime. That was bad medicine. On one occasion a group of warriors held their dance and left during the day. Not a single member of the party returned. The case was never forgotten nor repeated.[8]

Each man who gathered at the rendezvous had provided himself with arms, lasso, food, clothing, a robe if the weather was disagreeable, and horses. The food consisted of dried meat, in sheets or pounded fine, and mesquite meal. Both were very strengthening, packed well, and were convenient to carry. This food was taken only as emergency rations, for they were expected to subsist on the flesh of animals killed along the route. [724]

When the raiders planned a quick thrust at the enemy and a hurried get-away, they left their women, children, and lodges at the main camp and traveled as unencumbered as possible. The leader and men with sacred shields might each take along a woman to help with their equipment, but they seldom exercised the privilege. It was not uncommon, however, for some women to accompany them for the

[8] Informant: Yellowfish.

never by choice made an offensive attack in the dark; they never raided when the moon was a crescent with the horns pointing upward, for the moon was then "full and running over" and there was the likelihood of rain, after which their trails could be easily traced on the moist earth.[12] They struck swiftly on moonlight nights or surprised undefended, isolated settlers by day when circumstances were favorable, killing or capturing their victims and driving their stolen animals back to their rendezvous, where they were attended until such time as they could return to the main camp. When approaching the camp or settlement, the warriors separated and entered it by pairs or small groups. If an enemy dog barked, the raiders tossed it a piece of meat to quiet it. The older, experienced men cut loose the more valuable horses and led them out, while the younger men gathered up the loose animals. At times it was understood that the horses taken by each man were to be his own; at other times, they were common property to be divided by the leader of the expedition. By means of signals, the raiders kept in touch with one another and would reunite when they had completed their foray or when considerations of safety demanded. 726

Frequently, of course, the Comanches engaged an enemy prepared to offer resistance. One simple strategy was to send forward a small party on swift horses to lead the enemy into an ambuscade. Sometimes this plan was successful, but often those hidden in ambush were unable to restrain their eagerness and rushed out too soon, causing the stratagem to fail. Although the leader planned the attack, when the battle began each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his own medicine and his personal inclinations. 723 726

As a rule the Comanches relied upon surprise, upon the effect of a sudden and furious dash, accompanied by an unearthly, blood-curdling war whoop. They avoided a pitched battle when they were matched by an equal or greater number. They preferred to surprise a much smaller party. If the enemy was not surprised or put to flight at once but stood his ground, the wedge-shaped mass of Comanches quickly assumed battle formation. The wedge turned into the shape of a huge ring or wheel without hub or spokes, whose rim consisted 725 ●

[12] Julia Estill, "Indian Pictographs near Lange's Mill, Gillespie County, Texas," Texas Folklore Society *Publications*, IV, 105.

725 of one or more distinct lines of warriors. This ring, winding around and around with machinelike regularity and precision approached nearer and nearer the enemy with each revolution. As a warrior approached the point on the circle nearest the enemy, he dropped into the loop around his horse's neck on the side opposite his target and discharged his arrows from beneath the neck of his horse while traveling at full speed. If his horse was shot down, he generally hit the ground on his feet, and holding his shield in front of him for protection, he shot from beneath it. Such strategy not only provided a difficult target for the enemy, but it gave the Comanches opportunity to reload while riding the circle safely out of danger of enemy fire.

One purpose of the Indian was to draw the fire of the enemy prematurely, and then to charge him while he was reloading. In this type of attack the bow proved not inferior to the musket. For a time the Comanches were eager to get muskets, but their inferiority for this mode of warfare was soon recognized. Muskets had greater range, but a much slower rate of fire, were difficult to load on horseback, and required ammunition which could not always be obtained.[13] Not until the whites adopted the use of the revolver were they able to cope successfully with this type of Indian strategy.

The Comanches never received a charge and rarely met one. If charged, the line immediately in front of the charge broke and melted away, reforming on either flank of the enemy to continue the attack or break again when charged. In one battle with a superior force of Utes the Comanches let the Utes chase them fifty or sixty miles, engaging and disengaging themselves while they traded ground for freedom of action. Occasionally a young warrior, anxious to display his bravery and gain prestige, might leave the line and dash dangerously close to the enemy. The attack might continue until the ponies gave out or the enemy fire became too hot, when they withdrew to attempt another surprise.

Naturally, when the attack occurred on rough terrain or where there was timber, brush, rocks, or holes, the strategy had to be altered. A common procedure in such a position was to leave part of the horses at a safe distance and then approach the enemy with two riders to a horse. While circling the crucial spot, the extra warriors slipped

[13] Linton, "Acculturation and Process of Culture Change," *loc. cit.*, 474.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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off the horses, if possible unnoticed by the enemy, whose attention was distracted at the time. While the riders continued to draw the attention of the enemy, the dismounted warriors slipped silently to a position from which they could strike a mortal blow.[14] Another plan of strategy was to take up a position in a creek valley where there was a thicket of bushes and stunted trees and where the low, steep banks of a meandering stream afforded a measure of protection. In such a place their concealment was so complete that it would have been difficult to believe any Indians were there had it not been for the twang of a bowstring or the swish of an arrow. In such a position they were known to have fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow. 725

When a comrade was killed or wounded, the Comanches endeavored to retrieve his body or carry him to safety if he were still living. Two Indians riding abreast, one on each side of the prostrate warrior, would reach down and take hold of the warrior as they passed, either dragging him to safety or swinging him up beside one of them. If he could not be removed by mounted comrades, he was sometimes lassoed and dragged to a spot where he could be recovered. 726

To the white man the Comanche appeared to be a cruel, savage warrior. But in all fairness it must be remembered that he knew nothing of the white man's code of war and his so-called humanity. He could not take many prisoners for the simple reason that he had no prison to hold them and perhaps no food to sustain them. He killed the men, took the women when he could, and adopted into the tribe children who were too young to run away. His courage was superb. Since he gave no quarter, he asked none in return. Sometimes, when the fight became desperate, a warrior dismounted and took off his moccasins in token of his resolve never to retreat.[15] Even when surrounded, with no hope of escape, he always refused to surrender and fought as long as any strength remained in his body. 727

Although it was not their custom to torture unfortunate enemies, at times when the Comanches became unusually angered, they resorted to extreme forms of barbarism in seeking revenge. For the most part, the treatment an individual captive received depended on

[14] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 380, 381.
[15] Informant: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

"When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him. 624

"A couple of nights later they set a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zig-zagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hill-top. 624 726

"The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, '*aké*.' The others came and took the scalps.

"It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a scalp dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses. 624 727

"The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other. 624 726

"Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

" 'Now,' said the youth to one of his followers, 'you do as I have just done.' Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while when the Comanches got tired they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

624 727 "The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds. They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

624 "The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'

"Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, 'This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends.'

"The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

"Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him."[9]

[9] One has more than a sneaking suspicion that this story has been embellished with its portion of heroic ornament. But it was told to illustrate how a war bonnet was obtained, and that it does very well.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

701 shoot an arrow into anybody's pot of meat, taking whatever piece stuck to
158 the shaft.

Parents warned boys who were constantly recalcitrant that they would become such. Most Crazy Dogs started out as wayward youths.

Such men carried on as Dogs until after the performance of some conspicuous act of bravery. After many years of Crazy Dog activity, their rattles were taken from them by a respectable middle-aged man (ţénapa).
[555] "They had attained prestige and could leave off their antics." By their war records ex-Crazy Dogs were always men of importance in the tribe.

624 It is clear from these facts that the war bonnet and other special in-
554 signia served a definite social function in Comanche society; they marked the status of the war chief as distinct from that of the lesser war leader, and the special devotees of the war cult from the common warrior.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE WAR BONNET WEARER

554 The Comanche owner of a war bonnet was under obligation never to
● 726 retreat. This was the primary duty assumed with the status. The bonnet was a symbol of tribal integrity and honor to the Comanche, to be protected at all costs. The mere fact that the wearer could not retreat made him a rallying point for all other fighters when he was hard-pressed, for it was equally disgraceful for the bonnet to fall into the hands of the enemy should the wearer be wounded or killed. The war bonnet wearer, dismounted and hard-pressed, could indeed be rescued by a fellow tribesman who dared to risk dashing in to carry the brave off on his horse. This was the sole escape with honor. In one fierce three-day battle with the Utes, a Comanche war chief was so wounded in the leg that he was having difficulty. Another ţékniwap mounted behind him and held him in his place on the horse while he fought off the enemy. The Utes forced the Comanches back and ever back over a battle-field sixty-five miles long. When, during the action, the wounded war chief died, he was tied to the saddle by his protector to avoid his being captured with his bonnet. During the entire fight his body and its protector were screened by a group of fighting braves.

558 On the other hand, it was the absolute duty of a ţékniwap to help a dismounted comrade. Should he fail to do so, any other war chief who observed his disloyalty could publicly upbraid him with the act and take the war bonnet from him in punishment. The accuser was then free to offer it to some other warrior whom he thought deserved it.[14] But this man was also free to refuse if he feared the obligations attached to it. This was said

[14] Compare also the case cited on page 55, where a claimant to a piece of land (on the reservation) had the judgment go against him because he had one time failed to rescue a comrade.

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to be the way it was done, though no case describing such a situation was collected. 558

A war chief whose nerve failed him in a dangerous position *could* retreat—by giving up his right to wear the bonnet. He could cast it off and flee for his life. But he was a man without status thenceforth, for he could never again regain the bonnet and its rank. Life certainly would have been miserable from that point onward. Men hailed him as "elder sister."[15]

But what a chance this disaster opened for an ambitious brave to gain the war leader's status in one stride! He could dash into the danger spot to pick up the abandoned hat with his spear or bow. Turning his horse, he would bring it back and put it on a pole behind his lines. If the fight still continued when the sun was about to set, he then went to the pole and put on the hat. Thus arrayed he charged the enemy four times and struck an adversary on each foray. If he was successful in this and came through alive, the hat was his with all the privileges, honors, obligations and dangerous duties which went with it. This was the practice in the Those Who Move Often and Antelope bands. The lower rank war bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto. For it, the use of the bow or spear was not necessary, according to Becomes A Middle-Aged Man.[16] 555 726

PEACEMAKING

The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a prerogative only in the hands of the war chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own raiding party on his own authority. Such a peace, however, had no binding effect upon other members of the band and not at all upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon unanimous consent of the warrior class, i.e., the meeting of the tɛ́kniwapnə. The historical making of peace with the Kiowas has been noted on page 12. All Comanche bands agreed to this with the result that it has remained unbroken since 1790. A permanent peace with the Cheyenne was effected in 1840.[17] 728 624

Relations with other tribes were more in the nature of truces than peace,

[15] According to a generalized observation by Neighbors (*The Comanches*, p. 130): "He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a single defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe." It is not so much that he was deprived of his office, as that he no longer could gain a following.

[16] The above rules are formulated principles for which no histories in action were obtainable.

[17] The Comanche version of the details of this occasion is lost. Its setting in the Cheyenne picture will be included in the author's forthcoming study of Cheyenne Law-ways.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 684 tongues were collected and roasted by the women. When they were cooked and taken from the fire to be cleaned, men and women lined up and started dancing. When they stopped, all was ready. Then a war leader called for a virtuous woman to come forth to cut the tongue—not a virgin, but a wife who had never betrayed her husband. The leader warned the husbands that if their wives stepped forward and were disqualified they must not get angry or punish them.

The men were in one group; the women in another. There was silence and embarrassment when the call to come forward was given. At last one bolder than the rest stepped out. From the group of men could come an anonymous voice. "Go back!" It would be the command of a secret lover. The woman obeyed, for the leader had announced that if any unfaithful wife was permitted to cut the tongue, she would die. One woman after another would make the try and be sent back by her lovers, until finally one came forth who stood the test. To her the knife was given; she cut the tongue amidst the *"li-li-li-li"* (cry of applause) of the other women. One [726] informant said that this ceremony was used to bring success to a large war party before it set out. If a virtuous woman did the cutting, success was theirs. If an unfaithful wife were to do it, they would meet disaster. As she interpreted it, lovers revealed their secrets because it was their duty to safeguard their fellow-warriors' lives. Because it was a religious ceremony under the patronage of the supernatural, women were safe from their husbands when their lovers told on them. No one ever heard of a husband molesting his wife for being found out in this test.

×627 To complete the record of the supernatural relations to evidence and law an account of oaths as used by the Comanches in certain non-litigational situations is needed.

Among the Comanches unwitnessed deeds had to be verified by a simple ritual *ex parte* statement (akin to affidavit) before they were first recounted publicly. When a lone scout returned from his reconnaissance, he rode into the camp and scattered a pile of buffalo chips which the waiting warriors had placed before them. This guaranteed the truth of his statements. If the scout had killed a man, he rode directly to the pile and ran his spear through a chip for each man killed. With each chip speared, he cried, *"ahé"* ("I have claimed it.")

A Comanche adventure with the Utes shows the efficacy of the buffalo chip ritual (accompanied, here too, by tangible evidence), for even in the face of some skepticism, the story had to be accepted on the basis of the manure test (and the horse and woman taken). The Victory Dance was even given to celebrate the feat.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 32. Coup Substantiated by Oath
Informant: That's It

627^
726 ●

"A Comanche band out looking for trouble were closing in on their objective. They had a scout out in front. He climbed a hill and looked about, but didn't see anything. Pretty soon he got sleepy and dismounted. He left his arms on his horse and dozed off.

"Some Utes came along then and made camp just below him. Some of the men came up the hill and saw him there, but they thought he was a Ute. He had some kind of a blanket over his hand, so they couldn't see him. They took their places near him and sat down to smoke.

"Finally the scout woke up and heard some talking. He peeked out and saw they were Utes. Then he tried to figure out what to do. Just then the young people down below started a deer. The braves on the hill got to their horses and rode after, leaving only some old men behind. Then the Comanche saw what to do. He got up and limped toward the Ute camp. The old men saw him and laughed. Near the camp the scout saw a horse with a deer hoof necklace. He got on and followed the people who were chasing the deer the way he wanted to go. Cutting across, as though to head the deer off, he caught up to a woman who was ahead of the others and nearest the deer. Seizing her bridle-vein, he led her off and took her back to the Comanche camp.

"When a man has such luck they have a special ceremony. The people stand in a circle with a pile of buffalo chips in the middle. The man rides across it and scatters the pile. Then he must tell all from the beginning. The leader of the raid said he was satisfied. They had a captive with no losses, so would turn back. When they got back to the main camp, some of the warriors didn't believe it. But they didn't have any other test. The people gave the Victory Dance."

The Comanches do not seem to have had any oath ritual for settling disputed coup claims as did the Cheyenne and other Plains Indians, even though the Comanche conditional curse resembled the Crow oath in form. No instances of such disputes could be remembered. 627^

Before summary, it may be recalled that the separatism of Comanche law results, as has been pointed out, in several divergent lines of action according to the nature of the offense. In the bargaining procedure there is neither ritual nor any other appeal to supra-social forces. The procedure was a purely legal action of negotiation and settlement.

In summary, ritualistic procedure was used in the procuring of evidence in adultery and sorcery. Procedure based on ritual was of three kinds: (a) conditional curse, (b) divination, (c) oath. Ordeal did not lead to legal procedure. Sunkilling was used to detect and punish adultery, the detection showing in the punishment. In adultery disputes it could be used only on a woman, but has been lately turned back on men who have evoked the sunkilling. The joking ordeal also was used to detect adultery, or any sex inter-

solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double 727
purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves
food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of [291]
leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat,
the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was
necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our 727
feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the 522
meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry
and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my persōn, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, [726]
forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some
fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this 727
space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes—but also bring back the hides they may succeed in taking. 224 492

On the occasion I now refer to, the party moved west, 224 threading their winding way over the mountains, and across numerous streams and valleys of greater or less width and extent. In the afternoon of the third day we struck a wide, rolling prairie. Dividing it nearly in the center was a high, smooth ridge—its summit reached from both sides by an easy, gradual ascent. As we crossed the prairie and approached this ridge, our scattered cavalcade extended, perhaps, a quarter of a mile, moving forward carelessly, and in no order whatever. I was at the extreme rear, by the side of the Spotted Leopard, and surrounded by the pack mules. As the foremost horsemen reached the height, they 726 halted suddenly, making hurried signs, while two or three of the braves galloped back down the slope, riding eagerly to and fro among their brethren, as if urging them to push forward without delay. The whole band, thereupon, dashed up the hill, except the Spotted Leopard and myself, who remained with the mules in the rear, and on reaching the summit deployed into line. By this time I had heard the cry of "the Apaches, the Apaches," and knew at once there was hot work at hand.

As yet, however, I had seen nothing of an enemy, and only drew the inference there was one present from the cries I had heard, and the general commotion that prevailed. In the course of two or three minutes after our line formed on the ridge, the air was rent with the noise of the war whoop, and up the opposite ascent, at full speed, came the Apaches in solid body, like a black cloud. As they approached, a shower of arrows were discharged from both lines, when they rushed upon each other in a hand-to-hand encounter.

Three Years Among the Comanches

726 From the position I occupied I had a fair, unobstructed view of the battle. It was fierce and terrible. The horses reared, and plunged, and fell upon each other, their riders dealing blow for blow, and thrust for thrust, some falling from their saddles to the ground, and others trampling madly over them.

The Comanches outnumbered the enemy; nevertheless, they were forced to retreat, falling back down the hill almost to my position; but still they were not pursued, the Apaches appearing to be content to hold possession of the ground. Soon, the tribe of the Spotted Leopard again rallied and dashed once more to the attack. If possible, this contest was severer, as it was longer than the first. Again the fierce blow was given and returned; again horses and men intermingled in the melee—stumbled, fell, and rolled upon the ground, while the wide heavens resounded with their hideous shrieks and cries.

My blood thrilled through my veins as I looked upon the scene. I had mingled in encounters fierce even as that, but never before in the midst of the hottest fight was I overcome with such a sense of terror. To be an inactive spectator of a battle is far more painful than to be a participator in it.

I hoped devoutly during the engagement that the Comanches would be beaten, being impressed with the belief that if I should fall into the enemies' hands, my chances of escape would be increased, for I had often heard that the Apaches, though a most warlike nation, were more merciful to prisoners than others of their race. But in this
727 I was disappointed. The Apaches at length gave way, disappearing beyond the ridge. Instead of pursuing their advantage, however, the Comanches hastily gathered up their dead and retreated towards the mountains we had crossed.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

ing they would be of service on the way, packed their house-000
hold goods, furnished themselves with provisions, and started through the Indian country toward the distant city of the Great Salt Lake.

They struck the Río Grande at Eagle Pass, pushed onward beyond the futhermost settlements, and for a month were slowly winding among the mountains, when many of their teams began to fail. A party of forty were thus compelled to fall in the rear, and finally became separated from their companions. With this party was the Haskins family.

They now began to be annoyed by the Indians. For sev-726
eral days they had been seen scouring the prairies in different directions, ascertaining, perhaps, the strength and quality of the train. They constantly grew bolder and bolder, in the daytime dashing up within a short distance, and at night driving off more and more of their cattle, until, at length, they were destitute of sufficient force to proceed. In this helpless state, they were surrounded by a cloud of savages, and taken prisoners.

In this party of forty were fourteen women and several 727
young infants. The men, among whom, of course, the husband and father, were massacred without exception, the women less fortunate, and the infants were carried away. I turn with disgust from the contemplation of the cruelty to which these captive women were subjected by the lustful hellhounds as they bore them off in triumph to their camps. Some idea of their barbarous nature may be conceived from the fact that while on the way, when an infant cried, it would be snatched from its mother's breast, a hole cut under its chin, then hung on the point of a broken limb, and there left to linger through its little painful life. In this manner, I was assured by Mrs. Haskins and her duaghters, every child unable to comprehend the danger of crying was disposed of.

492 manche was mounted that he exhibited himself to best advantage. "Here he is at home and his skill . . . is truly astonishing."[29]

492 726 868 One of the first things a Comanche child learned was to ride. He started riding in a pack on his mother's back long before he could walk. Next he was strapped to her saddle on a gentle mare. By the time he was four or five he was off on a pony of his own. Both boys and girls were taught to ride with or without a saddle. Girls were taught to ride astride and became almost as much at home on horseback as boys. But it was not enough for the Comanche boy merely to learn to ride. He had to be a trick rider. Day after day, month after month, he practiced in drill. He learned to pick up objects from the ground while his mount was traveling at full speed. At first, small and light objects were selected, but as the boy grew older and more proficient, heavier and more bulky objects were exchanged for the lighter ones, until at last, unassisted and at full speed, he might be able to pick up from the ground and swing across his horse the body of the heaviest man. To rescue a fallen comrade was the highest obligation of any Comanche warrior. To leave a comrade on the field to be stripped, mutilated, and scalped by desecrating enemies was a disgrace to The People. Every man was expected to be able to meet the challenge when the need arose—and he had to be able to do it alone. Generally, however, rescues were made by two men working togther. Rushing neck by neck on either side of the prostrate person, both riders stooped at the same instant and swung the body in front of one of the riders. This stunt was practiced over and over on all kinds of ground until riders and ponies could do it without a hitch.

492 726 In attack, the Comanche, like other horse Indians, made his mount a mobile shield between himself and his enemy. How many a trooper or pioneer within his defensive corral of wagons has cursed at the scudding Indian whirling about him, loosing arrows from beneath his horse's neck, with nothing showing but a leg hooked over the horse's backbone! The key to this fancy trick was a loop of rope attached to the cantle or, if the rider was bareback, plaited into his steed's mane. With the loop slipped over his head and under his outside arm, a trained rider (and what Comanche was not?) clung to

[29] R. B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 54*, 103.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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the side of his horse with both hands free for shooting or picking up heavy objects while riding hell bent for leather.[30]

Thus it was that Homer Thrall imaginatively saw the Comanche as "the Arab of the Prairie—the model of the fabled Thessalian 'Centaur,' half horse, half man, so closely joined and so dexterously managed that it appears but one animal, fleet and furious."[31]

Long before they got horses, the Comanches, like their Shoshone cousins, liked to put a good bet on a stick game or an arrow-throwing contest. Small wonder that in later years they took to horse racing with gusto and mighty bets.

In one popular race the contestants started from a line and rushed full speed toward a tree, the one touching it first being the winner. In another they rushed at a pole resting horizontally about six feet from the ground. If a rider stopped his horse a moment too soon, he failed to touch the pole; if a moment too late, the horse passed under the pole, possibly leaving the rider dangling to the pole or thrown to the ground. In still another contest, two strips of buffalo hide were stretched across the track about six to ten feet apart. The starting point was about two hundred yards from the strips. The contestants jumped their mounts over the first strip, reversed their direction, and raced back to the starting point. The horse which failed to get beyond the first strip with all four feet or which went beyond the second lost the race regardless.

Most Comanche racers were "doctored" for a race. An owner had a medicine man chew up some unidentified medicine which he spit in the horse's mouth or ear. Whatever its specific effect, it was power in the Comanche view. No woman could come near a racer when it had had medicine made for it, and after racing, both horse and rider went into a creek to wash off the effects of the medicine.

In many instances horse racing proved to be really profitable business for the Comanches—who were not the least loath to fleece a sucker. Colonel Dodge has left a story of a race which the officers at Fort Chadburne, Texas, to their regret arranged with some Comanches. After the first bets had been laid, the Comanches innocently

[30] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 331; Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 103.

[31] H. S. Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas*, 445.

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So they sent down for the old man to come up. He did not want to go, but one of his wives urged him into it—he now had four wives. 701

The young chief dictated the whole thing. When the old man came into the tipi he told him to sit between his brother and his wife. The old man hesitated. He was afraid. 539

"It is all right," he was assured by the elder brother.

When he was seated, he hugged the children and was very pleased.

"We are going to give you back your wife," the chief told him, "Tomorrow when you come back, we shall have a feast here. Bring one of your wives. Then when we have eaten, you can take this woman and her children to your lodges."

The old man and the woman were not as one once again until they were on their horses and ready to go the next day.

Thereafter the old man told the two brothers to pitch their tipis back of his. "We are brothers now. My wives are yours any time you want. Just for the asking." » » »

On the raid or warpath the leader of a war party was in supreme control of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained in his party. With so loose and voluntary a collection of personnel, disobedience might be expected, but a warrior seldom refused to obey his leader. It was said that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew this. Each knew, too, that disobedience might bring disaster to the party. The leader did not use force or punishment. If a man did not trust the ability and wisdom of the war leader, either he did not join or he separated himself from the party. A warrior followed only the leader in whom he had confidence; when he lost confidence, he withdrew from that leader's sphere. This, be it noted, was also the procedure when a man and his friends did not like the way in which things were being run in the band in times of peace. 726

The powers of the war chief included determining the objectives of the raid, designating the scouts, deciding upon the camping places and periods of rest, appointing the cook and water carriers, formulating the general tactics of attack, ordering the expedition to turn back, making a truce with the enemy, and dividing the booty.[9] 726 624

[9] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25.

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Warfare

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Ordinarily, a man contemplating leading out a war or raiding party made medicine to determine when and where the raid should take place. Then he called his friends and some older men into his lodge to discuss the matter. After they had eaten, a pipe was filled and the host made known his plans. Those who did not care to join the enterprise let the pipe pass without smoking.

If the leader had received sufficient encouragement from his guardian spirit and his comrades, he put on his war paint and all his war paraphernalia. During the afternoon he began to drum and to sing war songs in his tipi. Some of the men going with him were already prepared, and it was only necessary for them to go over and join the leader in the drumming and singing. About sundown the party mounted their horses and paraded through the village to enlist other volunteers. The parade signified that the party was leaving that night. The warriors paraded the village four times in single file, singing war songs. There were as many parades as there were leaders planning to take out a party. Men who had performed the honorable act of carrying a dismounted or wounded comrade out of battle danger rode double. This was a method of giving public recognition for meritorious service. No onlooker could forget this ever present obligation or the public recognition to a man who had fulfilled it.

When the party was a popular one, men, women, and children turned out to join in the singing and to encourage the warriors. Young maidens sometimes serenaded the lodges of popular warriors whom they wanted to join the party, chanting the victories of ancestors and the valor of contemporaries and imploring or goading them to join.

Both maidens and old women who promoted a successful raiding party expected a horse or other plunder for their efforts. During the period of preparation, shields belonging to volunteers hung by day on racks before the warrior's doorway to absorb the all-powerful medicine of the sun. Each rack was either a lance or a tripod of three lances.[6]

The night before departure, the War Dance was held. If the leader was going forth to avenge the death of a friend, it was also

[5] Informant: That's It.

[6] Informants: Yellowfish, See How Deep the Water Is, Kills Something, and Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; see also Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Babb, *op. cit.*, 107–108; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 24; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, I (June 5, 1824), 177.

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726 called a Vengeance Dance. The dance did not begin until dark, and it ended in time for the party to take its departure before day, although the Comanches did not rely on dancing to arouse the war spirit of the group as much as some of the other Plains Indians. The tendency of the Comanches to make a decision quickly and to leave the same night as the dance were additional factors tending to eliminate unnecessary details. As darkness settled over the village, the people gathered around a fire, leaving an opening in the circle toward the proposed objective of the party. The volunteers were attired in all their war dress and paint. Only braves leaving on the raid could dance, but each was aided by a woman partner. A dancer might carry a rattle, but it was not essential. The warriors danced when they felt the urge, unless ordered to dance by a whip wielder. Sometimes there was little actual dancing. The spectators formed a circle outside the dancers, and joined in the singing.

The War Dance in some respects compares to the modern college pep rally preceding a football game. Some songs were merely musical [533] and without words. The songs with words were known by most people. Popular love songs, of which there were many, were sung. It is very difficult to render the songs into English without sacrificing the rhythm, but a sample verse of a popular song goes as follows:

Going away tonight;
Be gone a long time.
While I'm gone,
I'll be thinking of you.[7]

The dance would be interrupted at intervals by an old warrior, who approached the drummer and announced that he wanted to tell a story while the dancers rested. Having received recognition, he would recite the details of a coup which he had gained and take an oath that what he told was true. "Sun, Father, you saw me do it. Earth, Mother, you saw me do it. Do not permit me to live until another season, if I speak falsely." When the speaker finished, he was given an enthusiastic ovation: a mingling of war whoops, drum beating, gourd rattling, stamping of feet, and clapping of hands. Be-

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

fore the noise subsided, the drummers would strike up the next war song and the dancing would be resumed, shortly to be interrupted again. Dancing warriors might occasionally interrupt the dance to narrate exploits of their own. Finally, the leader spoke of the necessity of the war party and its aim, and ended by appealing to his followers to display their accustomed courage while on the raid, that their people might be proud of them and not consider them cowards. 726●

Shortly afterwards, the leader silently and without ceremony left the dance. The dance continued for a time, but occasionally a warrior and a maiden quietly slipped away into the dark for a few minutes together before parting, for the Comanches enjoined no continence, although they must not be seen leaving together. There might be several parties going out under as many leaders. In such a case, instead of having so many War Dances going at once, each party might end its dance in a short time and make way for another leader and his party. The leader had previously designated a rendezvous outside the village, and after the dance, the warriors returned to their lodges to get their horses and equipment; then silently they stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way. [834]

Under no circumstances could the War Dance or departure occur in daytime. That was bad medicine. On one occasion a group of warriors held their dance and left during the day. Not a single member of the party returned. The case was never forgotten nor repeated.[8]

Each man who gathered at the rendezvous had provided himself with arms, lasso, food, clothing, a robe if the weather was disagreeable, and horses. The food consisted of dried meat, in sheets or pounded fine, and mesquite meal. Both were very strengthening, packed well, and were convenient to carry. This food was taken only as emergency rations, for they were expected to subsist on the flesh of animals killed along the route. [724]

When the raiders planned a quick thrust at the enemy and a hurried get-away, they left their women, children, and lodges at the main camp and traveled as unencumbered as possible. The leader and men with sacred shields might each take along a woman to help with their equipment, but they seldom exercised the privilege. It was not uncommon, however, for some women to accompany them for the

[8] Informant: Yellowfish.

726 fun of a little fighting; they could snipe with bows and arrows from the fringe of the fray, although Rhoda Greyfoot says they never went on the "hardest" raids. For a married woman to join up with some man who was going on the warpath was, as has already been shown, the commonest manner of absconding.

When the entire band intended a series of onslaughts upon a distant enemy (three to four hundred miles from headquarters was a commonplace distance for a raid), they not infrequently took women along. The women carried small lodges and a few supplies to set up a temporary camp, the preferred location being one which provided a convenient place from which to strike at the enemy and was at the same time far enough removed to be safe from pursuit. Although the Apaches took their best medicine men along and the Kiowas included in the party a buffalo doctor who had power to heal wounds and an owl doctor with power to tell what was going to happen, the Comanches encouraged their medicine men with the greatest healing power to remain in camp and care for the wounded as they were brought in.[9]

723 A war party carefully studied and mapped any unfamiliar country
487 that it expected to traverse. All those needing information about the route and the terrain were assembled and instructed by the well-informed elders. After they were seated in a circle, a map was plotted on the ground showing rivers, hills, valleys, water holes, and any other identifying or unusual features. Then a line was drawn to represent the route planned for the first day. From a bundle of sticks, marked consecutively beginning with "one," a stick with a single notch was stuck at the point where the party was to camp at the end of the first day's journey. When the novices had committed this much to memory, the second day's journey was illustrated in the same manner. Instruction continued in similar fashion until it was felt that each man could follow the route satisfactorily. Thus a group could usually traverse without difficulty a region entirely new to members of the party. It is reported that one such instructed party, none of whom were over nineteen and none of whom had ever been in Mexico, were able to travel from their main camp on Brady's creek, Texas, and raid as far as the city of Monterrey without mishap and

[9] Lehman, *op. cit.*, 38, 148; Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers*, 35.

with no other guidance than the instructions furnished before starting out.[10] 723 487

The leader of an organized war party was absolute dictator of all the activities of his followers as long as they remained with the party. 726 The legal governmental powers of the leader have been considered elsewhere, but for the sake of clarity some repetition here is essential. The men obeyed their leader implicitly and willingly. Each knew that a brave leader never asked of his men what he himself would not readily do. Each knew, too, that to disobey might bring disaster on the party. If, on the other hand, disaffection did set in, the disgruntled warrior and those who sided with him merely withdrew to go their own way.

It was the duty of the leader to determine the objective of the raid, to plan the routes, to determine the camping places and the periods of rest, to designate the scouts, to appoint the cook and water carrier, to plan the general strategy of the attack, to divide the booty, and to order a retreat or make a truce with the enemy.

One or two scouts were kept from a one-half to a day's march ahead. A war party rarely traveled at night by choice, and the men rode without much talking, steady and quiet, all intent on where they were going. About midday they stopped to rest and water the horses. At night they camped, preferably in a grove near fresh water. If they were in enemy territory and a hill was available, the war party circled gradually up and around the hill until it reached a camping spot halfway up the hill on the side opposite the direction from which it had approached. The leader sent two sentries to the top of the hill, and the rest of the party slept soundly through the night. An enemy following their trail was exposed on the side of the hill under the view of the sentries in plenty of time to warn the sleeping encampment.

The leader carried a sacred pipe. When the evening meal was over, the pipe was formally filled, lighted and, after the usual offerings to the spiritual powers, passed to each warrior in turn. Then the leader talked to his men, telling them of the country, the best routes, and the safest places of retreat, giving them advice and telling them how

[10] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 414, from an account by Pedro Espinosa, a Mexican-Comanche warrior.

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726 they should act. Sometimes they sang. Perhaps before going to sleep the leader sang a spiritual song—a prayer to the guardian spirits for help and wisdom. Occasionally the leader might carry the pipe and have the men dance at night along the route. Ishatai carried the pipe around and had each society dance every night while on the way to Adobe Walls in 1874.[11]

War parties are difficult to distinguish from raiding parties, for the Comanches conducted both in much the same manner. The distinction rested for the most part in the stated objective of the undertaking, although a raiding party, if confronted with enemies, would fight; and a war party was not likely to pass by a chance to make off with horses or booty.

721 Only the vengeance party moved with a singleness of purpose. The Comanche parent who had lost a son to the enemy "never rested in his mind until he had an enemy scalp to make things even." If he was still of a fighting age, he could seek a scalp or organize his own vengeance raid. But if this was beyond his abilities or if the aggrieved person was a widow who had lost a son or a husband, he or she would take a pipe to a war leader and offer smoke. If he accepted, the war leader bound himself to organize a vengeance expedition. He had a camp crier announce the project to all the camp. "The young people don't care if they get killed on this raid," he cried for all to hear. "They want revenge."

With the taking of a single scalp, the revenge raid accomplished its mission and was inevitably turned back by its leader, even if bigger prospects were near at hand. One scalp was all that was necessary for the Scalp Dance, and this was what they were after.

726 In their most destructive raids, the Comanche war party proceeded to some convenient point within striking distance of the settlements to be raided and established a temporary camp in which they left most of their supplies, horses, guards, and women. The leader sent out scouts to gather information. If their report was favorable, he informed the warriors of the plan of attack. The party often broke into a number of small bands, and the destructive work was begun. The preferred time was the period following the full of the moon. They

[11] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish's father went to Adobe Walls with Ishatai, and afterwards told him the details of the raid many times.

never by choice made an offensive attack in the dark; they never raided when the moon was a crescent with the horns pointing upward, for the moon was then "full and running over" and there was the likelihood of rain, after which their trails could be easily traced on the moist earth.[12] They struck swiftly on moonlight nights or surprised undefended, isolated settlers by day when circumstances were favorable, killing or capturing their victims and driving their stolen animals back to their rendezvous, where they were attended until such time as they could return to the main camp. When approaching the camp or settlement, the warriors separated and entered it by pairs or small groups. If an enemy dog barked, the raiders tossed it a piece of meat to quiet it. The older, experienced men cut loose the more valuable horses and led them out, while the younger men gathered up the loose animals. At times it was understood that the horses taken by each man were to be his own; at other times, they were common property to be divided by the leader of the expedition. By means of signals, the raiders kept in touch with one another and would reunite when they had completed their foray or when considerations of safety demanded. 726

Frequently, of course, the Comanches engaged an enemy prepared to offer resistance. One simple strategy was to send forward a small party on swift horses to lead the enemy into an ambuscade. Sometimes this plan was successful, but often those hidden in ambush were unable to restrain their eagerness and rushed out too soon, causing the stratagem to fail. Although the leader planned the attack, when the battle began each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his own medicine and his personal inclinations. 723 726

As a rule the Comanches relied upon surprise, upon the effect of a sudden and furious dash, accompanied by an unearthly, blood-curdling war whoop. They avoided a pitched battle when they were matched by an equal or greater number. They preferred to surprise a much smaller party. If the enemy was not surprised or put to flight at once but stood his ground, the wedge-shaped mass of Comanches quickly assumed battle formation. The wedge turned into the shape of a huge ring or wheel without hub or spokes, whose rim consisted 725

[12] Julia Estill, "Indian Pictographs near Lange's Mill, Gillespie County, Texas," Texas Folklore Society *Publications*, IV, 105.

off the horses, if possible unnoticed by the enemy, whose attention was distracted at the time. While the riders continued to draw the attention of the enemy, the dismounted warriors slipped silently to a position from which they could strike a mortal blow.[14] Another plan of strategy was to take up a position in a creek valley where there was a thicket of bushes and stunted trees and where the low, steep banks of a meandering stream afforded a measure of protection. In such a place their concealment was so complete that it would have been difficult to believe any Indians were there had it not been for the twang of a bowstring or the swish of an arrow. In such a position they were known to have fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow. 725

When a comrade was killed or wounded, the Comanches endeavored to retrieve his body or carry him to safety if he were still living. Two Indians riding abreast, one on each side of the prostrate warrior, would reach down and take hold of the warrior as they passed, either dragging him to safety or swinging him up beside one of them. If he could not be removed by mounted comrades, he was sometimes lassoed and dragged to a spot where he could be recovered. 726

To the white man the Comanche appeared to be a cruel, savage warrior. But in all fairness it must be remembered that he knew nothing of the white man's code of war and his so-called humanity. He could not take many prisoners for the simple reason that he had no prison to hold them and perhaps no food to sustain them. He killed the men, took the women when he could, and adopted into the tribe children who were too young to run away. His courage was superb. Since he gave no quarter, he asked none in return. Sometimes, when the fight became desperate, a warrior dismounted and took off his moccasins in token of his resolve never to retreat.[15] Even when surrounded, with no hope of escape, he always refused to surrender and fought as long as any strength remained in his body. 727

Although it was not their custom to torture unfortunate enemies, at times when the Comanches became unusually angered, they resorted to extreme forms of barbarism in seeking revenge. For the most part, the treatment an individual captive received depended on

[14] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 380, 381.
[15] Informant: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old.

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727 Captive white children were generally initiated into the tribe by a series of terrifying experiences in which the Indians tried their courage by brutal treatment and threats of destruction. They would sometimes be tied to a stake while their captors, with slashes and menacing gestures, punctuated by hideous yells, threatened to cut them to pieces, shoot them, or even burn them at the stake. Some of these unfortunate children never lived to recount their experiences. If the victim survived the initiation to the satisfaction of his captors, he became a slave and was compelled to do menial tasks, like Carrying Her Sunshade. If he proved his mettle according to Comanche standards, better days awaited him. He would likely be adopted as a member of a chief's or warrior's family. Later he was permitted to take part in raids and battles. If he proved a brave fighter, he might become an honored and respected warrior and rise to any position open to a natural-born Comanche. The captives, mostly Mexicans, who did not become warriors tended the horse herds and practiced such specialized industries as gun repairing and saddle-making. The captive woman who ~~made a~~ dutiful and faithful wife and the captive man who had won war honors were sometimes publicly honored.[17] Ordinarily the Comanches refused to surrender a captive without the payment of a reward. Some of the more responsible chiefs tried to stop the taking of white women and children as captives, and some went so far as to buy captives from other Comanches and liberate them. Some of the most hardened warriors are known to have wept because a captive of whom they had become fond returned to his own people.

574 All the accounts agree that a Comanche felt obligated to lodge, entertain, protect, and feed, even to his last morsel, any person, regardless of nationality, even though it might be his bitterest enemy, who happened to ask for lodging.

●726 202 When a Comanche raiding or war party found itself hard pressed by an enemy force too large to resist, or if it feared pursuit, it divided and subdivided its forces until each fleeing warrior left a separate trace and pursuers found it impossible to follow the trail. Scattered Comanches were adept in communicating with one another through means of signals. After a night raid when the warriors knew them-

[17] Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 421; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 163.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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selves to be in close proximity, they communicated by imitating an owl or a coyote. Writing of one occasion when the members of a party had become separated during a night raid on the settlements, one of the raiders said, "When all was quiet we hooted like an owl for our missing companion; when he failed to answer, we knew he was dead."[18] They would build fires and surround them with blankets, forcing columns of smoke to ascend as signals. Different numbers of columns had various meanings. Mounds of stones were arranged to indicate routes followed and the time of the moon when they were arranged. When buffalo bones were available, they were certain to be used to convey messages to comrades. Herman Lehmann has left an interesting paragraph on signaling.

> We found buffalo bones and on them pictures representing a fight with the white people. On some bones properly arranged were the pictures of seven men pierced with arrows, also a wagon burning up; the bones pointed upward. Twelve bones peculiarly arranged represented twelve days journey. We traveled twelve days and saw smokes a long way apart in a row pointing westward which indicated that the Rangers had made it too hot for them and they had gone on west.[19]

The scattered warriors would seek some point where the chances were good that their trail would be discovered. Providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded without breaking, they placed upon it the information which they wished their comrades to have, then striking a hatchet deep into the trunk of a tree and withdrawing it, they placed the bark in the incision, the outer part pointing in the direction they had taken.

After an expedition the Comanches normally had plenty of mounts, and they kept going night and day at a high rate of speed until they believed themselves out of danger of pursuers. On one occasion they kept going so long that one captive "began to think they had quit eating."[20] During a fast retreat, old, slow, and weak

[18] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 64.

[19] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 119.

[20] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 35.

726 horses that fell behind were abandoned. No time was lost hunting for food. If necessary, old horses were killed and consumed. Captives who retarded the speed of the retreat might be abandoned or killed. To avoid surprise, they stopped to rest for only an hour or two and then moved on again, making three or four such stops within a day. To discourage pursuit, they would take a route on which they knew there was no water. When they became very thirsty, they killed horses and drank the blood. The meager supply of water carried in buffalo paunches was rationed, well guarded, and conserved for the children and women when they were along, or for wounded warriors. Clinton Smith declares that on one occasion the warriors did without water until their throats became too swollen for them to swallow readily.[21]

After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war-bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear-guard actions. The leader designated two men to remain on fast horses some distance behind, yet close enough to signal, in order to watch the back trail. They sometimes set fire to the grass to blot out their trail against both men and dogs, or they emptied pouches of skunk musk on the trail to prevent dogs from following in pursuit. After the advent of the white trader, the rear-guard scouts carried field glasses.[22]

727 When raiders had put two or three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. They needed rest and the wounded required attention. In most cases there were spoils to be divided, and the division was made as soon as convenient. The leader's eyes had been open to industry, willingness, and bravery. He noted or was soon told of the actions of his followers while in battle. Unless previously agreed otherwise, to the man who had excelled he allowed first choice of the horses to be divided. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his services as determined by the chief, the cook usually having high priority. The leader took his pick of what remained. The succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Liberality was

[21] *Ibid.*, 60.

[22] Informant: Yellowfish, see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 34, 39, 40.

[23] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 142–43.

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under the tutelage of a man who possessed one, as in the case of the Shield group. They placed a tassel on their left shoulder and one in the hair, taking the Crow Tassel pledge to dedicate themselves to unceasing war. A man who had no surviving family or a man who had a family tradition with a fighting reputation to uphold might become a member. The members dedicated their lives to war. War was their business. They recognized no family ties of restraint. Loyalty to one another was a superior obligation. They fought and raided together as a unit. They pursued the war goal with such singleness of mind and purpose that they were apart from the larger society. Yet they were free to dissolve the band when they so desired. If they had been successful, when they dissolved the band, they became leading men in the community by virtue of their prestige.[28]

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Among many of the Plains tribes there were "crazy" warriors who did everything backwards. The Cheyennes called them Contrary Ones; the Crow Indians, Crazy Dogs Wishing to Die. The Comanches, too, had a few of these men, called *pukutsi*.

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Any man brave enough and desiring to do so could become a *pukutsi* on making up his mind, according to Frank Moeta. He carried a buffalo-scrotum rattle in his hand and would go about the camp singing, no matter what else might be going on. Everything he did was in inversion, but no one ever molested a *pukutsi*, because he was so recklessly brave.

He wore a long sash over his shoulder and rolled up under his arm. In battle, he rolled out his sash, stuck the free end into the ground with an arrow, and there took his stand. With bow in one hand and rattle in the other, he stood singing, tethered by his sash. He neither fought nor charged, but sang his songs until victory was won or death took him. Only a friend could come and free him. Should he give way in battle or release himself after the fight was done, the other warriors would taunt him in an attempt to egg him into an overt act against them so they could kill him.

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726

There were not many of these men among the Comanches. Carrying Her Sunshade in all her long life knew only one. Of him she had the following story.

[28] Informant: Kills Something.

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 c) After Iʂatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʂatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʂatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʂatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto*.

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

175 Because of their courage in battle, the Comanches
726 even won, with certain reservations, the grudging respect of the Anglo-American settlers in Texas. After a fight in 1859, Captain E. K. Smith wrote that "the Comanches fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow, and would have won the admiration of every brave soldier of the command but for the intrusive reflection that they were the murderers of the wives and children of our frontiersmen, and the most wretched of thieves."[1]

175 The general outlines of Comanche history are well known. Members of the tribe first appeared in the
175 Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico soon
101 after 1700. Prior to that time they seem to have dwelled in the plateau and basin country west of the Rockies in parts of present Colorado, Utah and Wyoming. In those early years they apparently formed a single tribe with the Shoshones.

173 According to a native tradition, all the Shoshones were camped together along a river when the young son of a chief was accidentally killed during a kicking game. The incident stirred up bitter feelings, so that the camp broke into two factions. To avoid open hostilities, one group moved north, the Shoshones proper or Snakes, while the people who remained behind eventually drifted east and became the Comanches.

175 In the seventeenth century, the Comanches in
101 their several bands probably inhabited the parks just back of the Front Range in Colorado and the country as far as the valley of the North Platte. James

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

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175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
701 Indians were organized under their own "generals"
177 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt,
175 of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question of Comanche military organization during this period is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:— 621 [535] 101

Yápairḕka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natḕka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairḕka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewṑku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatḕka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō[5]'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā̀r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself. 621 535

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast." [3] [126]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company. 701

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark. 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division. 535 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nä'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nǒtsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [297] 727 [297]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, 175
however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient 727
perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration.

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on 175
horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cav- 726
alry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be 492
in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the 175
speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own 492
use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds.

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant 175
parade through the village mounted and accountred, and 726
bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful [714]
style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
726 doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance, than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their movements. A private encampment is formed, deep embosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued. They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

[492] [593] 175 726 727 231

175 727 231 The number of mules and horses that these Indians capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 726 492 714 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

always ride without saddles, and without any other encumbrance than the waist-cloth to their persons.—This lightness of apparel gives them a manifest advantage over their Spanish adversaries, whose horses are heavily caparisoned, and whose persons are heavily embarrassed by a cumbrous load of accoutrements that partake more of the pomp, than the uses of war. Light shot guns, javelins, or lances, about 8 feet long, and bows and arrows compose their weapons. For defence they wear on the left wrist, a shield made of Buffaloes hide, consolidated when green by a process in which fire is the principal agent. They are made in an oval or circular form, about two feet in diameter, and presenting a surface slightly convexed. They are exceedingly tough, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and often so to the ball of a *scopete;* and they are light and easily disengaged from the arm in case of emergency. The loss of a shield does not attach an inexpiable disgrace to the character of a Comanchee warrior. They are comparatively novices in the use of fire-arms, and have an insuperable aversion to the weight of Rifles, but employ the bow and lance with great dexterity, and to a dispersed and retreating enemy, with destructive effect. The known capacity of their horses, and their minute acquaintance with the invaded country, which enables them generally to surprise the indolent and inert Spaniards, concurring with the miserable condition of the provinces for defense, inspire them with an artificial fearlessness, which invests them in the view of their ignorant and spiritless enemies, with the hideous horrors of the basilisk. But in truth, these horrors are imaginary: oppose them with decision and energy, and they will crouch like the Spaniel, or fly like the "stricken fawn."—They usually make what they term their grand campaign, once a year, either in the spring or fall season, when the three bands unite and co-operate in plundering and devastating the defenceless provinces that are contiguous to the Rio Grande. Besides these periodical invasions, the preparations for which, bear some resemblance to the pomp and circumstance of war, and the issues are frequently most disastrous to the exposed Provincials; there is a continual egress and

175 726 [492] [714] 175 411 175 714 [237] [558] 175 411 175 721

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

(ca. 1818)

175 721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] [181] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee warriors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they 175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally 726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency 175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this 721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and 721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran- 648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them, 175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and 721 lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175 152 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

The husband may repudiate his wife or wives at any time, and take back his presents. The wife too, for some causes, may rebel against her tyrant lord, and leave off serving him. This course on the part of a Comanche wife, covers the husband with such disgrace that it can only be removed by killing someone—the first person he may happen to meet is made the victim. It nearly always happens that he first meets with his truant wife, or some near friend of hers, first after suffering the great disgrace, and, of course, he proceeds to slay her, or the vicarious relative. 586

If the Comanche can be said to live under any government, it may be set down as a radical democracy. The war chiefs are elected, on occasions of war, by the council of warriors. Their authority is only countenanced and their commands obeyed while hostilities continue. In peace, their authority is merely that derived from their wealth and prowess. The Comanches honor courage and skill in war, and the successful warrior is generally made a chief of some band. There is no unity in the tribe. Besides the seven sub-tribes into which they are divided, each of the seven is made up of small parties, each of which has a leader. In many respects the autonomy of the Comanche tribe differs from any other North American Indians. In most respects, the tribal government is very much the same as found among Xicarillo, Mescaleros, and other wandering Apaches, to which family it is claimed they are nearly related. But in two or three important particulars their method or system of government is entirely distinct from and wholly unlike that of any other people. 642 624 [701] [554] 622 555 619 619 171

When a chief or prominent warrior wishes to organize a warlike expedition, he takes his yellow shield, puts on his eagle plumes, smears war-paint over his face, and assuming the weapons borne by warriors, he rides at a furious pace among the lodges, chanting his war-song as he goes. Any warrior who has taken two scalps may thus organize a marauding expedition, and no authority of chiefs or councils can prevent it. If there are warriors willing to join him they immediately mount their ponies, armed and equipped, and follow the warrior, who first declared war. Their chant is united with his, and thus a war party is made up. But it is not often that the entire band declares for war. The promoter of the war may be a simple warrior, without any authority whatever. For that particular expedition he may be chosen chief, or they may select another to lead them. When going against an enemy the commands of the chiefs are generally obeyed with alacrity. In peaceful seasons they have virtually no chief, or rather every venerable warrior among them is a chief, whose 726 701 726 701 624 622 624 554

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

> The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

> A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to
554 one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a
701 long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[31]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[32]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuabacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

175
551
701
621

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[33]

. . . . . .[34]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General. 175

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[35]

175
701
648
726

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[31] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[32] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2). [623] [643]

[33] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred. [701]

[34] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajive, and Plaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown. [128]

[35] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

175 701 648 726 to accompany the detachment of the campaign of the month of July for the purpose of informing themselves of the lands and situation of the enemies in the sierras of the Rio Grande del Norte in order to be able to guide the parties of their nation, which in effect, they did. They conducted themselves with the greatest valor and fidelity in two encounters which they had, having succeeded in the first in taking fourteen prisoners, and in the second, killing three men from a large rancheria of Apache which they attacked themselves alone, because they were ahead of the detachment and came upon a trail along which they went and arrived at it (the rancheria) before the troops.

175 701 551

Capitan Oxamaquea:	Manos Amarillas, hixo mayor del expresado Gral:	Yellow Hands, eldest son of the above mentioned Chief.
Tomanaguene:	Alzo las manos, hijo Segundo:	He raises his hands; second son
Tahuichimpia:	El Suegro, hijo tercero:	Father-in-law, third son: This one was with the Governor, sent previously by his father.
Tosaporua:	Oso blanco:	White Bear
Camquencavite:	Casa Colorada:	Red House
Quemanacare:	El que esta lejos:	He who was far away
Quetampunigue:	El que no han Visto tirado:	He whom they have not seen shot
Nomasonasallo:	El que hizo su saco:	He who made his sack.
Huillome:	El Alezna:	The Awl
Ancachouate:	Hasta sinpunta:	Even without purpose
Tampiallanenque:	Risa grande:	Great Laugh
Sucaque:	Que cosa es:	What is it
Tanansimu:	El Sarsillo:	Small Rake
Amabate:	El sin Caveza:	The One without a head
Tanticanque:	El que come	He who eats
Ybienca:	Muger Colorado	Red Woman
Ecopisura:	Cuchara Arrastrada	Scraping Spoon
Parnaquibitiste:	Oso muy pequeño:	Very small bear
Taoinan:	El Flauta	The Flute
Humavaenvite:	El Gavilan Roxo	The Red Sparrow-Hawk
Tamavencaniguay:	El preguntado por el Anillo:	The One questioned because of the Ring.[20]
Cageneiqueuate:	El Sin Faja	The One without a Sash.[21]

175 It is a copy which I certify. Janos 13 of March, 1788. By virtue of an order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[20] The Spanish here admits of another translation: "The one asked for the Ring" might be equally correct. This statement applies to several other of the above names so that the correct meaning must necessarily await comparison with the Comanche language itself.

[21] Another word may be added to this list: Encatabebo: Vermejo: The Bright Red One. This name was that of the Comanche chief who [illegible]ned with Ortiz. (See footnote 7 above.)

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name 736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood [597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo, 726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing 648 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of 648
mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, 726
would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is defi- 657
nitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, con- 871
cerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade terri- 191
tory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English 871
and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in- 657
law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister 657
and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I be- 871
lieve, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[114] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 595 842

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 555

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. 171 551 881 787

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

552 Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
177 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.'"

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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no one to compare him with, white or Indian. He was as unique as a 000
new day dawning to the east of the slightly undulating prairie he loved.

He was born into the Comanche stone-age society, probably in 1861 or '62. Their great inland empire, Comanchería, was still intact. 101
History testifies that it had been theirs for 150 years. But that was only the length of time the white man had known the Comanche. From 1700, their ownership stretches back into the dimness of conjecture. Some anthropologists tell us the Comanche had been a separate and distinct tribe for a thousand years when the white man first met him. In any case, in 1861 Comanchería, more than six hundred miles north and south and almost as wide in places, contained thousands of horses to be captured and claimed and millions of buffalo, deer, and antelope for the Comanche's food.

But when the Civil War ended in 1865, a great horde of restless 177
men was released by both armies. Nearly all craved land. Each wanted a home of his own, a place to grow and expand. The Comanche, other plains tribes, and the buffalo were in their road. Comanchería and the horse buffalo culture came to an end.

Sometimes Wer-que-yah would talk a little of when the Co- 726
manche world ended for him. Somewhere, out on the Comanche prairie, in what the white man had labeled the Texas Panhandle, his group was overrun by the Army. The unwounded warriors escaped, but the wounded, the aged, and the women and children were captured and taken to Fort Sill.

The Comanche Family Record Book at Anadarko, Oklahoma, indicates that Wer-que-yah would have been fourteen, and the girl he afterward married, Peet-So, six years old at the time of their capture. This would have been in the last half of 1874 or the first half of '75.

Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, commander of the Army in the Middle West, was determined to bring the Indian wars to an end, once and for all. He secured President Grant's consent to place the Army of the Southwest on a twelve months a year, all-out war basis. Provisions for such an effort were assembled, including grain and forage for the horses and mules, and five columns were ordered into the field.

Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Davidson was ordered west out of Fort Sill. He commanded six troops of the 10th Cavalry, three companies of the 11th Infantry, two howitzers, and eighty-five newly recruited

A /Wer-que-yah--Analyst/

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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
[871] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
[701] battles.

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The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the prisoners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was distributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

WAR AND WAR LEADERSHIP

COUP AND STATUS

Comanche war notions conformed to the general Plains pattern of raiding and coup-counting.[1] The raid might be made by a party of any size, from a single warrior up. The coup was an individual exploit, made in any contact with the enemy, *after* it had been socially recognized both as achieved in fact and as worthy of distinction; a rough equivalent of an official citation after a modern engagement, if such were undiluted by political considerations. 726

The life of the Comanche male centered around warfare and raiding. The main objectives were the taking of horses, the counting of coup, and the killing of enemies. Motives for horse-taking were two. Horses, as we have seen, were the important form of property accumulation; the man who had a large herd was wealthy; he could afford generosity to his friends and relatives; he harbored visiting guests from other tribes. Horses also gained him prestige for bravery and cleverness; the taking of horses under difficult conditions provided opportunity for exploits of valor. Such exploits made reputation. Horses gained by inheritance, gift, or breeding reflected the first value, but not the second (except as a carry-over). The killing of enemies was similar in that it led to prestige through accumulation of war honors; but it showed a more direct tribal function when vengeance for the death of a tribesman came in question—though tribal interest was not absent from horse-taking; to have your horses stolen was to be out-matched and shamed by the successful thief (an out-triber). 721 556 555

It required more bravery to hit an adversary with a spear or a war club than to pierce him with a bow-driven arrow or a gun-driven bullet. Thus striking an enemy gave ground for an honored coup, while long-distance killing did not. The how of the killing mattered more than the killing itself. A coup was more valued than a scalp, for, "Anybody could scalp a dead man." But the Comanche considered the removal of a scalp under fire as worthy of a coup. How much scalp the Comanche took depended on how hot the circumstances were. He preferred to take the whole scalp, but if he was pressed for time he seized only what he could get. Scalps were used in the Victory Dance and were desirable as fringe decoration for shirts and shields. 727 555 [301]

In the foregoing, and in the following, the legal analysis is deliberately pushed further than the Comanche would consciously push it. In any 128 727

[1] Cf. George Bird Grinnell, *Coup and Scalp Among the Plains Indians* (American Anthropologist, vol. 12, 1910), pp. 296–310.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

128 727 555 primitive legal thinking, the fact and its legal recognition tend to fuse, and either is spoken of as the whole; the modern layman, e.g., still speaks of "my money in the bank" to describe what is neither his money, nor any money, nor in the bank, but a debt the bank owes him. So with this matter of the coup. The exploit is in strictness no coup, but the new material for 727 one. If unrecognized, the exploit becomes a matter of individual memory, 555 perhaps of individual grievance. *Only recognition in due "legal" form turns deed into coup.*[2] But as soon as recognized, the recognition aspect fades from thought, and the deed that was its reason and justification *seems* to stand alone. As in all cases where legal rights are accurately tailored to the facts, it is enough to deal with the facts. But that does not mean that the legal phases can be overlooked. The minute they are lacking, or are in dispute, they will become important, and may become crucial.[3] This is the case with an exploit accomplished, unwitnessed, and not believed, or of one claimed by each of two or several as his own.

The stealing of tethered horses from within a hostile camp ranked as a very high honor, but it was not nearly so valued as striking a fallen enemy who lay near his own lines, or drawing blood from an enemy in hand to hand combat.

The Comanche honored two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. This arrangement was an efficient way of providing sufficient coups to meet the cultural demands of the society—an inflation of the currency of war prestige. The first man to reach the body of a fallen enemy struck it with his weapon and uttered the cry, "*ahé*" ("I claim it"), gaining thereby equal honor with the man who had done the killing. But if a bow or gun had been used to bring down the enemy, this second coup-counter received greater honor for his deed than did the slayer himself.

182 727 555 The problem of adjustment of institution to social end is interesting. Superficially, skill at long-distance killing would seem of more immediate social value to a fighting people. But the stress on hand-to-hand valor or dangerously close approach to the enemy is more than shallow glorification of wolf over fox. The deeds honored are in good part the kind of deeds that toughen a warrior to stand when he is needed. Grinnell, on the other hand, sees in it merely a cultural survival of the traditional days when the Cheyenne, for instance, fought perforce with sticks and stones because they had no bows or guns.[4]

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[2] Note the ritual formula for the transference of a recognized coup by its owner-performer when the coup is given to a friend as a gift. See p. 29.

[3] Cf. Ritual Evidence, pp. 103–106.

[4] George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven, 1924), vol. 2, p. 36.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. "Obviously," he writes of the Crow, "the idea was not primarily to reduce a hostile force but to execute a 'stunt'; to play a game according to whimsical rules."[5] 721 555

In addition to the standardized honors any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by a Shoshone or Comanche.

WAR INITIATIVE

The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual discretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party. There was no chief or power which could say him nay. Were the individual not, however, a man of proved reputation or the possessor of potent medicine, his raid would remain strictly personal and private. He would simply be unable to muster a following. Nevertheless, no one would object to his going out alone. It was quite a different matter, on the other hand, if a man whose qualities had been attested in combat let his intention to take the war path be known. All fighters who wished to do so came to signify their desire to join his party. Dreams about a successful raid were not deemed necessary as a sanction for starting a war party, but in most cases such dreams were the effective stimulus. 721 [787]

There were two primary motivations for organizing a war party. The first was an entirely personal matter, depending simply upon desire for action, honors, or horses. Merely to feel the urge was to be at liberty to muster such men as would volunteer to go. On the other hand, a war party instigator might bind himself to avenge the death of a fellow tribesman by enemy hands. A slain man's father carried a heavy weight upon his heart while his dead son remained unavenged. "His conscience is not clear." There was but one thing for him to do. He must seek out the lodge of a brave warrior who had compassion for his suffering and whom people would trust and follow. Carrying his sacred pipe, the father or relative of the dead man offered smoke. The warrior knew what was wanted. If he accepted the pipe, smoking with the emissary, he bound himself in contract to take out a party which would not return until it had taken an enemy scalp. (We were unable to discover a single instance in which the pledge was unfulfilled.)

The warrior made known to the camp that he was going forth. He was to avenge the death of "their" slain friend. He exhorted. He said the young men would join him; he told the people that braves did not care, though it meant death. The Vengeance Dance was held before departure. The dancers were those who were going to join the war party. This sort of war party

[5] R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

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(b) to delegate the scouts, (c) to determine the camping places and periods of rest, (d) to appoint the cook and water carriers, (e) to lay the general strategy of attack, (f) to divide the booty, (g) to make a truce with the enemies, and (h) to order turning back of the expedition. 701 624

In battle, though the leader set an example of courage and daring, each man was free to fight according to the dictates of his medicine and his personal inclinations. After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear guard actions.

When raiders had put two to three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. Rest was needed. There were spoils to divide. The leader's eyes had been open to industry and willingness. He had noted or been told of the actions of his followers while in engagement. To the man who excelled, he allowed first choice of the horses. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his service as determined by the chief. The leader took his pick *of what remained*. Then the succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. If there was an acute shortage of horses, the cook was always taken care of. A nice adjustment, this: the cook had been burdened with the meat supply. If there were too few horses, only the bravest got any return. The leader, no matter what his deeds, got nothing at all if there were not enough horses to go around; in this, as in civil prosecutions, reputation and prestige-obligation counted for more than their visible badge: horses. (It is interesting to speculate on whether this would have persisted, had a *large* herd of horses had a productive economic use as well as a prestige value.) 727

A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Some men say that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, did not do this; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses himself. Their fathers refused to go on raids with him. 624

If a man on a raid was killed before the horses were divided, he was counted out. This is in curious contrast to the strong revenge feeling and the treatment of the cook. There can be no question of any principle akin to "out of sight, out of mind." And there would normally be heirs at home. However, if the horses had already been divided and he had claimed some as his own, then, were he killed, those horses went to his heirs.[7] 727 428

[7] The generalized principles included in the preceding paragraphs were not only given as statements by informants but were confirmed by the text of the war histories collected from the Comanches.

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"When the boy did these things the people wondered, but it was as his father had told him. 624

"A couple of nights later they set a camp, and the leader put a scout upon the hill to look for enemies. When he got there he saw two tipis on the other side. He turned back and came zig-zagging down the hill. When the war party saw him making the signal, the fighters ran for their horses, grabbing their spears and stringing their bows. The scout came in to report to the chief. He had seen two men returning to the tipis; it seemed as though they had seen him as he turned to leave the hill-top. 624 726

"The mounted warriors were off in a pell-mell rush about the hill. They came out there in the open. Yes! There they went. Three families of the enemy were scudding away in flight—like rabbits. The women were in front. The three men were riding behind them to cover their flight. Down on them the Comanches rode. One of the enemies had a fast horse. He circled back and forth trying to keep off the Comanches. Around he came. The boy on his war pony drove at him, his spear in hand. The enemy fell from his horse dead. The other two jumped from their horses; they began shooting with guns. The young Comanche turned his pony on them; in an instant he speared them both. It was over like that. He turned then and looked about. There were the dead enemies. Way back, the Comanches were coming strung out in a line. The fast ones were ahead, but his pony had left them far behind. The first man up hit all the victims and cried, '*ahé*.' The others came and took the scalps.

"It had been a successful raid, so they all turned back to the main camp. When they got there, the people held a scalp dance. On the next morning some fine young maidens dressed up like warriors. They went over to the young brave's tipi before he was awake. They did the Shakedown Dance there and sang the songs. The boy's father came out. He knew what they were there for. He was proud of his son, so he gave these girls what they wanted. He gave them two horses. 624 727

"The next time the boy went with a war party he was its leader. They were going west. When they got to the enemy territory he got on his pony and worked it as he had before. After a while they came face to face with a party of Utes out looking for trouble, as they were. There was pause while the two lines stood facing each other. 624 726

"Then the boy rode out alone, circling before the waiting Utes. The Ute chief came out and chased him back.

" 'Now,' said the youth to one of his followers, 'you do as I have just done.' Then he waited. When the Ute chief came chasing that Comanche, the young leader dashed down on him and killed him with his spear. That was his strategy. With a yell, he rode straight into the rest of the Utes. He killed two more of them—like lightning. When his fighters saw his brave example they followed him in. The Utes broke and fled. It was too much for them. Our people chased them a long way. Lots of them were killed, but the rest got away. After a while when the Comanches got tired they turned back. They scalped the dead bodies of the enemy and took what they wanted besides.

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624 "The people were pleased when they got back to the camp with their great deeds.
727 They had a big Victory Dance, celebrating almost until morning. The young girls came again to give a Shakedown Dance; the boy's father gave them three horses.

"Later on the warriors gave a Horse Dance. It was a sign they were going on a
[126] raid. The boy was with them. This time they had a battle with the Osages. The enemy had three chiefs to lead them; they were out in front, so the young boy charged, killing them all. A regular dog fight followed. But the Osages were without their chiefs, so they could not last very long. When it was over the Comanches cut off the roaches of the Osages for scalps.

"The people gave dances just as before. This time the boy's father gave away four horses. Three years had passed. The boy was now a young man of great renown. He was a mighty fighter, a killer of chiefs.

"The wearers of the war bonnets held a meeting about him. They talked about
624 the famous things he had done. It was decided the young man should be raised to the status of war chief.

"They got ready and set up a buffalo hide tipi, painted over with white clay. The people knew they were going to make a war chief of the young man. He was only nineteen years old, but he was very brave.

"They laid buffalo robes and blankets on the smooth floor for the warriors to sit upon; all was ready.

"The wearers of war bonnets were first to enter. The bravest went in first; the others followed after. They turned to the left as they passed through the entrance, walking all the way about the tipi until the first one came to the place at the right side of the door. They came in until they lined the edge of the floor. The leader sat at the west side. Then they waited for the young man.

"When his turn came he went through the door of the tipi and walked to the left until he came to a vacant space at the side of the leader. The leader got up to address the warriors. He repeated everything the brave had done, closing his speech with these words, 'This young man has done enough brave deeds. He is honorable and brave. He shall be one of us. He is as brave as any of us and we make him one of us. What is more, I honor him ahead of myself. Hereafter, he is chief in my stead.'

"Turning to the young man, he took in his hands a fine war bonnet with two
[554] rows of feathers as a special honor. Putting the bonnet on the boy's head, he said to him, 'This is nothing but a bunch of feathers given by your friends.'

"The boy was now a war chief. Because the leader had made him chief in his stead, the young warrior walked right to the place to the north of the door and took his seat. The newest member usually had to sit at the end of the line to the south of the door, but he was the greatest fighter they had ever had.

"Then it was over. The young war leader rolled up his blanket and walked out; the others followed him."[9]

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[9] One has more than a sneaking suspicion that this story has been embellished with its portion of heroic ornament. But it was told to illustrate how a war bonnet was obtained, and that it does very well.

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574 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the
224 slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[727] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

422 The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

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X

The Indian dress—Discovery of the watch—Half-past three—It strikes the alarm—Gathering up the plunder—A heart-rending sight—Probable cause of being unexpectedly attacked—The infernal pantomime—Blindfolded and lashed to a mule—Departure of the caravan—The uncomfortable ride—Performances on the tightrope—Tremendous applause—The night encampment—Favorite food of the Comanches—Appearance of the captives—Amusements at supper—Horseflesh hissing hot—Put to bed and tucked up—The captive's night thoughts—Crossing the river in a buffalo skin—The war whoop—Arrival at an Indian village—The wonderful watch—Original doctrines—The war dance—Description of an Indian village.

[27] I soon became aware that the only members of the party who escaped the massacre, which proved to have been bloody as it was sudden, were Thomas Martin, John Stewart, Aikens, and myself. The first two had been secured much in the same manner I was, but Aikens, who was sleeping in a tent, had succeeded in escaping a short distance, and had engaged in a hot scuffle, during which he fired upon his assailants before he was overpowered. The first step taken by the savages, after the confusion had subsided, was to strip us of every particle of apparel, and clothe us in their own fashion of dress, which consisted simply
[28] of buckskin leggins, with a hunting shirt of the same material fringed at the bottom, and at the cuffs, and tied in front with strings.

Discovery of the Watch

While they were stripping and dressing me in this manner, one of them picked up my coat and discovered the watch. He seized it with avidity, examined it intently, turning it over and over, immensely pleased, as his countenance plainly indicated, with the singular and pretty bauble. While thus regarding it, the minute hand ticked round to half-past three, when the alarm went off. The utter astonishment of the Indian was beyond description. Holding it out at extreme arm's length, his head thrown back, and staring wildly, he was too much surprised, as it roared and rattled for two minutes, to decide whether it was safest to let it fall to the ground or retain it in his grasp. By the time it ceased, a dozen had gathered round him, looking into each other's faces in silent wonder. The one who held it presently pointed to me, then at the watch, then at the spot where he had found it, speaking at the same time fast and earnestly, informing them, I suppose, that I was the owner of it. Approaching and holding it out to me, they made signs expressive of their desire that I would cause it to repeat the alarm. The idea at once flashed upon my mind, that I might make it serve a useful purpose. They untied my hands—when I accepted it with an air of reverence and adoration, wound it up solemnly, and so regulated it that in a few minutes off it went again, and again was the dusky crowd struck with increased wonder and astonishment. This was repeated frequently, the savages in the meantime holding it to their ears to hear it tick as they had seen me do, when the chief wrapped it carefully and tenderly in his deerskin pouch and placed it in his bosom, not, however, until I had comprehended from their gestures, such as pointing upwards, then at the watch, then at myself, that they regarded it as something supernatural which connected me with the Great Spirit. 727 778

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727 Their next step was to collect the plunder. In this, they were, indeed, thorough. Not only did they gather up all our buffalo skins, Mexican blankets, rifles and revolvers, culinary utensils, and the like, but the dead bodies were stripped to the last shred, and tied on the backs of their mules. Nothing was left behind. By this time the morning light began to break on the eastern mountains, and preparations were made to depart. Before starting, however, they unbound our feet, conducted us through the camp, pointing out the stark corpses of our butchered comrades, who had lain down to sleep with such light and happy hearts the night before. The scene was awful and heart-rending beyond the imagination of man to conceive. Not satisfied with merely putting them to death, they had cut and hacked the poor, cold bodies in the most brutal and wanton manner; some having their arms and hands chopped off, others emboweled, and still others with their tongues drawn out and sharp sticks thrust through them. They then led us out some three or four hundred yards from the camp and pointed out the dead bodies of the sentinels, thus assuring us that not one of the entire party had escaped. The bodies of the sentinels were lying close together at the south side of a thicket, which suggested to me the probable reason of our being surprised before an alarm was given. The night, as I have said, was chilly, and instead of riding round the camp at proper distances from each other, as was their duty, they had undoubtedly huddled together under the thicket, in order to protect themselves from the cold wind that swept down the valley. In this position the Indians had crept up unperceived through the fog, and dispatched them so suddenly there was no opportunity to make an outcry. Beyond question we had been watched from the mountains ever since our arrival in the

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valley—indeed, I learned as much from them afterwards— 727
so that they had plenty of time to deliberate upon the plan of attack. Before leaving Texas, I had insisted upon taking with me a favorite watch dog, but Aikens was confident he would prove only an annoyance, and I was persuaded, though reluctantly, to leave him behind. Had I adhered to my purpose, his vigilance, peradventure, might have saved us, for though they numbered between two and three hundred, I have no doubt we could have repelled them, had we stood on the defense and been prepared to receive them.

During all the time they were thus exhibiting the result of their savage work, they resorted to every hideous device to inspire us with terror. They would rush toward us with uplifted tomahawks, stained with blood, as if determined to strike, or grasp us by the hair, flourishing their knives around our heads as though intending to take our scalps. So far as I could understand their infernal shouts and pantomime, they sought to tell us that the fate which had overtaken our unfortunate companions not only awaited us, but likewise the whole race of the hated white man. All the dead, without exception, were scalped and the scalps, still fresh, were dangling from their belts.

This sickening and frightful ceremony ended, dressed deerskins were thrown over our heads, drawn down over the face, and tied with a string, closely about the neck. We were thus completely blindfolded, and would soon have suffocated, had not a small hole been cut through the skin, under the nose, and in front of the mouth, sufficient to admit air necessary for respiration. We were then each mounted on a mule over an Indian saddle without stirrups, our hands tied behind us at the wrists, our feet brought as near together as possible under the body of the animal and

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[127] firmly lashed. In this situation it was possible for us to roll off sidewise if we pleased, but it was impossible to extricate ourselves from the beasts.

The caravan set forward in the following order: Our drove in advance, with outriders in front, and to the right and left, guarding it in the same manner we had previously; behind the drove rode the warriors, and in their rear came the pack mules, and the mules bearing the prisoners, without bridles, but left to follow at their own leisure and discretion. It is customary, not only with the Indians on such [492] occasions as this, but with Mexican and Texan drovers on a long march, to leave their pack mules free to follow, and never do they stray out of the line or linger many rods behind. Our position, bound as we were, however, was not comfortable. Utterly powerless, so far as guiding the animal was concerned, which, like the wind, wandered where it listed, sometimes pushing and crowding in among the pack mules, sometimes suddenly stopping to take a bite or two of grass, and in that natural and innocent act, throwing us forward on the pommel of the saddle with the impression we were going over his head, the next moment starting suddenly on a sharp trot, throwing us as far backward—our predicament was indeed awkward as it was tormenting. But these were only the light afflictions and trials of the prairie. When our journey came to lead us through strips of timber land, as it often did, then the measure of our tribulation was full, indeed. The first time the thoughtless brute ran under a limb, striking me in the face and knocking me off, or rather turning me round so that my head reversed positions with my feet, the sensation produced was horrible, but practice makes perfect is a true adage, and, in time, habituates a man to almost anything. My frequent repetitions of this performance on the *tightrope*

rendered me an adept in this sort of somersault. There was 727 one consolation attending it, the moment I went over, the mule would invariably stop, and an Indian as invariably run and right me up again.

Unable to see, I was in perpetual suspense. If the mule happened to be traveling at a sharp pace on these occasions, and the branches strong, it became a violent and serious affair, not only to the extent of inflicting great pain, but of endangering life. As it was, my face and breast were sorely bruised, resembling more the appearance of a pugilist returning from some Long Point than the ordinary features of a man. It afterwards afforded the Indians most excellent [522] sport, a subject for infinite jest, and every performance was treated with "tremenduous applause." No comic actor ever so amused his audience. Indeed, I could tell sometimes from the laughter that would begin to arise that danger was near, and lying close on the mule's neck, escape it. It was aggravating beyond endurance, converting any humbler emotions I might have entertained to those of uncontrollable wrath. If each malediction I bestowed on the high cheek-boned, copper-colored demons, and which came from the bottom of my heart, had possessed the weight of a grain of mustard seed, the whole Comanche nation would have soon been attending to their own torments instead of mine, in another and a hotter world.

About noon of the first day's march, the cavalcade halted, repacked the mules, roasted some venison, and after an hour's delay proceeded on the journey. At dark they again stopped for the night. When permitted to dismount, and the blindfold had been taken from my eyes, I discovered we were in a narrow ravine, a lonely and secluded spot, with high precipitous mountains rising close on either side, and near a large spring which gushed from a rock, the source

727 of a considerable rivulet. The cords were here unloosed from my wrists; nevertheless, I was pinioned back from the shoulders, leaving my arms so far at liberty, however, that I could raise my hands to my mouth. The drove properly herded, one or two horses were shot, and the meat brought in for supper.

727 I may as well state, in this connection, that horseflesh is
262 the favorite food of a Comanche Indian. They do devour great quantities of venison and buffalo meat, but these are universally considered as greatly inferior to the steaks cut from the carcass of a mustang. The woods and prairies are covered with wild fowl, and the streams abound with delicious trout and other fish, yet none of these are ever made use of as an article of diet.

A fire was now kindled, and the warriors gathered round it, the prisoners in the center. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing and speaking to my fellow captives. Martin was silent and dejected, apparently absorbed in his own reflections, and little disposed to converse. Stewart was nervous and frightened, bewailing his hard fate in tears; but Aikens maintained a cheerful spirit, advising us to keep up our courage and look the matter coolly in the face until the last. While conversing, the Indians were engaged boil-
[269] ing their meat, which they ate without any accompaniment whatever, save water dipped from the spring in buffalo horns; the greensward serving as their table spread, and their fingers as knives and forks. Having satisfied themselves, they now seemed to take into consideration the appetites of their captives.

727 In wandering menageries, the curiosity of civilized assemblages is sometimes excited to see "the animals fed in the presence of the audience." Something of this kind actuated the Comanches on this occasion. At all events, they re-

Horseflesh Hissing Hot

solved to make their disgusting horseflesh serve the double purpose of supplying us food for the body, and themselves food for mirth. In our Indian dresses, which consisted of leggins rising only to the knee, and a short hunting coat, the upper portion of the leg, that is, above the leggin, was necessarily bare. As we sat upon the ground together, our feet tied, it was likewise necessarily exposed. When the meat designed for us had boiled until the fat began to fry and sputter, they would throw it with such marvelous dexterity from the end of their roasting sticks, that it would fall on our naked limbs hissing hot. If the laziest reader of this book will try a similar experiment on himself, he will find it admirably calculated to arouse his activity. I venture to affirm he will squirm more energetically, turn over quicker, and throw a greater amount of exercise into a given period than he ever did before in his life. It had the same effect on us, and the muscular demonstrations we made during the exhibition "brought down the house" far more uproariously than any of our previous performances during the day. It resulted in my declining supper altogether, having a prejudice against the waiters in attendance, and of raising broad blisters on my person, the scars of which I will carry with me to the grave.

At the conclusion of these exercises, so refreshing on one side and so painful on the other, the warriors threw themselves on the ground to sleep. They lay near each other, forming a large circle, leaving a space in the center some fifty feet in diameter. Our sleeping apartment was in this space, and we were "put to bed and tucked up" in the following original fashion: First, we were made to lie down upon our backs, with our arms and feet extended. Four stakes were then driven firmly through the sward, to which our hands and feet were fastened, holding us in such a

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position that they were as wide apart as possible. Then two other stakes were driven close on either side of the neck, and a strong strip of buffalo hide tied from one to the other, so that it passed under the chin, across the throat. Thus we lay upon our backs, unable to move head, hand, or foot.

I had now tasted nothing, save a little water, for nearly twenty-four hours, yet was not hungry; had undergone hardships rarely endured, yet was not weary; my excited imagination had driven afar off the desire for rest or for refreshment. During the long watches of the night, my brain was busied with ten thousand fancies; but through the maze and shadow of them all, I could not see the remotest prospect of deliverance. I gazed up into the sky —I could gaze nowhere else—and wondered how it was that the good God who dwelt above the stars, omnipotent as He was just, could permit such a wrong as I was suffering to be perpetrated in His sight. Thus the wretched night, without having for one moment closed my eyes, passed off. The warriors, at length, bounding to their feet and preparing with much bustling preparation to commence the adventures of another day, to end—I knew not where.

The second day of the march, about midday, we reached a wide river—(I have since learned it was the upper Río Grande, separating that portion of Mexico in which we were captured from the vague and unknown region of country distinguished on the map of northwestern Texas as the Presidio.) Here we were subjected to considerable delay. There was a large number of animals to be crossed over, besides a great amount of what they regarded, and which in fact was, valuable plunder.

At the point of the river where we reached it, was a low, long gravelly beach—a high, perpendicular rocky bluff di-

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rectly opposite—but a mile below the bluff was another gravelly beach, almost precisely similar to the one at which we had arrived, and opposite that, and below us, was likewise a high bluff, so that in crossing, it was necessary to move in a diagonal direction, as well as a long distance. The usual labor was expended, and the usual means resorted to in passing the drove, which, in consequence of the low water extending from the opposite beaches, left only the main channel, a distance, perhaps, of a hundred yards, to be swum. When it came our turn to take passage, the blindfolds were removed, and each was seated in a little [501] buffalo-skin boat, an invention original, I believe, with the Comanche tribes, and capable of being taken apart, folded [492] into a small compass, and carried as baggage. To the bow of these boats were hitched one end of a hair rope, the other to the tails of our mules, who safely ferried us from shore to shore.

That night we encamped at the foot of the mountain, and the whole of the next day traveled, as near as I could judge, over a steep, rough, and uneven road. During the entire trip, I was subjected to the same annoyances of being run under trees, burned with hot horseflesh, and staked down at night, as described above.

Early in the afternoon of the fourth day the warriors 727 raised the war whoop, and afar off was heard another war [202] whoop in reply. As we advanced, over what appeared to me a smooth plain, the answering voices grew more and more distinct, until finally the approaching parties met and intermingled. Having halted, I was taken from the mule, and when allowed the liberty of my eyes, found myself and companions standing together, in the midst of a great number of tents, and surrounded by five or six hundred men, all pushing forward to catch a glimpse of us.

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Three Years Among the Comanches

727 Some little time elapsed, when the crowd gave way, forming a passage through which advanced the leader of the war party, accompanied by an aged chief and a squaw, the latter the only one of her sex then anywhere to be seen. Having reached us, the watch was produced and handed to me, with signs indicating they wished me to exhibit its marvelous qualities.

It became me now to put forth all my histrionic powers, and to feign emotions far different from the real ones that were struggling in my bosom. My object was to take advantage of their credulity and superstition to establish among them the notion that it was a thing of life—a spiritual medium, having powers of speech—through which their chiefs and prophets, and great warriors who had gone to the land of spirits, could converse in a language perfectly intelligible to me, but utterly incomprehensible to them; to indoctrinate them into the solemn belief that my old "turnip," as I usually called it, was no less than the brother or offspring of the sun, and on such intimate and familiar terms with him, that it could foretell through me the precise moment he would reach any given point in the heavens, and that such was the unity of feeling existing between them that the short second hand of the watch, in its lesser sphere, kept corresponding pace with him as he went round and round the world. Finally, and most especially, to imbue their minds with the importance and solemnity of this one great truth, that connected as the watch and myself were, both with the visible and invisible world, any mishap that should befall either would inevitably disarrange the machinery of universal nature, break a cogwheel, or something of the sort, and send us "all to smash."

The character it became necessary for me to assume, therefore, was that of a missionary, expounding my pe-

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culiar doctrines among the heathen. Accordingly, I received 727 it at their hands in an attitude of great humility, and gazed upon it with that air of reverence which may be supposed characterizes the Hindoo kneeling before the graven image of a monkey, wound it up, held it to my ear, listened to the tick, tick, tick, with a solemnity of expression intended to convey the same idea, as if I had said to them in their own language: "Gentlemen Indians, I am now receiving important telegraphic dispatches from the other side of Jordan!" Presently, it sounded the alarm. It would have been a curious and interesting picture for an artist, could he have watched the various expressions of astonishment, awe, and wonder that overspread their features during the whir and whirl and whiz of the cunning mechanism. Ejaculating their impressive "ugh, ugh," they looked seriously and inquiringly into each other's faces, as much as to say—"Well, I never; did you ever!"

Finally, the watch was taken by the old chief and formally presented to the squaw, whom I afterwards learned [431] was his favorite wife. The presentation speech I was unable to understand, but surmised it was very similar to those which usually accompanies the presentation of flags in more civilized communities, that is to say, an exhortation to the recipient to stand by it until the last drop of blood has been spilled, and to preserve it, under any circumstances, "sacred and inviolate." This ceremony over, I was conducted to the chief's tent, regaled with a late dinner, horse [262] flesh being the only dish mentioned on the bill of fare, and this without the useless luxuries of salt and pepper, and *very* rare, when I was seated at the entrance, and had a brief opportunity of taking a view of the town.

This Indian village, in every material respect, was like 361 other Comanche villages with which I afterwards became

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north winds in the wintry season, and in hot and sultry 361
weather shade them from the sun.

I had remained in the chief's tent but a short time when 727
I was again conducted to the square. There I found Aikens, 535
Martin, and Stewart. It was soon revealed we were to "cut a conspicuous figure" in a war dance. We have among us frequent ideal representations of savage customs which are horrible enough, but the mind labors and struggles in vain to select from the wide range of our language the exact words that will properly describe an Indian war dance round a *real* captive. They came forth bedizened in their traps and feathers, their tomahawks and scalping knives in their uplifted hands, great daubs of red paint above and below their eyes, circling round and round us on a spasmodic trot, uttering their hoarse guttural songs, which seemed to flow up through their savage throats over sharp rifts of phlegm. As they proceeded, their pace, such as it was, accelerated, and their songs grew loud and louder, rising gradually from a monotonous grunt into a hideous and indescribable howl. Very often, some one of them, deserting his place, would dart towards us with his drawn hatchet threatening to brain us, while another would seize us by the hair and go through the pantomime of scalping. Thus, for two hours, they continued to sing and dance, and whoop and yell, flourishing their tomahawks and knives over us, until, at last they were compelled to stop from mere exhaustion. The captives were then separated, myself being 727
led back to the chief's tent, where I was tied down to stakes in the manner before described. Four days had now passed without repose, but weary nature, at length, demanded rest, and I sank into a troubled sleep.

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XI

The chief and his household—The matrimonial relation—Osolo, the Big Wolf—An Indian breakfast—The consultation—Moko, the favorite wife—The watch, once more—Mysterious assembling outside the camp—The captives stripped and bound—Preparations for the sacrifice—March of the warriors—The flint arrowheads—Scalping the prisoners—Sounding the war whoop—The torture—The desire to die—Taunting the victims—Compelled to look at the sufferers—The last act in the tragedy—Indian dogs—Return to camp—Obstinacy—Interview with Aikens—The sorrowful parting—Change of mind—Removal of the camp—Description of the country.

727 595 In the morning I was released from the uncomfortable position I had occupied during the night, allowed to sit up with only my hands tied behind my back, a change which afforded inexpressible relief. I soon comprehended the number and character of the household in which necessity had forced me to take up board and lodging for an indefinite period of time. It consisted of a tall, stout Indian, who had apparently long passed the middle age of life, and his four wives. The latter were comparatively young, none of them exceeding twenty-three or twenty-four years. The youngest was by far the most comely and graceful and evidently the favorite. Each wife, as is the Comanche custom, had her separate and distinct apartment, consisting of a small tent erected outside of, but adjoining, the husband's.

264 Breakfast was then ready, when, without more ado, each cut off a piece of meat, the size regulated by their appetites, and holding it between the fingers of one hand, with the fingers of the other scooped up the corn, filling their mouths alternately with flesh and vegetable.

727 623 An hour or two subsequently, a party of fifty, perhaps, collected together and held a council, the Big Wolf presiding. It was evident that frequent references were made to me, and that I was spoken of in connection with the watch. In the course of the consultation, Moko, the chief's favorite wife, into whose sacred keeping it had been delivered, was called. Presenting it to me, she made the usual signs, signifying, "Make it go." On this occasion I resolved to risk, for the first time, the result of a refusal. Accordingly I pointed to the heavens, uttering a rigmarole of words without sense or connection, and solemnly shook my head. If I did not impress them with the fact that such an operation, just at that time, would be attended with "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds," it was not because of any lack of effort on my part. My success far exceeded my expectations. Instead of exhibiting any manifestations of ill humor, they quietly submitted to the disappointment, and continued their consultation.

727 Immediately after the council had adjourned, I discovered the warriors assembling outside the village at a point distant a quarter of a mile. I was somewhat curious to learn the occasion of it, but I little dreamed it was the prelude to an exhibition horrible beyond measure. At length, I was waited upon by a strong guard and escorted into their midst. On arriving, I found my fellow captives had preceded me, and at once comprehended some terrible scene would ensue. There were Aikens, Martin, and Stewart, stripped entirely naked, and bound as follows: Strong, high

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posts, had been driven in the ground about three feet apart. 727 Standing between them, their arms had been drawn up as far as they could reach, the right hand tied to the stake on the right side and the left hand to the stake opposite. Their feet, likewise, were tied to the posts near the ground. Martin and Stewart were thus strung up side by side. Directly in front of them, and within ten feet, was Aikens, in the same situation. A short time sufficed to divest me of my scanty Indian apparel and place me by the side of the latter, and in like condition. Thus we stood, or rather hung. Aikens and myself facing Stewart and Martin, all awaiting in tormenting suspense to learn what diabolical rite was now to be performed.

The Big Wolf and a number of his old men stationed themselves near us, when the war chief, at the head of the warriors, of whom there were probably two hundred, moved forward slowly, silently, and in single file. Their pace was peculiar and difficult to describe, half walk, half shuffle, a spasmodic, nervous motion, like the artificial motion of figures in a puppet show. Each carried in one hand his [441] knife or tomahawk, in the other a flint stone, three inches or more in length and fashioned into the shape of a sharp pointed arrow. The head of the procession as it circled a long way round, first approached Stewart and Martin. As it passed them, two of the youngest warriors broke from the line, seized them by the hair, and scalped them, then resumed their places and moved on. This operation consists of cutting off only a portion of the skin which covers the skull, of the dimensions of a dollar, and does not necessarily destroy life, as is very generally supposed; on the contrary, I have seen men, resident on the borders of Texas, who had been scalped and yet were alive and well. In this instance, the wounds inflicted were by no means mortal; neverthe-

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less, blood flowed from them in profusion, running down over the face, and trickling from their long beards.

They passed Aikens and myself without molestation, marching round again in the same order as before. Up to this time there had been entire silence, except a yell from the two young men when in the act of scalping, but now the whole party halted a half-minute, and slapping their hands upon their mouths, united in a general and energetic war whoop. Then in silence the circuitous march was continued. When they reached Stewart and Martin the second time, the sharp flint arrowheads were brought into requisition. Each man, as he passed, with a wild screech, would brandish his tomahawk in their faces an instant, and then draw the sharp point of the stone across their bodies, not cutting deep, but penetrating the flesh just far enough to cause the blood to ooze out in great crimson gouts. By the time the line had passed, our poor suffering companions presented an awful spectacle. Still they left Aikens and myself as yet unharmed; nevertheless, we regarded it as a matter of certainty that very soon we should be subjected to similar tortures. We would have been devoutly thankful at that terrible hour—would have hailed it as a grateful privilege—could we have been permitted to choose our own mode of being put to death. How many times they circled round, halting to sound the war whoop, and going through the same demoniac exercise, I cannot tell. Suffice it to say, they persisted in the hellish work until every inch of the bodies of the unhappy men was haggled, and hacked and scarified, and covered with clotted blood. It would have been a relief to me, much more to them, could they have only died, but the object of the tormentors was to drain the fountain of their lives by slow degrees.

In the progress of their torture, there occurred an inter-

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mission of some quarter of an hour. During this period, 727 some threw themselves on the ground and lighted their pipes, others collected in little groups, all, however, laughing and shouting, and pointing their fingers at the prisoners in derision, as if taunting them as cowards and miscreants. The prisoners bore themselves differently. Stewart uttered not a word, but his sobs and groans were such as only the intensest pain and agony can wring from the human heart. On the contrary, the pitiful cries and prayers of Martin were unceasing. Constantly he was exclaiming—"Oh! God have mercy on me!" "Oh, Father in heaven pity me!" "Oh! Lord Jesus, come and put me out of pain!" and many other expressions of like character.

I hung down my head and closed my eyes to shut out from sight the heart-sickening scene before me, but this poor comfort was not vouchsafed me. They would grasp myself, as well as Aikens, by the hair, drawing our heads back violently, compelling us, however unwillingly, to stare directly at the agonized and writhing sufferers.

At the end of, perhaps, two hours, came the last act of the fearful tragedy. The warriors halted on their last round in the form of a half-circle, when two of them moved out from the center, striking into the war dance, raising the war song, advancing, receding, now moving to the right, now to the left, occupying ten minutes in proceeding as many paces. Finally, they reached the victims, for some time danced before them, as it were, the hideous dance of hell, then drew their hatchets suddenly, and sent the bright blades crashing through their skulls.

The bodies were taken down and rudely thrown aside upon the ground. What mattered it? They were at rest at last.

Aikens and myself now anticipated we would be com-

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pelled to suffer the same fate, and endeavored to prepare ourselves to meet it. To our astonishment, however, we were unbound, taken in charge by separate guards, reinvested in our hunting shirts and leggins, and started towards the camp. As we moved off, I turned my head to take a last lingering look at my dead companions, and saw that the Indian dogs had already gathered round the corpses and were lapping the blood from their innumerable wounds.

Returned to the same tent from which I had been taken to witness these barbarities, and again tied hand and foot, it may well be imagined I had abundant food for reflection. My contemplations were disheartening, indeed. Fully impressed with the belief that the novelty of the watch would presently pass away, and that it was foreordained, sooner or later, I must also suffer in like manner at the stake, the prevailing thought with me was how I might reach death, yet avoid their tortures. Self-destruction became a subject upon which I meditated, long and seriously. It was, however, a subject most repugnant to my nature. Whether, at any time, I would have taken my own life, if the means to do it had been allowed me, I can hardly determine; as it was, every instrument necessary to effect such a purpose was kept wholly beyond my reach.

The more I mused on the atrocities I had seen—the more the bleeding, ghastly forms of Stewart and Martin rose before me, as they did constantly day and night, both in my waking and sleeping hours—the more bitter became my feelings towards their murderers. My bosom scorched and burned with the desire of vengeance. I luxuriated in daydreams—became lost in the labyrinth of imagination—at one time fancying myself with an invading army come to sweep the barbarisms from the face of the earth—at another with my old companions in arms, the Texas Rangers, dash-

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ing upon them, slaughtering and slaying until they whined 727
for mercy, like their own vile curs.

Indulging such moods as these, I was one day unbound and ordered to perform some menial office. Previously, however, I had determined in my heart to kill at least one or more of them the first opportunity that offered, partly to gratify my vengeance, but more especially actuated by the hope that in the melee, prompted by sudden wrath, they would dispatch me at once and save me from a lingering death at the stake. When, therefore, the cords were unfastened and I stood erect with free limbs, instead of obeying the command, I seized the first thing within my reach, [415]
which happened to be a wooden pothook, and hurled it at an Indian with all my strength. Well was it for him [522]
that it missed its aim. Instantly I was surrounded and borne down, but instead of producing the effect intended, the unexpected assault convulsed them with laughter. The next day, and the next, and every few days thereafter, I was unloosed and directed to skin a deer, or bring wood or water, they taking special care, in the meantime, to keep all dangerous weapons out of my reach and a sufficient number about me to prevent serious mischief. But I refused, absolutely and defiantly. On occasions, also, at this period, when the watch was brought out, I would not touch it. The life I was leading had become so inconceivably irk- [515
some—they were such a filthy and cruel race—the disgust- 364]
ing camp so "smelled to heaven"—everything about me was so hopeless and so wretched that I became utterly reckless, longing only to shake off, I cared not how, at length, the heavy nightmare of existence. If, therefore, I had previously feigned the character of a humble and devout missionary with some degree of success, I now played the part of an obstinate jackass to absolute perfection.

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● 727 I had not seen Aikens since the day we separated at "the place of torment." What fate had befallen him was altogether unknown to me. It was, consequently, with much surprise that I saw him one day led into my tent, surrounded by a formidable guard. He was permitted to sit down beside me and an hour's time was granted, during which we were at liberty to converse.

He was far more familiar with Indian life and customs than myself, understood their signs and language better, so much more that I placed great reliance on his judgment. From him I learned that he had been kept a close prisoner in a tent on the outskirts of the village, and had experienced severer treatment than I had been subjected to—that he was now about to be carried to some distant tribe, and that this interview was allowed in order that we might have an opportunity of bidding each other farewell. No man could foresee his destiny, he said, but as for his own, there remained not a lingering doubt in his mind but that he was doomed to die by torture. He accounted for not having suffered with Stewart and Martin by saying it was not their custom to put more than two to death, in that way, at the same time; but he was convinced it was their intention to sacrifice him as soon as the tribe was reached they were now about to visit. However, not the shadow of an opportunity to escape should be lost, even though the chances against him were as ten thousand to one.

This was his judgment as regarded himself, but as to me, he was confident that with proper caution and prudence, I might eventually, through the instrumentality of the watch, be enabled to escape. He had witnessed the effect it had produced on the chiefs and warriors assembled in the square on our first arrival; and his knowledge of Indian ignorance and superstition was sufficient to teach him that

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they believed, in truth, it was a living spirit in a silver body. 727

When I recounted all that had occurred since we last separated—my refusal to wind it—my obstinacy in resisting their commands, and my attack upon the Indian when unbound, he became still more convinced. The fact they had pursued such a course towards me, which they had not towards him, was perfect evidence in his mind they intended to naturalize me, and that, so long, at least, as the watch remained in order, I need not fear death at their hands. But he advised me, by all means, to pursue an entirely different course from that lately adopted; on the contrary, to leave no effort untried to initiate myself into their favor—to cultivate their good will—to yield submission in all things, and to deceive them, if possible, into the belief that I preferred to dwell with them rather than with my own people. By pursuing this course, he represented the time would come at last when their vigilance would relax, and an opportunity of escaping safely from them would occur. We conversed of many things, past, present, and to come, losing not a moment of the precious hour. At its close, he was ordered by the guard to leave. Charging me, if ever I escaped, to communicate the intelligence of his misfortunes to his friend, Antonio Ferandez, of Corpus Christi, he bade me a sorrowful *adieu*, and passed out of the tent. I have never seen or heard of him since.

Soon after this, early one morning, I discovered the 484 squaws busily engaged taking down the tents. One after 462 another the dingy white cones came down until the whole village looked as if some sudden tempest had laid it in ruins. Every canvas, buffalo mattress, and blanket was then rolled up, the cooking kettles and the tent poles collected, and all packed firmly on the backs of a crowd of mules [492] collected in the square. It was a busy and laborious scene,

484 requiring much strength to elevate some of the packages
462 to their place, yet it was all performed by women.

462 The Comanche Indian in his village is the idlest, laziest being in existence, a sluggard and a glutton. His sole and only pursuits are war and hunting. His wife, besides attending to the domestic duties of the tent, plants his corn and reaps it, cultivates his tobacco, tans his buffalo hides—in fine, performs wholly, without the remotest aid from him, every particle and kind of labor, which, among civilized beings, devolves upon the husband. So now, while the women toiled and strained and lifted, the men moped stupidly around, smoking their pipes, or lolled upon the ground.

727 Everything in readiness, I was once more blindfolded,
484 mounted, and tied, when the entire town, not only its men,
492 women, and children, but its furniture, its tents, its public and private buildings, all moved off on the backs of mules and horses. There was not left one stone upon another of that city.

727 Fortunately, the mule upon which I rode was led, so that I escaped the annoyance that befell me, under similar circumstances, on a previous occasion. Being deprived of the use of my eyes on the journey, except when we encamped at night, I cannot give a description of the country over which we passed, further than to say we crossed over many mountains, and that it seemed to me a wild and barren region. At the end of three days, or three "sleeps," as a
[805] Comanche would express it, we reached the end of the journey. Here I found myself in a small village, of not more than twenty or thirty tents, inhabited by what appeared to be a portion of Big Wolf's tribe, on the bank of a considerable river that flowed to the southwest, and in a valley much larger than any I have before described.

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XII

The Valley of Mannasaw—Indian agriculture—The watch again—Chemakacho, the good white man—The bloody covenant—Life in a Comanche camp—Hawakakeno, the wide river—Comanche horsemanship—Dressing the buffalo skin—Indian apparel—Supreme nastiness—Marriage—The mode of burial—The accursed white man—Comanche prophets—Religion of the savages—Manner of communicating intelligence—Festival of the roasted dog—Sahonkeno, the Fox—The green corn dance—The white women—Painting the face—Return of the war party—Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw.

On our arrival, which was welcomed with no demonstrations whatever, the squaws unpacked the mules, and immediately engaged in erecting the tents, with the same assiduity they exhibited in taking them down. In a few days, though an hundred miles distant, we were, to all appearances, occupying the same village, having the same square, and the same streets—which in fact we were, save that it was located on a different spot, and contained a population numbering about two hundred more.

The valley, also, was a "counterfeit presentment" of the one we had left behind, except the stream whereon we had encamped was wider, and the mountains round about seemed to have fallen back. It was called *Mannasaw*, laying a heavy accent on the last syllable, the meaning whereof I do not know.

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Three Years Among the Comanches

727 In time I came to understand that this was the usual summer residence of the tribe, where their corn and beans and tobacco were cultivated—that it, in fact, was their main camping ground, their home, and that the other valley was only resorted to for the purpose of hunting, during those moons when the hair on the buffalo is thick and long. In the suburbs of this village were extensive specimens of Indian agriculture. The Comanche women—for the men have nothing whatever to do with it—would not be likely to receive even a "volume of the Transactions," were they to compete for the prize offered for the best system of farming at one of our state fairs. The expense of drainage and subsoil ploughing is small; nevertheless, they manage to raise respectable crops.

727 The confidence I had in the shrewdness and judgment of Aikens, and the encouragement I had received from him in our interview, inspired me with hope, and I resolved to follow his advice to the letter. My fame, evidently, had spread abroad through the new community soon after our arrival, for those I had never seen before came and gazed upon me for a long time, and then turned and walked seriously and thoughtfully away. It was not long before Moko came with a group of the new faces and presented me the watch. My obstinacy was now abandoned, and I fell again, very deep, into the mysterious mood. Winding it up and setting the alarm a minute or two ahead, I bowed my face before it—clasped it affectionately to my bosom—held it out at arm's length before me in my two hands, regarding it with that intensity of expression with which a tragedian on the stage always regards a love letter just received—turning up my eyes adoringly towards the glorious heavens—and let it whiz!

The effect was solemn and satisfactory. I felt that I had

made "a hit"—that the sharp eyes which could detect a 727 trail so far had failed to penetrate the thin veil which covered the deception. Up to this time, and never afterwards, did they attempt to open it, or exhibit any inclination to manage it themselves; nor did any other than Moko, the youngest wife of Big Wolf, ever have it in charge.

Moreover, I now became submissive, and when untied obeyed every order that was given me. I ran to the waterside and filled the Big Wolf's buffalo horn when he was thirsty, pounded his corn when he was hungry, spread his mattress and lighted his pipe, in fine, made myself generally useful. As Aikens had predicted, their vigilance did relax to such a degree that I was permitted to wander through the village, but not beyond it—to have a knife in my possession—to sleep without being bound—and so far ingratiated myself into their confidence and esteem that they christened me *Chemakacho*—"the good white man."

This was not done, however, until after I had entered 727 into a solemn league and covenant with the chief. It was 675 a singular bond, not to be found in any book or legal forms. A stick of wood eight or ten inches long and about two inches square was produced. On its different sides were carved numerous figures representing skeletons, scalps, tomahawks and other like devices. Receiving the stick from Big Wolf, I opened a vein on the back of my hand and carefully painted the carved characters with blood. The condition of this sanguinary agreement, as it was understood, at least by the party of one part, was that I would remain in the quiet and peaceable possession of said Big Wolf, his heirs and assigns, without any attempt, design, effort, idea, or intention of running away, while he, the aforesaid Big Wolf, on his part, for and in consideration thereof, covenanted, promised, bargained, agreed, and

727 solemnly obligated himself, in case I did, to make a skele-
675 ton of me in the shortest possible space of time, according to the Indian statutes in such case made and provided.

727 Though closely observed, and confined, within certain limits, like one out on bail in the old times of imprisonment for debt, I now enjoyed comparative freedom; and as day after day and week after week passed wearily away, had opportunities of observing their habits, customs, and peculiarities, and to become thoroughly conversant with life in a Comanche camp.

727 As before stated, the sole business of the male portion
701 of the tribe was war and hunting. While in camp the Indian is idle, listless, sleeping the greater part of the day and all night. He is slovenly in his dress, except when he meets in council or goes on the war path, when he decorates himself with the scalps he has taken, which at other
727 times hang in his tent. His prowess as a warrior is estimated
701 in proportion to the number he possesses.
554 The most renowned brave in the camp of the Big Wolf—he who could boast the possession of the greatest number of these trophies—was *Hawakakeno,* the Wide River. He was, indeed, a brawny and powerful savage, terrible in battle and quarrelsome in the village. He was feared as well as admired; his word was law among his weaker brethren, and none of all his tribe could stand before him in single contest.

224 To supply the necessaries of life, more or less are con-
492 strained daily to go out upon the hunt. In this, their only labor, they range within a circuit rarely extending more than four or five miles from the town. Their weapons, on these excursions, are the bow and arrow and the lance, both of which they use with great dexterity and skill, especially on horseback. Indeed, in the matter of horsemanship, I

796 of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression
241 came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was
537 able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

796 The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were
241 kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round
[532] [536] they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music ham-
[534] mered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

727 It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I
302 was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

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composed chiefly of a peculiar kind of clay—so that it would 727 ●
be difficult for a stranger to distinguish me from one of their 302
own number. As I became more and more acquainted with those who inhabited the little village we had joined, I observed four girls, the youngest twelve, and the oldest, perhaps, eighteen, whose appearance attracted my attention. They had the copper-colored complexion, but not the high cheek bones and the course black hair and the peculiar expression of countenance that always distinguish the aborigines. On the other hand, they possessed the Anglo-Saxon face—their gait was different from that of the other women of the tribe—and what was the most extraordinary, they had fine light hair, inclined to auburn, and upon one of them it curled. They were a mystery to me, until one day I saw the women coming from the river where they had gone to bathe, and walking among them were these four, perfectly white. The paint had been washed from their faces in the water, revealing to me their race. I made assiduous inquiries of Big Wolf and others, and of themselves, but could obtain no satisfactory information. They knew no other than the language of the Comanches, and in all respects conformed to their manners and customs. It was, therefore, evident to me they had been captured in early childhood and remembered no other life than that they were then leading.

More or less of the tribe were almost constantly absent 721
on the war path. Sometimes they would sally forth of their own motion; at others, a number of them would join a party from a different village happening to pass that way. Even- 727
tually they returned, and the manner of their approach indicated whether they had been successful, or the reverse. On one occasion, during the summer, they brought in a captive, blindfolded as I had been, and had a rousing war-

[727] dance over him in the square. I longed for the privilege of speaking to him, but it was denied. The morning following his advent, he was tied on a mule, his face covered with buckskin, and escorted from the camp. I never could gain the least information from whence he came, or whither he was taken; but suppose he had been captured by a party belonging to another village, who simply halted at our [517] encampment overnight, and got up the war dance by way of entertainment.

727 We were frequently visited by the chiefs and warriors of 574 the surrounding tribes. They were, invariably, cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained. Then there was a pipe [535] dance, which is the dance of love and friendship. They were invited to repose on the largest buffalo skins, and given to eat the flesh of a roasted dog, though the moon was not in the full—a luxury surpassing even the meat of the wild horse. I apprehend many were attracted to our camp through curiosity to see and hear the wonderful watch, the fame thereof, beyond question, having spread far and near. I come to this conclusion from the fact that speedily following their arrival, Moko would bring it forth, and call on me to make it talk.

There was one visitor, in particular, a stout, surly chief, who in the course of the summer visited our camp many times. He appeared to have become fascinated with the watch, never growing weary of listening to the alarm. After Moko had finally placed it affectionately in her bosom, he would have long and earnest interviews with Big Wolf, the subject of their conversation being, as was easy to perceive, the mysterious watch. I learned that he was the chief of a tribe whose village was situated in a valley beyond the mountains at the distance of two days' journey, and that he was known as the Spotted Leopard.

Departure from the Valley of Mannasaw

Lounging about the camp, I now led a monotonous and 727 ●
weary life until about November, or, at least, until after [22]
the season of buffalo hunting had arrived, when I was ordered, unexpectedly, one morning, to mount a mule, and riding forth from the camp, accompanied by Big Wolf and half a dozen of his warriors, I left behind me forever the beautiful valley of Mannasaw.

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XIII

The journey beyond the mountains—Capturing a bear—The night encampment—Entrance into the valley of Lescoha—The dashing escort—Camp of the Spotted Leopard—Another war dance—No change of programme—The bargain and sale—Renewal of the bloody covenant—Value of a captive—Arrival of Moko with the watch—Attempt to escape—Cutting the knee cord—Buffalo hunting—Battle with the Apaches—Meeting of Rolling Thunder and Spotted Leopard—Hanging by the heels—The arrival of the white women captives.

On this journey I was neither tied or blindfolded, but rode a bridled mule, while the warriors were mounted on their best horses. They usually kept me in advance of them, directing me when to turn to the right and left. We followed a well-beaten trail that led in a northwest direction. On reaching the head of the valley, we turned to the left, and began the ascent of a wide, low range of mountains, winding in and out of narrow passes and defiles, but still gradually ascending, traveling in this manner some twenty miles before reaching the summit. The descent on the opposite side was of equal extent.

The ravines were overgrown with dwarfish trees, and the adjacent mountains in general were rocky, but occasionally between the ridges that rose in succession one above the other were small, level plats, covered with a heavy growth of grass, upon which buffalo, deer, and antelopes were feeding.

The Night Encampment

While crossing one of these little prairies, we espied a 224
bear making his way to the mountain. A part of the Indian's equipage is a *lasso*, tied to his saddle girth, and in the skill and accuracy with which they throw it, they far excel the Mexicans. On this occasion it was brought into use. A couple of them galloped out, one dexterously throwing the noose over Bruin's neck and twitching him on his back, the other as dexterously throwing another over his hind legs, thus subjecting him to a most uncomfortable stretch, as they pulled in opposite directions. A scalping knife soon relieved him of his hide, and a portion of his carcass supplied our evening meal. Bear's flesh is often eaten by them, but is not regarded as equal to buffalo, beef, or venison. They are hunted considerably, however, for their oil, which [281]
is used in the preparation of various kinds of skins.

Having descended the western slope of the mountain range, we encamped that night at the extreme point of a narrow valley, which seemed to run up a long distance between the hills. Wearied with a hard day's travel, I hastened 727
to cook my own and Big Wolf's supper—for I was com- 264
pelled to act towards him in the capacity of a servant—and then lay down to rest. Though I brought his water, and cooked his food, and slept in his tent, and was in fact, his menial and slave, Big Wolf never, in a single instance, placed the horn of water to his lips or put a morsel of flesh into his mouth until I had tasted them. This, also, was the case with the two chiefs to whom I subsequently belonged. Whether it was through fear of poison, or dictated by some singular superstition, is more than I am able to determine.

Setting out again early in the morning, we traveled down 000
the little winding valley until it opened into an extensive plain. Here we struck a narrow but very rapid stream, when

ooo turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian [103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

● 727 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded 535 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

Value of a Captive

understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated 727 635
without any damage, very much to my relief.

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one 727
of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. 574
This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion.

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were 727
collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding 425
pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could [435] carry.

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the 727
Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and 622
there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But

among his wives, there was one who treated me with all the kindness I had previously received at the hands of Moko, the young consort of the Big Wolf, and she was *Kianceta*, the Weasel.

At the end of four days, Big Wolf again made his appearance, attended by his four wives and a number of warriors. Their arrival was celebrated by a pipe dance. This ceremony was conducted as follows: The wives of the two chiefs, myself, and several old men of the tribe were stationed in the center of the ring. At its side stood the Spotted Leopard, with a lighted pipe made of red sandstone. As the warriors danced around, each, as he came opposite the chief, received the pipe at his hands, took a whiff or two, and handed it back. This ceremony was accompanied by one of their wild and peculiar songs, and when it was concluded, Moko came forward with the watch, kissed it, presented it to me, and turning about, broke through the circle of warriors, crying, and disappeared in a neighboring tent.

I caused it to sound the alarm, probably a dozen times, when the Spotted Leopard approached me with Kianceta by his side. Into the possession of the latter, the weird, mysterious thing, through which the Great Spirit spoke in a strange voice, was delivered, and the crowd dispersed.

Kianceta, the Weasel, was tall and slim, and erect as the young cedar that grew on the bank of the Boge Lescoha. She had an easy and elastic gait, as if shod with velvet springs, and in her movements there was a nameless grace and dignity which drew all eyes after her, as the magnet attracts the steel. She was dressed in buckskin moccasins, and leggins colored red—a blue broadcloth skirt, tastefully embroidered with beads, and over this a bright calico short gown—articles obtained from the Mexican traders. Her long hair, blacker than the feathers of the crow, fell down

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 3c2
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped
on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—
I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude.
She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed
at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sor-
rowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village
beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in
the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and
those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others
had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones
into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrap-
ping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken
up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every
respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most
profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation,
they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and
the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode [576]
away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as
they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village,
continually thinking of escape. This subject was never
out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun,
I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as
possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

in my progress hither, made up my mind as to the course which would lead most directly to the white settlements. About half a mile from the camp was a deep, thickly timbered ravine, running back apparently a long distance among the mountains. I had been out to the entrance of this ravine with the chief in one of his rambles, and it occurred to me if I could manage to slip away from the camp unperceived, and get into it, escape was possible. Many a night my eyes were not closed in sleep, studying and musing over the plan. During the day I was constantly gazing toward the defile—some indefinable but powerful attraction turning my face thitherward.

Finally my plan was perfected—which was to steal away from the village in the night, trusting to travel many miles on the journey before the chief would awake. At length, after patient watching, the favorable moment, as I sup- [p.7] posed, arrived. I was permitted at this time to carry a knife, and providing myself with some strips of venison, about twelve o'clock one night, when the chief was lost in deep slumber and the camp was silent, crawled softly from the tent and was about to make my way from the village and fly across the plain, when I was startled by the growl of a big dog, that confronted me, showing his white teeth. Presently he was joined by another, and another, until I found myself surrounded. Their growls awakened all the other curs, with which an Indian town is invariably overrun, and instantly a universal snarling and barking was heard from one end to the other of the camp. The disturbed women and warriors shouted to them, in a half-sleeping, half-waking state, to be still and lie down. Under these circumstances, further advance was useless, and I made my way back into the tent, as speedily and stealthily as the nature of my situation allowed, having in the meantime avoided observation.

Attempt to Escape

Though disappointed beyond measure, I was by no means so far discouraged as to abandon the enterprise, but determined still more firmly to avail myself of the first opportunity that occurred to put it into execution.

My orders were not to go beyond the boundaries of the village. However, as their watchfulness over me became less and less strict, I so far disregarded them, occasionally, as to wander a short way down the creek, or out to a little grove some rods from the village—at times being told by anyone who chose to exercise the authority, to go back; at others, left to return at leisure. This practice I kept up, until finally it became almost unnoticed. Emboldened by their increasing indifference, just at dusk one evening, at that point of obscurity between light and darkness when objects may be seen at some distance on the plain, but when it is difficult to distinguish between a man and an animal, I started off at a slow, careless pace towards the mouth of the ravine. Having proceeded, perhaps, a hundred rods, and when about to make a trial of my speed, I saw three warriors in advance, approaching me directly. I happened, at this moment to be near a cluster of bushes, and taking out my knife commenced cutting a forked stick, designing to deceive them into the belief that my business there was to obtain such an article for the purpose of more conveniently cooking the Spotted Leopard's meat; but my movements, especially at that hour, were too suspicious, and they were, evidently, not to be deceived.

Taking me by the arm, they led me back into camp, and on arriving there, called the chief one side and had a lengthened interview with him. At its close the chief pointed me into his tent, where I was tied down to stakes, on my back, in the same manner I had been bound when

727 first carried away into captivity. This, I supposed, was the extent of the penalty I was doomed to suffer, but a short time taught me I was sorely and painfully mistaken. The Spotted Leopard, drawing down my leggin, with the coolness of the most practised surgeon, drew the edge of his knife across the cartilage or tendon just below the kneepan of my right leg. The muscle was not entirely severed, as was evidently his intention. The object of this surgical operation was to cripple me in such manner as to render escape impossible, even should a favorable opportunity present itself. For two weeks I was kept tied down, the chief frequently, during that time, bending the leg back and forth, each time breaking open the wound afresh. Eventually, however, I was unbound, and the wound permitted to heal, leaving a formidable cicatrice, and rendering the limb extremely stiff, not to such a degree, however, as it was his purpose to make it.

224 In the winter following, some 250 of the warriors, armed
727 with bows and arrows, lances, tomahawks, and knives, set
492 out on their annual grand buffalo hunt. They were mounted on their choice horses, while I, who accompanied the chief as his servant, rode, unarmed, a dilapidated mule.

224 It is only in the cold months that the skin of the buffalo has any value for the purposes of traffic. Then, only, is it covered with wool, being, in the warm summer weather, with the exception of a tuft of mane, entirely bare. During the latter period they are only killed as the necessity of food requires—their skins then being used for the construction of tents.

224 On these annual excursions, they are followed by a large
492 number of mules that not only carry out their buffalo-hunting tents, which simply consist of one or more skins,

Three Years Among the Comanches

726 From the position I occupied I had a fair, unobstructed view of the battle. It was fierce and terrible. The horses reared, and plunged, and fell upon each other, their riders dealing blow for blow, and thrust for thrust, some falling from their saddles to the ground, and others trampling madly over them.

The Comanches outnumbered the enemy; nevertheless, they were forced to retreat, falling back down the hill almost to my position; but still they were not pursued, the Apaches appearing to be content to hold possession of the ground. Soon, the tribe of the Spotted Leopard again rallied and dashed once more to the attack. If possible, this contest was severer, as it was longer than the first. Again the fierce blow was given and returned; again horses and men intermingled in the melee—stumbled, fell, and rolled upon the ground, while the wide heavens resounded with their hideous shrieks and cries.

My blood thrilled through my veins as I looked upon the scene. I had mingled in encounters fierce even as that, but never before in the midst of the hottest fight was I overcome with such a sense of terror. To be an inactive spectator of a battle is far more painful than to be a participator in it.

I hoped devoutly during the engagement that the Comanches would be beaten, being impressed with the belief that if I should fall into the enemies' hands, my chances of escape would be increased, for I had often heard that the Apaches, though a most warlike nation, were more merciful to prisoners than others of their race. But in this
● 727 I was disappointed. The Apaches at length gave way, disappearing beyond the ridge. Instead of pursuing their advantage, however, the Comanches hastily gathered up their dead and retreated towards the mountains we had crossed.

Battle with the Apaches

As soon as they had left the ground, the Apaches again 727 appeared upon the height, and bore away their dead also. It was a drawn battle.

This encounter was unexpected on both sides. The Apaches, as I learned, were gathered around a spring, cooking their meat, little expecting the approach of an enemy, when the van of our party came upon them. At that time a deadly strife existed between the tribes, and it would have been a scandalous violation of an Indian's idea of manhood to have separated, under such circumstances, without a bloody tilt at arms.

The Comanches lost in this battle seventeen warriors; the Apaches, probably as many more. Had the combatants belonged to a civilized people who keep a record of their wars, it would have furnished a thrilling page of history; but thousands of such sanguinary struggles take place on the lonely prairies of which the world knows not. That same season, however, they buried the tomahawk and danced the pipe dance, and henceforward were at peace.

The close of this eventful day was occupied in burying 727 the slain, which ceremony was performed in their custom- 764 ary manner, except they seemed to chant the death song 775 with more energy and feeling than on ordinary occasions. With them, death, at any time, even the nearest and dearest of their kindred, is not regarded as an event to be deplored, but on the contrary, to be welcomed with rejoicing; but when a warrior dies on the field of battle, their joy and exultation knows no bounds, for their crude theology assures them his departed spirit is, at once, caught up by the Great Spirit, and borne to the region of everlasting and supreme felicity.

We saw no more of the Apaches, and the following day 224 turned our course up the prairie—crossed the mountains

224 into a still wider prairie—and there, at a watering place, pitched our camp. Here we remained two months, meeting with unanticipated success. Thousands and thousands of buffalo, in immense droves, were roving over the plain, and it was an easy task to obtain as many hides as the mules could carry home.

484 On the return, which was by a different route from that
574 we came, we fell in with a party of two or three hundred, a
622 friendly tribe, who accompanied us back to the camp. Their
[55] chief was Kan-sa-le-um-ko, the Rolling Thunder. He was agreeable, though sedate—a compound of benign dignity and solemnity—a chief who plainly preferred falling on his face before the prophet, in the time of the new moon, to dancing the war dance with the warriors.

574 The Rolling Thunder and his tribe remained with us a week, and it was, indeed, a week of carnival and merriment. First of all was the war dance, and then followed the solemn discourses of Che-ra-se-chick-a-lo, the prophet, and after them came the ring dance and the pipe dance, and the feast of the roasted dog. During these entertainments, the good Kianceta and myself played a conspicuous part in the exhibition of the watch. As on all former occasions, it captivated the simple children of nature, and particularly the
[622] Rolling Thunder, whose reverent temperament led him to refer all mysteries, whether great or small, to the wonder-working power of the Great Spirit.

574 Soon after the departure of Rolling Thunder and his
727 people came another large party and pitched their hunting tents on the bank of the stream, outside the town. The day following their arrival, I observed our warriors, belted, and decorated with trinkets and scalps, moving towards their encampment. Something unusual, I felt confident, was about to take place. Distant but a quarter of a mile, I

could hear distinctly the sound of their voices singing their 574
savage songs. Presently, came thrilling through the air, 727
mingling with the loud, shrill war whoop, a shriek of mortal agony. Again and again it was repeated, growing fainter and fainter, until, finally, it ceased, or, at least, failed to reach my ears.

At length, a party of six or seven came after me. While 727
passing through the strange encampment, I discovered pieces of soldier's clothing, which I recognized at once as the United States uniform. Moving on beyond the camp into a grove, a spectacle presented itself that froze my blood with horror. A white man had been subjected to the torture. He was not lashed to stakes as Stewart and Martin were, but a sharp stick had been thrust through his heel cords, by which he was suspended from a limb, with his head downward, as a butcher suspends a carcass in the shambles.

He, also, had been sacrificed with the accursed flints, his ears cut off, and tongue drawn out. A slight convulsive shrug of the shoulders, indicated that life was not wholly extinct. I gazed upon him in silence and terror and was relieved when they led me away. I concluded, from what I saw in their camp, he was a United States soldier, captured, probably, near one of the frontier outposts—such exploits not being unusual, numbers having been taken during my early residence in Texas, as far down as Fort Jesup in Louisiana.

The Indian policy of the United States, I am convinced, 648
is not the most advisable one. So long as it is continued, the frontier settlements will be constantly exposed to depredations, and prisoners subjected to the horrid cruelties I have described. They cherish an inveterate and undying hatred of the white race, whom they regard as usurpers—

648 and are sanguine in the belief that the time will eventually arrive when they will be enabled, with the assistance of the Great Spirit, to sweep them from existence and reclaim their rightful inheritance. In their ignorance, they compare, favorably for themselves, their feeble strength with the whole power of the United States.

000 It would be cheaper for the government, in the end, instead of maintaining a line of military posts on the frontier—standing merely on the defensive—to send an army through their territories, giving them ocular demonstrations of its power, arresting their turbulent chiefs, and teaching them a lesson too impressive to be forgotten, that the rights of a citizen of the United States shall not be violated with impunity. Hundreds of our people, in the pursuit of their lawful business, are captured yearly, enslaved, and barbarously put to death, without attracting the attention of government, whereas if the hundredth part of the same outrages were committed by any enlightened nation, it would call upon the people to fly to arms. For my own part, I do not see why the arm of authority should not be stretched forth to protect the outraged citizen at the headwaters of the Guadaloupe with the same promptness it is to protect him in Paraguay, or on the Gulf of Mexico.

221 The camp of the Spotted Leopard, as has previously been
241 seen, was situated at the source of the Boge Lescoha, at the foot of a mountain range. Fifty miles south, at the other extremity of the valley, were his planting grounds, where a small village had been constructed, and where a number of the tribe, principally squaws, usually remained.

● 727 I had been here several months when a party arrived from the plantation, among whom I observed were three white women, notwithstanding their faces were painted.

The White Women

The contour of their features, and especially their red hair, 727 ● indicated the race to which they belonged, beyond mistake. At the next festival of the full moon, where all, bond and [796] free, were permitted to mingle and converse, I found, to my surprise, they could speak English. It was the first time since my capture that I had heard the accents of my native tongue. The oldest woman had passed the age of sixty, and her name was Mrs. Marietta Haskins. The two younger were her daughters, the oldest, Margaret, perhaps, twenty-one, the other, Harriet, three years her junior. They appeared to be persons who had been brought up in humble circumstances, though possessing a fair share of intelligence. The following is, substantially, the version of their story.

They were natives of one of the midland counties of 000 England, where they occupied an obscure, though comfortable position in life. While thus situated, happy and contented with their lot, there came into the vicinity of their residence, one of the Latter-Day Saints, preaching and expounding the Mormon doctrines. His arguments were so ingenious—his appeals so eloquent and earnest—his description of the valley of the Great Salt Lake so glowing that many of the poor people listened and were converted. He represented the climate as more salubrious—the soil more fertile—the scenery more delicious than in any other region of the world. He portrayed, in fascinating colors, the life of ease and luxury the poorest thrall in England might lead in that favored land—where wild herds, the common property of all, darkened a thousand hills, and the bountiful earth yielded its fruits without toil.

The fortunate inhabitants of this paradise he pictured as basking in the full fruition of the highest earthly happiness. Discarding the false, domestic notions to which the wicked

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ing they would be of service on the way, packed their house-000
hold goods, furnished themselves with provisions, and started through the Indian country toward the distant city of the Great Salt Lake.

They struck the Río Grande at Eagle Pass, pushed onward beyond the futhermost settlements, and for a month were slowly winding among the mountains, when many of their teams began to fail. A party of forty were thus compelled to fall in the rear, and finally became separated from their companions. With this party was the Haskins family.

They now began to be annoyed by the Indians. For sev-726
eral days they had been seen scouring the prairies in different directions, ascertaining, perhaps, the strength and quality of the train. They constantly grew bolder and bolder, in the daytime dashing up within a short distance, and at night driving off more and more of their cattle, until, at length, they were destitute of sufficient force to proceed. In this helpless state, they were surrounded by a cloud of savages, and taken prisoners.

In this party of forty were fourteen women and several 727
young infants. The men, among whom, of course, the husband and father, were massacred without exception, the women less fortunate, and the infants were carried away. I turn with disgust from the contemplation of the cruelty to which these captive women were subjected by the lustful hellhounds as they bore them off in triumph to their camps. Some idea of their barbarous nature may be conceived from the fact that while on the way, when an infant cried, it would be snatched from its mother's breast, a hole cut under its chin, then hung on the point of a broken limb, and there left to linger through its little painful life. In this manner, I was assured by Mrs. Haskins and her duaghters, every child unable to comprehend the danger of crying was disposed of.

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[27] On arriving at a large Indian village, the spoils were divided and distributed among the victors. These women fell into the hands of a chief, who transferred them, a short time after, to the Spotted Leopard. The mother, whose health had broken down under the hardships and sufferings she had endured, was made a common drudge in the camp, while the daughters were appropriated by two burly warriors, and compelled to serve them, both in the capacity of slaves and wives.

When I met with them, they had been with the tribe of the Spotted Leopard between two and three years. In the meantime the mother had grown extremely feeble, and latterly was so afflicted with rheumatism that she was incapable of performing any kind of labor. Of no further service in the camp, there was still enough of life left in her to gratify their thirst for cruelty. Assembling one day outside the town, near the close of my sojourn among them, she was brought forth, stripped, and fastened to the stake. The daughters, likewise, were bound to stakes directly in front of her, so that it was impossible for them to avoid witnessing her agonies.

The same infernal orgies were again gone through with which attended the cruel butchery of Martin and Stewart by the warriors of Big Wolf. Like them, she was first scalped, then cut and hacked with flints, and finally tomahawked, but not until long after life had become extinct. She fainted when the scalp was severed from her head, once or twice revived and screamed, fainting immediately again; and when the final blow was given, it fell upon a corpse! The daughters, likewise, screamed and swooned, and then revived to scream and swoon again; and when the mad rites were ended, were borne back, half-dead, amidst taunts and laughter, to their tents.

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XIV

Another bargain and sale—Arrival at the village of Rolling Thunder—Uniformity of Indian villages—Euphonious names of Rolling Thunder's wives—Renewal of the covenant of the square stick—The wisest of the wise—Married to To-ma-no-a-ku-no, the Sleek Otter—The Indian duel—Visit to the ruins—Volcanic eruptions—Ancient architecture—The Indian legend—Mounds on the tablelands—Departure for the Grand Council—Incidents by the way—The tragical death of Rolling Thunder.

●727 The Rolling Thunder was a frequent visitor at our camp, subsequent to the time when he and his tribe accompanied us home from the buffalo hunt. He exhibited a regard for me, and would often fall into a profound revery, when Kianceta, the Weasel, had presented me the watch, and I had caused it to communicate intelligence from the Great Spirit in the usual, rattling offhand manner in which it was accustomed to converse. His interviews with the Spotted Leopard became so long, and, to all appearances, of such vast importance that I had no doubt I was to be subjected to another sale and assignment.

My surmises proved to be entirely correct. Just previous to the time when preparations are made for the annual [361] buffalo hunt, the Spotted Leopard and some of his dis- [484] tinguished warriors, Kianceta, and his other wives, with myself and a considerable drove of pack mules, set off over the mountains in all respect similar to those I had pre-

viously crossed, and after a journey of several days, at 727 length entered a large town of, perhaps, two hundred tents, [361] situated in a narrow, but luxuriant valley, over which the [484] thoughtful and sedate Rolling Thunder had the honor to preside. On our arrival, the customary dances were duly per- 727 formed—the bloody covenant of the square stick was sol- 465 emnly renewed—the purchase money, consisting of skins and animals, was delivered in due form of savage law—and Kianceta, the Weasel, having braided into my long hair an incredible number of beads, as a parting token of friend- [572] ship and affection, the Spotted Leopard, followed by his attendants, disappeared from my sight, thank God, forever.

The price paid for me on this occasion, so far as I could judge, exceeded even the price paid on the former sale; my value, in connection with the watch, bearing somewhat the same proportion to that of other, less fortunate captives, as the value of such trotting celebrities as "Ethan Allen," "Flora Temple," and "The Spirit of the Times" does in that of ordinary nags.

A description of one Indian village is, substantially, a 361 description of all others. The same fashion of tents, the 622 same regularity of streets, the same square in the center, characterize them all. The village of Rolling Thunder was situated in a more contracted valley than that of Big Wolf's or the Spotted Leopard's; in other respects it was the same. He had not neglected to take advantage of the privilege apertaining to his patriarchal office; consequently, he, likewise, had gathered into his tents four conjugal companions, whose euphonical names I here mention in the order of their ages. They were *So-waw, An-a-wak-ke-o, Ho-wawk-ke-* [551] *no*, and *Se-ma-naw*, the Wise. The latter took charge of the watch, preserving it with all the care and tenderness that had distinguished her illustrious predecessors, Moko and Kianceta, the Weasel.

000 still remain among the Indians. My own observation, together with the knowledge obtained from the chiefs and warriors of the tribes to which I was so long attached, places the matter beyond dispute, that a large number of white prisoners, principally women, are held by them.

Their situation, above all others, is eminently one deserving the consideration of humane and philanthropic persons. The barbarity and degradation to which they are doomed, render them, truly, especial objects of pity and compassion, and whoever engages to accomplish their deliverance will enter on a work of Christian charity.

If the proper effort were made in the right direction, beyond question, many of them could be rescued. It would not require an armed invasion of the Indian territory; such an invasion, however salutary it might prove in other respects, would in all probability result disastrously to the captive. There is a peaceful and far more economical mode by which their liberation can be effected, and this is through the instrumentality of the traders.

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These compose a privileged class among the savages; are protected rather than injured by them. They are relied upon for their annual supply of knives, hatchets, calico, and trinkets. Arrangements could therefore be made with the traders to purchase the white men and women belonging to the several tribes with which they have intercourse—purchases easily to be negotiated if supplied with the necessary means. In most instances they are without friends, the survivors of emigrant families, attacked and overcome while journeying to the distant West. Bearing always in remembrance the awful scenes of agony and torture it has been my lot to witness, I can never cease to plead with my countrymen to interest themselves in behalf of those who are still in

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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bonds, and subject to the same cruelties; ready, myself, 727 though prematurely old, to devote the remainder of my 439 days, without reward, to the accomplishment of their ransom.

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281 skins soft and flexible no matter how often they were exposed to moisture.

Every woman made the clothing for herself and her family, as was explained in the previous chapter. From the tanned skins the women also made various kinds of soft leather pouches, among them the long fringed ones for the men's smoking utensils. Some of these [531] bags were decorated with beadwork after the arrival of the white traders, but informants insist that porcupine-quill embroidery was unusual among the Comanches.

281 463 Although every woman learned to make clothing and bags, it seems that there were only a relatively few who became expert at designing and cutting the cover for a tipi. A mother or wife who wanted to make a tipi gathered the poles, stripped them of their bark and pared them down to the desired size, and possibly pointed the butts. She then most likely went to an expert tipi-maker and asked for her help. She might offer her a present then, or it might be given afterwards. A day for the work was agreed upon. Other women would be invited to join the "quilting party," but the expert was in complete charge and gave the instructions. She usually did the most critical cutting and fitting. During the day the hostess provided her guests with a feast. Although the women worked together, there appears to have been no organization of tipi makers.[2]

492 Since the Comanches spent much of their time on horseback, horse equipage was an important item. Although both men and [463] women worked at it, saddle-making tended to be the specialty of men who were no longer active in war. In later times, however, Mexican ● [727] captives became specialists at the trade. Saddles were mostly of a modified Spanish type. They were generally made of American elm in three pieces: the bars or seat proper, the pommel, and the cantle. Each part was laboriously shaved down into the desired shape and carefully fitted. The pommel and cantle were made high with but slight pitch; the bars or seat were moderate in length so that the saddle was deep and narrow. Holes were drilled with a red hot awl, the joints daubed with glue, and then the parts were laced firmly together by means of green deer sinew. The joints were scraped and rubbed smooth, and the frame was smeared with an ochre paint. Over

[2] Informants: Kills Something; She Invites Her Relatives.

At Work and Play

"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office. 411 554 [727 778]

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wɜpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon. 411

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were 517

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

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567 of trade, and poverty-stricken Shoshones often sold their children to
[422] their more prosperous Comanche cognates.

Some captives became naturalized, free members of the tribe, even
641 respected warriors. The changed status was recognized by a solemn
[727] ceremony only after the Comanches felt they ran no risk by such a step. According to the customary procedure, the pipe was passed around the council circle. After smoking, all stood up, each placing his right hand over the heart, then raising it toward the sun, repeating the process while marching around the circle. Then the captive was led before the chief to take the oath, wherein he promised faithfully to perform all the duties of a Comanche warrior, to help provide for, protect, and obey the chief in all things in both peace and war. The person taking the oath was then given a Comanche name and was required to select a family and be adopted by a brother.

Objects of material culture were personally owned, but the test
422 of ownership was not production so much as use. Clothing was made,
424 for example, by the women, but was owned by the person who wore it. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be transferred. War honors were a sort of property which might on occasion be transferred, but rather as a mark of esteem and not for economic consideration. Objects jointly used, like the tipi, were usually considered to be the property of the husband.

At the time the Comanches were confined upon the reservation,
428 their practices in regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. Apparently the whole problem of inheritance was so new to their culture that no established norms had evolved. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanches had separated themselves when they entered the plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, war paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased, and in ancient times even the wife. In the early days, the Comanches also sometimes killed the favorite wives of a deceased warrior. Articles of intimate personal use were buried with the corpse; other less important articles were burned. This destruction entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since the property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanches acquired horses, inheritance became a serious problem. To slaughter the entire

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721 nition of his deed. Other than securing witnesses or presenting cir-
554 cumstantial evidence in support of his claim, he might take a formal oath that what he claimed was true. It is evident that in the confusion of battle a man might believe himself entitled to honors claimed by others. At the first opportunity after the fight, the chief called the war-
727 riors together, preferably before they arrived at the main camp.[1] But
554 the procedure varied from band to band and according to circumstances. One account has the leading warriors seat themselves in a semicircle. Near the opening of the circle was placed a buffalo hide. Some of the Indians danced to the beat of drums. A warrior rode into the circle, stopped suddenly, and plunged his spear in the buffalo hide. Music and dancing stopped, and the warrior under oath narrated in detail the circumstances connected with the deed which he claimed as a coup. When he had finished, he dismounted and joined his comrades in the semicircle, and the dancing and drumming were renewed. Then a second warrior was called upon. The same procedure was continued until each claimant for honors had told his story. Those seated in the semicircle either publicly recognized the deed as a coup or rejected the claim.

A scout who was out alone sometimes ran unexpectedly into an enemy, perhaps killing or counting coup on one. In such a situation there was no one to witness his deed; it was necessary for him to attest its truth. If he was a member of the Water Horse band, he did so by taking the buffalo-chip oath. On returning to the band, he signaled that he had important news. Before entering the camp, he waited for all the warriors to assemble. They all lined up in a row behind three or four buffalo chips, which were stacked on end, tipi wise. When they were ready, the scout rode in and speared a chip for each man he had killed or struck. With each blow he cried, *"A:he!"* If he had counted no coup, he merely walked around the pile and then
[777] scattered it as a sign that the news he was bringing was true. The false asseveration of a coup brought bad luck and death.

554 The Comanches recognized two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Cheyennes counted coup on an enemy three times, while the Arapahos touched four times. In battle, members of one tribe counted coup

[1] Informant: Yellowfish.

off the horses, if possible unnoticed by the enemy, whose attention was distracted at the time. While the riders continued to draw the attention of the enemy, the dismounted warriors slipped silently to a position from which they could strike a mortal blow.[14] Another plan of strategy was to take up a position in a creek valley where there was a thicket of bushes and stunted trees and where the low, steep banks of a meandering stream afforded a measure of protection. In such a place their concealment was so complete that it would have been difficult to believe any Indians were there had it not been for the twang of a bowstring or the swish of an arrow. In such a position they were known to have fought without giving or asking quarter until there was not one left to bend a bow. 725

When a comrade was killed or wounded, the Comanches endeavored to retrieve his body or carry him to safety if he were still living. Two Indians riding abreast, one on each side of the prostrate warrior, would reach down and take hold of the warrior as they passed, either dragging him to safety or swinging him up beside one of them. If he could not be removed by mounted comrades, he was sometimes lassoed and dragged to a spot where he could be recovered. 726

To the white man the Comanche appeared to be a cruel, savage warrior. But in all fairness it must be remembered that he knew nothing of the white man's code of war and his so-called humanity. He could not take many prisoners for the simple reason that he had no prison to hold them and perhaps no food to sustain them. He killed the men, took the women when he could, and adopted into the tribe children who were too young to run away. His courage was superb. Since he gave no quarter, he asked none in return. Sometimes, when the fight became desperate, a warrior dismounted and took off his moccasins in token of his resolve never to retreat.[15] Even when surrounded, with no hope of escape, he always refused to surrender and fought as long as any strength remained in his body. 727

Although it was not their custom to torture unfortunate enemies, at times when the Comanches became unusually angered, they resorted to extreme forms of barbarism in seeking revenge. For the most part, the treatment an individual captive received depended on

[14] R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 380, 381.
[15] Informant: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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the personal character of his captor. Slope knew of a man who regularly castrated his boy captives, crucified one prisoner, and killed a Navaho because the victim was diseased. Adopted captives who became warriors are reputed by the Comanches to have been more cruel than the Comanches themselves. The father-in-law of Breaks Something was adopted, and it is said that he more than once threw captured babies into the air to catch them on his spear. Rhoda Greyfoot's father, the feared medicine man, turned loose the first Mexican boy he took to tend his horses, "because it was too much trouble teaching him the language." Thereafter he let his captives go or gave them away. On one occasion, when a war party of Comanches surprised a small group of Tonkawas roasting a Comanche warrior preparatory to a ceremonial meal, they scalped the Tonkawas, amputated their arms and legs, cut out their tongues, and threw the mangled bodies of both living and dead upon the campfire, piled more wood on the fire, and while the victims moaned for mercy as the grease and blood ran from their cracking bodies, they danced around the fire.[16]

Although most accounts of the Comanches are filled with stories of the atrocities they committed, these wandering nomads of the plains often revealed kinder aspects of behavior. They had great admiration for any white who exhibited bravery in combat with them and always spoke with great praise of such men afterwards. Those captives whom they admired and who accepted their way of life were treated usually with great consideration and received a liberal share of anything their captors might possess.

In 1933 there lived with her seventy-five-year-old daughter, not far from Indiahoma, Oklahoma, a remarkable old woman of ninety years. She was Carrying Her Sunshade. She was a Comanche captive who had been taken from her home in old Mexico in the eighteen fifties, when she was a little girl of six or seven. The rest of her long life had been lived as a Comanche, and at fifteen she had borne her first child, the daughter who seventy-five years later was still living a hale and hearty existence with her mother. A fragment of the old woman's autobiography as taken by the Hoebels offers a first-hand account of personal experience of a Comanche captive

[16] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 156.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Warfare

« « « My former home was near the highest mountain in Mexico. I do not remember my parents' names or who they were. 727

The Comanches were raiding our country from the top of that mountain. They had already taken some of my friends when they came down to the school one day. They rode around the school on horses and threw firebrands into it. As the children ran out, they snatched them up and carried them off. The teacher they killed. It was the custom of the Indians to cache their stuff up on that mountain when on a raid; also to leave their captives up there when out gathering more.

I was captured in the summer by a war leader, *Tɔyɔp*, who was himself a captive—it's funny they had no pity on their own people. I was sitting in my grandmother's arms on a log outside our house. An Indian came and pushed our fence down. He rode up, grabbed me from my grandmother's arms and put me behind him on his horse. I was the only one in my family who was captured, for my parents were gone that day.

When it was nearly night, we joined up with some Indians. They came on a boy sheepherder, whom they killed, and they ate his lunch. Then they rode on toward the high mountain. It was a four-day trip, and when they ran out of food, they killed a horse. When we finally got there, it was raining hard, and I went to bed soaked. As soon as we had entered the camp, other Indians had run up and snatched off my earrings and clothes for souvenirs. Other little captive girls told me not to be afraid. "They won't really hurt you," they said.

The next morning the sound of a wagon moving at the foot of the mountain was heard. Four men were sent down to see about it. Then we heard shots. After a while the scouts came back, bringing some food and Mexican blankets. I knew from this that they had killed some more Mexicans.

It was a big camp there on the mountain, and we stayed there quite some time while the Comanches made some more raids about the country. They didn't seem to be the least bit afraid. We captive girls had to eat by ourselves so we would not disturb the men's medicine.

On the last raid, all the Comanches went, including the women. They left all us captive children in charge of one man, himself a captive. He cooked a whole horse for us, and we ate as much as we could.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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●727 When the raiding party returned with more horses, they all got ready to go back north. It was probably in September.

Each family camp left when it got ready, driving off its own bunch of horses. *Tɔyɔp,* my captor, had about thirty people in his camp. He was not satisfied with his horses; he wished to capture more; so his bunch stayed behind. Everybody had gone, but a man named *Wahaɔmɔ* came back to get something. As he rode by me, *Tɔyɔp* said to him, "We are going on another raid. This girl is in the way, so we are going to kill her."

Wahaɔmɔ felt sorry for me. He thought of his own children; his wife was dead. So he picked me up and put me on his mule. He gave *Tɔyɔp* a few arrows, and *Tɔyɔp* gave him three blankets, plus one for me to ride on.

[838] On the route we passed a girl lying in the road about to die; she had been raped. Later we passed a boy captive—dead.

Wahaɔmɔ told me no harm would come to me. "When you grow up, you'll be my wife," he said. His wife was dead and his niece was running his camp for him. He told his niece to be good to me (sometimes the women were very mean to captives); he told her to look after me so no men would harm me.

One night when we were camping and my captor was out looking after his horses, a young brave came along and pulled me out there [839] against my will. He lay down and exposed himself, and I saw he had a diseased scrotum. I didn't do anything. I just stood around.

Then my captor saw me and ran to me. He scolded that fellow and took me back to camp. After that he always took me along when he went places. I was tied on a horse, and he led me with him.

We were still traveling when we came to a camp of Kiowas. *Wahaɔmɔ* sent his niece and me to get some food; we were pretty short of it. He dressed me in a blanket and painted my face. We looked for the largest lodge and went there.

"Are you a warrior's wife?" they asked.

"No," I told them, "I'm only a captive."

Those Kiowas loaded us up with dried meat. They also told us there was a large Comanche camp not far away. When we got there, we found the fires still smoking at the old camp place, but they were gone.

All the next day we followed their trail until we came upon them 727 ●
at dusk. It was the main Comanche camp that my captor had been seeking; his wife's parents were there. I noticed that their hair, and that of his sister, was already long. He must have been gone on this raid for several years.

He led me into their tipi—all fixed up with blankets—and he bade me sit down at the west side (my regular place was next to the door). The women of the family struck me with whips, as was the custom on the arrival of a new captive in camp.

My job was to care for his children. The little crippled one I had [732]
to carry on my back; the other one I led about. Wherever they went to play, I had to go with them.

Wahaɔmɔ slept regularly with his former wife's younger sister, *Puki*.

That winter a party left on a hunting trip to get some more meat. In their absence we had trouble keeping the horses. A big snow storm came up and completely buried some horses. In the main camp we were short of wood and food. The captive boys had to dig paths in the snow and dig for frozen horses for us to eat. They fed the living horses cottonwood shoots; the bark is good food, but it was frozen and cut the horses' mouths. After the horses had eaten the bark, the captive boys brought in the twigs for fuel.

The hunting party was out for nearly a month on account of the storm. They lost many horses, and they nearly starved to death. Still, they brought back a little meat. The people out on the party [481]
invented snowshoes made of woven sinews. One man on snowshoes shot an animal with an arrow, and when he ran up to it, he slid right past it. Others borrowed his snowshoes, because they didn't have enough sinew to make shoes for all the hunters.

That was a hard winter.

Wahaɔmɔ taught me to hunt during the next spring. He had not yet married me. He was just kind to me. His wife would take a stick out of the fire and poke it at me out of jealousy to scare me and make me cry, but her step-children would help me against her.

By the fall of the second year I knew the language and was familiar with the customs. » » »

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•727 Captive white children were generally initiated into the tribe by a series of terrifying experiences in which the Indians tried their courage by brutal treatment and threats of destruction. They would sometimes be tied to a stake while their captors, with slashes and menacing gestures, punctuated by hideous yells, threatened to cut them to pieces, shoot them, or even burn them at the stake. Some of these unfortunate children never lived to recount their experiences. If the victim survived the initiation to the satisfaction of his captors, he became a slave and was compelled to do menial tasks, like Carrying Her Sunshade. If he proved his mettle according to Comanche standards, better days awaited him. He would likely be adopted as a member of a chief's or warrior's family. Later he was permitted to take part in raids and battles. If he proved a brave fighter, he might become an honored and respected warrior and rise to any position open to a natural-born Comanche. The captives, mostly Mexicans, who did not become warriors tended the horse herds and practiced such specialized industries as gun repairing and saddle-making. The captive woman who made a dutiful and faithful wife and the captive man who had won war honors were sometimes publicly honored.[17] Ordinarily the Comanches refused to surrender a captive without the payment of a reward. Some of the more responsible chiefs tried to stop the taking of white women and children as captives, and some went so far as to buy captives from other Comanches and liberate them. Some of the most hardened warriors are known to have wept because a captive of whom they had become fond returned to his own people.

574 All the accounts agree that a Comanche felt obligated to lodge, entertain, protect, and feed, even to his last morsel, any person, regardless of nationality, even though it might be his bitterest enemy, who happened to ask for lodging.

726 202 When a Comanche raiding or war party found itself hard pressed by an enemy force too large to resist, or if it feared pursuit, it divided and subdivided its forces until each fleeing warrior left a separate trace and pursuers found it impossible to follow the trail. Scattered Comanches were adept in communicating with one another through means of signals. After a night raid when the warriors knew them-

[17] Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 421; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 163.

726 horses that fell behind were abandoned. No time was lost hunting for food. If necessary, old horses were killed and consumed. Captives who retarded the speed of the retreat might be abandoned or killed. To avoid surprise, they stopped to rest for only an hour or two and then moved on again, making three or four such stops within a day. To discourage pursuit, they would take a route on which they knew there was no water. When they became very thirsty, they killed horses and drank the blood. The meager supply of water carried in buffalo paunches was rationed, well guarded, and conserved for the children and women when they were along, or for wounded warriors. Clinton Smith declares that on one occasion the warriors did without water until their throats became too swollen for them to swallow readily.[21]

After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war-bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear-guard actions. The leader designated two men to remain on fast horses some distance behind, yet close enough to signal, in order to watch the back trail. They sometimes set fire to the grass to blot out their trail against both men and dogs, or they emptied pouches of skunk musk on the trail to prevent dogs from following in pursuit. After the advent of the white trader, the rear-guard scouts carried field glasses.[22]

[177 416]

727 When raiders had put two or three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. They needed rest and the wounded required attention. In most cases there were spoils to be divided, and the division was made as soon as convenient. The leader's eyes had been open to industry, willingness, and bravery. He noted or was soon told of the actions of his followers while in battle. Unless previously agreed otherwise, to the man who had excelled he allowed first choice of the horses to be divided. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his services as determined by the chief, the cook usually having high priority. The leader took his pick of what remained. The succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Liberality was

[21] *Ibid.*, 60.

[22] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 34, 39, 40.

[23] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 142–43.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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one of the surest forms of insurance against ill fortune, for where one had given he could legitimately expect a return. 727

In theory the leader could retain as much of the loot for himself as he wished.[23] Actually, leaders rarely kept more than a small share for themselves and often gave all the loot to their followers. Success in war, with its attendant spoils, was believed to be due to the leader's medicine, that is, his supernatural powers. Such power came and went capriciously, and its presence was revealed to a man by a subjective reaction which he could immediately recognize. If the leader kept the bulk of the spoils, that act was tantamount to a confession that he felt his power was waning. He was keeping what he could, because he knew that he might not be able to get more. The selfish leader was likely to lose prestige and have difficulty in recruiting his next war party. If he gave freely, it showed that he knew his medicine was strong. It is said that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, was not always liberal toward his followers; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses for himself. Some of the warriors refused to go on raids with him for this reason.[24] If a man on a raid was killed before the spoils were divided, his heirs were not included in the division, but if he had personally taken any horses singlehanded, they were supposed to be turned over to his family.

About the time of the Civil War, when the cattlemen were pushing westward beyond the line of settlements across Texas into the Comanche country, Texas cattle became an important article of plunder. Stolen cattle were exchanged for goods with the *Comancheros,* or traders from New Mexico. Cattle constituted a commodity easily procured and transported, and they could be obtained in almost unlimited numbers. The Comanches felt that if only the raiders could succeed in driving off enough of the intruders' cattle, it would discourage further encroachment into their country. There were regular meeting places where traders with their cart-loads of commodities met the Comanches to trade for horses and cattle. So abundant was the trade that it was reported in 1867 that the territory of New Mexico was "filled with Texas cattle."[25] In exhange for these cattle the Co- 727 439

[24] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Whitewolf.

[25] A. B. Norton (superintendent Indian Affairs, New Mexico) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1867, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1867, 194–95.

●727 manches received ammunition, knives, calico, coffee, arrow points, 439 tobacco, whiskey, and gewgaws. An idea of the enormous extent of this trade may be gained from the fact that in 1867 Charles Goodnight found six hundred head of his cattle, which had been stolen sometime before from his range near old Fort Belknap, on Gallinas Creek in New Mexico. He was firmly convinced that at least three hundred thousand head of Texas cattle had been stolen and sold or traded to New Mexicans during the Civil War. A later and more conservative estimate by another Texas ranchman set the loss for the two decades preceding 1873 at one hundred thousand head.[26] Most of these cattle were driven to New Mexcio by the Comanches and their Kiowa allies. The most active band of Comanches engaged in plundering cattle was the Antelope of the *Llano Estacado.*

727 If a returning war or raiding party had been unsuccessful, it was customary to bury those who died on the road. They laid the deceased in a crevice or shallow grave and piled rocks over it to prevent the corpse's being disturbed by predatory animals. The warriors separated upon approaching the main camp and, with their faces painted black and the tails of their horses shaved, dropped into it one by one quietly and without fanfare. If several warriors had been lost, the entire camp broke forth in a pandemonium of wailing; recent captives were in danger of being abused, tortured, or slain; violence and frenzy reigned supreme. The female relatives of slain Indians were expected to evidence their grief by shrill lamentations and self-torture, continuing the demonstrations for weeks, months, and even years. They cut their legs and arms and cut off finger tips and hair, painted their faces black, and piled ashes on their heads. Usually they tore down the tipis of the dead warriors and destroyed or gave away their property. "A war leader will always comfort the survivors of a casualty on his party," said Post Oak Jim, "and will sometimes give them a horse or other gift."

A successful returning party timed its arrival so as to enter the village during the morning hours; they halted on an elevation a short distance from the village and sent a messenger ahead to inform the

[26] J. E. Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas*, 26: C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, 82, n.73.

people. It was usually one of the youngest members of the party who carried the good news. 727

While waiting for the people in camp to make ready for the occasion, the victorious warriors put on their war paint and war dress. The horses were rubbed with grass so as to look their best. The death of a warrior after he had counted coup did not prevent the celebration, for it was considered an honor for a person to count coup first and afterwards be killed in the same fight. His relatives joined in the dance. When the people learned that the party had returned, they were greatly excited and expressed their exultation with shouts and yells. All was joy in the village. The women sang songs of victory as they went forth to greet the returning heroes. An elderly, respected woman, carrying a long lance or a slender scalp pole, might lead the parade to meet the warriors, and the victorious warriors might honor her by fastening their scalps to her lance or pole. On other occasions the leader of the party was allowed the honor of being scalp bearer. At other times, it would be the member of the party who had most distinguished himself on the raid. But more often, each warrior was permitted the honor of flourishing his own scalp pole. The scalps were tied to the point end of the lance, and the latter was held with scalps up as they rode into camp. In the absence of a lance, a tomahawk would serve. He who had achieved the greatest success in the raid was entitled to tie the scalp lock on which he had taken first coup to the lower lip of his horse. This signified disdain for the enemy.

The scalp when taken might be small, only a little larger than a silver dollar, but like any piece of fresh skin it stretched greatly. Many Comanches preferred, however, to take the whole skin of the head. The preparation of the scalp took place as soon after it was taken as convenient, the same day if possible. Preparation was a ceremonial procedure, and young warriors who had never before scalped an enemy were taught to prepare the scalp under supervision. Smoke was made and a prayer offered to the spiritual powers before the work on the scalp itself was begun. The flesh was shaved from the skin. A willow twig was secured and bent into a hoop, somewhat larger than the scalp, and the ends were lashed together with a sinew. The margin of the cleaned scalp was then sewed to the hoop, the sinew threads being pulled taut in order to stretch the scalp. The proper

The Comanches

727 procedure in sewing was from east to south, to west, to north, to east, or in the same direction in which a Comanche entered a tipi. The hair was oiled and combed, and the scalp-loop attached to a slender pole. The other end of the pole was stuck in the ground and the scalp was allowed to dry. Lances, tomahawks, and shields were sometimes used instead of poles.

With the scalp poles high, so all could see, the warriors led the parade into the village. The leader and any other person receiving special recognition led the way. Behind them were those who had shown the greatest courage, counted coups, or performed creditable acts. The remaining warriors came next. On both sides and in the rear were the relatives, friends, and other villagers, who had come forth shouting, yelling, and dancing. They sang songs in which they mentioned the names of their favorite heroes. On entering the village, the warriors turned off as they came to their own lodges, turned their horses and weapons over to a wife, mother, or sister, and went inside to rest and prepare for the big Victory Dance.

727 535 When there were scalps it was a Scalp Dance; if only plunder and captives had been taken, it was a Victory Dance. There was little difference except for the presence of the scalps. The dance was likely to continue all night, and when the victory had been a brilliant one, dancing and feasting were apt to be kept up for several days.

These dances varied from band to band, and even within the same village, but certain characteristics were evident in all. The dance took place in the center of the village in the evening following the return of the successful war party. The villagers put up a large pole in the center of the dance circle. The scalps were attached to the pole. Wood was gathered and stacked in a conical pile with dry grass beneath, so it could be easily fired. The fire was lighted after dark when the singers and drummers, old or middle-aged, had arrived and seated themselves near the scalp pole. Both men and women painted and dressed for the occasion. Black was the predominating color for women; red for men. Men entitled to wear war bonnets donned them. The men and women dancers at times formed in lines facing each other, each line dancing forward and backward; a moment later they formed a circle, dancing around the scalp pole and the musicians. At intervals the spectators joined in the singing.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Captives were bound and placed in the center of the circle, possibly tied to the scalp pole. Frequently one of the dancers left his position and in pantomime killed and scalped the captive. Sometimes captives were tortured by the dancers, even to death. When the dance began, the singing was low and the dancers moved in a slow to moderate pace, but as it continued, the pace was accelerated and the singing grew louder. The dance continued from two hours to two or more days, but normally terminated before the light of day.[27]

1127 535

The contemporary Comanche Brush Dance still retains some of the features of the old Scalp Dance.

In 1933, at a Brush Dance put on by *Mʌmsɜkɔ*, the men and women danced back and forth in the old way before a tall pole on which Old Glory flew.

"That used to be a pole for scalps. At sunset we will bring down the flag," they said. "The man who brings down the flag has to be a good warrior. He has to tell about a coup first."

In each Comanche band there was a dance whip-holder. His whip was a wood blade with a serrated edge, and upon it were carved scalp symbols for the owner's victims. At the end of the whip were two short otter-skin lashes. In the old days there were one or two of these, owned by the bravest men in the band.

[293]

At any dance, the owner of the whip, which is called *pianɜ'ɜpai'i* (big whip), may stop the dance and recite a coup, ending his recital with a sun curse upon himself in testimony of its truth. He is a kind of master of ceremonies at the dance. He can dance up to any lounging spectator and point his whip. That person has to jump right in and dance—or be whipped.

Sometimes a warrior who could not dance for certain reasons wished to be excused; nevertheless, when the whip was pointed, he had to get up and dance. Then he could recite his strongest deed. The whip wielder next countered with his. If his deed was as good as the warrior's, the brave had to dance the rest of the time; if not,

[27] This account of the return of a successful party is compiled from statements by informants Yellowfish, Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old, and See How Deep the Water Is; also, Nystel, "Three Months among the Indians," *loc. cit.*, 38; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 359–60; Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 27–28.

● 727 535 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.

On the fourth day of *Mʌmsɜkə's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 554 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor[1] to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole. 648x 795 [727 641]

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sekwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material. [177 574]

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[1] [i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [631]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pa'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend- [554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pa'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

in safety; that there is no cause for crying, and exhorts them to refrain; when, by mutual consent, they cease crying as easily as they commenced it, and go about their business. But if any of their friends have died in the fight, or otherwise, their grief appears deep and lasting. In this case, they immediately commence cutting and disfiguring themselves in a shocking manner, and with varied and unseemly gestures, accompanied with loud and tremendous yells, they seem to try to excel each other. They will ascend the loftiest peaks of the tallest mountains they can reach, and through the whole of the gloomiest night, send abroad through the surrounding forest their dismal wailings, in howls of horrid [59] accent. Nor are their signs of grief much less pungent when they lose their friends at home; but they hold all others enemies, and treat them accordingly, dead or alive. The reader has seen plenty of this in the preceding narrative; but I will here add, they fastened the scalps of our murdered friends to the bridles of their mules, so as to suspend them under the chin of the animals, and this was their constant practice while I was with them. When they encamped, they would fix them upon the top of long poles, and set them up by their tents, as I have seen flags upon garrisons, and elsewhere.

When a woman was to be confined, they removed the grass and everything else from the surface of the ground, and in a convenient place in the tent

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

which time she takes no food, except a little broth 841
and some kind of vegetables; but on no account .262
will she taste of meat of any kind until her four days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them 515
the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen them, both men and women, break the ice for this purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat with- [264]
out washing. I never knew one of them to rise and go abroad without washing. They are very particular in the above respect with regard to their children; they are also far from being as indifferent to the kind and preparation of their food, as one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when 262
they can get nothing else; but their women, as a general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit it to come near their dwellings. They subsist mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game, which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat of the quality, and they have the faculty of preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with 727
reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred importance to a captive female, (with gratitude to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation 000

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
701 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Two

REPORT OF THE COMMANDANT GENERAL of the Western Interior Provinces, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, to the Viceroy of New Spain, Manuel Antonio Flórez, on the importance of maintaining peace with the Comanches, and campaigns which they have executed against the Apaches, March 13, 1788.

SINCE the Comanche Nation made peace 175
with us, its members have undertaken on 648
their own initiative various campaigns 721
against the Apaches, in addition to supplying us voluntarily with units of warriors who have joined our expeditions in New Mexico.

On one expedition which they carried out last July 175
with 95 men commanded by one of their captains 648
called Ysampami, they managed to kill five Faraon 727
Apaches, making prisoner 35 individuals of both 701
sexes and of all ages, according to a declaration made in a message from the General of the [Comanche] Nation to the Governor of the Province [of New Mexico], Don Juan Bautista de Anza. The 175
original copy of this report is being sent to Your 648
Excellency.

There is no doubt that these Indian warriors will launch other campaigns against the barbarians who are their implacable foes. I have advised the pres-

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Three

FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA TO THE VICE-roy Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Santa Fe, May 6, 1793, regarding inter-tribal warfare between the Comanches and other Indians.

THE FOUR nations of the Comanches, Utes, Navajos, and Jicarillas who have allied themselves with this Province [of New Mexico] continue without change their good conduct and they remain in harmony with the local settlers. But among themselves they still launch raids, and this stems primarily from the hate which the latter tribes feel for the first. 175 648 [721]

At the beginning of last winter, the Utes and Navajos got together for a council and they resolved to go and attack the Comanches. They set out immediately and soon encountered a rancheria left unguarded by [Comanche] men who had gone buffalo hunting. They proceeded with little difficulty to destroy it completely, capturing and killing the women and children, and running off the horseherd that was there. When news of this reached the other Comanches, they swore to avenge the offense and raising a considerable war party, they attacked the village of the Utes in a like manner and completely destroyed one of their rancherias, with the result that both [tribes] have suffered almost equal harm from the other. 175 648 727 [721]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document Four

COMMANDANT GENERAL PEDRO DE NAVA to Governor Fernando de la Concha, Chihuahua, August 8, 1793.

I SEE with satisfaction by the official letter from Your Lordship of last July 25, that friendship and good harmony between the allied [Indian] nations and that Province [of New Mexico] continues, and that the Apaches have made new overtures for peace at Sabinal. To continue, the other news of which your Lordship advises me, I find most regrettable: that concerning the campaign carried out by the Comanches against the Pawnees which resulted in the loss of the [Comanche] Captain Hachaxas, and grave wounds for General Ecueracapa.

The measures which Your Lordship took in dispatching what medical aid was available to the [wounded general] seem to me appropriate. And I await further details which Your Lordship may acquire concerning the encounter between those two Nations, as well as news of the results of the settlement of the Apaches at Sabinal.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

Chihuahua August 8, 1793 Pedro de Nava

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648
[727]
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19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the *Crow division.* 535 535 231

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs. 535

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers. [292] [534] [293]

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called níotsāit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1] 726 [533]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged. [287] 727 [237]

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were 701 [714]

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone. [171]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

The Squaws are [ca. 1818] 175
literally "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to their 593
dominate and supercilious husbands. Every description of 562
domestic labour is imposed upon them to a degree not usual, even among savages, and they seem to endure the burden with an uncomplaining cheerfulness; or rather, with the quiescence of a temper subdued by habit and ignorance, to a condition the most onerous and humiliating. But commis- 175
seration is more sensibly awakened to their moral, than to 157
their physical state, for they exhibit a total departure from every thing that is amiable or interesting in the sex. To the most hideous degeneracy from feminine suavity and agreeableness of person, they unite a more than commensurate debasement of mind and manners. The choice porcelain of nature has become as the coarsest potters clay; and the bland adornments of female character, have given place to a fierce and unmitigated barbarism. In truth the largest 175
portion of the nation's barbarity consists in the character of 157
their women. They are infinitely more cruel and ferocious 562
than the men, and are much more addicted to pilfering, in which they have acquired a proficiency that almost defies detection. They take a peculiar delight in torturing the 175
adult male prisoners, who, according to an ancient custom, 727
are surrendered to their fiend-like amusement for three days [152]
succeeding their arrival in the village. The quantum of punishment that is inflicted, is however, in some degree proportioned to the events of the campaign. If the war party have suffered no damage, it is comparatively light and trivial, amounting only to a few gentle flagellations, by way of giving merriment to the dance, and cadence to the song of triumph. But those who are captured on a disastrous excursion, are punished with a most revolting barbarity, that often terminates in death. During the three days of abandonment by the men, the prisoner is stretched on the ground, each extremity pinioned to a stake, where he lies motionless, save in the writhings of fear and anguish, and exposed to the fury of the squaws, who alternately recreate themselves by inflicting on their prostrate enemy every variety of torture that a savage fancy can suggest. At evening the passive victim is released, to undergo a more

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
727 complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around jn tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon
[567] him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him,
[178] where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

strip them in rude and vicious licentiousness. There are, 175
however, some instances of tenacious sensibility, sufficient 727
perhaps to redeem the species from this lamentable propensity to deterioration.

My next Letter will close the subject of the Comanchees.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 5, 1824]

Letter IV.

The Comanchees conduct all their military operations on 175
horseback. So exclusively are they habituated to the cav- 726
alry mode of warfare, that to place them on foot would be 492
in effect, to put them *hors de combat*, to render them totally inefficient. They are generally well mounted when on a hostile excursion, and are scarcely exceeded in the art of horsemanship, to which they are trained from early infancy. Both in war and hunting, they rely much on the 175
speed of their horses, and are careful to select for their own 492
use, the best and fleetest among their furtive herds.

The day previous to starting for war, the party militant 175
parade through the village mounted and accountred, and 726
bedaubed with paints, in their most gallant and frightful [714]
style. They march, or rather gallop in a line of single file, and have very few evolutions; but they contrive to give diversity and effect to their maneuvers, by frequent hideous yells, and antic gesticulations, which, combined with their wild and savage costume, give to the exhibition, if not a dreadful, at least a superlatively ludicrous appearance. Their habiliments on these occasions seem to be a motley assemblage of every rude and awkward device that can render their externals grotesque and terrific, or rather, to an informed spectator, fantastical and ridiculous.—A stranger might well imagine that he had gotten upon the parade ground of the Prince of Pandemonium: but an acquaintance with the real characters of the seemingly hideous spectres that shock and astound his vision, would convert the appalling spectacle into a scene of pantomimical foolery. These

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 [ca. 1818]
doughty warriors are much more terrible in appearance,
726 than in reality; and such is generally the character of the southern Indians.

[492] They always set out on their predatory adventures to the provinces with two creatures; a mule or inferior horse to perform the drudgery of the journey, and their favorite war-horse, who is carefully led, and kept fresh, and vigorous, until arriving in the vicinity of the intended object of attack. The most wary circumspection is then adopted in all their
[492] movements. A private encampment is formed, deep em-
bosomed in the forest, where the fatigue horses, with the
[593] saddles and other baggage are deposited, in charge of a few men, and perhaps women, who often accompany their husbands on their military excursions, and answer all the purposes of grooms and menials. The more daring warriors sally out under cover of moon-light, from this secret rallying point, to reconnoitre the neighboring settlement in quest of prey. They so regulate their departure from home as to arrive at the intended place of assault about the full of the
175 moon, and always make their attack at midnight. If they
726 succeed in capturing a drove of mules and horses, they drive
727 them with the utmost speed, night and day, until they cross the Rio Grande, beyond which they are seldom pursued.
231 They frequently drive off a thousand head of these animals at one time; but many of them are destroyed on the way by crossing water-courses, or worn out by fatigue and abandoned to perish; or should they revive, to herd with the wild horses, numerous gangs of which roam through the country, where a perennial verdure affords them an abundant subsistence.

175 The number of mules and horses that these Indians
727 capture annually from the Spaniards is immense, probably
231 not less than 10,000, and perhaps the one half of these are destroyed, or left derelict, in the hurry and tumult of the homeward march.

175 The warriors, when they venture from their hiding-
726 place, which they seldom do, except under favor of the
492 Queen of Night, either to reconnoitre, or make an attack,
714

Comanche society in the nineteenth century was constantly recouping its losses by incorporating captives into the tribe. Such captives were taken as children and mildly exploited as houseworkers, if they were girls, or put to work as herders, if boys. The girls were ultimately married by their captors and so acquired full citizenship. The boys were allowed to join war parties and they, too, were incorporated *after* a time into the kinship system *through adoption* as "brothers" or "sons" by their captors or some other Comanche friend. Some captives, however, although they achieved free status in manhood, were not absorbed into a family by adoption. Conversely, attrition so decimated a number of Comanche families that only one or two males were left as survivors. These men and unadopted captives had no brothers upon whom to call when hard put to prosecute a wrong. In such a plight there could be no justice for them if left to their own resources. Aggressors would have a free hand.

At this point the Comanches met the social need for a check on aggression and the provision of redress by means of a simple utilization of the materials at hand. They held no constitutional convention to devise new instruments of government. Personal power was the recognized basis of social relations between men. Power out of control was the threat. Controlled power was the countercheck naturally hit upon. The weak-kneed victim of aggression who had no kin to back him turned to some great warriors to press his cause for him "A brave, well-known warrior," runs the stock phrase.

The brave, well-known warrior simply took over the case on behalf of the injured party and prosecuted it as his own. It gave him a neat chance to face down an upstart warrior, to serve his own ends of self-glorification while acting in the interest of the general social welfare—not against it. He could add to the luster of his status while upholding the law of marriage, instead of flouting it. Vanity and social altruism were wedded in one act and both were exploited for the social good. Their gratification was the sole reward, for the warrior champion received no compensation nor any share of the damages collected.

The intervening warrior was acting as a legal champion. He made no pretense of judging the case or of mediating. He entered with the aim of *forcing* the defendant to pay damages exactly as the injured party would have forced him, if he could. And if damages could not be squeezed out, he personally assaulted the defendant with all the violence he could muster. The ultimate sanction was his to use, if need be.

Comanche procedure in the wife absconding cases never involved questions of fact, for fact and evidence were cleared in preliminary investigation by the husband. He had no problem; the presence of the wife with her lover was enough. Adultery, however, was usually surreptitious. And this posed problems. To meet them the suspecting husband had recourse

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[778] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[745] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[754] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
721 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[224] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 camp functioning properly. The tasks were varied and time-consuming, and no one woman could have taken care of all of them.

462 The warrior-husband was the killer of game, the procurer of buf-
492 falo meat, the Comanches' principal source of food. He had to have
[224] two sets of trained horses—one trained for war, the other for the killing of buffalo. In either pursuit, his life was largely dependent on the horse. He manufactured both his riding gear and his weapons, and
462 he trained his own horses. His fighting was practically on a twelve-
721 month basis, since, though the Comanches did not like winter fighting, most of the ambitious warriors made raiding expeditions into Old Mexico when the group went into winter camp.

462 The husband, therefore, could be of little or no help around the
[492] camp, and the labor had to be divided among the women. Usually
[231] one of the women was an expert horsewoman and had the responsibility of her husband's horse herd, which often numbered a hundred
[224] or more. When the fall hunt was on for the winter's supply of meat,
[251] the wives did the skinning and butchering. They dried the meat and made the pemmican. Also, they prepared and tanned the hides. After
462
281 the tanning came the making of clothing. This included everything
[294] the family wore, both in summer and winter. Since there was neither
[283] needle nor thread, the holes in the leather were made with a stone
[412] awl or one made from bone, and sinew taken from along the backbone of a buffalo or deer was used for thread.

[281] Other hides were converted into robes for bedding or into covers
[493] for the tepees. When camp was moved, tepees had to be taken down and fastened on travoises, like all the other camp gear, and then camp must be set up again at the new location. All of this was strictly woman's work.

Somewhere, sometime, during breathing spells from all these duties, the women bore babies, nursed them, and raised them to be
[436] good Comanches. And all this was in a society without a recognized
567 medium of exchange, in which no one could hire anything done. The
727 Comanches did, however, utilize slave labor. Successful warriors fur-
[582] nished captive women to their wives for helpers. These captive women were given the opportunity to trade their slave status for wifehood, and captive girls were carefully trained to become Comanche wives.
[702] Captive boys were trained as warriors to fill the vacancies in the warrior ranks. In addition to members of other tribes, Anglos, Spaniards, and Mexicans were abducted to be made slaves.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

men and big boys were to be killed. The only exception would be 721
if an old saddlemaker was willing to come along and work for his life.

The women and children and all the loot were to be brought to a central spot where the booty was to be loaded on the hundred packhorses, along with the best of the women and the children. The prisoners would be tied on and the horses turned loose so as to be driven across the desert-like land. The plan was to start as soon as possible and drive all night, and they would be to water before the middle of the next forenoon.

There were to be water bags, so as to give prisoners a drink, but no warrior was to touch water until they arrived at the rendezvous with the warriors who had the horses. There they figured they could safely rest a day, and then it was several hard days to the river and safety. The leader was sure that the pursuit would not be strong enough to follow across the river.

The horses were run off, the town was captured, all desirable loot was placed on the packhorses, and the retreat was made safely back across the river. But one thing unforeseen and uncontemplated happened. The women had such a fear of life as Comanche slaves that they fought the warriors to the death. The story is that they would even take up their children and hurl them at the warriors as though they were sticks of wood.

The women used their butcher knives, hatchets, and axes for weapons, anything they could get their hands on, even the children. Thoroughly enraged, the warriors not only killed all the women, young and old, but they fired the town against the orders of their leader, who figured this would notify the whole countryside.

While the warriors were searching and firing one of the last houses, 727
they heard a baby cry and found a very young baby boy, hidden up on the top of the wall, shoved back under the roof. This was the one living person of all of those that had been left in the town. Though they were many days from their womenfolks, they were able to bring this child to their women alive. He was raised as a Comanche and became a great warrior. He was Mo-cho-rook.

I said earlier that as nearly as I could tell, he was already a legend 554
among the Comanches while yet he lived. I doubt that I can remember half of the stories that were told concerning him. One was that he 593
would have but one wife at a time, and they soon died from overwork. 587
Another was that his present wife was the fourth sister he had had as

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[536] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
283 dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the
[177] old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1828. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

rather in situations where the problem was a question of what *ought* to be done that the peace chief was important. Because of his qualifications he was reputed to have the finest sense of social fitness. From this he derived a certain authority as counsellor-to-the-people-at-large. In some divorce situations he seems to have acted as arbiter and advisor. "Most likely some old man came in as advisor," though he was seldom active in this capacity. More typically, in the disposal of the huge herd of horses of the deceased Big Fall By Tripping the chief is said to have told the widow what to do.[1] That she followed his words means no more than that his ideas appealed to her as right and proper. It means no more than that his words, tailored in wisdom to the situation, appealed to her as they would likely have appealed to anyone. Under no circumstances had a peace chief the power to *order* an adjustment to be made. 624

It was not unusual for a "big" peace chief to have his personal herald, or announcer. In such an event, this individual served as the chief's mouthpiece in announcing the daily news and comments of the chief. Among the Comanches the chief's announcer was called ţékwɔnit, which is the equivalent of the Northern Shoshone ţégwɔni, peace chief. The Shoshone title for the chief's announcer is ţégwɔniwʌp, meaning "he who specializes in speaking." "Anything the chief says, he tells them."

According to one of Dr. Mirsky's informants, a peace chief always had two young men to serve him as aides-de-camp. "They go with him because the right kind of a chief is loved by all." These young men protected their chief at all hazards; they would give their lives to take his body from the the enemy, and it was a thing to boast of to have been chosen as body guard to a peace chief.[2]

The influence of the peace chief was limited to internal and civil matters only. No peace chief could stop a war party from taking the trail. Peace-making was the prerogative of war leaders. Though peace chiefs were usually too old to participate in active combat, they were subject to the leadership of the war chiefs in case of attack upon the band. [728]

While it was not necessary for a man to have a war record to become a peace chief, it was not uncommon for a war leader to achieve that rank in his later years. Such was the Comanche, Red Sleeve, "a *real* war leader, also a peace chief." Of the two sons of Red Sleeve, That's It spoke with tender sentiment of Two Mountains, peace chief of the Water Horse band, "a fine, gentle fellow never looking for trouble; whatever they did, he was the

[1] See p. 124.

[2] Jeannette Mirsky, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

to be the way it was done, though no case describing such a situation was collected. 558

A war chief whose nerve failed him in a dangerous position *could* retreat—by giving up his right to wear the bonnet. He could cast it off and flee for his life. But he was a man without status thenceforth, for he could never again regain the bonnet and its rank. Life certainly would have been miserable from that point onward. Men hailed him as "elder sister."[15]

But what a chance this disaster opened for an ambitious brave to gain the war leader's status in one stride! He could dash into the danger spot to pick up the abandoned hat with his spear or bow. Turning his horse, he would bring it back and put it on a pole behind his lines. If the fight still continued when the sun was about to set, he then went to the pole and put on the hat. Thus arrayed he charged the enemy four times and struck an adversary on each foray. If he was successful in this and came through alive, the hat was his with all the privileges, honors, obligations and dangerous duties which went with it. This was the practice in the Those Who Move Often and Antelope bands. The lower rank war bonnet could be picked up by any one who saw it and was willing to assume the obligations adhering thereto. For it, the use of the bow or spear was not necessary, according to Becomes A Middle-Aged Man.[16] 555 726

PEACEMAKING

The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a prerogative only in the hands of the war chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own raiding party on his own authority. Such a peace, however, had no binding effect upon other members of the band and not at all upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon unanimous consent of the warrior class, i.e., the meeting of the tɛ́kniwʌpnə. The historical making of peace with the Kiowas has been noted on page 12. All Comanche bands agreed to this with the result that it has remained unbroken since 1790. A permanent peace with the Cheyenne was effected in 1840.[17] 728 624

Relations with other tribes were more in the nature of truces than peace,

[15] According to a generalized observation by Neighbors (*The Comanches*, p. 130): "He is deprived of his office by any misfortune, such as loss of many men in battle, or even a single defeat, or being taken prisoner, but never for any private act unconnected with the welfare of the whole tribe." It is not so much that he was deprived of his office, as that he no longer could gain a following.

[16] The above rules are formulated principles for which no histories in action were obtainable.

[17] The Comanche version of the details of this occasion is lost. Its setting in the Cheyenne picture will be included in the author's forthcoming study of Cheyenne Law-ways.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

728 however. A good example at once of the role of intermarriage and of the
624 power of the war leaders is found in the story of a Ute-Comanche peace which was engineered by a woman.

Case 3. Peacemaking With the Utes
Informant: That's It

"A Ute woman who had been captured by the Comanches was with a band who were fighting the Utes. Her son was a Comanche brave and she feared for his life. Finally she rode out between the fighters and held up her hand calling for them to stop. She said she was on both sides; she a Ute, her son a Comanche; it was not good for them to fight.

"A Ute chief rode up. The woman wanted to shake hands, but he said, 'No, not until I know if your chiefs sent you.' At this time her son rode up. He was a Comanche war chief. He said he was willing for peace, and he got the others to agree.

"They stopped fighting, and the Utes camped on one side of a hill and the Comanches on the other side. That day some Comanche hunters were coming back to camp and they didn't know about the truce. On the way they killed and scalped a Ute and felt pretty good about it. They were expecting the Comanche camp to be at that hill so they rode into the Ute camp by mistake, singing the Victory Song and swinging the scalp. But the chief of the Utes wasn't mad. He said, 'That's all right. We are at peace and you did not know it. We do not get mad.' Then the Comanches went over the hill and found their own camp.

"That night the leader of the Comanches went over to the Ute camp. He told them that since a Comanche was killed in the first attack, things were even and there shouldn't be any trouble.

"After that a council of ten Ute chiefs called at the Comanche camp to visit the Ute woman. They discovered that she was the sister of one of the ten chiefs. They made her a special honor; they took her back to the main Ute camp where her father and mother were still living. They gave her a tipi with an antelope skin tied to the top of a pole for a special sign.

"Later on there was trouble again and they had more fighting with the Utes."

ooobered by the reader that I have now brought down this narrative to the month of May last, wherefore the object of the journey upon which the Indian chief, at this point, is ready to depart, and which I gathered, both from himself and various other sources, may be regarded in many quarters as exceedingly important.

728 648 His destination was a village three days' journey to the north. At this place a general convention had been called, to be composed of all the chiefs of all the different tribes inhabitating the country between the northern bounds of Mexico and the regions of perpetual snow. The object of the convention was to induce the Indian nations, hitherto at variance, to bury the hatchet as between themselves, smoke the peace pipe, and unite in a universal bond of brotherhood, for the purpose of preventing the whites from passing through their territories to the settlements on the Pacific Coast.

It was, as I then understood it, and now believe, to enter into an alliance with the view of waging an exterminating and implacable war upon every train of emigrants or other party moving towards California, Oregon, the Great Salt Lake, or other points in either of those directions. How it terminated, circumstances unanticipated but of a most exciting and stirring character forbid my knowing, yet, that the design was precisely such as I have mentioned is a fact, which I beg all those who contemplate making the overland route to bear seriously in mind.

292 The Rolling Thunder, before taking his departure, arrayed himself with extraordinary care. A dozen scalps were attached to his war shirt; silver trinkets representing the moon in all its phases were fastened on his breast; his feet were clad in new and cunningly embroidered moccasins, and on his head rested a crown of feathers plucked from

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

● 728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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received at least one horse. Some unimportant people got as many as five or six, and the Cheyenne chiefs many more.[13] 728

The numerous wild herds which roamed the Southern Plains afforded an ever ready supply to any Comanches who could take them—frequently a difficult task. The mustang, which played an important part in Comanche culture, was peculiarly fitted for its role. Small, agile, and tough, it was capable of surprising speed and possessed of great endurance. Its small, pointed, alert ears and quick, wicked eyes often signalled approaching danger before the rider himself was aware of it. The mustang was also a good forager and could obtain his own food even in the winter, when he was forced to live on bark and twigs. His life was in a way as hard and unadorned as that of the Indians. The frugal, wiry little creature became the fitting symbol of the equally frugal cultures of the Plains Indians. 224

The Comanches resorted to several methods of capturing wild mustangs. One necessitated building a corral, usually near or around a water hole, with diverging wings. The unsuspecting animals were driven between the wings until they entered the pen and were trapped. The Kiowas used this method extensively; the Comanches only occasionally. The Spaniards also used the plan, but it was so similar to the old Indian method of impounding antelope that it is probably an Indian adaptation of an old way to a new situation. In 1852 the Comanches were using "corrals into which four hundred or five hundred head could be driven."[14] Fortunately, a good description of such a corral in use before 1836 has survived. The corral was situated in an opening in blackjack timber. It was oval in shape, the opening being at one end. The fence was a stockade formed of blackjack posts set close together on end with brush and limbs of trees piled against the outside of the fence. The wings, made of brush, were heaped up high and wide, so that a horse could neither see through nor jump over them.[15] Once inside the pen, the mustangs were prisoners.

After the introduction of firearms, wild horses were often captured by "creasing"—a delicate task requiring expert marksmanship. To crease a horse was to shoot it through the muscular part of the

[13] G. B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 63–66.

[14] Anon., "Reminiscences of Service among the Comanches," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, June, 1882, 662–63.

[15] G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 292.

The Comanches

701 888 « « « This *pukutsi* was going through the camp, singing as usual.

An old woman stopped him and said, "*Pukutsi,* I want you to kill me a buffalo. I need the hide to use for my saddle; I have no boys to get one for me."

He went and was gone from the camp for a long time. Finally he came back at night with the whole skin of a Pawnee, even with hands and feet still on it, and he hung it up like a man standing there against her arbor.

Some man saw it there and called in to her in her lodge, "That *pukutsi* is back. Your hide is out here on the arbor."

Early in the morning she got up and went out to get it. That human skin frightened her. Then that man came by and told her she should not have asked a *pukutsi* to do such a job. "He is afraid of nothing."

"Well, I didn't ask him to bring me an enemy," she complained. But that's the way it is with *pukutsi.* You ask them to do one thing and they do just the opposite.

When she got over her first scare, the old woman jumped up and down and sang. She had an enemy scalp, which she kept. » » »

●728 648 The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a matter for the chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own party on his own authority, but such a peace was not binding upon other members of the band or upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon consent of the war leaders, the council of elders, and the head chief. Tribal peace could be attained only when agreed upon and recognized by all the bands.

For all their devotion to war, the Comanches accepted the fact that a people cannot fight everybody on all fronts at once. The home base had to afford some measure of security for hunting and everyday living. Thus the Comanches worked out a sort of national policy of defensive alliances with their more powerful neighbors to their north, keeping their southern, western, and eastern frontiers open for far-ranging aggressive action.

Peace with the Kiowas was cemented in 1790 through the good offices of a mutual Spanish friend.[29] No details of this step are known,

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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but it established a co-operative alliance that grew into the firmest of intertribal friendships, unbroken to this very day.

The Kiowas and Comanches together achieved peace with the Cheyennes in 1840. The details of the steps leading up to this agreement have, from the Cheyenne side of the picture, been recorded by Grinnell[30] and analyzed by Llewellyn and Hoebel.[31] Earlier in this book we described the gift exchanges that signalized the binding of the peace. From 1840 on, there were no disturbances between the Comanches and Cheyennes, although between these tribes there never developed the close symbiotic relations that characterized the Comanche-Kiowa ties.

Back to back, territorially speaking, the Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche combine formed a hard, solid core of security from which each tribe could push its warlike activities against outsiders.

There do not seem to be any accounts or memories of how the Comanches established peaceful relations with their eastern neighbors, the Wichitas. Perhaps they never regarded these people as objects of aggression.

Sporadic and limited peace gestures were made toward the Utes and Apaches in later years. They were never the consequence of a national policy but rather of individual motivations, as the following accounts indicate.

« « « Once there were a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble. They came upon a bunch of Utes and started a fight.

There was a captive Ute woman with the Comanches whose son was a Comanche warrior. Because she got scared for her son's safety, she rode out between the fighters, holding up her hands and calling for them to stop.

"I am on both sides," she cried. "I am a Ute. My son is a Comanche. I don't want my kinspeople to be killing each other."

One of the Ute chiefs rode up to her. The woman held out her hand, but the Ute chief would not accept it.

[29] Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa," *loc. cit.*, 162–65.
[30] Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 60–66.
[31] Llewellyn and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 91–94.

The Comanches

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He said, "No, not until I know if your chiefs have sent you."

Then her son, who was a war chief, rode up. He was willing that they should stop fighting. And so a truce was made.

The two bands went into camp, the Utes on one side of a hill, the Comanches on the other.

Some Comanche hunters returning to their camp did not know about the truce. They came upon a Ute, whom they killed and scalped. Then they went right on into the Ute camp by mistake, singing the Victory Song and carrying his scalp.

The chief of the Utes calmed his people. "This is a mistake," he told them. "It is all right. We are at peace. We shall not get mad about this thing."

So the Comanche hunters went back and found their own camp.

When he heard the news, a Comanche chief went over to see the Utes. "This was a mistake," he told them. "However, it is not necessary to do anything about it. One of our men was killed in that battle we were having. Things are now even."

The Utes agreed.

The next day a council of ten Ute chiefs came to the Comanche camp to visit the Ute woman, and they found that she was a sister to one of them. They took her and her family back to the Ute camp to visit her parents, who were still living. There they gave her a special tipi with an antelope skin tied to a pole as a special sign.

At the end of four days, the Utes said, "Four days are now up. Now we shall separate."

The Utes wanted the Ute woman's son to stay with them. At first he refused, staying alone when the camps moved, to decide what to do. Finally, he took the Ute trail.

He came to the Ute camp and asked for their chief. The chief invited him to dismount, and told his wife to serve him a supper. The Comanche captive, his mother, was sent for to interpret. He told the chief of his desire to become a Ute.

This chief replied, "All right, you can be my son. But these Utes are bad. They might kill you sometime."

The Ute chief made him his son, and he named him *Wasape Sɜmanɛtɛ*. After a while the chief gave him a pack horse and sent him back to the Comanches.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Our people renamed him *Pafuwa Sɜmɛno,* Ten Bears.[32] » » » 728 ● 648

Greyfoot added a poignant scrap of detail as an epilogue to this account. The son of the Ute chief was dying of an incurable illness. He was not old enough to go to war, but his father wanted him to die the glorious death of a warrior. He did not want to see him waste away to nothing.

Acceding to the chieftain's wish, Ten Bears and a friend dressed in their war regalia, ready to meet the enemy. The sickly boy was dressed for war. In a pantomime of battle Ten Bears and his friend killed him. The Ute chief, in thanks for honoring his son, gave the boy's horse and clothing to them. That was when Ten Bears returned to the Comanches.

Except for the Kiowa and Cheyenne relations, Comanche peace pacts were touch and go. The temporary Ute peace could have been destroyed in the making by the Comanche hunters' killing the Ute had not the Ute chief been a man of power and forbearance. The delicate nature of such negotiations and the low level of mutual trust is revealed in Slope's account of a Tonkawa peace overture.

« « « A Comanche girl had died. Her mother wanted to leave the tribe so that she would see no more Comanche girls. There were only seven left in the family.

They were camping all by themselves when they were attacked by the Tonkawas, those man-eaters. Four of them were killed, and the mother and two of her children were captured.

After a year had passed, the Tonkawas decided they wanted peace with the Comanches, so they sent thirty warriors to escort the woman back to the tribe.

When they came to Comanche territory, they made a camp, and a Tonkawa chief and one warrior set out with the woman to look for the Comanches.

A Comanche war party, including some Kiowas, met them on a hill top. The Tonkawa signaled for friendship, so the Comanche leader came right up and shook hands before anything was said. The woman was glad. "This is what the Tonkawas want," she said.

[32] Informant: That's It.

The Comanches

X648 ●728 While they were talking, some of the Comanche and Kiowa warriors drifted on and found the Tonkawa camp. The group on the hill heard a shot fired.

"Well, it's too late," said the Tonkawa chief, and he whirled his horse and rode off. The Comanche woman, who had become his wife, took a spear and scattered the Comanches. Thus the Tonkawa chief got away.

They started a general fight right then, the Tonkawas beat up that Comanche-Kiowa war party that day. They chased the Comanches a long way.

One Tonkawa was outstanding. The brother of Eagle Tail Feather shot his horse, but he was not hurt. » » »

X648 728 The Comanches seldom took the initiative at treaty-making with the whites; rather, it was the whites. In later days the preliminary procedure in getting the Comanches to make a treaty was about as follows: An agent acting under orders from Washington decided that a treaty was desirable. He then went into the Comanche country to visit with as many of the bands as he could locate. He told them that the "Big Chief" wanted to make peace and be friendly with them; that he hoped to see them at a certain time and place, probably in the vicinity of a trading house. He made a number of promises, gave a few presents, and got some Indian messengers to carry the news to other bands and tribes. If the chiefs promised to come in, and some nearly always would agree, preparations were made on a grand scale for the assembly.

Quantities of beads, hatchets, mirrors, fine combs, matches, cloth, and other articles which the Indians desired or needed were provided. A company of soldiers was sent along (in Texas, Texas Rangers, if available), commissioners to make the treaty, and the agents. By the date set, the council ground was alive with activity, but most of the time the only Indians present were those who hoped by their early arrival to secure more than their share of the spoils. A Comanche seldom kept an appointment on time; to do so sacrificed a measure of his independence. Some of the Comanche bands would not appear at all, because they had no confidence in the white man's treaties or in their own ability to achieve a diplomatic victory over

them in council. An agent might work for months to bring the Indians into council and have all his efforts thwarted by a wild rumor set afloat by some unscrupulous trader. The Indians who did come were fully armed and dressed in all their war paraphernalia and paint. Both the white and the red men tried to make as formidable an appearance as possible to impress the other. The Comanches usually maneuvered in such a way as to make a test of the good faith of the white man. Some Comanches failed to show up for fear of the intentions of the whites. *Huwia,* who was a medicine man, was instructed to go to Fort Sill to attend a council to be held with an army officer. He was afraid to go, because he feared a trap, and *Tsi:vas* went in his stead. The People then elevated *Tsi:vas* to the chieftainship for which *Huwia* had been in line.

Dealing with the whites on other than a war footing taxed all the abilities of the Comanches. Bull Elk (*paruwa kum*), who was the top war chief of the Antelope band, turned his chieftainship over to Wild Horse and Black Mustache when the Comanches were placed on the reservation. He said he did not know how to deal with the white man.[33]

Finally, when all was ready, the council convened for business. Matters were conducted with much gravity, on the part of the white men in order to impress the Indians, and on the part of the Indians because gravity in council was in keeping with their nature. The chiefs, commissioners, and other officials seated themselves in a circle. Behind stood the respective warriors of each group, fully armed. The peace pipe was ceremoniously lighted and passed around the circle from lip to lip in silence. After it had made the round, the commissioner or agent made a talk in which he stated the purpose of the council, reminded the Indian that he had been making depredations upon the white people, expressed his love for the red man, and made known the overwhelming power of the Great Father. Then the Indians were urged to state their side of the case and to tell the whole truth. If they had been wronged by the white man, the commissioners wished to know it, and if they themselves had committed acts of hostility, they were to confess.

Then the Indians spoke, always with simplicity and often with

[33] Informant: Eagle Tail Feather.

The Comanches

X 648 728 impressive eloquence and beauty. (Knowing that they would likely have to speak in public council at some time, the Comanches had trained themselves to speak well. Before delivering a speech, if there were opportunity, the speaker spent much time in preparation and rehearsal.) He represented himself as a man of peace, but he made it understood that he wanted no encroachment of either red men or white men upon the vast expanse of territory south of the Arkansas River which he considered his own. He did not want it disfigured by soldiers' camps and "medicine homes." His country was small enough already. There was time enough to consider reservations and the building of homes when the buffalo were gone, and there were plenty of buffalo if only enough to supply the Indians' needs were killed. As to trusting to the agents for food, he had no confidence in that. He called attention to the "white" Indians, those who had come in contact with the whites and had made treaties in accord with white man's wishes. Formerly they had been powerful, but now they were weak and poor. He had little respect for them, for "They are an old dirty, inefficient-looking set, hardly capable of managing their own affairs," who had degenerated to the point where the Comanches had no desire to associate with them. The speech of Ten Bears, of the Ute peace episode, who spoke for the Comanches at the Council of Medicine Lodge Creek in 1867, may well be given in full, not only because it presented the case of the Comanche well and forcibly, but also because it is a masterpiece of oratory that would be a credit to one trained in the classroom.

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My heart is filled with joy when I see you here, as the brooks fill with water when the snows melt in the spring; and I feel glad as the ponies do when the fresh grass starts in the beginning of the year. I heard of your coming when I was many sleeps away, and I made but few camps before I met you. I knew that you had come to do good to me and to my people. I looked for benefits which would last forever, and so my face shines with joy as I look upon you. My people have never first drawn a bow or fired a gun against the whites. There has been trouble on the line between us, and my young men have danced the war dance. But it was not begun by us. It was you who sent out the first soldier

and we who sent out the second. Two years ago, I came upon this road, following the buffalo, that my wives and children might have their cheeks plump and their bodies warm. But the soldiers fired on us, and since that time there has been a noise like that of a thunderstorm, and we have not known which way to go. So it was upon the Canadian. Nor have we been made to cry once alone. The blue-dressed soldiers and the Utes came from out of the night when it was dark and still, and for camp-fires they lit our lodges. Instead of hunting game they killed my braves, and the warriors of the tribe cut short their hair for the dead.

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So it was in Texas. They made sorrow come in our camps, and we went out like the buffalo bulls when the cows are attacked. When we found them we killed them, and their scalps hang in our lodges. The Comanches are not weak and blind, like the pups of a dog when seven sleeps old. They are strong and far-sighted, like grown horses. We took their road and we went on it. The white women cried and our women laughed.

But there are things which you have said to me which I do not like. They were not sweet like sugar, but bitter like gourds. You said that you wanted to put us upon a reservation, to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls. I know every stream and every wood between the Río Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over that country. I live like my fathers before me and like them I lived happily.

When I was at Washington the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours, and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers, and the sun, and the wind, and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. Do not speak of it more. I love to carry out the talk I get from the Great Father. When I get goods and presents, I and my people feel glad, since it shows that he holds us in his eye.

The Comanches

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If the Texans had kept out of my country, there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live in, is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that, we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The whites have the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die. Any good thing you say to me shall not be forgotten. I shall carry it as near to my heart as my children, and it shall be as often on my tongue as the name of the Great Spirit. I want no blood upon my land to stain the grass. I want it all clear and pure, and I wish it so that all who go through among my people may find peace when they come in and leave it when they go out.[34]

x648
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After both the Indians and the whites had talked too much and told a good many lies along with a great deal of truth, the treaty would be drawn and signed by the white men. The Indians made a mark opposite their names, which were phonetically written, after a fashion, by the white men. Yet there is no evidence to indicate that the Comanches were ever convinced that it was best for them to sign. Presents were distributed and the council ended. The Comanches returned to their buffalo tipis and the whites to their cabin homes, but neither had any confidence that the other would do what had been promised.

[34] Ten Bears, Comanche chief, "Speech," October 20, 1867, "Record Copy of the Proceedings of the Indian Peace Commission Appointed under the Act of Congress Approved July 20, 1867" (MS, National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington), I, 104.

175 648 This dark picture of conflict is tempered somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, Bourgmont, had made contact with the [439] Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38:157–76 (1935).

[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

[p. 143-A]

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175 ly alarming as suggested by a report of 1751 which
721 claimed 500 Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists
648 had been massacred up to that date. When the In-
727 dians numbering several hundred fell on Pecos Pueblo in the summer of this same year, the Spaniards organized a pursuit force and retaliated by surprising the Comanches in their camp, killing 101, and tak-
175 ing the remainder prisoner. Although victories such
721 as this were uncommon, the New Mexican colonists,
648 having realized the gravity of their problems, were more willing to tighten their defenses and join with protective or punitive expeditions at a moment's notice.

Unfortunately, the stiffened resistance merely sharpened the challenge for the Comanche warrior who thrived on danger. So, far from diminishing, the Indian offenses against New Mexico continued
175 to increase in number and severity. In 1774, for ex-
701 ample, almost a thousand warriors devastated the Tewa district north of Santa Fe. If this figure for
[648] their fighting force is accurate, it strongly suggests
[721] that the Comanches, since moving onto the plains
[161] and adapting to horse culture and buffalo hunting, had experienced something of a population explosion. At the end of the century, General Pedro de Nava estimated 2,000 warriors for the Eastern Comanches and 4,000 for the Western.

175 The Spaniards won minor victories now and then,
648 but by the 1770's the Comanches had acquired fire-
[721] arms in quantity so that they were an even more
[411] formidable enemy. Nevertheless Governor Juan Bautista de Anza in 1785 succeeded in summoning
[728] a peace council composed of the leading chiefs of

the several Comanche bands which resided on the 175 648 728
the eastern limits of New Mexico.

Anza was aided in his task by the immense prestige he enjoyed among the Indians. His reputation he owed to the destruction of a large Comanche camp in southeastern Colorado in 1779 and to the slaying at the same time of the prominent war chief Cuerno Verde. Governor Anza, in fact, succeeded in establishing peace with the Comanches by February of 1786 and at the same time in enlisting their aid in the continuing struggle with hostile Apaches in the south.

At the peace gathering were represented the principal bands of the Western Comanches, including 175 648 the Yamparikas, and Yupes or Jupes, who were 728 probably identical with the group known later as the Kwaharis. Some members of another band, the 101 Kotsotekas, often called Cuchanticas or Cuchanecs, were also present. The Spaniards themselves during 175 the last quarter of the eighteenth century were uncertain as to the divisions within the tribe. For example, the authorities in Texas usually considered the Kotsotekas as Eastern Comanches (*Orientales*) along with the Penatekas or Honey-Eaters (known to the Anglo-Americans later as the Wasp Band).

The Western Comanches, who agreed to terminate 175 hostilities against the Spanish, followed a suggestion 728 of Governor Anza and selected one of their number, 648 Ecueracapa or Leather Jacket, to serve as head chief [643] with authority to speak for the tribe. To increase his stature, the Spaniards bestowed upon Ecueracapa the lofty title of "General of the Comanche Nation." As a further inducement to remain at peace, [431]

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648 the Spanish government through the viceroy in
728 Mexico City authorized an annual distribution of
[431] gifts to the Comanches to be paid for by a special fund created for that purpose.

There were, in truth, a number of cogent reasons why the warlike Comanches were willing to accept Anza's offer of peace in 1786, quite apart from the
[721] elaborate gifts which were to be forthcoming. In the first place, their raids against New Mexico in the 1770's had proved so devastating that the impoverished province, at least for the time being, had little
[164] to offer them. Moreover, a severe smallpox epidemic that had visited most of western North America in 1780-1781 had taken its toll among the Comanches, leaving the tribe greatly weakened for a number of years thereafter. Finally, the Comanches were continuing their drift toward the south and east so that the focus of their attention was moving away from New Mexico and toward the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

Not so understandable is why the Eastern Comanches or Orientales were led to accept peace terms at about the same time as their kinsmen to the west. Apparently, the overriding consideration in this case was the hatred felt toward the Lipan Apaches, against whom the Orientales now joined with the Spanish in common cause. [See Document I].A

The peace established in 1785-1786 with both the Eastern and Western Comanches relieved the settled frontier of serious attacks from this tribe for almost a generation and was one of the few notable achievements registered by Spain in her dealings with the Indians of the northern frontier during the eight-

14 A [See Category 175, pp. 21-22--
Analyst.]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed 175 their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the 648 following century, these were never as damaging as 728 the blows which had fallen on the province in the [721] years immediately prior to the treaties.

After independence from Spain, when New Mexico was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, 175 the intensity of Comanche incursions increased some 648 what—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 721 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 [701] and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared— [487] the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with 175 the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation 177 had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Document One

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN COMANCHES, October, 1785, from the report of Pedro de Nava Commandant General of the Interior Provinces, Chihuahua, July 23, 1799.

THE COMANCHES are divided in three branches or tribes known by the names Jupe, Yamparicas, and Cuchanec, or Cuchihantica. The first two inhabit the frontier of New Mexico, and the third, that of Texas. At almost the same time, peace was arranged in both Provinces with this numerous and warlike nation; and the terms settled upon in October of 1785 with the eastern tribe were the following:

175 101 175 648 728

1st That hostilities should cease on both sides, and that in whatever place Spaniards and Comanches might meet, they should treat each other as brothers and good friends.

2nd That the preceding condition is understood to apply not only to the inhabitants of Texas but to all the vassals of the King.

3rd That they should return our captives which they took for ransom, ceasing to engage in such acts against any nation.

4th That they should not admit into their camps any strangers, unless they suppose them to be traders who provide them with merchandise in exchange for hides.

[1785-1799]

175 5th That they should be friends and enemies to those
648 who are ours.
728 6th That they should declare as their enemies, the Lipan Apaches and that whenever the Comanches attack them, some of them should come to [San Antonio de] Bexar to advise us of the results.

7th That they should request the license of the Governor of Texas when they intend to transfer themselves to the frontier of the Province of Coahuila for the purpose of making war on the Lipan Apaches and the Mescaleros.

8th And that each year a gift should be given to the captains and Indian leaders of the Comanches as a proof and as a manifestation of our good friendship.

Some of the Eastern Comanches have broken away from the main group and have created small disorders and have perpetrated robberies, but without the knowledge of the captains or other Indian leaders of that nation, who themselves have continued to observe in an acceptable manner the conditions of peace since the time of the agreement.

Pedro de Nava

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all their Nation and the following which they have; in the councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the rest of the Nation does not oppose them. 175 643 623 555

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Chafacter of These Chiefs and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have in the Negotiations of the Nation? 175 157 648

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the governor has not been able to learn their character, but if the experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging], they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them more subordination than they do their own chiefs. [728] 175 648

With respect to the rest of the observations that the governor has made of this nation, he has come to understand that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harshness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in dealing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always 175 648 181 175 648

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

C and detachment of one hundred and fourteen men 175
D Apache whom he killed by his own hand 212
E two wounds which he received 701
F[33] Two other Apache killed in the battle
G two prisoners
H Forty horses and twenty she-mules which he took from them
K Chief Salambipu with his lance and detachment of eighty-eight men
L Two dead Apache[34]
I twenty riding beasts recaptured[35]
M Six wounded Comanche,[36] one of whom died
N Chief Encajive with his lance and party of fifty men
o A dead Apache
P a wounded Comanche
Q Chief Piaquegipe with his lance commanding sixty-four men, whose party, farthest west, produced no result, as it was seen by the enemy.

Note

Neither the report of the Governor nor the explanation which Oxamaguea gave him explained this sign f. It is believed that it indicates the individuals who without being chiefs won some distinction.

Noticia

Information (Noticia) concerning the Comanche chiefs present in the Villa of Santa Fé and Pueblo of Pecos in the year of 86 until the 14th of July, to treat for the purpose of adjusting the peace celebrated with Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza with a statement of the number of tents, which each one has under his command, in which there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children. 175 592 728

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found. It is not impossible, in fact it is quite likely, that such an account exists in Spanish archives. On the use of *sable*, see *Diccionario de la Langua Castellana extracto del Diccionario Enciclopedico* compuesto por E. Zerolo, M. de Toro y Gomez, E. Isaza. The example given by the authors there is: "Usaran de las espadas o *sables* los oficiales. (Orden Mil.)." [113]

[33] The Spanish copyist wrote a sequence of EF for two F's, as may be seen in the copy of this Tally Sheet accompanying the Relacion (see footnote 4 above).

[34] Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, illustration opposite page 574, shows dead Sioux on their heads, whereas these are shown here heads up in D, F, L, and o. Prisoners, on the other hand, are indicated with heads down in G. [171]

[35] The reproduction here has the familiar horseshoes marks in H, I, by which horses are commonly indicated in Plains pictographic art. Inasmuch as horses and mules are definitely indicated in H, the animals indicated in I, referred to as *cavallerias*, and drawn much smaller, might be donkey pack animals. The word *cavallerias* (eighteenth century Spanish for *caballerias*) means riding beasts, though the word in eighteenth century documents is frequently used to refer to the whole horse herd. [171]

[36] The wounded Comanche are indicated by what appears to be broken lances.

All the next day we followed their trail until we came upon them 727
at dusk. It was the main Comanche camp that my captor had been seeking; his wife's parents were there. I noticed that their hair, and that of his sister, was already long. He must have been gone on this raid for several years.

He led me into their tipi—all fixed up with blankets—and he bade me sit down at the west side (my regular place was next to the door). The women of the family struck me with whips, as was the custom on the arrival of a new captive in camp.

My job was to care for his children. The little crippled one I had [732] ●
to carry on my back; the other one I led about. Wherever they went to play, I had to go with them.

Wahaɔmɔ slept regularly with his former wife's younger sister, *Puki.*

That winter a party left on a hunting trip to get some more meat. In their absence we had trouble keeping the horses. A big snow storm came up and completely buried some horses. In the main camp we were short of wood and food. The captive boys had to dig paths in the snow and dig for frozen horses for us to eat. They fed the living horses cottonwood shoots; the bark is good food, but it was frozen and cut the horses' mouths. After the horses had eaten the bark, the captive boys brought in the twigs for fuel.

The hunting party was out for nearly a month on account of the storm. They lost many horses, and they nearly starved to death. Still, they brought back a little meat. The people out on the party [481]
invented snowshoes made of woven sinews. One man on snowshoes shot an animal with an arrow, and when he ran up to it, he slid right past it. Others borrowed his snowshoes, because they didn't have enough sinew to make shoes for all the hunters.

That was a hard winter.

Wahaɔmɔ taught me to hunt during the next spring. He had not yet married me. He was just kind to me. His wife would take a stick out of the fire and poke it at me out of jealousy to scare me and make me cry, but her step-children would help me against her.

By the fall of the second year I knew the language and was familiar with the customs. » » »

Men also killed their wives at times when they suffered chronic ailments and medicine cures had failed. A case is reported of a chief who cut the throat of his wife, who had been ill for a long time, to avoid the inconvenience of caring for her. After making "medicine of preparation" to fit her for a happy reception in the land of spirits, he took her life, though mourning her untimely death. Such deeds were rare, however. 627 734 562

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered "mean" by the people. Yet, if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through coups, there was little to stop him, except that new wives became more difficult to get. On the other hand, attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare indeed. 627 562

Of acts taking on a criminal tinge there was only one category—excessive sorcery. Among other Plains tribes violation of the communal buffalo-hunt rules, i.e., going out to hunt alone or beating the signal for the mass charge, was one of the most severe public offenses. The military society police in charge of the hunts were wont to handle any such miscreant roughly. But the Comanches were the great exception. 627 [754]

Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easy to come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of violation of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride.

Sorcery that got out of hand was another matter. The Comanches were only slightly plagued by witchcraft. As Ruth Benedict once observed, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."[20] Ralph Linton has emphatically reiterated that only old men, who could no longer compete on a warrior basis, turned to 754

[20] In conversation with Hoebel.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

123 stead of just another Indian customer of the store. He was to live thirty-eight more years, and the friendship beginning that day continued to the end. Often there was a stretch of years between our meetings, but when we did meet we made up for lost time. And over the years I came to know him as the man who, I believe, did more to bring about an amicable relationship between our two races than any other man, Indian or white.

551 The Comanche Agency roll gives Che-appy (pronounced Ce-Pa, with a soft C and the accent on the first syllable), the Indian name under which Charley Ross was listed, the birth year of 1863. This means that in 1875, when the roll was compiled, a government clerk considered that he appeared to be twelve years old. His father's name 736 is given as To-wa, and his mother's as Wer-e-kah. No birth years are given for either the father or the mother, nor is there any record of their death. But four or five years later Che-appy is listed as an orphan, and he may well have been an orphan at the time of his enrollment. This means that his father left no surviving brother or blood [597] brother. Had there been such an uncle, Che-appy would have become his son, and thus not an orphan. As to the manner of the father's death, we know only that Charley Ross's daughter Ida (now Mrs. Phil Cato of Riverside, California) is sure that her grandfather was not killed while fighting.

131 Che-appy was born during the last years of the Comanche empire, Comanchería, which stretched from the Arkansas River to the north and the Cross Timbers to the east to the varying southern and western boundaries formed by the range of the southern herd of buffalo, 726 whose guardians the Comanches considered themselves to be. Nothing 643 is definitely known of his early childhood, but it is probable that he was held prisoner, as were most Comanche women and children, during the all-out effort of the Army to subdue the Comanches following the battle of Adobe Walls and until the final surrender in 1875. While this relentless warfare was being waged against the Comanche, on an around-the-clock basis, twelve months of the year, with at times as many as five columns of troops in the field, every horse and mule belonging to the Indians was shot and killed as soon as it was captured, to prevent its recapture. Following the engagement at Palo Duro Canyon, the Army slaughtered 1,400 head of Comanche horses and mules. Then, when the Army wanted to move the captured women and children to the reservation, it had no transportation for

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

657 871 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keeichi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was 657 871 464 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 871 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882, states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than 551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by 593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were [595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently 152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

192 where one might expect to find the greatest
197 proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
177 relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture. Linton mentions the great preoccupation
[231] of the Comanche with the dog,[150] and Stew-
[525] ard notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[151] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[152] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-
197

[150] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[151] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[152] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[p. 252-A]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants. 797 178

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51] 657 743

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52] 657 744 743

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to 657 177 178 [164]

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51. Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.

52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

drink the few cupfuls of water carried in buffalo paunches to supply the children.[16] 261

In very early times, if we take what we know of the Shoshones as the measure, the Comanches could not have taken much interest in sartorial splendor. Even in later days their work-a-day garb was simple and crude. They hardly looked like the popular conception of the painted, beaded, and befeathered Indian. For festive occasions, however, they had their fancy dress garb, and young men, especially, liked to think of themselves as dandies. A *ʈuiβltsi* was much to be admired, and if asked what a *ʈuiβltsi* is, any Comanche will answer, "A handsome young man with shiny black hair, all dressed up on a good-looking horse." The *ʈuiβltsi* had his counterpart in the *naiβi:* a good-looking girl with long braids, painted and all dressed up in a good buckskin dress. When there were dances or when the band was moving from one camp site to another, the *naiβi* and *ʈuiβltsi* liked to parade and show off to the admiring glances of the people—and each other. Adult Comanches also liked to dress up, but they were not so self-conscious about it. 291

Boys, until they reached the age or eight or nine, went entirely nude unless the weather was severe. Regular attire generally consisted of breechclout, leggings, and moccasins only. The former was a broad piece of cloth or buckskin drawn up between the legs and passed under the belt both behind and before. The ends, one in front and one behind, formed loose, hanging flaps which extended almost to the knees. The length of the breechclout depended, of course, upon the size and height of the individual, but would probably average six feet for an adult male. Since blue was the favored color for formal or dress-up occasions, some early observers believed it to be the predominant color.[17]

A vestige of the breechclout is still worn by conservative Comanches in the form of a gee-string beneath their Levis. It is nothing more than a braided cord passed between the legs and wrapped about the waist. It cannot be seen, is not decorative, but is magically protective of the male's sex organs. [751]

[16] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 60.

[17] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 184; David G. Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them," in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

The Comanches

778 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[751] 237] [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakʌt* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 754 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, 175 789 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate [237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, 751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited 595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten [585] wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. [587] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. 175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance 593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in 462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and 000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekuinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 755 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 753 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 754 755 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 755 756 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is suggested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

The Comanches

755 wrapped with sinew and softened in water was pushed down the throat to clear it.[10]

Although buffalo medicine was worked to cure bloody wounds, ●752 especially gunshot wounds, mechanical tourniquets were used when necessary. Surgery was also relied upon. Slope tells of a battle casualty whose intestines protruded from a belly wound. A medicine man stopped the bleeding by putting his buffalo tail in his mouth and blowing on the wound. He then pressed the intestines back into place, and after burning the spines off a prickly pear cactus, split it. The open surfaces of the cactus were pressed against the flesh on both sides of the wound to compress it. It was then bound up and left to heal.

757 For patients with rheumatism or headaches some doctors dug a trench and heated it with a fire until the ground cracked. Raking out the fire, they laid a bed of sage, poured cold water on to steam it, and felt to see that it was not too hot. The patient lay down in the trench and was covered by a buffalo robe or blanket for a good baking.

For toothache they heated tree fungus and held it to the aching jaw. Cavities were treated by stuffing a dried mushroom of a certain variety in the hole. A laxative was made by boiling the cambium layer of the willow tree. Healing by means of herbs was practiced by men and women alike, whether professional doctors or not, just as was the case with whites in pioneer America. Almost every man and old woman had a bundle of medicines peculiarly his own, the secrets of which were known only to the owner. One such remedy used by a doctor was about as follows. With the liquid obtained from boiling certain herbs, he bathed the patient. With a paste derived from the liquid he also painted dog tracks on the patient and on a large dog.[11]

Some of the owners of medicines were supposed to have learned of the various medicinal plants by means of dreams or through some mythical hero who went out on the prairie with the individual and pointed out various plants for use in treating diseases. Fasting was a 752 common treatment for most ailments. The Comanches are credited with "being expert in curing gun-shot wounds, and in the treatment

[10] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.
[11] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

of fractured limbs, which they bandage with neatness and good effect,"[12] but they did not attempt amputation. If blood flowed too freely, it was checked by packing the wound with grass. Likewise, it is claimed that they had one or more good remedies for rattlesnake bites. Several formulae were concocted from roots and herbs, but possibly the most effective treatment was to cut out the injured part and then suck the wound to draw out the poison. A poultice made of prickly pear leaves was applied to check inflammation and was a common remedy applied to wounds, as in the abdomen case just cited.[12] The prickly pear poultice is still a home remedy in our own society.

Petroleum was also considered to be an excellent healing salve. A Comanche chief once took Thomas C. Battey to a place on Medicine Creek, Oklahoma, where there was a "heap of medicine—good, black medicine." It was oil on top of water.[13] Near by, on top of Adams Hill, they found a heavy exudation of petroleum which they used as a salve on the sore backs of their horses.[14]

The "madstone" or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of the leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth, believed by the Comanches to be bones of *piam3mpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison.[15] In case of internal pain, some doctors treated by cutting the patient where the pain seemed to be and then attempting to suck out the pain or evil spirit. The sucking was done through a small horn prepared for the purpose, which was placed over the incision. The doctor would spit out whatever he sucked from the wound. The clever medicine man might show the patient some small stones, which he had placed in his mouth, and pretend that he had sucked them from the wound with the aid of his spiritual power, claiming that the stones had been the cause of the pain.

[12] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 233; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 129; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 56; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 242.

[13] Battey, *op. cit.*, 189.

[14] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 99.

[15] Informants: Medicine Woman; Yellowfish. Medicine stones are still in use among the Comanches.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
434 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔɔßit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
757
[77]

ekɔpa

[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsatene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunɔnatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered roor is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

*bakuma*ʰ

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

*bakuma*ʰ is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of 278
this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, 755
significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches 757
and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could [177] have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment.

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and [752] spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling.

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which [778] she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipɔhɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] [825] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeds

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[536] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One [283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

283 I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
[177] dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was-
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1828. That means that they judged him
165 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory 854
pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was
not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried [482]
on its mother's back.

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely 553
to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always [551]
bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new
name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated 753 ●
with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could 551
be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was

The Comanches

753 injurious to the child or its family, however. Post Oak Jim was given
551 one of these at first.

He was taken by his mother and father to a warrior for his first name. Later he became restless and cried all night, until at last his
753 parents took him to another brave to find out what was wrong.
553
539 « « « "That deed was false," he told them. "That fellow has no real war deeds. He can't do anything."

Then they circled his tipi and asked him for a new name for me.

"Come back in the morning," he directed them. "I cannot give it at this time of day."

In the morning my grandmother took me down before sunrise.

"Do not enter my tipi," the warrior called out. "Stay out there and look at the rising sun." He was fixing himself in his war regalia. Just as the sun arose, he came out with his spear in hand. He walked south and east of the tipi and stood facing the newly risen sun.

"You, Sun," he cried, "you cannot harm me. This thing I did was true. You, Earth, have seen me. The Big Bird [Eagle] has seen me. You cannot dispute my word. On the war path we saw the enemy on a hill. We charged and my companions outran me, for I was a poor man and my horse was slow. I was the last to come up to the battle place. My friends were doing nothing. They just sat there. I asked them what was the matter. They said the enemies on the hill were too strong for them to attack them. I went right in and charged them. I killed a man with a spear. We went home and had a Victory Dance."

He turned and came back to where my grandmother was holding me in her arms.

"His name is going to be *ɔβɔyβita*—Group of Men Standing On A Hill," he said.[3] » » ».

551 There was a tendency for formal names to belong to a family as a sort of property. Names might be derived from some closely connected circumstance, event, or happening, trivial or otherwise; or they might reflect some experience of the godparent. The male child might be called by some term expressive of the pride or affection of

[3] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

Nineteenth-century observers of the Comanches (Dodge, Neighbors, Babb, Burnett, and others) attributed a strong belief in a Supreme Deity to the Comanches, whom they generally addressed as the Great Spirit, but at times as "Our Sure Enough Father."[5] The Great Spirit was a vague, omniscient, all-powerful being, who was credited with creating and governing the earth, sun, moon, and stars. He was the chief god, the creator, the first of all addressed in prayer, and to him the first smoke was offered. The person who prayed looked upward and perhaps held his hands toward the sky. While some maintained that the Comanches believed that the Great Spirit dispensed good and evil, life and death, at his will, others insisted that they believed also in an Evil Spirit who was the antithesis of the Great Spirit. The supposition was that there was eternal conflict between the Great Spirit leading the forces of good and the Evil Spirit controlling the forces of evil. It was argued that the unhappy thought of a father who, though all powerful, permitted ills and sorrows to afflict his children, was forever irreconcilable with Indian philosophy. So strongly did the Comanches feel about the subject of the bad god, says Colonel Dodge, that it was practically tabu as a subject of conversation—a reticence shared by other Plains Indians, but which gave rise to the supposition that the Comanches did not believe in the negative element. The Evil Spirit was not equally powerful with the Great Spirit, however, for he shared with the Great Spirit in control of the earth only. Believing as he did in the immortality of the soul, the Comanche could not conceive of god rivalry in a perfect world. Hence for those who adhered to the philosophy of a dual power, much of the individual outward religious forms revolved around invoking the aid of the Great Spirit and appeasing the wrath and enmity of the Evil Spirit. 776

Through the medium of a host of inferior evil spirits, the Evil Spirit, it was claimed, brought about every mortification or disaster—droughts, disease, hunger, distress, and discomfort—and was the author of unhappiness, sorrow, and defeat. He made such animals as the panther and venomous serpents, reptiles, and insects for the injury of man. [753]

Although there may be some question as to the source of all the

[5] Babb, *op. cit.*, 44.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great
776 Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Comanchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to
[186] other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[793] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or
[796] seasons.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 775 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood, or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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775 a person . . . see how it is for it to scare me, but I didn't feel nothing. Nothing didn't scare me at all.

Sanapia feels that ghosts are probably the spirits of deceased persons who led evil lives and who are therefore doomed to wander the earth forever. Good people, according to Sanapia, probably go to the Christian heaven. She is not quite sure. Ghosts tend to remain near people and things which were familiar to them when they were alive. However, no particular correspondence between ghosts and certain deceased relatives exists. Ghosts are generally described as being "jealous hearted." They are jealous of the living.

Sometimes you be sleeping. They comes around and they just put something . . . dirt on your face. Or the whirlwind, they say that it is a ghost. It goes around and . . . supposing you be out there by yourself and here comes a whirlwind [753] and just pass you like that. It don't often do that to anybody . . . just once in awhile it do that to somebody, and it twist their face. When I see them whirlwinds coming to me I say, "You go that way. Leave me alone," and it does it because I got that power. Or else sometimes people get scared when they laying in bed at night and one of those people of the family dies and the Indians say they get jealous of the one that are living in that house . . . either their sister or their son or their aunt or anything like that. They get jealous because they living and he died. And they the ones that come bother you like that. Sometimes they come in and you hear them just walking. They open the door and come in and come to your bed and they jerk your covers off or either just pull [753] your hair like that or hold your hand. That's when they do that to you . . . twist your face.

Sanapia is not consistent in her statements concerning belief in the existence of ghosts. She feels certain of the existence of some kind of malevolent spirit which causes ill effects to those human to which it appears, but she is not sure [171] that these ghosts are actually the spirits of men who were once alive. The Cheyenne, for example, felt that ghosts were derived from the dead but that they were not related to a specific dead individual (Hoebel 1960:86). Perhaps Sanapia's relations in Cheyenne-Arapaho culture have caused her to be ambivalent on point. At one time she will state that ghosts are the spirits of the deceased who while alive led evil lives, and at other times she will make statements such as the following:

Some of them would hear noises in the dark and think they see things . . . ghosts. That's what they think. I just think its their imagination . . . that's what. Because when anybody dead, they're gone. They ain't going to come back. How can they?

Ghost Sickness

775 The particular horror of the ghost is his ability to deform his victims,
753 usually by causing contortions of the facial muscles and in some instances paralysis of hands and arms. This condition is called "ghost sickness," or "twisted face," by

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Sanapia. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

> You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 169

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

> We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

> You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

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775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
591 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

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Witchcraft and the Conceptualization of Illness

Black Magic

WITCHCRAFT and the conceptualization of illness, two seemingly separate areas, are best discussed together because Sanapia's notions of witchcraft present the most obvious examples of her manner of conceptualizing human illness and its causes. The variety of Comanche witchcraft described here is carried out by one of the major methods of the classic witch, a ritual of malevolent imitative magic; however, its perpetrator is not a witch but a shaman who has only temporarily utilized his supernatural powers and knowledge or ritual for purposes of evil. I will use the noun and the verb forms of the word "witch" as my Comanche informants do, keeping this distinction in mind. E. Adamson Hoebel (1940:85) writes: "The Comanche made no basic distinction between a Medicine man and a sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil."

Witchcraft is an extremely delicate area to investigate among contemporary Comanches. In the sense that the term is presently used among Comanches, it is synonymous with the most diabolical kind of murder. A Medicine woman who was notorious for her acts of malevolent magic has died only within the last several years, and it appears that many Comanches now look upon Sanapia, the only Medicine woman still living, not only with a calculated respect but also with suspicion and a certain amount of fear. The label "witch" was never directly applied by my informants to Sanapia, though some Comanches noted her quick temper and stated that they knew Comanches who were afraid to associate with her lest they arouse her temper and run the risk of having it directed at them.

Sanapia quite naturally denies that she would witch another person, though she is evasive concerning the possibility of her potential to witch if she so desired. When this specific subject presented itself in the course of our discussion, her response could be predicted. In every instance of a question which alluded to the possibility of her utilization of her powers to harm others she drew on the

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tɔpinatsu*, 754
ekapokowa:pi, *kusiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwɔna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Tɔpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 754 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 201

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753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 755 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 753 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 754 755 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 755 756 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is suggested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

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159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 887 521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

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[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

CRIMINAL OFFENSES

EXCESSIVE SORCERY

Much confusion in the study of simpler societies results from our common habit of identifying criminal law with so-called penal law. Primitive law cannot be fruitfully considered according to the type of punishment. Criminal law is the law of crimes, i.e., *public* wrongs or delicts; civil law the law of "private" wrongs or delicts: torts and breaches of faith. 121

A crime may in this sense be distinguished from a wrong so far as the consensus in the society does or does not show a feeling that the act in question is a harm to society *per se* rather than merely to an individual or particular sub-group. Thus violation of a norm becomes a crime when the sanction of force attached to it is applied by society or its recognized agents, the primary motive behind the sanction springing from a positive sense of general social injury or affront. But the sanctions involved may be no different from those observed to operate in the case of private wrongs. The line between crime and wrong is not a sharp one; commonly, any offense is part one, part the other. When there is no statutory or other explicit means determining where the responsibility for action shall rest, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate crime from wrong in any way; indeed, there may be no differentiation.

Sorcery in Comanche society was primarily the concern of the family of the person affected. It was for them to treat with the sorcerer or to engage a medicine man to effect the cure. Sorcery as a wrong is dealt with below (see Ritual and Evidence). It is also clearly established that sorcery engendered social consequences causing the entire society to react. Because sorcerers were persons with whom social intercourse was dangerous, to be known as a sorcerer meant that normal social relations were to some degree withdrawn. To be known as a bad sorcerer meant that a person was usually shunned to the point of ostracism. The evidence indicates that this ostracism was positive enough to cause the evil medicine man to live apart from people, taking his position a little way off from the camp as a social pariah.[1] From this it is fairly clear that general social sanctions were asserted along with the particular magical and social sanctions which were first applied in a case of sorcery. Public opinion—that sustained public disapproval of any act or series of acts in which we find the germ of criminal law—was always hostile to the sorcerer. After a long-time accumulation of public 754 626

[1] That the sorcerer was specifically ostracized was affirmed in a generalized statement by That's It. The fact will be noted in application in the case given by Slope on page 79, and again in the quotation from Eagle Tail Feather contained on page 81.

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754 resentment a crisis could arise which focused all this resentment on the
626 sorcerer's unfortunate head, congealing public sentiment to direct and vigorous public action. When this point was reached, tort merged into crime.
626 The result was lynching. But such lynching was an act of social policy and
683 not the venting of mob hatred. The purpose and end can be seen to be the same as in many of those outbursts of fury which occur in our own society, but the temper was different. In our society lynchings are frequently associated with the outraged feeling that the "law" will not operate severely enough or that it may be evaded. Comanche lynchings were deliberately executed by spontaneous, but stated, social agreement in the absence of any other established procedure. This was a movement towards a higher juridical level; ours is a relapse. Finally, the crime of which the Comanche victim was guilty was rarely indeed *an* act; it was rather the acquired status of "publiely dangerous person," akin to our recent conception of Public Enemy No. 1. History and reputation made the status; danger, or the sorcerer's old age, or loss of grip furnished the motivation; any given particular outrage was at last a fulminating cap upon the charge.

*627 Comanche lynching was apparently not of frequent occurrence. It could
683 not be called a *predictably* established practice. Our records are limited to three accounts of such an event, though most Comanches will formulate the generalization that evil medicine men were killed by the people. These accounts were explicit and to the point, leaving no doubt as to their being definite Comanche reactions. It cannot be stated with surety that they are not all versions of the same incident.

Case 20. Excessive Sorcery: People vs. (?)
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"There was a nice young man got bewitched by an old Beaver medicine man; he was wasting away. Someone asked another medicine man to find out what was wrong with the boy. This second medicine man told them about the sorcery the Beaver man had made. He also told them that that same old man was the cause of other cases like that.

"When this was learned, all the men in the band had a conference at which they decided to kill the sorcerer. They made believe they were going to have a curing for the sick boy. They set up a Beaver lodge and put the sick boy in it. Then some of them went and smoked with the sorcerer and asked him to come to perform the Beaver ceremony cure for the boy. He accepted the smoke and came to the lodge. The people went inside, but they left two young warriors outside the lodge to kill the medicine man when he came out after the ceremony was over.

"Later on, he came out and started for home with a small boy as companion. When they had got half way home, and the women were all asleep, the two warriors sent the little boy away and killed the medicine man."

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Case 20a
Informant: Slope

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"An evil medicine man lived among the band called Those Who Move Often. He was so hated by the people that he finally moved away. He went west and there located with another band. After he was there awhile, a man got sick. Another medicine man took the cure and saw that it was this evil man from the Those Who Move Often who had caused the sickness.

"The people got together and plotted to kill the fellow. They arranged for him to doctor a sick person—then they would kill him as he came from the tent. They did it just as they had planned. Just as he was stepping over the bottom part of the tipi door they shot him with bow and arrows. He made one big jump and fell dead on his face."

Case 20b
Informant: Talker

"How Gawky, the evil medicine man, died. He bewitched all the Those Who Move Often, old and young, men, women, and children; he was about to exterminate them. He placed a curse on a rich man. That man died. It was found out that it was Gawky who had cursed him.

"People talked this thing over; they said, 'There is not much we can do with Gawky; we can't fight him. The only thing for us to do, the sure thing, is to cause him to break his tabu.' His forbidden thing was the eating of any food cooked on a long stick—a spit.

"Someone invited him to dinner where it had been arranged to put a spit with meat upon it (just as was forbidden) under the robe on which he was to sit. He sat right on it.

"He ate his dinner and left.

"That night a voice was heard to cry, 'Gawky is dying.' 'What is he dying of? He can't; he is invincible.' Then Gawky spoke out, 'Nothing can save me; nothing can cure me. Through my rectum into my intestines has gone this forbidden spit. I am not going to get well.'

"He died. And after he died he became an evil spirit, but it ended sorcery among the Those Who Move Often. Just the contact of the spit had entered him magically and killed him.

"Bad medicine men become evil spirits."

What we see reflected in these cases is: (a) specific delegation of power to individuals by community agreement in order to rid society of a menace, (b) group slaying of the public enemy after community agreement (i.e., lynching). This is what made of excessive sorcery a crime.

Though not an historical case, one epic battle of sorcerers in legend is pertinent in the exposition of Comanche attitudes towards sorcery. 754

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●754 *Case 21. Sorcery Contest*
Informant: Breaks Something

"At one time some Comanches and Cheyennes were camped near each other. Among the Cheyennes was an evil medicine man who was using his power to kill people. When a certain Comanche medicine man heard of it, he decided to go over and see him. So he mounted his horse and rode to the sorcerer's camp. When the Cheyenne came out to greet him, he said he had come to visit and would like to smoke.

"The Cheyenne invited him in and seated him on the south side of the tipi next to the sun, taking the place on the north side himself. The host then took his long pipe, filled it, and lighted it with a coal from the fire. He politely asked his guest how he would like the pipe tendered to him. The Comanche said that any way was all right. He accepted it with two hands and inhaled four times. On the fourth puff he felt some poison enter his body, but he said nothing; he blew in the pipe and handed it back.

"Then the Comanche felt of his belly and blew a yellow-hammer feather out of his mouth. He offered it to the Cheyenne saying, 'What do you mean by this? I found it in your pipe stem!' The Cheyenne told him he could do whatever he wanted with it

"The Cheyenne now took his turn to smoke. He took three puffs, and on the fourth he felt a pain in his side. Wiggling about, he blew until he blew an eagle feather out into his hand. Looking at his guest he said, 'What do you mean by this?'

"The Comanche looked innocent and answered that he knew nothing about the feather: since the pipe belonged to the Cheyenne, he presumed that the feather did too. The Cheyenne gave it to his adversary, and the smoking continued.

"This time the Comanche smoked; on the fourth puff he blew a black bug out of his mouth into his hand. 'What is this?'

" 'I don't know; it must be yours.'

" 'Not mine; this pipe belongs to you.' And the Comanche gave the bug to the Cheyenne, passing the pipe to him, too.

The Cheyenne again smoked. This time after the fourth puff, he blew a tarantula out of his mouth. 'What is this! See this tarantula of yours!'

" 'No, no. That pipe is yours; you must have put it there.'

"And again the Comanche smoked. This time he blew out a cockle burr. 'What is this? Look at this thing from your pipe!'

"But when the Cheyenne took his fourth turn, he had a mighty pain. He blew and blew, but he couldn't blow out the cause of the pain. It was caused by a barrel cactus put in the pipe by the Comanche's medicine.

"The Comanche arose. Thanking the Cheyenne for a very pleasant day, he went home. No sooner had he reached his camp than he heard cries from the Cheyenne camp. Their medicine man had died. The cactus had stuck in his throat.

"The next day some Cheyenne came to the Comanche medicine man bringing a horse loaded with gifts in appreciation for killing that sorcerer."

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In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex. 754 [171]

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates. 754 683 626

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[3]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of 224 689

[3] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

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concerned. Infractions of tabus which endangered the community were foreign to the Comanche mind. Hence any idea that crime and punishment must spring from tabu proves in this instance sterile. It was the holder of the medicine, not the community, who suffered if the strictures of associated tabu were overlooked. 771

With this, however, we have not slammed the door on the possibility of supernatural admixture in law. Among the Comanches we find it in sorcery. 754

The Comanches made no basic distinction between a medicine man (shaman) and sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil. In a tribe where the majority of adults (especially males, but also women) held some medicine, those who were recognized as medicine men were those who possessed at least one *outstanding* thaumaturgic power. To be "evil" was to use one's power to the damage of the well-being of a fellow tribesman. Hence, the sorcerer was tagged "evil medicine man." Correlatively, to be "good" was to use one's powers to advance one's well-being in hunting or war without harm to others of the in-group, or to use the power beneficently for the curing of others in the band or tribe. A shaman could be wholly good; he could be good and evil; he could be almost totally bad. It depended on the path he followed.

One interesting psychological feature of Comanche sorcery was a not unusual compulsion to use medicine powers against some innocent victim without—even contrary to—the conscious desire to do harm on the part of the shaman. Should a dream "tell" a medicine man to cause the illness of another person, it became imperative that it be done. Failure to so function meant death to the shaman; his power turned on him. "No Bed could not help herself," observed She Invites Her Relatives, "The dream came. She *had* to put the curse on the person dreamed of. Else the sickness would come on her."

The sorcerer's curse was done by "throwing" a foreign substance into the body of the victim. It was done in secret. The exception was when sorcerers gathered together to do battle in tournaments of competitive skill. Unless the sorcerer's medicine was unusually powerful, he had to operate in the near vicinity of his victim, for it was difficult to throw the substance far. Feathers were the choicest medium; thorns, cacti, crystals and spiders were among the varied possibilities. Sorcery thus had some tangible vehicle. The projecting power was worked up with songs and prayer such as had been revealed to the sorcerer by the guardian spirit.

Sorcery was aggression. It was violent trespass against the individual's right to life and well-being. Here is the conflict situation. To meet it recognized measures were at hand. 754 627^

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The diplomatic game of threatening sanctions was played in Comanche law: there was much bluster, but we know of only two cases in which actual physical harm was done the sorcerer (aside from the planned executions above). One of these was a "lynching," the other a murder, but done within the family. In the case of No Bed, the sorceress whose story is recounted below, the attempted violence was circumvented. Indeed, so circumspect was the handling of sorcerers with mundane techniques, so much was it front without substance, that such a terrorizer as Looking After His Son could bully the would-be prosecutors into submission.

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Case 24. Sorcery: ? vs. Looking After His Son
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

"Looking After His Son was a boastful medicine man always talking about his power. Whenever he went among the people it was his boast that he could kill anyone within a vicinity of a quarter mile, should that person raise his displeasure. After all this big talk people began to get suspicious of him.

"One day a young man fell sick. People took to muttering about Looking After His Son. Rumors flew about until finally Looking After His Son heard that people were accusing him of the deed. He heard that the relatives of the sick youth were threatening to kill him.

"It was not long before a relative of the youth who lay ill came to call at the sorcerer's lodge. Looking After His Son welcomed him. 'Hello, friend,' he said. 'I am happy to see you here. Sit down. We will tell stories tonight.'

"At midnight the visitor made excuses to go. The medicine-man motioned him to keep his place. 'I have a certain question to ask. You must accept it,' he ordered. 'I understand your relatives are saying I cause them death. They are making threats at me. Now you look out. Before you leave here, swear that you will stop them, or else—. Well, I'll fix you for certain.'

"The man swore.

"Early the next morning, without stopping for breakfast, he sought out his kinsmen. He pleaded with them for his own sake not to offend the sorcerer further. They heard his plea, and deemed it wisest to acquiesce; they said nothing more about Looking After His Son after that." [602]

It was the opinion of the narrator that Looking After His Son was as guilty as guilty can be. Yet what could be done about it? Sorcery was the the affair of the relatives; they shirked it with cold feet. The sorcerer's bold front and the power behind it were his impunity.

A comparable outrage was recorded from Carrying Her Sunshade. It was a situation in which she figured as a girl, thus placing it shortly before 1860.

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Case 25. Sorcery: Salt Worn Out vs. Robe On His Back
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

"Robe On His Back propositioned Salt Worn Out's wife and she turned him down. Robe On His Back did not like that one bit; so he brooded over it, and settled on revenge. His medicine centered in a black kerchief. He worked on this handkerchief with his spells until it brought a curse on Salt Worn Out's little daughter. She bled from her lungs.

"My husband was a medicine man, so Salt Worn Out brought his daughter to us. My husband worked and worked, but he got no results.

"Finally he called on me, 'Breathe four times on her,' he commanded. I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed—behold! The blood stopped flowing. 'Again,' ordered my husband. I breathed, and I breathed and I breathed, and I breathed. He had me do it over and over until the girl felt better.

"Next he advised Salt Worn Out to move his tipi over to ours, so we could doctor during the night.

"For quite awhile my husband had me repeat my medicine over the girl. It was good medicine, but she never got completely well. We had to find out who was causing the illness, so my husband took out his copper bowl painted red about the rim. He filled his bucket with water, and sang his songs. Then he called us all to look into the water. What did we see but Robe On His Back holding his black handkerchief! Every time he fluttered the kerchief, the girl coughed blood. My husband called the girl's mother to look in, too. 'You have refused Robe On His Back,' he told her. 'I have seen this thing' (in his dreams). This was the proof of all the trouble.

"Salt Worn Out was a coward. He was afraid to protect his daughter. He shrank from approaching Robe On His Back. He shrank from even so much as begging him to remove his evil medicine. Never did he think of threatening him. Instead he stayed with us for a whole year to keep our help and protection. Finally, he decided to move away; they drifted off to some other band where they hoped they could escape from Robe On His Back's hatred."

In this instance the issue of guilt was not put to the test because of Salt Worn Out's cowardice. Here there was not even a preliminary blustering before the back-down. Robe On His Back was free from legal molestation, showing again how distinctly sorcery was a tort. Success in handling supernatural aggression hinged, like success in prosecuting the aggressor against marital rights, upon relative power—either supernatural, or physical and moral. In handling sorcery, however, it was not so easy to attain a balance. Especially is this true of the second phase of anti-sorcery procedure—that which was followed when counter-medicine had failed. We have seen the situation in which the case proceeded to its perfect legal end, that in which Barking Buttocks appealed to the conditional curse. We have revealed two instances in which fear of the aggressor stilled the aggrieved. We were able to record but two cases wherein actual physical coercion was attempted against the body of the sorcerer.

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Case 26. Sorcery: ? vs. No Bed
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

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"No Bed was a powerful medicine woman. Her power was one of the strongest in the tribe. She shared it with her daughter, whom she had initiated into its mysteries. Quite a few rules went with the medicine, such as the tabu against yellow paint. Another was that whomsoever they dreamed about, on that person they must put the curse. If they did not make bad medicine against that person, they themselves would sicken and die!

"No Bed dreamed one night. She dreamed about a young man in the camp, a young man well-liked by every one. Even No Bed liked him. Nevertheless she made her medicine. Pretty soon the poor boy fell sick. The wasting-away sickness was upon him.

"Everyone thought about No Bed. Sure enough, the medicine man on the case saw she was guilty, so he had them send for her. She refused to go at first. 'Why do you come for me?' she complained. 'I have no power. What do they want me for?'

"The messenger begged her. 'Do come before it is too late,' he implored. 'You can remove the curse if you come now. Before long it will be too late.'

"Well, she would go along, she said. But all the time she kept repeating over and over that she had nothing to do with it and could be of no possible use. She was still wagging her tongue as they approached the tipi, when they heard a wail emerge. She stopped. A great chorus of mourning came out from the sick lodge. The boy was dead!

"No Bed took to her heels and ran. Her escort seized a spear, and charged after her. She sped for the lodge of Grey Flat Lying Object, who was a chief of the Quick-Stinger band. She rushed through his door, and throwing her arms about him, she begged for protection.

" 'Well, what is the matter, then?' queried Grey Flat Lying Object. No Bed babbled out her story. 'Yes,' the chief assured her, 'I will give you protection as far as I can. Now sit down; let us talk this thing over.'

"Grey Flat Lying Object recognized her danger. He knew she would be killed if she stayed in camp; he could not protect her forever. He decided to spirit her away until the trouble blew over. No Bed assented, so her daughter was sent for. The two stayed hidden in the chief's tipi until dark, when Grey Flat Lying Object led them out of the camp and away. No Bed left her tipi standing with all her belongings so as to fool the people. By hard travelling they found a camp of Caddo in the east. Grey Flat Lying Object left them there, and returned home.

"No Bed and her daughter lived for many years among the Caddo. The daughter is still living; she is a Christian now, but she still has her medicine. It is no longer so bad now; times have changed.

"No Bed died some years ago. After she came back to our people she befriended an old man. She cooked him food and helped him. But that was because she was going to put her bad medicine on him. A certain medicine man dreamed about this. He hurried to warn the old man of his danger. 'There is only one way you can save yourself,' he told him. 'The next time you see that old woman, put some yellow

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paint on yourself in some secret place.' When this happened, it broke No Bed's tabu against yellow paint—she was killed in the end by her power."

Here is a case where we see a chief (Grey Flat Lying Object was one of the great Comanche war leaders) taking the role of the champion in a new situation, this time acting for the defendant. We *should* know something of his motives in expousing her cause. We found no evidence of institu- [83] tionalization of a right of asylum.

The next and the only other case we have in which a *real* attempt was made by relatives of a sick person to do direct violence to a sorcerer comes from Dr. Mirsky.

Case 27. Sorcery: Chew Up vs. Bull Roarer
Informant: Talker

"There was a man named Chew Up. He was a Yep-Eater, and had just returned from a war-raid. He asked his father, 'What is that tent doing there?' (pointing to a tipi close to his own).

"His father said, 'Your brother is very ill.'

" 'And what may be the matter with him?' he asked.

" 'Some one has shot him with his medicine. Some one put his curse on him.'

"Chew Up went into his father's tipi; there he found his mother getting food ready for him. His father followed him in and addressed him. 'Son, there is something I cannot keep from you. I cannot keep you in darkness. Bull Roarer is doctoring your brother. Bull Roarer is a very great medicine man—his diagnosis is always right.' The father told him what Bull Roarer had discovered.

"At that moment the mother's brother of Chew Up entered. 'Nephew,' he hailed him, 'you have returned. I overheard you talking. That is why I came in.' That was all he said; taking his leave, he went to the sick man's tipi.

"Chew Up rose and followed him. He found the uncle sitting at the foot of his brother's bed. Chew Up gave sympathy to his brother, encouraging him with promises of his recovery. Then he turned to his uncle. 'You are a medicine man who can doctor. Why don't you doctor him?' he demanded. To his uncle's wife who sat at the far end of the tipi he then gave an order to leave. As soon as she was out the door, he drew his knife.

" 'Oh,' cried the uncle, 'I have failed. I cannot relieve him.'

"As he said that, Chew Up seized him by the hair, and pushing down his head, he stabbed his uncle twice. Then he went out. He had killed him.

"He went striding back to his father's tipi, where his mother was still cooking. 'Mother,' he said, 'I have killed your brother. Now go tell your sister-in-law what I have done to her husband. But tell her this, she is not to mourn for him.'

"His mother went to her sister-in-law with his bidding. 'Come,' she directed her, 'we will get your husband's body out of the tipi.'

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"As soon as they started to carry out the corpse, Chew Up followed after them, repeating his warnings to his aunt. 'Don't wail,' he commanded the bereaved woman. 'If you wail for him, I will kill you. Go bury him, and when you have done it, go back to your own people.' 627× 754● 683

"The evil medicine man was buried unmourned.

"That night Chew Up himself went to stay with his elder brother. The young man was so sick that he could drink no water—always the sign of a person at death's door. All night long Chew Up held his brother in his arms, until—just as the white dawn came—he died. They wailed for him, and they mourned. The father of Chew Up was a war chief and a rich man. Chew Up explained, 'I am but following the pattern set by my father.'

"What lay behind it all was this: the medicine man uncle had caught his nephew lying with his wife—not in actual intercourse, however. For this reason he had put the curse on him. *Because the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it.* (Author's italics.)

"Just as all this quieted down, Chew Up's other elder brother came home from war. (Chew Up was the youngest, the one who died was the middle brother.) The eldest brother admonished Chew Up. 'You have committed the unheard-of thing: you have killed our uncle.'

"And Chew Up replied, 'Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?'

"To this his elder brother retorted, 'You have done something terrible. You shall not live long.'

"Chew Up answered back, 'I am going to live a long time.'

"The elder brother was killed not long after, and Chew Up lived to be an old, old man."

The thing that strikes hardest in this history of Chew Up is the way in which it emphasizes so completely the non-criminal nature of homicide. But it is also breath-taking in how fast it moved through the ordinary middle-stage of beseeching the sorcerer to remove the curse. "You are a medicine man, why don't you doctor him?" Not an entreaty, but a sarcasm. Then the death-blow. Here the sorcerer faced a tribal strong-man, a man of wealth and position with the pattern of family pride to uphold. How differently the law worked with such a man on the aggrieved's end of the stick than when it was put in the hands of Salt Worn Out to wield for justice's sake! [671 682]

Comanche law, because it was a personal and a kin law, *did* swing upon valor and guts. It was a matter of out-weighing whatever power the offender had on his side. In cases of sorcery this was usually done in the attempt to throw counter-medicine into the scale. But unless the counter-medicine was stronger in its supernatural power than the medicine behind 671 627×

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went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor. 627x 688

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[10]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians. 627x 754 684 627x 754 684 522

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 "When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon
●754 of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances
684 of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband any-
522 thing that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and
[558] begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

606 Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propi-
581 tiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title
562 to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

x627 Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

775 them. He dropped the paunch and seized the arms fast, so he could carry the ghost on his back.

The people heard him coming. They heard the squeaking of the bones.

"Coward, what are you doing out there?" they called. "Bring us that water."

He just threw the skeleton in at them. They all fled and fell in a heap. The ghost disappeared.

That night it came back to the young man. It gave him medicine.

"You will be hard to hit," it told him. "Bullets will never kill you. Keep a ball of white clay with you. When there is going to be a fight, paint yourself white all over."

"Never go into the battle first. Wait until your friends retreat. Then go right in."

The next day the party went on. They made a good raid on a herd of Mexican horses, but the Mexican pursuit caught up with them. The battle started. He went off to one side to prepare himself. Another young man came up to ask for the protection of his medicine. He gave him some and told him how to wait.

At the right time, they charged, and they turned the tide by killing several Mexicans. After that he became a famous warrior. » » »

●754 Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis. In a
775 case of epilepsy, recounted by Breaks Something, a medicine man with power over ghosts was called in. He looked at the patient and said, "This disease has nothing to do with ghosts; it is not in my line; must be something else." He could not help this sickness; it seemed to be something inside of the sick man.

776 Another source of great power for the Comanches, and Shoshones, too, lay in the "little men"—the *nɜnəpi*. They were believed to be no more than a foot high. They were armed with little shields, bows, and arrows, which killed every time they shot. They also threw little spears with points made of alligator spines. The Comanches say that the *nɜnəpi* made all the little stone arrowheads that they found all around. A few daring medicine men sought power from the little men, but most people did not want to possess it, for it was too dangerous: a man might kill someone when he did not want to kill.

Government and Law

Men also killed their wives at times when they suffered chronic ailments and medicine cures had failed. A case is reported of a chief who cut the throat of his wife, who had been ill for a long time, to avoid the inconvenience of caring for her. After making "medicine of preparation" to fit her for a happy reception in the land of spirits, he took her life, though mourning her untimely death. Such deeds were rare, however. 627 734 562

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered "mean" by the people. Yet, if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through coups, there was little to stop him, except that new wives became more difficult to get. On the other hand, attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare indeed. 627 562

Of acts taking on a criminal tinge there was only one category—excessive sorcery. Among other Plains tribes violation of the communal buffalo-hunt rules, i.e., going out to hunt alone or beating the signal for the mass charge, was one of the most severe public offenses. The military society police in charge of the hunts were wont to handle any such miscreant roughly. But the Comanches were the great exception. 627 [754]

Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easy to come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of violation of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride.

Sorcery that got out of hand was another matter. The Comanches were only slightly plagued by witchcraft. As Ruth Benedict once observed, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."[20] Ralph Linton has emphatically reiterated that only old men, who could no longer compete on a warrior basis, turned to 754

[20] In conversation with Hoebel.

754 black magic as a means of defending their positions when their physical prowess had failed.[21] Ideally, a Comanche male who had passed beyond fighting age should have emulated the peace chief in behavior. Most men relaxed and did so. A few whose egos were too strong did not; from medicine men they transformed themselves into evil medicine men.

It was not necessary that they learn any new formulae of black magic to achieve their evil purposes. All they had to do was to direct their once-good powers to antisocial ends. Instead of healing the sick, they used their powers against victims of their jealous spleen to bring them sickness and death.

"The life of a young man was very dangerous," said Breaks Something in discussing sorcery. "If he hung around the wives of a medicine man, he would be jealous and paralyze the young man's legs."

"My grandfather had four wives, but none of them ever ran away or got into triuble," observed Rhoda Greyfoot in a reflective mood. "He was a great medicine man, and other men were too much afraid of him to bother his wives."

In the youth of Herman Greyfoot, his band harbored a "crazy young man, who was harmless, just wandering about on foot; he never rode a horse." He lost his mind "because he paid too much attention to the wife of a medicine man, who witched him."

As the young warriors expressed their rivalry in coup-counting, older medicine men expressed theirs in occasional formal medicine jousts. There is extant among the Comanches a legendary account of one such "battle of sorcerers."

« « « Arapaho and Cheyenne medicine men used to use their power in an evil way. Once, when the Comanches and Cheyennes were camped together, the Cheyennes pointed out a medicine man who was using his power to cause deaths.

A Comanche medicine man heard about this, and he decided to go and see the Cheyenne. He got on his war horse, which he rode without a bridle, and rode over to the camp of the Cheyenne medicine man.

The Cheyenne came out and greeted him; he asked him what

[21] Linton, "The Comanche," *loc. cit.*, 67.

he wanted. The Comanche answered that he wanted to smoke. So the Cheyenne invited him into the tipi and sat down on the north side after putting the Comanche on the south, next to the sun. 754

Then the Cheyenne got his long pipe. He filled it with tobacco, and lit it with a coal from the fire burning in the center of his lodge.

"How should I pass this pipe to you?" he asked his visitor.

"Oh, any way is all right," the Comanche answered, as he took it with both his hands. He smoked, inhaling four times. On the fourth draw the Cheyenne poison went right into him. He could feel it.

He blew in the pipe before handing it back to his Cheyenne host. Then he rubbed his own belly, and blew a yellowhammer feather out of his mouth and into his hand.

"What does this mean?" he asked the Cheyenne. "I found this in the stem of your pipe."

"Huh, I don't know anything about that," was the answer that came back. "You may do anything you want with it."

Now it was the Cheyenne's turn to smoke. He drew three puffs. On the fourth puff he felt a pain in his side. He wiggled and blew. Out of his mouth and into his hand came an eagle feather.

"What do you mean by this?" he demanded of his guest.

"Why, I don't know anything about that," came the innocent answer from the Comanche. "That must be your feather; it's your pipe."

"Well, here, I give this feather to you." The Comanche's turn to smoke came again. He smoked three times. On the fourth smoke he felt a pain, and he blew out a black bug.

"What is this?"

"Why, I don't know," his host answered. "It must be yours."

"No, its not mine. It must be yours; this pipe belongs to you."

Now the Cheyenne smoked again. On the fourth puff he blew out a tarantula.

"What is this?" he asked in wonder. "It must belong to you."

"Oh, no, that bug isn't mine. That is your pipe you are smoking. That bug must belong to you."

Then the Comanche took his fourth turn with the pipe. He smoked three times. On the fourth puff he felt a terrible pain, and he blew out a cockleburr. The Cheyenne said he did not know a thing about it.

The Comanches

●754 The Comanche medicine man handed the pipe back to him for his fourth turn. This time, on his fourth puff, a barrel cactus lodged in the throat of the evil Cheyenne medicine man. It lodged there. He blew and blew, but he could not get it out.

"Well, this has been a nice day," said the Comanche. Then he mounted his horse and went home.

When he was back at his lodge, he heard cries arising from the Cheyenne camp. The medicine man had died; he had found a medicine man with better power than he had; he had died of the cactus in his throat.

The next day the Cheyennes brought the Comanche medicine man a horse loaded with presents. They were thankful to him for killing their bad medicine man.[22] » » »

As a note of caution the reader is reminded that this is a Comanche and not a Cheyenne story. As such it projects Comanche attitudes upon the Cheyennes. The Cheyennes knew sorcery, but it was an exceedingly minor factor in their lives—more so than in the case of the Comanches. The Cheyennes had smoking tournaments, but only for coup-counting bouts. Cheyenne old men inverted the warrior ideal of their youths to try to outdo each other in burlesquing war honors by boasting of "dishonorable" deeds. But they did not engage in sorcerers' rivalry.

The Cheyenne old men could laugh serenely at themselves, because their place in life was secure. The Comanches, who never achieved lasting security of personal prestige, could not stomach self-ridicule. They turned the coup bout into the sorcerers' duel for old men.

Most Comanche sorcery was, of course, not done in open contest. A sorcerer simply willed an illness upon a victim with his power, or he shot in a feather or other thing secretly. His victim could be an object of sexual jealousy or merely a rival medicine man toward whom he bore a grudge. Or it could be a woman who had at one time rejected him. A sorcerer might also use his power to kill a man in order to get his wife.[23] In a few cases the sorcerer had nothing against his victim of which he was consciously aware. It was simply that his

[22] Informant: Breaks Something
[23] Informant: Kills Something.

754 power had shown him a victim in a dream, and it was believed, if this occurred, that the sorcerer had to kill the person or his power would kill him instead.

The sorcerer would be revealed in the diagnosis of a medicine man when he was called in to cure. "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." When the sorcerer was announced, it was usual for the brothers of the sick person to pay him a visit in order to ask him to remove the power. In most of the specific cases of which we have accounts, the sorcerer denied his guilt. Then his petitioners either went away and engaged their own medicine man to counteract the witchcraft or they threatened bodily injury to the sorcerer. If their curing doctor was strong enough and was willing to go on with the case, he turned the power back, and the sorcerer died of his own malefactions.

The sorcerer who maintained his innocence, when threatened with force, in each recorded case immediately forestalled further legal steps by throwing the whole affair over to supernatural judgment. He swore his innocence with a conditional curse. If he was guilty he was killed by powers of the Sun and the Earth. If he survived, his innocence was accepted as proved.

The sin for which he died was perjury before the supernatural powers. The penalty was not imposed by man, but by the "gods."

Isolated instances were not, therefore, legal offenses.

754 Excessive and repeated sorcery was another matter. It built up a condition of social anxiety that led to a fairly dispassionate and quite 683 deliberate execution of the sorcerer by general consent. In two instances, sorcerers were lured into ambush on the pretext of engaging them to make cures. In one of these cases the sorcerer was assassinated by two delegates chosen by the people. In the other, he was shot just as he left the tipi.

In a third case, the members of the Those Who Move Often band were afraid to assault a dangerous sorcerer, so they contrived a successful ruse to cause him to break his tabus. Thus they destroyed him.[24]

000 Many forms of social conduct which are considered abnormal in

[24] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Case 23, 89–90.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

X648 period the allotments were to be free from taxation and could not be-
657 come subject to any indebtedness. In addition, four tracts were reserved to the Indians collectively: the "Big Pasture" lying along Red River, an area adjacent to the Wichita-Caddo reservation, an area east of the Big Pasture and adjoining the Chickasaw country, and a small area near Fort Sill for a wood reserve. The four tracts amounted to 551,680 acres; the Big Pasture with 414,720 acres was by far the largest.

For the surrender of their rights to all other lands of the reservation, the government agreed to pay the Indians two million dollars in installments of $500,000 each at such times as the "Secretary of Interior shall deem the best for the said Indians." The money was to draw 5 per cent interest while in the United States Treasury, the interest to be paid annually. The agreement was to become effective when approved by Congress.

X648 Many leading Indians protested that the agreement was secured
657 unfairly. They accused the interpreter, Joshua Givens, son of Satank, of falsely translating their statements. It is reported that the Indians
●754 were so infuriated with Joshua that they made meditine to cause his death as well as the commissioners'. They made an image of Joshua and threw mud at it. The fatal ailment would occur where the mud hit. The mud struck his chest. On the way home from the council, Joshua had a hemorrhage of the lungs. Shortly afterwards he died, and the commissioners did not long survive him.[28]

X648 Since only a part of the Indians had been present at the signing
657 of the agreement, opponents argued that it was illegal. The opposition party was supported by the cattlemen, and they did not concede without a fight. They sent a delegation headed by General Hugh L. Scott and Lone Wolf to Washington. The delegation obtained a hearing with President Grover Cleveland, who is said to have listened to their case and exclaimed, "I will not permit it. I will see justice done

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ownership) in 1926, and possibly a half-dozen since then. The trust period has been extended from time to time by executive order. The latest order extends it for twenty-five years from August, 1946. Personal communication from Supt. W. B. McCown to Wallace, June 12, 1945, and Executive Order 9639, Federal Register, November 24, 1945.

[28] J. J. Methvin, missionary teacher who went to the reservation in 1887, to Lillian Cassaway, June 22, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, Oklahoma University Library), Vol. XLII, pp. 415–16.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

(ca. 1818)

seasons. In short they have no visible, operative religion; and such notions as they do entertain, are mere fanciful speculations, that apparently have not the slightest practical influence on their lives and conduct. They are enveloped in thick darkness, and live, and die in dismal estrangement from the God of Heaven. 175 771

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 22, 1824]

Letter III

The Comanchees, like all other heathen nations, mingle with the crudities of their religious tenets, some exceedingly absurd and unintelligible fantasies, to which they adhere with all the tenacity of a blind superstition. They believe in witchcraft, and impute to persons whom they suspect to be possessed of the "evil spirit", the most mischievous and diabolical propensities. All internal diseases, the nature or cause of which they do not comprehend, and they are by no means skilled in physics, they attribute to the *blasting breath* of some secret enemy, who is endowed by evil genii with the mystical powers of enchantment. They say the unhappy subject has been "blown", and represent the manner of communicating the occult infection, by blowing through the hand. These tricks of sorcery they sometimes charge to the evil disposed of their own people, but are never able to detect and identify the foul fiend, or instant immolation would be his destiny. They hold the Kitchies (a small band on a branch of the River Trinity) in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of *blowing;* and charge them with having "blown" the waters that intersect their route to Natchitoches, which has rendered their visits to that post so destructive to their people. Whatever may be the nature of the hidden disease, the consequence is often a gradual dissolution of the miserable victim, who pines away in langour and despondency, amidst unavailing threats of vengeance upon his mysterious adversary. The few persons I have seen who were supposed to have been "blown", have exhibited all the external symptoms of pulmonary affection: but the mild and equable tem- 175 754

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
175 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
[585] principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[687] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white.

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9]

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair.

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89-90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94-95.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Repeated sorcery was another matter. As among the Eskimos it became a threat to all the people—a threat not to be borne. The fact that the sorcerer was believed to have killed a number of people was evidence that he was "getting away with murder," evidence that no one dared to face up to him. In the need to remove the threat to their common security the members of the band drew together in the sole communal action that the Comanches took against any sort of offender. They lynched him. Or together they tricked him into breaking his tabus so that he died of the effects of his own powers. In each of these instances his fate was discussed and ordained in a meeting of all the men of the band. Excessive sorcery thus became the sole crime in the Comanche legal system.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[598] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[309] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[77] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[228] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwəna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bə:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *tə́pinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *tə́pinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *tə́pinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *tə́pinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 [844] [303] Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

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775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
571 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them : . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[754] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that ~~if a~~ *puhakus* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

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Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated. 756 775 755 756 754 755 [128]

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared. 754 854 164

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children. 754 854 164 152

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of 754 854 164 756

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754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
775 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
164 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
755 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
775 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
154 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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5

Witchcraft and the Conceptualization of Illness

Black Magic

WITCHCRAFT and the conceptualization of illness, two seemingly separate areas, are best discussed together because Sanapia's notions of witchcraft present the most obvious examples of her manner of conceptualizing human illness and its causes. The variety of Comanche witchcraft described here is carried out by one of the major methods of the classic witch, a ritual of malevolent imitative magic; however, its perpetrator is not a witch but a shaman who has only temporarily utilized his supernatural powers and knowledge or ritual for purposes of evil. I will use the noun and the verb forms of the word "witch" as my Comanche informants do, keeping this distinction in mind. E. Adamson Hoebel (1940:85) writes: "The Comanche made no basic distinction between a Medicine man and a sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil."

Witchcraft is an extremely delicate area to investigate among contemporary Comanches. In the sense that the term is presently used among Comanches, it is synonymous with the most diabolical kind of murder. A Medicine woman who was notorious for her acts of malevolent magic has died only within the last several years, and it appears that many Comanches now look upon Sanapia, the only Medicine woman still living, not only with a calculated respect but also with suspicion and a certain amount of fear. The label "witch" was never directly applied by my informants to Sanapia, though some Comanches noted her quick temper and stated that they knew Comanches who were afraid to associate with her lest they arouse her temper and run the risk of having it directed at them.

Sanapia quite naturally denies that she would witch another person, though she is evasive concerning the possibility of her potential to witch if she so desired. When this specific subject presented itself in the course of our discussion, her response could be predicted. In every instance of a question which alluded to the possibility of her utilization of her powers to harm others she drew on the

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754 756 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 756 828 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *pubakut* would resort to witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puba* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the [854] blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is [164] also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

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become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women attempt to kill their children. 754 756

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim. [828]

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this. 754 756 785 [782]

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

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754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

754 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle
237 plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775]
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tɔpinatsu*, 754
ekapokowa:pi, *kusiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwɔna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Tɔpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

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754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 751 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 201

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753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *pubakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 755 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 753 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 754 755 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 755 756 Another aspect of the *pubakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is suggested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

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578 754 561 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the 754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were 561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con- 554 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the 558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an 578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted 178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post- 561 reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco- 556 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the 578 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a 178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a 561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward 844 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of 578 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co- 178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within 571 the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which 361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family 178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of 887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had 888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

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served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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648 government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in
657 the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

648 In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about
754 Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Mak-
657 ing an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

648 Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their
657 Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land
648 for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement
723 was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment
657 of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

186 When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white
186 men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One
302 symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

606 He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had
[186] a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition
[191] by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 683 To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[8] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

x627 787 694 But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

787 x627 755 Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

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[8] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.

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The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and 787
symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could 627^
occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went 755
into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer.

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the 627^
cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature 755
of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of 683
his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse.

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly 796
throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so 276
far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by M. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938).

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 22. Sorcery: Post Oak Jim Repels a Curse
Informant: Post Oak Jim

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"I was fire-tender[7] in a peyote meeting. That medicine man was outside. He was in the prime of life; his power was strong. We were inside there singing and praying. Things were going along, when of a sudden I felt a stab in my back. It was as if somebody had shot me there. Oh! I thought I would die. I spit up blood. 'Now I am killed,' I thought. (With much hacking and uncomfortable grimacing Jim showed just how he felt.)

"Stumbling to my feet, I pushed my way through the door to the outside air. I fell flat in the grass; it was heavy with dew. I lay there breathing. So much blood came up that it made a big pool.

"I got up again and entered the tipi. They were all sitting there. I walked around the circle to my place and sat down. They asked me what was the matter. They saw me bleeding there.

" 'Oh,' I said to them, 'I am not feeling so well.'

"The leader gave me some orders. 'Fix up the fire! Now come over here, and sit by me. That medicine man out there is doing things to you.' The leader did some great things then. He picked a live coal from the fire—a red hot one. He put it in his mouth, like that. He came close to me. His mouth met mine. Four times he blew into my mouth. Uh! I felt better.

" 'Now,' he told me, 'you go outside and air your clothes to the four directions. South! West! North! East!'

"When I reentered, they sprinkled holy cedar on the fire. The leader brushed the smoke over me with his eagle feather fan. The blood had stopped. I felt better. I was well.

"The other medicine man died in the fall while he was feeding his horses."

In this particular case there probably was no contractual set-up involved, unless implicitly. The doctor was right at hand; he stepped in as we today expect any medical man to do in an emergency. Whether the peyote leader had any claim on Post Oak Jim for his services or whether Post Oak offered any recompense was unfortunately not determined.

Not always was counter-medicine so immediately successful. It happened more than once that the sorcery was so powerful that no other medicine man could turn it back. Here was a desperate situation. Was the victim to die helplessly? Not among the Comanches. A war-like people, with war-like notions backing up their law, they were not without further means. The treatment of Barking Buttocks reveals what could happen.

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[276] [7] The fire-tender is one of the four ritual offices in a peyote ceremony. The tender sits beside the door so he may easily bring in the wood. The other three sit opposite the door before the altar.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 23. Sorcery: Bull Elk vs. Barking Buttocks
Informant: That's It

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"Barking Buttocks was using his medicine in a bad way against Bull Elk. Bull Elk was awfully sick. They called in one doctor after another to work on him. Not one could do a thing. One right after the other, they gave it up. Finally, they called on Traveller's Road. He was a captive, but he had medjcine.

"This captive got up his songs; he acted as though he were flying over Bull Elk with his medicine feathers, so he could see who had put the spell on Bull Elk. Then he started right in doctoring. He did his cure three times, but nothing happened.

"Bull Elk had four brothers. Two of these brothers now talked to Traveller's Road. 'What did you learn?' they asked him. 'What is it in our brother there?'

" 'It is a bad medicine,' he replied. 'It is the evil medicine of Barking Buttocks.'

"The brothers looked at each other. 'Well now,' they said, 'We'll just ask him to remove that curse from our brother there. We won't do him any harm, friend. No, we won't attempt to harm him. We promise that. We will just ask him to withdraw his medicine. But how do you know it is the medicine of Barking Buttocks?'

" 'When I was flying the feathers over your brother, I saw his shadow. The medicine of Barking Buttocks is in him,' was the answer.

"That settled it. On the next morning Bull Elk's brothers sent his wife to seek the bad medicine man. They told her to invite him to come to the tipi where Bull Elk lay dying. The brothers were waiting in the tipi, sitting near the door, the sick man lying at the rear. Barking Buttocks came, and they moved apart for him to sit between them. Both of the brothers had weapons.

"They started talking to the sorcerer. 'Friend,' they said, 'We have a question to ask of you. There is our brother. He lies sick, about to die. You are the man who has done this thing. Take pity, we beg of you. Take pity on our brother there. Can you not see that he is an old man, even as you? Take away your medicine. Take it home with you.'

"Barking Buttocks replied that he had nothing to do with it. Who gave them the idea it was his medicine? Who said he was responsible anyway?

" 'Traveller's Road,' they answered.

"Now Barking Buttocks was angry. 'That captive has no sense,' he cried. 'He is a fool. His medicine makes him lie. Why do you listen to him? Bring that idiot in here so I can talk to him.'

"The wife went out to get the doctor. He came through the door, and they made a place for him to sit by them. Traveller's Road walked by. 'No,' he declined, 'I have my place.' He sat down at the foot of the sickbed. As he listened, one of the brothers explained the reproach of Barking Buttocks.

"Traveller's Road listened to the end. He was gravely silent. At last he pointed the finger at Barking Buttocks. 'How *can* he deny it?' he asked them. 'How can he deny it when he *knows* he did it?'

" 'Captive,' sneered the sorcerer.

" 'I saw his shadow over your brother,' reiterated Traveller's Road.

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"'What about it, friend?' they pressed Barking Buttocks.

"He did not answer them. He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore. 'Early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!'

"The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you. We drop it.'

"During the winter Barking Buttocks with his family drifted away from the main camp. In the spring he went hunting with his nephew. The first storm of the season came: a cloud rolled up in the sky. Lightning flashed! One, two, three. The fourth bolt found Barking Buttocks. The medicine man fell dead. That settled the question. He was finished and Bull Elk was saved."

In this situation four approaches were taken: two on the supernatural plane, one on the profane, and then back again to the supernatural. There was the usual attempt to overcome sorcery with medicine. This failed without giving so much as a trace of the sorcerer. Then followed Traveller's Road's success in detection and his failure to cure. Direct action was taken, beginning with indirection. The sorcerer was entreated. The sorcerer denied responsibility. With denial a new tone appeared. The atmosphere was charged with threat of violence. Conciliation had failed; now came into play the law's earthly sanction—force. In this case, however, it did not come to violence. The medicine man preferred the supernatural. He introduced the fourth and final term by invoking the conditional curse—not on the accuser, but on himself.

The need for authoritative evidence had to be met. As between two medicine men, whose word was to be taken? The interesting thing in this case is that only the word of one party was tested. It was always so. The test was—"Is Barking Buttocks guilty as charged, or not?" That was the question put to the sun. The test was not—"Is Traveller's Road or Barking Buttocks the false speaker?" Hence the sorcerer called the conditional curse down upon himself. The presumption must be that either the sorcerer believed himself innocent, or else held the conditional curse lightly. It would be a bold Comanche who held to the latter. Skeptics may raise an eyebrow as to the end of Barking Buttocks in the manner described. Still there is legal significance in the native belief in the sorcerer's demise—for belief makes the sanction real as example for those who survive. The conditional curse in the sorcerer's trial was therefore the supreme appeal.

As counter-medicine occasionally failed, so also did sometimes threats of direct action. After all, while law is law, and sorcery illegal, sorcerers were dangerous personages. (One thinks twice, and more, before going to law with a gangster.) One trod cautiously when going to the mat with a sorcerer.

The Search for Power

Sometimes, if no cure was effected, the family of the patient withheld the promised gifts, but "an honorable medicine man would forget it." A mean medicine man could retaliate with sorcery, but in the opinion of Post Oak Jim this was quite unusual. It was felt by the Comanches that if a doctor tried his best and failed, it was still the honorable thing to give him his fee. In the case in which Been to See His Son (*patuawu'nikwai*) received a fine horse for doctoring a sick man, the patient subsequently died. Been to See His Son was riding this horse in a race one day when a disgruntled relative of the deceased patient demanded the return of the animal. Upon being refused, he pulled out a pistol and shot the horse dead. Been to See His Son did nothing.[7] 756

The cures effected by the Comanches included the use of pharmaceuticals, mechanical manipulation, thermotherapy, and psychosomatic therapy. Various medicine men used one or another or all of these techniques in accordance with the nature of the illness and the dictates of their guardian spirits. 755

The crude psychosomatic effect of tabu violation in the case of Breaks Something has already been described along with its cure by means of heat therapy and suggestive ritual. Two brief case histories of simple hysteria also illustrate the process.

« « « Wolf medicine makes a person invulnerable to bullets. You can't kill a wolf with a gun; only with a bow and arrow.

The father of a girl named She Blushes (*ɛkarɔ'ro*) was killed in battle. She went out alone to mourn by a tree. A wolf came along and attacked her. She tried to escape up the tree, but the wolf got her and pulled her down. She cried for help, and the wolf ran away, but not before it had bitten her.

The wolf bite made her insane. When people touched her, she howled like a wolf. They sent for Not Enough to Eat (*kewɜ'tsəmi*). He had wolf medicine.

He told some men to track down the wolf and bring it in to remove the medicine. They went out with guns and shot at it. Yet they could not kill it until one warrior shot it with an arrow. When they skinned the wolf, they found powder marks on the skin from

[7] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

•755 the bullets that had hit but not hurt it. After they skinned it, they painted its nose red as directed by the medicine man. Then he told them to hang the skin in the tipi doorway with the head hanging toward the inside.

Right away the girl quieted down from howling. Not Enough to Eat then doctored her. She came to and asked for a drink.

He asked for a gray horse, a saddle, a blanket, and a bridle in pay. He also got the wolf skin, which his wife tanned for him. He painted the picture of a wolf on it and used it as a shield cover.[8] » » »

In yet another situation a woman showed hysterical symptoms for which the cause was unknown, according to *Kɔwino*.

« « « They took her to a peyote meeting to try to cure her. She ate peyote. During the night she was delirious—out of her head—so they went for another doctor. He wasn't able to help her, and she said she was not going to live until morning.

They sent me to get *Pihune*. When I got to his tipi, I found he was not at home. I went looking, and I found him with some other men, gambling. I told him my mission.

"Oh, must we hurry?" he asked.

"Yes," I told him. "Right away." So we rode back together at a lope. *Pihune* called for me to stop.

After a while, when he caught up to me, he said, "This thing is not really serious. That woman is not really sick. I knew you were coming for me. I know from a dream I had what is going on, and I knew the route we would have to take to get there. Now when we get there and that woman is talking out of her head, you tell her that I am no real medicine man. Tell her that I have no power. Tell her that she really isn't sick at all and that I am just a fake who is pretending to cure her."

When we arrived in the tipi where the woman lay, I gave *Pihune* a smoke. Then he asked for a drink of water before he started to doctor her. She watched him closely while he worked. She called him an untruthful man—no doctor.

"Yes, you are right," he confessed. "I have no power at all. How-

[8] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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ever, you take a drink now, and you will come out of your delirium." 755

However, she refused the drink and started to fight him, so that I had to hold her back. She called him a liar again. He just told her to drink and she would get better. He was finally able to give her two drinks. Right away she began to quiet down.

When she was calm, he laughed at her, chuckling, "Now I have cheated you, and you have come to. I do have power."

She got well. There was nothing more to do, so that night *Pihune* left.[9] » » »

The tables could also be turned on a medicine man who carried his "monkeyshines" too far, however. Breaks Something told of a medicine man who, whenever he had the notion that someone was working against his medicine, would climb up the poles inside his wife's tipi and growl like a bear. It was his bear power protesting. This was all very well, except for one thing. He was so heavy that he broke several poles. These "fits" of his began to come so often that his wife ran out of poles. At last, she had to trade a good horse to an Arapaho or Cheyenne for some more poles.

He had a close friend who, when he heard about it, asked the wife of the medicine man what could be done to break these "climbing spells." She confided that her husband had told her to have someone shoot him when he was in a spell. So the friend went home to get a gun. He loaded it and put a spear in it (bear medicine gives immunity to bullets). He came in the tipi and asked the wife if she was sure that she was right. Yes, she was sure. "Go ahead and shoot," she replied. Just then the husband stopped his growling and called down from the top of the tipi that she was wrong. He promptly climbed down—and, says Breaks Something, "He had no such spells after that."

For simple ailments some medicine men used direct, practical techniques. As a preventative of croup, children were given necklaces to wear made of beads strung alternately with bisected segments of the ring cartilages from the windpipe of a turkey. When they were choking with actual croup, because an adult's finger is not long enough to reach down the throat to open the obstructive passage, a thong

[9] Informant: Kowino.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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755 wrapped with sinew and softened in water was pushed down the throat to clear it.[10]

752 Although buffalo medicine was worked to cure bloody wounds, especially gunshot wounds, mechanical tourniquets were used when necessary. Surgery was also relied upon. Slope tells of a battle casualty whose intestines protruded from a belly wound. A medicine man stopped the bleeding by putting his buffalo tail in his mouth and blowing on the wound. He then pressed the intestines back into place, and after burning the spines off a prickly pear cactus, split it. The open surfaces of the cactus were pressed against the flesh on both sides of the wound to compress it. It was then bound up and left to heal.

757 For patients with rheumatism or headaches some doctors dug a trench and heated it with a fire until the ground cracked. Raking out the fire, they laid a bed of sage, poured cold water on to steam it, and felt to see that it was not too hot. The patient lay down in the trench and was covered by a buffalo robe or blanket for a good baking.

For toothache they heated tree fungus and held it to the aching jaw. Cavities were treated by stuffing a dried mushroom of a certain variety in the hole. A laxative was made by boiling the cambium layer of the willow tree. Healing by means of herbs was practiced by men and women alike, whether professional doctors or not, just as was the case with whites in pioneer America. Almost every man and old woman had a bundle of medicines peculiarly his own, the secrets of which were known only to the owner. One such remedy used by a doctor was about as follows. With the liquid obtained from boiling certain herbs, he bathed the patient. With a paste derived from the liquid he also painted dog tracks on the patient and on a large dog.[11]

Some of the owners of medicines were supposed to have learned of the various medicinal plants by means of dreams or through some mythical hero who went out on the prairie with the individual and pointed out various plants for use in treating diseases. Fasting was a
752 common treatment for most ailments. The Comanches are credited with "being expert in curing gun-shot wounds, and in the treatment

[10] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.
[11] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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of fractured limbs, which they bandage with neatness and good effect," 752 but they did not attempt amputation. If blood flowed too freely, it was checked by packing the wound with grass. Likewise, it is claimed that they had one or more good remedies for rattlesnake bites. Several formulae were concocted from roots and herbs, but possibly the most effective treatment was to cut out the injured part and then suck the wound to draw out the poison. A poultice made of prickly pear leaves was applied to check inflammation and was a common remedy applied to wounds, as in the abdomen case just cited.[12] The prickly pear poultice is still a home remedy in our own society.

Petroleum was also considered to be an excellent healing salve. A Comanche chief once took Thomas C. Battey to a place on Medicine Creek, Oklahoma, where there was a "heap of medicine—good, black medicine." It was oil on top of water.[13] Near by, on top of Adams Hill, they found a heavy exudation of petroleum which they used as a salve on the sore backs of their horses.[14]

The "madstone" or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of the leg bone of the 755 giant prehistoric mammoth, believed by the Comanches to be bones of *piamɜmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison.[15] In case of internal pain, some doctors treated by cutting the patient where the pain seemed to be and then attempting to suck out the pain or evil spirit. The sucking was done through a small horn prepared for the purpose, which was placed over the incision. The doctor would spit out whatever he sucked from the wound. The clever medicine man might show the patient some small stones, which he had placed in his mouth, and pretend that he had sucked them from the wound with the aid of his spiritual power, claiming that the stones had been the cause of the pain.

[12] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 233; Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 129; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 56; J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 242.

[13] Battey, *op. cit.*, 189.

[14] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 99.

[15] Informants: Medicine Woman; Yellowfish. Medicine stones are still in use among the Comanches.

The Search for Power

The Shoshone notion that *nɜnəpi* power gives Herculean strength (a little man can pack a deer on his back) seems to have been dropped by the Comanches. At least, it was not mentioned. 776

Comanche religious beliefs and practices, although they were socialized, remained almost wholly individualistic. Group rituals were few and far between until the introduction of the peyote cult. 796

Of group rituals practiced in the mid-nineteenth century by the Comanches, we know of only two—the Beaver Ceremony and the Eagle Dance. The Sun Dance was not tried until 1874, and that, apparently, no more than once.

The Beaver Ceremony is known as *pianahuwait,* "Big Doctoring." It was performed under the direction of a powerful beaver medicine man assisted by others with beaver power. Other people joined in the ceremony to share in its general effects of well-being, although the cure was held only at the request of a family who had a member suffering from tuberculosis or sorcery. 796 755

An extra-large tipi was raised and carefully prepared inside. Placed erect in the very center of the lodge was the trunk of a cottonwood tree, which reached to the top of the tipi. Slightly to the east of the pole, toward the door, was the fireplace. North and south of this were dug two elongated ponds, filled with water and edged with willows. They were beaver ponds. On the outside of each pond a little effigy mound of earth was made in the form of the beaver facing westward.

Just outside the tipi, to the south of the entrance, was dug a pit two feet deep by six or seven feet long, with the long axis running north and south. At the edge of the northwest corner of the pit (the corner nearest the door of the medicine lodge) was set a vertical pole, ten feet high, from which an eagle feather was hung.

When the ceremony began, the patient was laid at the extreme western edge of the tipi, with two women assistants to the doctor taking their places to the north of him. The doctor worked from the south side of the patient. A group of song leaders filed in to their places at the south side, and a band of drummers sat along the edge of the tipi in the southeast quadrant. Spectator participants filled all the remaining space to the east and north.

In the cure, the fire was lighted after the patient was brought in.

The Comanches

796 The medicine man, dressed according to the dictates of his medicine,
755 approached the tipi from the east, swinging a bull roarer (*yuane:*[18]) as he came and calling to the people, inviting them into the lodge.

After circling the tipi in the clockwise direction, he leaped into the pit from the east; on climbing out on the west side, he was ready to enter the lodge.

All persons who wished to be spectators (everybody was welcome —sickly or puny ones were most likely to participate) gathered around. They first had to remove all metal objects from their persons; then they circled the lodge and jumped in and out of the pit as the medicine leader had done. After entering the lodge, anyone going to sit on the north side had to circle the fire clockwise to get there.

Now the ceremony began. The medicine man ordered the music to start. The drummers gave four beats, finishing with a yell. The song leaders followed with four special beaver medicine songs, after which the medicine man dismissed the singers, who moved over among the drummers.

The time had arrived for the invocation of the pipe. The assistants (the women who had summoned the medicine man) filled the pipe. They lighted it with an ember offered from the fire by a spectator. Each took a puff before handing the pipe to the medicine man. He drew four puffs of smoke and prayed according to the dictates of his medicine. The pipe was now returned to the women, who cleaned it and laid it on the ground before them.

The medicine man next took up his feathers. First they were dipped in the north beaver pond; next in the south. Circling as always in the clockwise direction, he returned to the patient, whom he fanned with the dripping feathers. The two assistants once more filled and lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the medicine man. He smoked as before. When he had done, he again passed it back to the assistants for cleaning.

Now standing at the feet of the patient, the doctor worked over him with herbs. When he had finished this process, he flung off his buffalo robe and shinnied up the cottonwood tree to stick his head

[534] [18] *Yuane* means "warm wind," the soft whirring noise of the bull roarer. It consists of a flat cedar board "in the shape of a beaver tail" swung above the head by means of a thong attached to a handle. In battle it was whirled, or else carried close to the shield for power to stop bullets.

out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). 796
Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed 755
of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak 796
Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by 755
Kɔwino, a Yep Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at- 184

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society,* 67.

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796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
●755 here. *Kowino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the
796 Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

291 mournful fact, that much of it is obtained from those unfortunate individuals, who fall victims to their cupidity. They cut off the hair from the back 302 part of their heads, leaving it in front, the longer the better, and which they divide so as to bring it down from each temple, and to this they fasten any other that they can get, until it nearly reaches the feet. The savage who cut off mine, wore it in this way, and took frequent opportunity exultingly to remind me of it. But their cues with them are indispensable, and if they cannot obtain them in [237] one way, they will in another, and horse-hair answers in the room of better. They do [57] them up usually in strips of red and blue cloth, carefully winding it closely from the top to the extremity, with the red on one side, and the blue on the other. 301 To a small tuft of hair which they leave behind, is appended trinkets of the most trifling kind, such as old buttons, or any thing that will jingle, and on their arms and fingers they have a profusion of [726] rings of different kinds. Their ornaments are laid aside when they go out to war.

755 Their treatment of the sick is truly singular. When any of them, whether male or female, is considered to be seriously indisposed, they (the women) take all the grass and every other obstruction from a spot of ground sufficiently large to admit of the construction of two tents together; these are for the accommodation of friends. In the centre of the circle formed by the tent, they dig

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

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a hole for the fire, the smoke from which passes through an opening in the top; on the margin of the hole for the fire, they dig a trench in a circular form, and fill it with water. In a direct line from the door across the centre of the fire-place, and between it and the fire, they spread a buffalo skin for the sick person's bed. At the head and feet, and on each side opposite the shoulder, they place small heaps of dirt moulded in the form of a sugar loaf; they then place a larger heap, of nearly the same form, exactly between the one at the head and the side of the tent, and another between the fire and the one at the feet; in these two last they plant willow trees. They then cut a trench, with square sides, and about three feet deep, in a direct line from the door of the tent, and from ten to fifteen feet in length. The dirt taken from this trench is taken to the end opposite or farthest from the door, and thrown into a sort of mound, and a willow tree set in it, and smaller ones of the same kind are placed on each side of the trench, quite up to the door. The friends are then formally invited, when a scene commences which defies an adequate de- [534]
scription. The musicians come forward, with fife and drum, and play with all their might; the whole company passes in single file through the trench into the tent, and the music, and dancing continues through the night, with short intervals of rest. When thirsty, they drink of the wa- [58] ter in the trench about the fire, and frequently approach

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be sup- posed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail- 152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white. 756 789

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. 754 The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9] 755 754 683 627 754

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair. [682]

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89–90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94–95.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

121 ongoing acculturation, or when they are in real or imagined conflict with similar institutions in the culture in dominance, they become even more elusive to the
123 ethnographer. For example, Sanapia's initial resistance to converse on the subject of native doctoring practices was based on her fear of ridicule and her belief that information which she gave this investigator could make her liable to arrest for practicing medicine without a license.

My first experience with other Comanche informants on the subject of Comanche native doctors was similar. Though many were fonts of knowledge on practically any subject touched upon in the preliminaries of an interview, my questions concerning even such an inoffensive subject as the existence of living native doctors were met with terse denials. It was only after establishing a socially visible rapport with Sanapia that I found the first resistance on this subject to subside. I was then able to obtain information from certain informants who had been Sanapia's patients or who at least had some comments to offer on the subject of Sanapia, native doctors, or supernaturalism in general.

755 The term "medicine," when used by Sanapia, refers specifically to material items which are a necessary part of her activities when she is involved in manipulating or directing her personal *puha*, or supernatural power. *Puha* is equivalent to the terms "Medicine" and "power." Sanapia uses the term "doctoring" to mean any kind of action by a *puhakut*, or one who possesses an extraordinary degree of supernatural power, which is concerned with the direction of Medicine at another for purposes of good or evil.

121 Because of the dearth of material on Comanche culture, I have but a minimal amount of very general information with which to compare the sometimes highly detailed data obtained from Sanapia on the intricacies of her profession. With comparative literary precedent lacking on this specific subject and in the absence of other doctors similar in kind to Sanapia, this study must be considered as a discussion of the "Medicine way" of *a* Comanche Medicine woman. Generalizations on certain Comanche supernaturalistic notions will be made only when a number of informants have been in acceptable accord. It should be noted that even if there existed a more complete literature on Comanche doctors, and if there existed at present Medicine women with which to compare Sanapia, generic statements on the subject would still be artificial and tenuous, given the great degree of latitude granted the individual doctor in the details of the performance of his role and the individualistic bent of Comanche personality in general (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:155; Kardiner 1945:81).

The bias of the ethnographer is always a crucial element in determining the outcome of his field research and the conclusions which he will draw from such experience. I refer to personal bias, partiality, inclination, or prejudice not specifically concerned with a field problem. Of course, it is ideally desirable that the field researcher have as little bias as possible, but he will necessarily possess a certain way of viewing given situations and individuals and, whether he desires to or not, he will judge them. Both for the ethnographer's sake and for the sake of his reader in evaluating his product, I feel that the researcher should attempt to make as explicit as possible the particular manner in which he viewed his subjects, any partiality he experienced, and the manner in which he feels he was accepted by his subjects. Especially with a book of this kind, this is

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[755] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

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115 159 603 855 [765]

people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

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Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

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Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

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You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything, 115 159 756 784 145

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195 115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
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The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
756 775 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
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> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 159 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
756 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
775 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
778 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[768] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 159 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
756 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
775 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
[825] doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[886] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
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> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote–hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 776 772 177

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 778

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
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> I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

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noon and told us that L——— was dying. The doctor gave up. I told my husband, "Let's go see her." And we beat it down there and it was about five o'clock, late that afternoon. It was cold. When we got there she was just lying on her back like that . . . nobody was in the house except her. Her husband was gone and her children were all gone. She was white as a sheet. Her face was just white and her lips were blue. She didn't even notice me come in. I wake her up and said, "Are you sleeping? What's the matter with you?" She said, "I'm dying . . . going to die tonight. That's what the doctor told me. They dismissed me from the hospital. I'm going to die either tonight or tomorrow . . . just any day. Could you help me?" That's what she said. And I told J———, "You go get your brothers. I'll get her out of it . . . that's nothing. That cancer ain't nothing to me." And he beat it down there to his brothers and they come in right after dark. That night we soaked that deer hide . . . soaked it in water till it could get soft and they put it on the drum. And right there in the middle of town . . . she got a home in the middle of town and a lot of white people living all around her house. So I said, "Let's have this peyote meeting for her tonight . . . drum all night. Let me fix her up. She be alright." And so that night we had a drumming right there in the middle of town. And she was worse the next morning. I said, "This is too noisy. I don't like to doctor anybody in noisy place. Let's take her home." So we load her up and brought her down here to our place. That night we had another peyote meeting inside of the house and it was just pouring down rain and we had the meeting for her. Took that peyote and said, "Our fathers, way back in years . . . our grandfathers took this medicine, and they said that whenever anybody sick like that you just take this and chew it and then put it in your hands and let her swallow it . . . give her four at the start." And I done that. I prayed and I talked to that peyote just like I'm talking to you. I said, "If you don't get her well, I don't want you. If you not nothing, if you ain't got power, I don't want to use you anymore." God made me in this world and he gave me this power just like when he was here on land. Jesus went around blessing people and healing the sick and everything like that and I believe that I got the power in my hands. I believe I could get her well. So that night we had a peyote meeting and the second night we had another one and the fourth night . . . the fourth night she died. She just went out. She was blue . . . fingernails were blue and her lips turn blue. I told them, "Take that drum hide out." And they took it, rinse it out, squeeze it, and I said, "Give it to me." And I put it on her head. I rub her face with it, and four times I done that to her and then I sing my Medicine song. When anybodys dying and I doctor them that's the only time I sing that special song I got. So I said, "You all carry her and put her on my bed," and they carried her. I said, "You all stay out there in the front room." And they all stayed out there and it was still pouring rain. Everybody get out. It was raining out there and the wind was howling around. I sing this song and I fan her and I doctor her . . . give her that medicine. I don't know how many times I give her that. And after awhile she open her eyes and said, "I'm sure thirsty." And after that she got alright.

115 159 156 755 756

Sanapia considers herself a slightly outmoded necessity in Comanche society. She knows that she represents an extremely ancient Comanche institution, and it is in that knowledge that her feeling of uniqueness rests; at the same time she can foresee the final end of her tradition. Many times, as we sat watching automobiles moving along a highway or observed the skyscrapers in Oklahoma City and Wichita, she would speak of the incongruity of herself and the twentieth-century world in which she lives.

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
756 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.
● 755

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupitsi*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunhip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamɔmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.
[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
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> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

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Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

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Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant.

[778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most sur-
[778] rounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

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278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
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[777]
[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

ekɔpa

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsatene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunɔnatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakuma[k]

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakuma[k] is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 278 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment. 755 757 177

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) 137

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling. 752

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) 137

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) 137

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar. 778

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278 824 755 757 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treatment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [783] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

sanowiba

[137] "yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" *Guitierrezia dracunculoides* (broomweed)

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes.

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kusiwɜna

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipobɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she [825] uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

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steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and coloration, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered and used in its dried or green state. 278 824 755 757

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain. Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

tɔpinatsu

"rock medicine" 278 824

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks." 237 755 757

Tɔpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar. Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *tɔpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *tɔpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *tɔpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *tɔpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia [844] also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian [303] perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

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775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.
465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinatsu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
775 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
756 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally
755 to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

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which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is 756
very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating 755
psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to 775
bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. 755
The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first inter- 515
view. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient 756
is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though [783]
Sanapia never directly alluded to this.

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two 775
days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning 755
of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the 756
patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia 775
states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually 755
not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to 756
say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability 763
to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient.

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she 775
awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. 755
She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, 756
accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She 782
then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
[237] she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

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775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[26] *bekwinatsu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
756
784

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third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes. 775 755 756 794

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bakwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands. [278]

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance. 775 755 756 [539]

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

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775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

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775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[754] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakus* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

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775 164 [755] The Comanches use "crooked mouth," "twisted face," and "twisted up" as synonyms for ghost sickness, and these terms are helpful in their descriptive capacity. It is also significant that Sanapia is almost always successful in curing this affliction in adults, though she is much less efficient in curing these same symptoms when they appear in infants and are considered the result of witchcraft.

A survey of the literature on hemiplegic disorders strongly suggests for consideration a vaguely understood variety of paralysis called Bell's palsy. Bell's palsy is due to the paralysis of the seventh cranial nerve and results in the paralysis of one-half the face. The condition is usually abrupt in onset, reaching its peak within a few hours. In the majority of cases the paralysis appears as an isolated finding without demonstrable cause. The eye on the affected side cannot be closed and its waters excessively. The lips are displaced toward the healthy side and the corner of the mouth sags. "No proof of bacterial or viral infection has yet been adduced, and the actual pathogenesis remains unknown" (Kunkle 1950:1493). Treatment usually consists of kneading and friction on the afflicted side (Goodall-Copestake 1926:225).

124 775 164 I prepared simplified descriptions of ordinary hemiplegia, multiple or disseminated sclerosis, shaking palsy or Parkinson's disease, and Bell's palsy, neuromuscular disorders which all share some symptoms in common, and read them to Sanapia for her reaction. She immediately chose the account of Bell's palsy as a description of ghost sickness, even suggesting that I had based the description on information with which she had supplied me.

775 164 The medical descriptions of Bell's palsy describe the facial paralysis present in ghost sickness; however, in these accounts no mention is made of a concomitantly occurring contraction, spasm, or paralysis of the hands and arms, a symptom which from Sanapia's accounts occurs in many cases of ghost sickness. The emotion of fear, a key theme in the accounts of actual ghost contagion, offers a clue to the etiology of the affliction of the hands and arms. Dr. Gail Neely (1968) offered the suggestion that fear or emotional shock is one of the major causes of hyperventilation, or highly irregular, abnormally rapid respiration. Schottstaedt (1960: 48–51) supports Neely's suggestion and adds:

> Hyperventilation deserves special emphasis because of its importance in giving rise to symptoms. . . . This process ultimately results in a state of respiratory alkalosis with effects throughout the body. Many sensations result from this chemical derangement. . . . If hyperventilation continues long enough, spasms of the hand and feet (tetany), a feeling of being paralyzed, and actual loss of consciousness may occur. . . . Any of these manifestations may arouse fear; the more dramatic ones ordinarily do.
>
> In addition, an anxious person often has irregular respiration, which may become sufficiently severe to produce all of the manifestations of hyperventilation. The overt behavior is usually avoidance, ranging from a readiness or desire for flight to actual running away.

Medical descriptions of tetany, which, as Schottstaedt mentioned, can be caused by hyperventilation, follow Sanapia's description of the hands in ghost sickness to the letter. Aub (1951:1275) writes:

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The hands become stiff, with rigid fingers. The thumb is markedly adducted and partially covered by the stiff fingers, which are usually bent only at their metacarpophalangeal joints. The palm of the hand is hollowed, while the wrist and elbow are flexed. 775 164

It is significant that Sanapia's methods of doctoring ghost sickness follow the treatment by white doctors for Bell's palsy and hyperventilation. Her rationale for her method of treatment is not similar, but the actual results of the behavior which she initiates are. She applies her mouth to the patient's face in an attempt to suck the illness from the individual. She also applies liquid medicines to the face area and draws her Medicine feather over the skin in the afflicted area. This could constitute the "gentle massage," "kneading of the cheek muscles," and "gentle friction" prescribed by Kunkel (1950:1493–1494) and Goodall-Copestake (1926:225) for treatment of Bell's palsy. When Sanapia turns her attention to treating the contorted hands, her method, in general, follows that which Dr. Neely states that he utilizes to relieve the symptoms of hyperventilation. She drapes a towel or piece of cloth over the patient's face and directs him to inhale the pungent smoke produced by smoldering medicines. During this phase of treatment she croons to the patient and gently reassures him that his condition will be cured. Neely stresses that the calm reassurance of the patient suffering from hyperventilation was a necessary part of the treatment. He also temporarily places a bag or some sort of facial covering over the patient's mouth and nose to impede the invidual's intake of oxygen and force the recirculation of carbon dioxide. He also notes that smelling salts or ammonia can be used to further decrease the patient's attempts at excessively deep and rapid breathing. 775 164 171 755

A Psychogenic Hypothesis

In an attempt to discover an organic or static description of ghost sickness it was found that the types of disorders which most thoroughly describe ghost sickness are all highly suspect as to their being more organic than more functional in nature. The particular reasons why this hypothesis was suggested prior to the discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation were based on the noted similarity in age, sex, and general personality type of the ghost victims and the fact that though the rules for ghost avoidance are extremely simple and obvious, certain individuals still apparently voluntarily violate these rules with full knowledge of the predicted consequences. The discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation added further evidence for the role of psychological phenomenon, for example, the emotion of fear, desire for avoidance, shock, emotional strain, pressure, and the therapeutic value of reassurance in the treatment of hyperventilation. 775 164

Two concepts of psychosomatic medicine must be mentioned and their utility evaluated before proceeding further. These concepts are "conversion reaction" and "vegetative neurosis." A conversion symptom is a symbolic expression of a well-defined emotional content, while a vegetative neurosis is the physiological

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Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated. 756 775 755 756 754 755 [128]

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared. 754 854 164

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children. 754 854 164 152

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of 754 854 164 756

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754 854 164 756 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia cannot alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 775 164 755 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sickness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 775 184 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts. She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have 756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's 177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the 775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties 164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775]
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tɔpinatsu*, 754
ekapokowa:pi, *kutiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kutiwɔna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Tɔpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

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754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *okapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

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753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 755 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 753 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 754 755 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 755 756 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is suggested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

chiefs listed in each particular group is fairly homogeneous within the group but not wholly so. The size of each group varies greatly in the number of chiefs identified with the group. The number of lodges "under the command of" each chief varies from six to one hundred. A note by the Spanish chronicler explains that "there may be computed about three men of arms and from seven to eight women and children" in each lodge.[7] In the first group, twelve chiefs with three hundred and sixty-six lodges are listed. In the second group, but two chiefs with fifty-six lodges are listed. 114 175 619

In all the systems of military societies of the Plains Indians for which we have truly reliable data, the number of officers for any society never exceeded seven. Usually the officers were limited to four to a society. Furthermore, the warrior societies did not camp as units (excepting the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne). The presence of women and children in the lodges of the camp indicated by the notes accompanying the tally sheet, and the unevenness of the number of chiefs in the group, along with the variable number of lodges under the jurisdiction of the numerous chiefs, indicate that the groupings are band groupings and that the sub-chiefs with their lodges are simply the heads of the extended family units within the band (as described on page 14 above). The document in question does not supply adequate evidence of the existence of military associations among the Comanches. 114 701

Only one of the Comanche informants consulted in this study made reference to warrior societies. These White Wolf called "regiments." He was unable to give any specific information concerning their organization or functioning, however.

The tenuousness of the historical data and the paucity of material recorded by Lowie, when combined with the ignorance of present-day Comanches on the subject of military societies, all indicate that the societies were not a developed and integrated part of Comanche culture. Therefore, they could not have played an important role in social control and government.

The small groups of Crow Tassel Wearers and Big Horse men, by virtue of their being continuously at war, could not play a role in the give and take of everyday life in the community. Hence they, too, were of little direct significance in social control.

MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Evidence is found of small and limited medicine societies among the Comanches. Possessors of beaver medicine and eagle medicine of a particu- 756

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

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756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

that there was no commonly accepted formula to which retailers of the story could hold fast. Without this unconscious prompter of memory, the truth was soon dissipated and the event is described according to individual notions. 428 183

CONTRACT

Rounding out the survey of situations of possible legal significance, attention must be given to the phenomenon of contract wherein a party or parties assumed a definite, but limited, obligation by virtue of agreement. These obligations are not to be confused with such status-obligations as sharing food with one's father-in-law. These latter may be entered upon by acts of agreement such as marriage, but once entered upon they were social and legal duties inherent in the new relations and carried on indefinitely. Standing economic obligations of a reciprocal nature are not "contractual" in nature. Contract is a specific obligation undertaken at a specific time; the contractual arrangement is ended when the obligation has been fulfilled. 675

In addition to the transfer of medicine powers and the payment of goods to settle a grievance there were other contract situations involving the rendering of personal services. Of these the most usual was curing; the next most important was the undertaking of responsibility to lead a revenge war party. A third was occult prophecy, or seer-seeing. And a fourth was sorcery for hire, or putting the enemy of another person on the spot through evil use of medicine powers. The last is not substantiated by any case material, but was attested by informants. Saddle and arrow making, if done on order, would also come under this heading.

In seeking a medicine man to perform a cure, there were certain solemn steps customarily followed. The proposal and acceptance followed an institutionalized pattern which marked the occasion ceremonially as one of significance. In the first place, it was well to use a "political lawyer" to get the thing done, especially so, if the practitioner sought was a well known medicine man. A friend of the medicine man was known throughout the band as the best person to send to the doctor. The doctor would listen to him with willing ears. The petitioner was also familiar with the ways in which the medicine man liked to have the smoke handed to him and could make the petition smooth in many ways. Such intermediaries received their compensation not from the sick person, but from the doctor, as a share in the gifts received by him.[8] 675 756

[8] The use of a pipe lighting assistant is of limited Shoshonean distribution. Cf. W. S. Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Chicago, 1938), p. 127.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

675 756 The go-between went to the doctor carrying in the right hand the loaded pipe or rolled cigarette. Before speaking, the emissary lighted the tobacco and puffed a few puffs. Then he told the medicine man what was wanted. Sometimes he added what might be expected in the way of gifts. Then, if he knew the ways of the medicine man, he proffered the smoke. If not, he first asked the medicine man how he would like the pipe handed to him. The medicine man was not universally obliged to accept. But some medicines required acceptance of a commission if the emissaries did certain things. Thus with Break Something, if the emissary circled his tipi to the left before entering, he was bound to accept. But usually a medicine man, if he thought the case too much for him or was not interested, refused to accept the smoke. The acceptance of the proffered smoke bound the contract, and the medicine man set out with the emissary to visit the patient. A curing contract was for four treatments to be given in two days. If at the end of two days the patient were not completely well, continuation for another two days' cure could be arranged, or the doctor withdrew to make way for another practitioner.

Break Something told how a practicing medicine man in an impasse called in consulting specialists. Break Something's medicine enabled him to specialize in pneumonia cases. One medicine man, after two days without success, sent his wife to get Break Something. He went and found the other medicine man waiting with the cigarette. This doctor told Break Something he would like his help in this pneumonia case. He took the smoke. "When medicine men smoked together they were as one doctor." They doctored for two days; first the one medicine man, then Break Something. The patient was cured. But there was no fee-splitting. All pay went to the first doctor. All Break Something got tangibly and immediately was the smoke. However, they had an agreement after that that Break Something could call on the other doctor for assistance at any time if he needed him.

The Comanches aver that medicine men who undertook a cure got paid regardless of the outcome, providing a fee had been agreed upon. But there was at least one exception in fact. Went To See His Son was called upon to doctor a sick man. He performed his cure for two days; the patient got well; the relatives were happy, so they gave Went To See His Son a fine horse. Then the patient died. The horse was a good one and Went To See His Son was running it in races. Then a relative of the defunct patient came and said he wanted the horse back. Obviously, he said, Went To See His Son had not cured the deceased, so he had no right to the horse. But the doctor was fond of the horse and said he was going to keep it; so the relative pulled his pistol and shot the horse dead. Went To See His Son was sorry to lose

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

the horse, but he didn't do anything. Apparently he did not believe he had 675
an established right to his horse, or we should have seen a more typical 756
Comanche reaction to the killing.

Nevertheless, when no fee had been indicated in advance, Comanche doctors were happy to receive gifts. But the true professional spirit prevailed, for it is said that if people were too poor to give gifts, it was of little concern to the medicine man. "He was glad to help out." But who knows perfection? Some medicine men hid when they thought they were going to be called upon for charity. However, if a female relative of a sick pauper asked the wife of a desired medicine man where the doctor might be, she she was "custom-bound" to tell.

While women were a nuisance in this way, medicine men had another way with others of them. A doctor could dream that if a certain woman came to ask for his help, the sick person would surely get well, providing the woman did his bidding during the cure. This is reputed to have been a not uncommon practice. Some of the more unscrupulous practitioners used it as a ruse to seduce reluctant women of their fancy, we were told. But whether a woman *had* to aid, or what she received for it, could not be determined.

On the other end of the contract, what happened when the promised fee was not given after the cure had been made? The Comanche practitioners were without legal means of restitution.

A Comanche of mean disposition would in native opinion have had recourse to sorcery, "but the honorable medicine man would forget it." Persons who failed to pay explicit fees, however, were the ones the doctors dodged, while the creditor medicine man never again took a case for the defaulters. The result was a normal, but guild-manifestation, of Malinowski's principle of withdrawal of reciprocal services in reprisal for deficiency of conduct.

The sale and transfer of supernatural powers among the Comanches was 675
a form of contract in incorporeal property rights. As between close friends 756
and relatives the offer and acceptance was informal and direct. It was when 425
an ambitious youth yearned to purchase power of a strong medicine man with whom he had no close kinship that more formal steps were taken. First steps were taken by the neophyte's mother. She approached the head wife of the shaman. The woman thought it over. Then she learned from her husband what gifts would be required to satisfy him. These she described in detail to the mother at a later time. Anything within reason could be asked for, for "no matter what it costs them, they are going to have that medicine."

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When the proper gifts had been collected, the boy's father loaded them upon a horse; he led it to the medicine man's lodge and tethered it a short way east of the tipi. Walking about the tipi counterclockwise in ceremonial custom, he passed through the door to be recieved by the shaman. Sitting by the medicine man at the west side of the lodge, the father offered smoke and stated the purpose of his visit. If the medicine man took the smoke it was an acceptance and the deal was closed.

The "sale" of power, it should be added, was not an alienation of the right of the original owner to use it himself. Our closest analogy is the revelation of a trade secret, use of which requires special talent. What the "seller" did was to prepare the neophyte in such a way that the guardian spirit of the medicine man would provide a vision visitation in which the power itself would be bestowed. No mortal could give supernatural power. He could merely lend his influence to lead to a cut-in.

The purchase of medicine was only a start on the road to success for young men. The most potent powers were never shared. Indeed, it was only when a shaman had more than one medicine that he was willing to sell an access to one of them. Then it was always his poorer. The presumable motivation is that prestige rests in rarity.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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787 experience gave an individual a feeling of significance, a "thrill" of greater or less intensity. Among the tribes east of the Rockies, the emphasis was upon the vision induced by hunger, thirst, purgatives, or self-laceration; while west of the mountains a widespread attitude regarded the vision as unsought, involuntary, a thing of predisposition.[1] The Comanches recognized both forms. They retained a Shoshonean residue (the unsought dream) and had acquired the Plains method of reaching out for power. Power might come as an unsought blessing, but that was not sufficient; hence a Comanche strived for it by courting the aid of the supernaturals in the traditional way but without self-torture.

The vision was sought on continually recurring occasions: for mourning, for warpaths, for revenge, for curing disease, for success in hunting and raiding. Men who became especially noteworthy for their success in healing, procuring desired weather conditions, or en-
• [756] suring a successful chase or war party, came to be singled out as medicine men, *puhakʌt*. The supreme test of power was whether a revelation worked. The Indian was a pragmatist. Not everyone who claimed supernatural gifts was signally successful. Either the medicine was not strong enough, or the protégé did not carry out commands accurately, or the vision-seeker had been maliciously deceived.

The selection of a man's medicine was the most important and sacred event in his life. Growing up with a firm belief in the all-sufficiency of personal visions, young men sought them without any prompting from their elders. From the stories of renowned contemporaries o. mythical heroes they had learned that this was the way to make their mark. In later life there was usually some special reason, such as the desire for vengeance or worry over a sick child, that drove a man to seek supernatural aid. In any case the Comanche followed a well-established pattern.

The initial vision quest was made about the time of puberty, before the youth had gone on the warpath for the first time. The vision-seeker was usually prepared by a local medicine man for the desired experience. As a form or symbol of purification, the candidate was required to bathe, in a preliminary step to seeking relations with the supernatural.[2] It was necessary for the candidate to possess four things:

[1] Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*, 23–26.

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778 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[751] [237] [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

●756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakʌt* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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should be offered to a comrade. Good health was the other great boon sustained by power. Curing and health-giving medicines should also be shared. To the Comanche this meant not only that a medicine man ought to use his power to protect, cure, and serve his fellows, but that he should also teach them how to use it themselves, if they so desired. Thus it was that a medicine man who was asked for power could not very well refuse. If he smoked the pipe that was brought to him, he was contractually bound to deliver some of his medicine.

A famous old Comanche medicine-man warrior was Bear Claws Marks on His Shield (*masitɔtɔp*). From Post Oak Jim we have a detailed and formalized account of a transfer of his power.

« « « The mother of a boy may arrange for the boy's first medicine. A boy's mother went to the wife of Bear Claws to ask for the power. This woman told her what her husband would want—the sort of horse, blankets, bridle, her husband would prefer.

No matter what it was going to cost, they were going to have that medicine.

The mother then told the boy's father what was needed. The father loaded a horse with the proper gifts and tied the horse a short distance to the east of Bear Claws' lodge. He walked around the tipi from east to south to west to north in the usual ritual pattern and then entered the door. There he offered his pipe to the medicine man and spoke of his desire.

Bear Claws prepared to perform the ceremony. He had his wife raise a new tipi on the south side of the camp. He enlisted a young brave with good arrows and another with a good spear. They stood with Bear Claws at the rear of the tipi.

The boy was standing outside the door. He circled about the tipi around the south to the north, and passing through the door, he did the same thing inside. Dressed only in his breechclout, he assumed a stooping posture, facing northward, from his position just south of the door. Bear Claws sang a bear medicine song. Then he blew across the room four times. Now he was ready to tell his arrow assistant to make his shot. He had worked up his power and sent it over to the neophyte. Using his knee to bend the bow, the archer took three

•756 practice pulls; on the fourth he let the arrow fly at the medicine seeker. The steel pointed arrow struck the boy. The point was bent, and the arrow flew up toward the top of the tipi.

The spear man's turn was next. He ran up to the neophyte, took three practice jabs, and thrust with all his force on the fourth. The spear point was bent, but the candidate was not fazed.

During all this action, the boy was grunting like a bear. It was proven that the power of this medicine was very strong.

Next the boy gave his new shield to Bear Claws, who painted it like his own with bear claw marks—stripes of blue paint applied with fingers of the hand and running vertically. Bear Claws gave the boy his instructions: "When you are using this medicine, ride a horse with yellow skin and a black mane; look up to the clouds; you will see that when the rain falls, it does not hurt the body; bullets will be like that to you; in battle, ride across the firing line four times from left to right." » » »

Post Oak Jim did not acknowledge that he was the boy who received the power; however, we suspect he was on two counts: first, he had intimate knowledge of the reputed details of the event; and, second, he claimed invulnerability to bullets. Once in a saloon shooting, according to his story, he was hit in the mouth. The bullet knocked out a couple of teeth. "I just spit the lead out. Like that. It didn't really hurt me."

In this account no mention is made of a general principle laid down by a number of informants and substantiated by several other cases of power transfer. The medicine man did not give the power itself. He merely prepared and instructed the candidate so as to make him ready for the power. The neophyte, after instruction, had to go out in the regular way to get a vision bestowal of the actual power from the guardian spirit who controlled it.

A medicine man not infrequently preferred to share his power with a close friend or relative—brother or wife—without his seeking or wanting it. He could even be importunate about it. Breaks Something had such an experience with his own elder brother.

« « « He wanted me to have his medicine. Twice I refused

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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him, because I didn't want the tabus. He could not eat beef heart or leg muscle. 756

When I was a young man, still living with my mother and two sisters, my brother and his wife lived in another tipi. Early one morning my brother's wife called to me from outside my lodge. She said my brother wanted me in his tipi—for me to bathe in the creek and come over.

I heard my brother singing in his tipi. I bathed and went in. There I found him sitting at the west side of the lodge; he told me to sit on the north. He was painting his face. Then he started to paint my face in the same way according to the dream he had had in the night. I did not want his medicine, so I did not go through with it.

When I got married, I had a daughter. Then my brother forced his medicine on me. "You need it especially, now," he said. "If anyone gets sick in your family, you won't have to hire another medicine man. It will save you goods and trouble."

So my brother called me in again. He took a stick and bent it in a circle, making a little medicine wheel about this big [two inches]. He strung white beads and covered the wood of the wheel with them. Then he fastened two strings of beads across the middle, like spokes, with one string lying down at the bottom. He fastened this to my side medicine lock. He also gave me an eagle feather to wear.

My brother said the medicine would come to me in a vision. I would learn how to use it there. When I felt my power, I could swallow that ring.

I knew this medicine would be bad for me; it was borne out later.

When I was coming home from the hospital at Anadarko after I had cut my leg while cutting timber on Washita Creek, a Kiowa invited me in to eat. I was very weak. Another Kiowa was with me. That first Kiowa's wife got the meal while we rested.

When we sat down to eat, we had beef heart. I could not eat it. It was the same with my friend. Our host tried to call our attention away, so we would eat the meat. He joked with us.

I had a piece of bread, and I stuck it in the meat gravy twice. Right away I noticed it. Cold chills ran up and down my back. The woman came to take away the dishes; she said, "These men aren't hungry. They would not eat." The Kiowa ate no meat or gravy whatever.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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•756 When I got home, I felt all right for three nights. On the fourth night I got a pain in my stomach. A knot formed there, so I decided to go see my brother from whom I had received that medicine.

It was about sundown when I got there. I told him I was sick. His wife removed all dishes and cooking things.[6] Then he told me to sit at the west side of his tipi. We smoked. He got up and stood at the foot of his bed where I lay. He held eagle feathers over me and prayed; he was finding out what was wrong. When he was through, he sat down and told me I should not eat beef heart.

I said, "I haven't eaten any."

He knew better, and said the beef heart had formed a knot in there. He would cure it early the next morning. We went to sleep.

When I came out the next morning, I found they had a sweat lodge already built and a fire burning outside. We went in. My brother told me to squat on the west side, but I could not bend over; I could only lie down, facing the fire, with my head toward the sun.

Four times his wife brought in hot rocks over which he dropped water while singing. I nearly smothered in the steam. I wished I were somewhere else. My sister-in-law opened the door to let in a little air for a minute. Then three more times she brought in rocks on which my brother poured water. He sang. Finally, picking up the last red hot rock in his hand, he rubbed the knot in my stomach with it. That rock felt like ice to me.

"This rock has power," my brother said. "It will melt the knot and pain away."

When I staggered out of the sweat lodge, I could not see at first, but after I rode to the creek and lay in the water to cool, I found the knot was gone and I had no more pain. » » »

This situation reveals a nice example of psychosomatic compliance with the dictates of a dogma: violation of a medicine tabu causes illness or death. Breaks Something got ill on the magic fourth day. His cure combined thermotherapy—a sound technique for muscular-vascular relaxation—plus partial removal of the guilt through the therapeutic services of the power giver. The cure was not permanently effective, however, for the stomach pains, beginning with a numbness

[6] This was a precaution against tabued contamination by grease or greasy things.

in the legs, came back a month later and have recurred at intervals ever since. Breaks Something now relieves himself by lying on his stomach over a grass hummock. He thinks he will never get over the effects of eating the beef-heart gravy. It would seem to be apparent that from his not wanting the power and his conviction that it would be bad for him, he saw to it that he suffered the ill effects he predicted for himself and masochistically "revenged" himself on his brother, who forced the power on him. 156

Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that the Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of medicine. Because of the onerous nature of the tabus, a man who had power could, if he wanted to be rid of it, go back to the place where he had his vision; there he thanked the guardian spirit for his blessing, saying that he no longer wished to use the medicine. Having thus returned the power to its source, he took his amulets and paraphernalia to a stream of running water for disposal. He was then free of the power and its tabus.

The sharing of power between medicine men led to the spontaneous formation of simple medicine societies of no more than twelve persons. Division of a power among a greater number so weakened its strength that it was believed to be useless. All the members of a medicine group possessed similar amulets and painted their shields alike. They made medicine in the same manner and observed the same tabus. Of course, this practice applied only to the medicine they shared in common. Individual members could also have their individual medicines.

The original procurer of the power was the society leader. Of course, he was a great medicine man. On his death, the surviving members chose a successor from among their members.

It was always proper to approach a practitioner through an intermediary when seeking a cure or a share of his power. For example, Bear Claws' wife was used. Wives were preferred for this role by many Comanche medicine men for the simple reason that their wives served in the manner of medical technicians and office assistants. (Note the role of Breaks Something's sister-in-law.) These women

756 knew the "way" of the medicine. Other medicine men preferred to be approached through a particular friend, who was usually the formal friendship partner. This overcame the handicaps connected with a wife, who in her menstrual period was barred from associating with the medicine. Some busy medicine men, like Breaks Something, preferred also to set up a medicine tipi separate from the living quarters. Like the adolescent tipi of the boy, it was always free from greasy and menstrual contamination. "My office," Breaks Something, not without a touch of humor, likes to refer to his old medicine tipi.

The acquisition of medicine power by a Comanche woman was always through the indulgence and aid of her husband, although no Comanche woman could make medicine on her own until after menopause. "It is impossible for a single woman to get power," according to the observation of She Invites Her Relatives. Even a married woman who had her husband's power could use it only after his death. "A brave warrior, if sensible," she proclaimed, "will show his wife how to use his medicine, so that when he dies, she can use it in his place and keep his clientele." As an afterthought she added, "He will do this only if kind and sensible." Then, after his death, the wife could go to his grave to receive his power. His guardian spirit might come and give it to her. Extremely solicitous medicine men sometimes instructed their wives and took them out to the lonely place where their power had been received. The wife could then get the power directly from the source.

She Invites Her Relatives was instructed in the medicine of her husband, but she refused to seek the sanctioning vision. "My husband wanted me to have it, but I did not want it. It had too many tabus. It might have killed me."

The procuring of the services of a medicine man has something of the nature of a contract in it. It was expected that the doctor would receive four articles in return for his efforts. He, on his part, was expected to make a gift of a part of his receipts to the intermediary through whom he was approached. And because he was an important man on whom the obligations of generosity bore heavily, other people could "horn in" on the gifts he received. "They might even ask him for his gifts before he went to make the cure. It depended upon how much nerve they had. He could not refuse them."

The Search for Power

Sometimes, if no cure was effected, the family of the patient withheld the promised gifts, but "an honorable medicine man would forget it." A mean medicine man could retaliate with sorcery, but in the opinion of Post Oak Jim this was quite unusual. It was felt by the Comanches that if a doctor tried his best and failed, it was still the honorable thing to give him his fee. In the case in which Been to See His Son (*patuawu'nikwai*) received a fine horse for doctoring a sick man, the patient subsequently died. Been to See His Son was riding this horse in a race one day when a disgruntled relative of the deceased patient demanded the return of the animal. Upon being refused, he pulled out a pistol and shot the horse dead. Been to See His Son did nothing.[7] 756

The cures effected by the Comanches included the use of pharmaceuticals, mechanical manipulation, thermotherapy, and psychosomatic therapy. Various medicine men used one or another or all of these techniques in accordance with the nature of the illness and the dictates of their guardian spirits. 755

The crude psychosomatic effect of tabu violation in the case of Breaks Something has already been described along with its cure by means of heat therapy and suggestive ritual. Two brief case histories of simple hysteria also illustrate the process.

« « « Wolf medicine makes a person invulnerable to bullets. You can't kill a wolf with a gun; only with a bow and arrow.

The father of a girl named She Blushes (*ɛkarɔ'ro*) was killed in battle. She went out alone to mourn by a tree. A wolf came along and attacked her. She tried to escape up the tree, but the wolf got her and pulled her down. She cried for help, and the wolf ran away, but not before it had bitten her.

The wolf bite made her insane. When people touched her, she howled like a wolf. They sent for Not Enough to Eat (*kewɜ'tsəmi*). He had wolf medicine.

He told some men to track down the wolf and bring it in to remove the medicine. They went out with guns and shot at it. Yet they could not kill it until one warrior shot it with an arrow. When they skinned the wolf, they found powder marks on the skin from

[7] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The government provided the stim-
797 ulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting
871 with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian
[657] children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics op-
797 erated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

797 For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not
178 interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional
[756] life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions.
[191] Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gasso-
797 way was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

797 It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian
178 missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, op. cit., 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis.*

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
789 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII A most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white. 756 789

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. 754 The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9] 755 754 683 627 754

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair. [682]

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89–90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94–95.

/page 39 continued/

C consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
K The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
795 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
177 regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
C change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the
K vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.
[787]

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
C and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
K from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
787 old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real
177 it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the
[756] present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual
through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific
situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture,
the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
K the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
823 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
778 raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions
[787] (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace
trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
K since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
823 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
778 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
177 there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
[775] fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
C often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still
K able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.
787

Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
C its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
K
276
795
778
[787]

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121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 [128] Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 153 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

GEORGE *and* LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.

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2

Sanapia, 1895–1968

Early Childhood

SANAPIA WAS BORN at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in the spring of 1895 in a tepee encampment of *yapai* Comanches who had traveled to Fort Sill for rations from the vicinity of Medicine Park, Oklahoma. As with most Comanche women her age, Sanapia only knows that she was born in the spring and has therefore arbitrarily set her birth date at May twentieth. 115 159

Her father was Comanche and her mother Comanche-Arapaho. Sanapia was the sixth in a family of eleven siblings, having five older brothers, three younger brothers, and two younger sisters. As is still the custom among the more traditionally oriented Comanches, the maternal grandmother is very instrumental in rearing her daughter's children. Both Sanapia's mother and her mother's older brothe. were eagle doctors. [603] [855] [756]

> Yeah, my mother doctored . . . she could do anything. One time it was her playmate . . . one time they were playing and she died. They put her buckskin dress on her, and you know in them days when anybody died they put red paint all over their face and their arms and their feet and then they put them away. They fix her up like that. My mother was playing with the rest of the kids. She was just a little bitty girl. She said, "I'm going to my tent and go to sleep. After awhile I play some more." Later these kids came to her and said, "They want you over there. Go to doctor." And she was just about ten years old that time. She went down there and she said, "No, no, she not going to go. I don't want her to die. I'll fix her up." She told all those people that, "You all get out. I'll fix her up." And she was sitting in that tent making all kinds of racket and pretty soon that little girl get up. She came back to life and lived many years. My mother died before her. [769]

Sanapia's maternal uncle was also very active among Comanche peyotists, leading peyote meetings throughout southern Oklahoma. Sanapia also counts among her relatives a paternal grandfather who was an important *yapai* leader in the

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115 159 603 855 [765]

people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

115 159 604 756 755

Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

115 159 771

Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

115 159 771 755

You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

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115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

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be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband. 115 159 756 868 582

142 115 159 291 302

Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

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115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a 115 daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, 159 Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 763 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 543 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 ●756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

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Some years later Sanapia married again, and many of my informants say that it was at this time that Sanapia abruptly ceased the behavior which had caused her so much notoriety. This was also the period during which Sanapia earnestly began her career as a doctor. Every account of cases which Sanapia treated stems from a time no later than 1945. 115 159 756

Sanapia and her present spouse have traveled extensively in the western United States. Their route always corresponds to areas of Indian population density. In the following, Sanapia recounts her first excursion to Wyoming. 115 159 484

> We went to New Mexico and to Las Vegas. We went over there. We just went, you know. We don't know where we going but we just went that way. Came to Navajos, Pueblos, and we visit among them and we stop at Las Vegas. Mind you, at that time I sure like to gamble. And so I went over there and start gambling. J——— [Sanapia's husband] said, "You better quit. We long way from home." And I just said, "As long as we stay here I'm going to gamble. If we lose anything, I win it back." Wanted him to get me some money. And so we stayed about ten days and then we went on. We went to Wyoming. They, the Shoshones, live in a reservation at Fort Washington, north from Lander, . . . town of that name, I think. Maybe something else. They live close together to one another, you know, not like us. We live so many miles from each other. They don't work, they don't do nothing. Just all day long they drum and sing and dance and every day something is going on and gambling is the biggest part of it. Well, when we first got over to Wyoming, that afternoon, we ask where are the Shoshone peoples. We was right there among them and we didn't even know it. We went into a big building, you know . . . it was their community building or something like a club or something like that. We went in. It was full of Indians. They was sitting around in groups around the floor. And there was blankets and they was sitting on it. And then we stand there and look at them and they was gambling . . . playing Mexican monte. And so I wanted to find out what my grandmather had told me so I went up and listen and when they talk about us. We didn't talk. We just be standing there. And they said "These are some kind of Indians, maybe Mexicans. They sure look like Mexicans." They said that. And we said, "We not Mexicans," . . . in Indian. And they look at one another and said, "Do you all talk like us?" and we said, "Yeah, we talk like you all." I said, "We your ancestors. That where we come from." So that evening they invite us to their homes . . . this whole group of people and that night we have group of Indians there. They were all talking to us . . . finding out where we live and where we come from and all that. And I told them, "You are the people that my grandmother told me about." And I told them about that big sickness what the Indians caught, and then I said, "You all got that and then you scattered. You belong to our tribe. That's what my grandmother told me." And they were surprised, you know.

Training to Become a Doctor

Sanapia recalls the four years of training to become a doctor as the most important years of her life. It is to those years that Sanapia owes the prestige which she enjoys today among the northern Comanches. As a doctor, she holds a status in her society equal to a man. She is at the zenith of traditionally defined prestige and social power acquirable by a woman in Comanche society. 115 159 756 562 559

The first phase of Sanapia's training began in the summer before her last 115 159 756

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115 year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine
159 plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not
756 native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the
[824] collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into
278 manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the significance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through
159 him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be some-
756 what counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded
177 for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

115 Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The
159 Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing
756 it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut*
[761] and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

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A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing. 115 159 756

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine. 115 159 756 465 [431]

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping 756 773

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756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 164

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 603 115 159 756 775

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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of
[778] her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[826] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *pubakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

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After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life. 115 159 756 789

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating. 115 159 756 784 262 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures. 115 159 756

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

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115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar,
[789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's
[825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
159 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
756 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
784 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
262 potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an individual for some object or assistance.

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans. The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kardiner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia, through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevitable struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is transmitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill

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to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *pubakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[880] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
755
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well. . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote-hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which
announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 592

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115 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection
159 of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite
756 daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does
593 not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

115 Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense
159 medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is
756 received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's
778 feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

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115 varied. Because of her supernatural powers and mercurial temperament, a certain
159 aloofness marks her relationship even with her friends. Only two old women,
157 women who grew up with Sanapia, seem to be able to overcome this barrier.
571 This aloofness is as much instigated by Sanapia as it is a reaction of others based on fear, or at least uneasiness in her presence.

Some Comanches exhibit a type of reaction to Sanapia which is interpreted by other Comanches as jealousy. Sanapia has a position and a skill which is denied to the majority of Comanches. Many of the younger and more acculturated though sympathetic Comanches consider her a likeable but eccentric old woman. She is considered ridiculous by many of the southern Comanches. Many Comanches, as well as neighboring Kiowas and Apaches, continue to represent her as sexually promiscuous, alcoholic, violent, and prone to excessive gambling. However, in all these cases her traditionalism and conservative Comanche beliefs are acknowledged, though they may be interpreted positively or negatively, depending on who is presenting the opinion.

A Kiowa woman offered the following opinion:

> She sure is a good old woman . . . pretty for an old woman too. I seen you with her bunch a lot so I guess you know what she is . . . what she does. I took my niece up to her once and she cared for her and got her well in a few days. I tell other people about how she took care of my little girl and they might go to see her if they get sick bad or if their family might get sick.

Another informant was less charitable in his evaluation:

> I don't know much about it. I've heard some of my people talking about an old woman who lives south from here. They say she can curse you if she wants to and make you sick. It's that woman you mention too. She supposed to be a bad one, but I never seen her. I don't believe that suff about curses myself but a lot of people . . . Indian people . . . do. You better watch out. They say she can do it.

Sanapia's Self-Concept

115 Sanapia is aware that some people laugh at her, and she does as much
159 as she can to eliminate this possibility, for she is an exceedingly proud woman.
156 Types of behavior which ostentatiously identify her as a *puhakut*, such as wearing a black kerchief or vocally demanding that others observe her tabu restrictions, are avoided by her for fear that others will think that she is "just a crazy old Indian."

Sanapia's opinion of herself remains quite high in spite of the pressures
115 that surround her. In the following account she describes how she brought a dead
159 niece back to life:
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● 756 I was doctoring my niece one time . . . the doctor gave up on her. She had
755 cancer and liver. So the doctor, white doctor, gave up. They dismissed her from the Indian hospital and she went home. Somebody came to our house that after-

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noon and told us that L——— was dying. The doctor gave up. I told my husband, "Let's go see her." And we beat it down there and it was about five o'clock, late that afternoon. It was cold. When we got there she was just lying on her back like that . . . nobody was in the house except her. Her husband was gone and her children were all gone. She was white as a sheet. Her face was just white and her lips were blue. She didn't even notice me come in. I wake her up and said, "Are you sleeping? What's the matter with you?" She said, "I'm dying . . . going to die tonight. That's what the doctor told me. They dismissed me from the hospital. I'm going to die either tonight or tomorrow . . . just any day. Could you help me?" That's what she said. And I told J———, "You go get your brothers. I'll get her out of it . . . that's nothing. That cancer ain't nothing to me." And he beat it down there to his brothers and they come in right after dark. That night we soaked that deer hide . . . soaked it in water till it could get soft and they put it on the drum. And right there in the middle of town . . . she got a home in the middle of town and a lot of white people living all around her house. So I said, "Let's have this peyote meeting for her tonight . . . drum all night. Let me fix her up. She be alright." And so that night we had a drumming right there in the middle of town. And she was worse the next morning. I said, "This is too noisy. I don't like to doctor anybody in noisy place. Let's take her home." So we load her up and brought her down here to our place. That night we had another peyote meeting inside of the house and it was just pouring down rain and we had the meeting for her. Took that peyote and said, "Our fathers, way back in years . . . our grandfathers took this medicine, and they said that whenever anybody sick like that you just take this and chew it and then put it in your hands and let her swallow it . . . give her four at the start." And I done that. I prayed and I talked to that peyote just like I'm talking to you. I said, "If you don't get her well, I don't want you. If you not nothing, if you ain't got power, I don't want to use you anymore." God made me in this world and he gave me this power just like when he was here on land. Jesus went around blessing people and healing the sick and everything like that and I believe that I got the power in my hands. I believe I could get her well. So that night we had a peyote meeting and the second night we had another one and the fourth night . . . the fourth night she died. She just went out. She was blue . . . fingernails were blue and her lips turn blue. I told them, "Take that drum hide out." And they took it, rinse it out, squeeze it, and I said, "Give it to me." And I put it on her head. I rub her face with it, and four times I done that to her and then I sing my Medicine song. When anybodys dying and I doctor them that's the only time I sing that special song I got. So I said, "You all carry her and put her on my bed," and they carried her. I said, "You all stay out there in the front room." And they all stayed out there and it was still pouring rain. Everybody get out. It was raining out there and the wind was howling around. I sing this song and I fan her and I doctor her . . . give her that medicine. I don't know how many times I give her that. And after awhile she open her eyes and said, "I'm sure thirsty." And after that she got alright.

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Sanapia considers herself a slightly outmoded necessity in Comanche society. She knows that she represents an extremely ancient Comanche institution, and it is in that knowledge that her feeling of uniqueness rests; at the same time she can foresee the final end of her tradition. Many times, as we sat watching automobiles moving along a highway or observed the skyscrapers in Oklahoma City and Wichita, she would speak of the incongruity of herself and the twentieth-century world in which she lives.

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3

Medicine Kit

Care of Medicines

SANAPIA KEEPS the various kinds of botanical and nonbotanical medicines which she utilizes in a leather "travel case." This case is kept on a shelf on the west wall of her bedroom. She will also only open her medicine kit on the west end of a room or tent. The medicines in the travel case are kept orderly and fully stocked at all times to facilitate speed in an emergency call on her services. Each medicine is wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is black in almost every instance, though Sanapia states that this is only coincidence. In the inside lid of the case she keeps her Medicine feather—a tail feather of a golden eagle. 756 278

Sanapia is the only one allowed to touch this box or its contents, and she will not open it in the presence of small children or menstruating women. The medicine kit is potentially very dangerous if handled in an incorrect manner or by the wrong person. Sanapia recalls what happened to the niece of an eagle doctor who died several years ago. 756 278 783

> When S——— died, a niece got into her medicine bag. Now don't you know she sure shouldn't done that. But it got her . . . she got that twisted face and nobody fix her . . . couldn't do a thing for her. If she had sense, she would take that bag, don't open it mind you, and throw it in the creek. Then it couldn't hurt nobody.

Running water, because of its desacralizing effect, is Sanapia's only remedy by which the possible harm produced by an individual's inadvertent contamination by supernatural power or Medicine belonging to another can be undone. In a doctoring situation if it is absolutely necessary that another person touch some object connected with her medicine kit, this person must immediately be cedared, or "smoked," upon completion of the task; that is, the dried and rubbed leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals and the rising smoke is drawn over the contaminated person in a ritual cleansing act. After the cedar ritual

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
756 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.
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Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamsmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamapits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eaglé; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
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> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [795]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

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4

Ghosts and Ghost Sickness

Comanche Attitudes toward Ghosts

WALLACE AND HOEBEL (1952:173) write concerning the Comanches' attitudes toward ghosts: "Ghosts did not generally bother the Comanches; but the Comanches were definitely uneasy about them." Kardiner (1945:84) states that the Comanches have no ghost fear at all. I found that not only did my older Comanche informants feel uneasy about ghosts but in most cases they were terrified by them. In almost every interview with a Comanche informant, some situation was cited that dealt with the horrors which ghosts are capable of afflicting on the living. 775

Sanapia states that the whirlwinds, or "dust devils," common in southern Oklahoma are the only form which the ghosts take which is entirely visible to the human eye. In addition this is the only form by which the ghost will make his presence known during daylight hours. The nocturnal guise of the ghost is probably humanlike, in Sanapia's opinion, though she states that she has never seen a ghost at night. This fact is irksome to her because she believes herself to be an expert on the matter of ghosts and their behavior among the Comanches. She considers the lack of this experience as a major flaw in her background, though she accounts for it by mentioning the fear which her Medicine inspires in ghosts. The following is her description of an attempt she made to meet a ghost: [823]

> I tried it on a real dark night. I took my flashlight and walked from here to the highway. The darkest night. That's what I supposed to do because the ghost hates me and I hate it. He ain't never going to do nothing to me because I'm going to overpower that ghost. I could kill it, and the things that it done to a person. He won't do that to me because I got that Medicine. So I walk here to the highway the darkest night. They say there's ghost on the road, but I never did see any. I went to the highway, and then I come back. I just wanted to try. If there was a ghost, I never did hear one, I never see one. Nothing touch me, nothing in my way. I just wanted to see how it was for them to scare [756]

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775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
571 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggressions could be released in such a way that the societal

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 341 376 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 756 576 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers, [775] [576]

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Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. 775
By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce 756
to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request 576
presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor [516]
who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved 775
with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between 756
the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. [516]
> I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there [195]
> and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison-advisor. This approach ritual payment [465]
consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls 775
a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, 756
the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches 276

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775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.
465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinastu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

When Sanapia has accepted the cigarette and taken the required four
775 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
756 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally
755 to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

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which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is 756
very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating 755
psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to 775
bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. 755
The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first inter- 515
view. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient 756
is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though [783]
Sanapia never directly alluded to this.

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two 775
days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning 755
of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the 756
patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia 775
states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually 755
not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to 756
say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability 763
to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient.

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she 775
awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. 755
She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, 756
accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She 782
then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
756 782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

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775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[262] *bekwinatsu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
756
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third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes. 775 755 756 794

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bokwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands. [278]

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance. 775 755 756 [534]

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

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775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bakwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before
he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

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775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[754] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakus* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

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Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of [128] witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated.

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared.

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children.

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of

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754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
775 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
164 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
755 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
775 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
154 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the, overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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5

Witchcraft and the Conceptualization of Illness

Black Magic

WITCHCRAFT and the conceptualization of illness, two seemingly separate areas, are best discussed together because Sanapia's notions of witchcraft present the most obvious examples of her manner of conceptualizing human illness and its causes. The variety of Comanche witchcraft described here is carried out by one of the major methods of the classic witch, a ritual of malevolent imitative magic; however, its perpetrator is not a witch but a shaman who has only temporarily utilized his supernatural powers and knowledge or ritual for purposes of evil. I will use the noun and the verb forms of the word "witch" as my Comanche informants do, keeping this distinction in mind. E. Adamson Hoebel (1940:85) writes: "The Comanche made no basic distinction between a Medicine man and a sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil."

Witchcraft is an extremely delicate area to investigate among contemporary Comanches. In the sense that the term is presently used among Comanches, it is synonymous with the most diabolical kind of murder. A Medicine woman who was notorious for her acts of malevolent magic has died only within the last several years, and it appears that many Comanches now look upon Sanapia, the only Medicine woman still living, not only with a calculated respect but also with suspicion and a certain amount of fear. The label "witch" was never directly applied by my informants to Sanapia, though some Comanches noted her quick temper and stated that they knew Comanches who were afraid to associate with her lest they arouse her temper and run the risk of having it directed at them.

Sanapia quite naturally denies that she would witch another person, though she is evasive concerning the possibility of her potential to witch if she so desired. When this specific subject presented itself in the course of our discussion, her response could be predicted. In every instance of a question which alluded to the possibility of her utilization of her powers to harm others she drew on the

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754 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her
756 evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *pubakus* would resort to
756 witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a
828 Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puba* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the
[854] blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is
[164] also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

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become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women attempt to kill their children. 754 756 [828]

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim.

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this. 754 756 785 [782]

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

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754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

754 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle
237 plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witchcraft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to the sun is also relevant. 754 756 825 [782]

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy stuff which accumulate under the skin. 754 164 [753] 775] [753]

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In contrast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness, Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow contiguous with these symptoms. 775 754 164 753

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *təpinatsu*, *ekapokowa:pi*, *kusiwəna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwəna* and applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where the feather is located. *Təpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing. 754 755 756

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 754 755 756 787

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754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

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753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 755 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 753 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 754 755 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 755 756 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is suggested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

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With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft. 754 755 756

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium. [128] [177] [753]

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft. 754 184 177 [101] [571] [578]

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic 754 561 578

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Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information
114 with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography
121 is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is
756 that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there
124 is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce
[756] them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

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159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

The Comanches

755 wrapped with sinew and softened in water was pushed down the throat to clear it.[10]

752 Although buffalo medicine was worked to cure bloody wounds, especially gunshot wounds, mechanical tourniquets were used when necessary. Surgery was also relied upon. Slope tells of a battle casualty whose intestines protruded from a belly wound. A medicine man stopped the bleeding by putting his buffalo tail in his mouth and blowing on the wound. He then pressed the intestines back into place, and after burning the spines off a prickly pear cactus, split it. The open surfaces of the cactus were pressed against the flesh on both sides of the wound to compress it. It was then bound up and left to heal.

757 For patients with rheumatism or headaches some doctors dug a trench and heated it with a fire until the ground cracked. Raking out the fire, they laid a bed of sage, poured cold water on to steam it, and felt to see that it was not too hot. The patient lay down in the trench and was covered by a buffalo robe or blanket for a good baking.

For toothache they heated tree fungus and held it to the aching jaw. Cavities were treated by stuffing a dried mushroom of a certain variety in the hole. A laxative was made by boiling the cambium layer of the willow tree. Healing by means of herbs was practiced by men and women alike, whether professional doctors or not, just as was the case with whites in pioneer America. Almost every man and old woman had a bundle of medicines peculiarly his own, the secrets of which were known only to the owner. One such remedy used by a doctor was about as follows. With the liquid obtained from boiling certain herbs, he bathed the patient. With a paste derived from the liquid he also painted dog tracks on the patient and on a large dog.[11]

Some of the owners of medicines were supposed to have learned of the various medicinal plants by means of dreams or through some mythical hero who went out on the prairie with the individual and pointed out various plants for use in treating diseases. Fasting was a
752 common treatment for most ailments. The Comanches are credited with "being expert in curing gun-shot wounds, and in the treatment

[10] Informant: She Invites Her Relatives.
[11] Informant: Medicine Woman.

The Comanches

757 The vapor bath or sweat lodge was used extensively in medical treatment as in the cure of Breaks Something.

789 Beyond curing and lending their protective power to others, the Comanche medicine men served to make rain and as seers. The rain-making medicine of Big Bear called for the use of an outside tail feather of a black eagle. With his power it was necessary only to dip the feather into water and sprinkle towards the sun four times. "A cloud will soon appear and shortly it will rain." Big Bear overdid it once when living in a tipi northeast of Cache, Oklahoma. He made medicine for a rain with some wind in it. Came a cloud. It grew bigger. Then came rain and a big wind that blew his tipi down. "His wife got after him for not asking for a nice, soft rain."[16]

787 A seer might be called upon to learn the fate of overdue war parties. In one simple method the medicine man "dreamed" on it and gave the answer in the morning. The other method was a regular séance. Post Oak Jim's account of such a séance is as follows.

« « « A war party was gone for a long time; they wanted to find out about it.

The medicine man had them clean up a nice place on the ground for a special tipi west of the camp. He selected about seven special men to go in with him. The camp was ordered to remain quiet. He had a fire built, and they went in just before midnight. They smoked and told the medicine man what they wanted to know.

He told them to put out the fire and close the smoke vent from outside.

Then he put on his blanket and went out into the night. He made a call. From way off an answer came back. He called again; the answering call was closer. He called a third time; it was closer yet. On his fourth call the answer was near by.

Then he re-entered the tipi and sat down.

"Everyone remain quiet," he told them. "The ghost is coming. That was his call."

The ghost, in the form of a bird, lit on top of the tipi. They could hear it was heavy.

From inside the tipi, the medicine man talked to it. "What we

[16] Informant: Slope.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

Plant remedies played a part in the Comanche treatment of 824 venereal diseases. The root of the thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*) was 278 boiled and the liquid drunk in cases of gonorrhea. Another medicinal 757 drink for gonorrhea was prepared by making an infusion of the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*). Syphilitic sores were treated with the ashes of the stems of little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*).

Two plants were used by the Comanche, in much the same manner, for both toothache and sore throat. For toothache the root of the purple coneflower (*Echinacea sp.*) or the bark of the root of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was held against the tooth to relieve pain. In cases of sore throat the root of the coneflower was boiled in water and the liquid drunk, or the inner bark of the prickly ash was ground and placed in the throat. This similarity may indicate some association of tooth and throat troubles in the minds of the Comanche, but it very likely has no significance, since both plants were general cure-alls among various tribes. The Cheyenne utilized Echinacea for the same purposes, and the methods of application were only slightly different (9, p. 188). Echinacea was an important medicinal plant among the tribes of the Missouri River region, where its use for toothache was identical with that of the Comanche, but no mention is made of it as a cure for sore throat (7, p. 131).

Three plants were prescribed for the treatment of "sore eyes." The root of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) was boiled in water and the decoction used to bathe them; the stems of willow (*Salix sp.*) were burned and the eyes treated with the ashes; and the sap of the prickly poppy (*Argemone intermedia*) was administered to the eyes. It was said that in gathering this latter plant offerings in the form of [222] beads or other objects were made to it.

A tea for "stomach trouble" was prepared from the roots of *Eriogonum longifolium*, and the leaves of mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) were chewed, and the juice swallowed, to relieve acid stomach. A remedy for constipation was a drink made by boiling the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*).

The bark of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was mixed with water and the decoction drunk as a cure for fever. Two other plants were also specified for the treatment of fever. The leaves of one of these (Comanche: *poiya*) were mixed with an herb (unknown

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
439 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825 [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these
752] are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 were not known by the particular informants questioned. One man felt that the white sage had a practical value, but did not know what it might be. Some of these plants have been recorded as used by tribes more or less in contact with the Comanche and may have been employed in a similar manner by the Comanche. The informant who pointed out the western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*) gave its name as *wɔanatsu*, but knew of no use for it. The ending *natsu* [757] indicates a medicinal plant, and it is interesting to note that this plant was prescribed by the Cheyenne in the treatment of colds, cramps in bowels, and bloody stools (9, p. 188), and that it was also valued by the Gosiute in the treatment of sore eyes (6, p. 49), but has a quite different name, without the *natsu* ending, in Gosiute.

221 The Comanche were formerly a very nomadic people, particularly
166 after their acquisition of the horse. Marcy and McClellan (15, pp.
824 94–95) describe them as following the buffalo from place to place and also tell of their horse- and cattle-stealing expeditions, which covered over a thousand miles and even took them into the northern provinces of Mexico, consuming two years or more at a time. Richardson (19) tells something of the migrations, movements, expeditions, and contacts of the Comanche. They appear to have been in at least occasional touch with Apache and Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with Plains and Plateau tribes as far north as what is now the Canadian border. It seems reasonable that they should have been an important agency in the diffusion of plants and of knowledge of plant uses as well as of other culture traits. They controlled practically all the limited area in which the valuable *bois d'arc* or bowwood grew and from which it was traded to the Siouan, the Caddoan, and other tribes to the north, and to the Pueblos to the west. They doubtless also were instrumental in spreading the narcotic cults based on the peyote and mescal beans. La Barre (12, p. 43) considers the Kiowa and the Comanche to be the center of diffusion of peyote in the Plains. Both peyote and mescal beans were native to the southwestern region of Texas and in Mexico, but were diffused almost throughout the Plains and as far northeastward as the Great Lakes. Certainly the many similar plant uses of the Comanche and of other tribes of the Plains, the Plateau, and the Southwest indicate either Comanche contact with these various peoples or a very active dissemination of such traits throughout these areas.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291

"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge. [757]

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archive General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be supposed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail- 152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [325]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.
[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
782
823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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Oklahoma

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824

Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant.

[778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most sur-
[778] rounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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Oklahoma

Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

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Oklahoma

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
757

ekəpa

[77] [137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring [841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a [783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsatene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunənatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment [752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakuma[k]

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakuma[k] is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 278 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment. 755 757 177

pɔhɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) 137

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling. 752

ɛsipɔhɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) 137

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) 137

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar. 778

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278 824 755 757 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treatment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [782] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

sanawiba

[137] "yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" *Guitierrezia dracunculoides* (broomweed)

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes.

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kusiwana

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *esipɔbɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] [825] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

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steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and colora- 278
tion, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal 824
relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered 755
and used in its dried or green state. 757

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

təpinatsu

"rock medicine" 278 824

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on 237
botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally 755
composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks." 757

Təpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

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278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *tɔpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *tɔpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *tɔpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *tɔpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia [844] also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian [303] perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

One end
484 of a tipi pole was tied on each side of a horse or a mule and the other
492 end allowed to drag. This formed the travois on which the family belongings were piled until it was hardly possible to see the back of the animal bearing the burden. Children too large to be carried on their mothers' backs but too small to ride alone were tied on some old horse to be led or herded along with the procession. As an improvised
[758] ambulance for the wounded or ill, a buffalo skin was stretched between the poles of the travois, forming a sort of bed upon which the invalid was fastened for the journey. It frequently happened that some of the pack animals became frightened and scattered their burdens for miles over the prairie. Men and boys divided their time along the route between hunting and driving the remuda as they moved across a land they claimed as their own—Comanchería.

/page 40 continued/

Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

It was the middle of the afternoon before I could saddle my horse 000
and leave for the Martny camp. Jim's family allotments, about six 351
miles down Cache Creek, were the last individual Indian land. When the creek left his land it entered the Big Pasture Reserve, the ranch country. His allotments adjoined the reserve on both their south and east sides. There were two roads into Jim's camp, and both dead-ended. One, the road I used to reach the camp, came from the west and north; the other ran north from the camp to a gate into the reserve. The latter road was the one Jim used when going directly to Lawton or to the subagency at Fort Sill. A concept of the camp's isolation will help the reader to have a clearer understanding of subsequent events. As I have said, the evidence is mostly circumstantial.

I found Albert conscious, lying on his platform bed under the family's large brush arbor. As I remember it, their arbor was the largest family arbor I saw during the time I was in the Comanche 34
country, probably thirty by thirty-six feet. It had a clearance of a full six feet at the edge or eaves and probably eight feet at the center. It was large enough for platform beds for all, besides a sizable living space. I saw larger arbors constructed for camp meetings, but not for family use.

Albert's mother left us boys to our talk, and I took over the job 758
of switching the flies away with a leafy twig. Of course Albert knew nothing of the happenings, after the first few jumps made by the excited horse, until he regained consciousness, completely trussed up in splints. Beyond question, he was the worst broken-up human, to be 758 164
living. I ever saw.

His right arm and leg, splinted, were lying in troughs made from pieces of wood from goods boxes. At that time all canned goods and food sold in cartons, like oatmeal and crackers, were shipped in wooden boxes. I imagine the Martny wives had saved the pieces to start the campfire.

The breaks in this arm and leg were compound fractures. That is 164
to say, one or both bones from each break protruded from the flesh. The breaks in the left arm and leg, which were simple fractures, were held in place with splints from the same material, but were not in troughs. The splints were wrapped and padded with faded calico rags.

Here and there on the limbs and along the side of the body pieces of flesh were gouged out where the horse had stepped on the flesh. His racing shoes must have been new, for they made clean cuts.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his [759] breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned 000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ancestors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to congratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist. He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient. "Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanksgiving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the overcurious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
657 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
423 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead
177 of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

The Comanches

768 generally caused the entire village to be moved. It is possible that this practice sometimes served to check the ravages of disease, but its ostensible reason was to get away from the place of death, even as the tipi was destroyed.

761 Death was not feared by the Comanches. It was ever present and they lived in violence and danger. But the dead caused them great anxiety. They were extravagant in the manifestation of concern. Thus, life, which was received quite casually and with mild pleasure, was closed with extreme emotional outbursts.

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine
159 plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not
756 native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the
[824] collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into
[278] manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the signifi-
159 cance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through
756 him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be some-
177 what counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

115 Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The
159 Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing
756 it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut*
[761] and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

685 Indian is said to have been opened at least a half dozen times. Attention is naturally directed to the possibility of grave robbery among the Indians before the depredations of the white man. Here again inquiry was met with denial, until one instance was finally related by Slope.

Case 36. Grave Robbery
Informant: Slope

"A wealthy man was in a cave. His body was dressed in his best clothes; and when he had been laid in the cave, the opening was closed up with rocks. The mourners went away down the hill toward the camp.

"As soon as they were out of sight, a tákapa (poor man), who had hidden nearby, came out and removed the upper rocks from the opening. Putting his hand in, he felt of the man's beaver-wrapped hair, and his silver ear-rings. The fresh air brought the dead man to life and he caught the hands of the marauder. So frightened was the youth that he uttered a piercing cry and struggled to get away. But the man spoke to him and begged him to get some water for him to drink. He asked the poor boy to run and tell the departing relatives that he was alive, and said he would give the youth anything he wanted.

"The boy set off at a run to tell the mourners what he had seen. When he caught up with them, he confessed his attempt to rob the grave and what had happened to him. They immediately turned about and went back to the cave. There they found their relative revived as the boy had said. They took away the rest of the rocks and gave him a drink of water. In gratitude to the poor boy, they forgave him for his act and gave him the good clothes which the man had been buried in and four horses."

It is evident enough that the robbing of graves was not in the category of usual forms of misconduct. Apparently no particular pattern of attitudes was worked out as to how to treat such violators; there was no need. The one case cited could easily have been otherwise handled if it had not resulted in the saving of the life of the "dead" man. One suspects that it may be more legendary than factual.

SUICIDE

Suicide because of an overwhelming sense of shame was a definite
●762 Comanche pattern.

"When I was about fourteen years old I saw a woman who was either sick or pregnant hang herself," said Post Oak Jim. "She was ashamed of having a child when she was so old. She would stay away from camp all day. Finally she hung herself." And again, "Once there was a man who was whipping a horse in the face. The horse dodged, and he struck himself

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

across the face with his quirt. He'd never been whipped. He got to thinking about it, so he got out his gun and shot himself. The people didn't know why he did it, and suggested things out of the way. Sometimes when Indians go on a raid they catch a disease and commit suicide because they don't want to go back that way. This man was a brave warrior; he had killed lots of enemies; he had power." 762

Among the Comanches a sense of the injustice of a formally justifiable act at times took the form of a protest-suicide. Or perhaps it might be released in some retaliatory act, such as killing a favorite horse or mutilating the good-looking sister of the man who had pushed the law too far. A boyhood prank of Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man produced these double repercussions of incensed reactions to an over-strict legal settlement. 681 762

Case 37. Adultery and Retaliations
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man 684 882 689

"I was down by the creek one day with a friend when a woman came down for water. She was the sister of my friend's step-mother. I proposed that we seek intercourse with her. My friend agreed. So I went over to make the proposition to the woman. She was quite willing, provided that we would wait until she had taken the bucket of water back to camp. On her return I met her first, as I had demanded the first chance. While we were together there, her sister (my friend's step-mother) saw us, but she slipped quietly into the brush and said nothing. When my friend had his turn, his step-mother again spied and saw them together. She went right away to her sister's husband and informed him of his wife's doings with us.

"The man came to my father's tipi. He told him what had happened. 'What do you intend to do about it?' he asked my father.

"We were called in and he blamed us both with adultery. I denied any contact with the wife, but when my friend was charged he boasted, 'Sure I did it. It's an honor to be able to do such a thing as that.' The husband demanded damages, and when he received two good horses from my father, he departed satisfied.

"Then my elder brother came home from a raid and heard that two horses had been given because of our activity. He was angry. He took his bow and arrow and shot two horses dead in the herd of the woman's husband.

"Nothing further happened at that time. But then the younger brother of the husband came back from a raid and heard the story. He was angry that the two horses had been shot. Thinking that his older brother had been ill-treated all around, he went over and cut off the nose of my friend's beautiful sister.'

The whole difficulty generated from the fact that the wrong-doers were youths. Adultery does give cause for suit for damages, but boys were always in a favored position and indulgence should have been shown them.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

684 Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man denied his guilt and nothing happened.
882 The other boy boasted, aggravating the situation. The elder brother, how-
689 ever, would not be imposed upon. To him it was lack of good taste and fairness for the old man to take two horses; hence his summary retaliation. The collaterals to the other party reacted in turn to this action as indecently harsh. They retaliated with mutilation of the sister. This last retaliation should not be confused with the principle of group liability (i.e., that the sister paid because she shared the responsibility). It was rather that the sister belonged to the brother and, as a good-looking girl, had value to him. Spoiling her visage was like mutilating his horse (possibly more so).

689 So too in the murder case (pp. 66–67 above) in which a war leader was slain for killing the two fat horses which had been offered him in compensation for one fat horse of his which had been eaten without his permission. The horses were his by acknowledged agreement. But that the chief should so scornfully kill them was too much for the other party. It was an insult to a man who had sought to do right. Though the killing was undertaken by one man and his captive, yet the entire group acquiesced, making no effort to dissuade him. Their inaction showed at least passive approval.

It appears that one should not press his bald legal rights too far. Too much pressure under the wrong circumstances generated the same type of back-fire which in recent decades has troubled modern Continental lawyers with the concept of "abuse of rights."

689 The sharpest back-fire in such situations was in protest-suicide. Witness
762 the action of a disowned mother, who was rightfully denied by the son she had deserted.

Case 38. Suicide
Informant: That's It

"This woman was widowed with her four-year-old son. The band was moving camp and she had her boy tied in his little saddle on a pony. They were straggling along so much that they dropped behind the other people. A young man dropped back and proposed to the mother that they run off and marry. She agreed to that. But they did not want to be bothered with the child, so they tied his horse to a tree in the midst of a grove and left him there to starve.

"Later on some hunters, who were out after a bob-cat, came to the grove. One hunter said to the others, 'There's a horse standing over there.' The group went into the grove and saw the boy sleeping. They watched him. Some said they should wake him up. They woke him up and asked about his mother. He didn't know, but he told them the direction she had gone. The hunters followed the trail and came up to the main band. The mother was not there, so the boy was taken by his grandfather and raised to manhood, and got married.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One night his mother came back to the band. She went right into her son's tipi and shook his arm. She told him to get up and get some bison before they moved camp, because the people were going to a place where buffalo were scarce. 689 762

"The young man woke up and looked at her. He said, 'Did you call me "son"?' 'No,' he replied to her avowal, 'I have no mother. You tell me you're my mother. You don't know what you are talking about. Go away!'

"His mother uttered a groan and went back to her own tipi. Then she went out. She went down by the creek to a tree and threw a raw-hide rope over a branch. She stood on a log and put the rope about her neck. After that she kicked the log out into the stream and hung herself.

"The body was discovered by some hunters. All the people ran down there to cut her down and they buried her not far from the creek. The brother of the dead woman was angry. He said he would kill his nephew's wife. He said she must have had something to do with it; otherwise it would not have happened. But the young man and his wife ran away. They stayed with some other people until the trouble was forgotten."

Here again the son was legally right, for his mother had given up proper claim to him. For that in itself the son was not blamed. And yet to cause her such anguish that she committed suicide was going too far. In the uncle's thinking the son would not have done that of his own volition; his hussy of [157] a wife must have urged him to it! The forgetting of the trouble, by lapse of [152] time, shows the role of momentary passion, such as grief, or outraged dignity, in a hot-tempered people.

Nor should we fail to include the seeking of death in flaming glory on the battlefield, sought with reckless abandon by men whose honor was stained or whose failing constitutions held out the prospect of death on the sick-bed. These, too, were suicide: but suicide turned to public benefit.

Case 39. Suicide
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"Among the Yɛp-Eaters were two brothers: they were Thunder and Rocky Creek. They grew up together and never quarrelled. When they were yet young men their last remaining relatives died, leaving them alone. They were single men.

"Then came the time when Rocky Creek eloped with Eat Something; he took her on the war-path, for she was married to an old man. His brother was with him in this venture. But then they returned, Rocky Creek let her go; because she was a mean woman he did not want her.

"These brothers had a sister, Breaks Wind While Sitting, who was married. When they returned from the war-path they went to visit her.[1] Their brother-in-law,

[1] The rules of avoidance lapse when brother and sister have been married.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

684 who had been out hunting, returned with meat at the same time they arrived in
●762 camp. The next morning at breakfast both Rocky Creek and Thunder asked their sister to add some more fat to their meat. 'I did not endanger my life on the hunt in order that you should enjoy the best of it all,' their brother-in-law muttered. When he said this mean thing, Thunder pushed his meat aside.

" 'Sister,' he requested, 'take this food away.' She obeyed him. The brothers washed their hands; Thunder motioned to the door, 'Come,' he said to Rocky Creek, 'let us go outside.'

"They left the camp to go up into the mountains; there they stayed all day even though it was winter. Towards evening another young man came along. He hailed them. 'What is the meaning of this? Why are you here? I know you have been here since early morning.'

"Thunder answered him, 'We are just thinking things over.'

" 'What things?' the stranger asked.

" 'I have no father or mother,' Thunder replied. 'There is only one thing left for me. Tomorrow I start out to seek death.'

" 'Where then?'

" 'In the white man's territory. I shall probably not return from there either.'

"The stranger said he would join them.

"As they started slowly on their way, they were met by several others in the same plight—young men without a place to go—tákapana. They travelled for days and days. Then they were being trailed by some soldiers who were led by an Indian scout. The young men stopped and killed some cattle for meat which they carried into a ravine to cook. Just as they sat ready to eat, one saw a cloud of dust. 'It is a whirlwind, I think,' he remarked to the others.

" 'No,' said another. 'It is the soldiers on our trail.'

"Thunder spoke up then. 'Listen to me, brothers,' he commanded. 'Those of you who care to can still escape. Go now! I stay here. Here by this fire, for I have come seeking this very thing.'

"They waited. The soldiers were upon them. Here and there a man was picked off as the firing began. Rocky Creek approached his brother. 'I am shot,' he said. 'A bullet has wounded me.'

" 'You can still escape. There is a way out down the creek. Go! But I am staying.'

" 'Brother, come with me,' Rocky Creek pleaded.

"Thunder only answered, 'I am not leaving our fire.' The guns rattled on.

"By noon all the tákapana save one were dead. The firing ceased. Of all the young men this one alone lived to tell the story of what had happened to this homeless group.

"The brother-in-law who had begrudged food to his wife's brothers was an exception. When he acted so, it wounded their prides so that they went out to seek death. Many young men in the same circumstances courted death at enemy hands."

[558] So, too, did lovers who had lost face when a braver husband forced them to give up a stolen woman. Cases will be remembered from previous sections.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Here, as in the Trobriands, we find suicide "a means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior."[2] 762

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 98.

Professor Malinowski emphasizes another aspect of the situation which Professor Karl Llewellyn feels is not justified by the Melanesian data thus far at hand. The whole of the quotation cited above reads, "Thus suicide, like sorcery, is a means of keeping the natives to a strict observance of the law, or means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior." Llewellyn observes that the Trobriand data show not that suicide is a method of enforcing the *law*, but more likely that it is a method of protest *against* a too strict insistence upon the letter of the law—even as in Comanche society. But Malinowski's point holds for many cultures. Compare "fasting on a man" in ancient Ireland, revived in the modern hunger-strike. Devotion-suicide (as of the widow in ancient India) may merge into one institution with shame-suicide (as in old Japan), and in both phases run free either of protest or of effort at enforcement of rights or vengeance for wrongs. In our own civilization threatened suicide is sometimes met as pressure in love-matters; but the claims sought to be enforced are rarely "legal," even in the sense of primitive law. On the contrary, the pressure may be in every sense an illegal aggression. The act itself is almost without cultural meaning; only its context gives it color. 121

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

428 relationship." The maternal uncle had prior claim over the paternal.

However, the right to inherit must have meant very little when balanced against it were the exacting requirements of customary mourning. Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of a dead man gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that from the estate. The [762] burial of a suicide-mother in the Yɛp Eaters band was in this pattern. The mother hanged herself because her son called her a bitch for not doing for him what his wife should have done. When the body was brought in by her 428 elder sister and father, they laid out a large buffalo rug over a thong. Then, 764 "on this they put all the pretty, fine things the *family* owned. They dressed the dead woman in all her finery, painted her face, combed and plaited her hair, painting the scalp red up the part. They covered her arms from wrist to elbow with silver bracelets. They put on her finest moccasins with silver dollar trimmings. She wore two beautiful belts with handsomely trimmed possible pouches, and so forth. The women dressed her body. (A man dressed a man's.) Her father sat at her head, calling on all her relatives and friends to take their last look. There was a big crowd gathered outside. 'We are going to throw her away. She is going to live in the ground,' he cried. After the people had seen her, they folded the blankets over her, folding in all the fine, pretty things; then they wound the thong about it.

"During this time the women wailed. They tore their dresses off, leaving only skin aprons to cover their mid-region. They hacked at their arms and legs and face. Some cut off an ear. The men cut their flesh, too. This was done by her immediate kin and close friends.

"They brought her horse then with its own saddle. Across it, they threw her body. They put their finest silver-mounted bridle on the horse. They all mounted their horses, and the sister led the funeral horse to a natural cave in the mountains. They put her in it with her saddle. Then they killed her mount.

"When they came back—there was her tipi where she had lived with her father. Back of it was her son's tipi. They put all their belongings inside and burned them. They had *nothing* left."[6]

When people so made themselves destitute, they were on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went afoot on a raid to get horses and start life anew.

428 In situations where the family did not spontaneously go as far as did this 626 last one, the public pressure of mourners *forced* them to further giving. 765

[6] The quotations are from Tanner, recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.' "[26] 887 522

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed. 164

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely. 763 888 [762]

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before 764

[26] Informant: That's It.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

been done away with from intercourse with the more civilized Indians. . . ."[4] 428
Further, even the tipi in which the dead person, man or woman, lived was 768
totally destroyed; also for a child, but not for a baby. Articles of intimate personal usage were buried with the corpse. Other less important articles were burned. Possessions with medicine powers were either destroyed by throwing them into the river, or by placing them in an unfrequented tree where they could rot.

Claimants for any surplus property were the relatives, close friends 428
of the deceased and fellow tribesmen who came to mourn—especially those who mourned with enthusiasm. Superficially there seems to be no consistency in the Comanche rules of disposal—as to whether goods went to wife, to children, to brothers, or were given to non-relatives. The key is in the recognition of a plurality of levels of legal and customary claims.

First, the surplus property by "law" (presumably law, but its reliability could not be tested to determine enforcement) went to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. Thus Itoβits said that a wife would "probably" inherit the property, and if her mother-in-law still lived, she might divide with her. Where the marriage had been polygamous, Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man stated, "Only those wives who had had children by the deceased husband may inherit from him; the first wife administers the distribution." That's It offered that a wife could not keep all the property for herself. "If she tried to, her husband's friends would make trouble."

The first outside claim could be that of the deceased husbands' best friend. He was privileged to ask for the favorite horse: refusal reputedly never occurred. But this was not a cut-in on the widow's property, because if the horse was not given to the intimate friend as a keep-sake, it was invariably slaughtered at the grave. In no event did it enure to the widow. By pre-death testament a man occasionally expressed the desire that his [763] ●
horse be given to a specified friend, rather than be slaughtered.

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could estab- 428
lish an obligatory claim in two ways. By providing a suit of clothes or add- 626
ing property of their own to the goods buried with the person, they imposed upon the survivors an obligation to share the estate. Visitors mourned and mourned until they were given sufficient gifts to stop them. This was an irresistible pressure from without.

Within the group of heirs, after the wife, surplus horses went to the 428
"father, mother, brothers, and all other relatives according to the degree of

[4] Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes, etc.*, vol. 2, p. 133.

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were expected to receive special consideration on arriving in the eternal home beyond the sun. Mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, leaving the victim free of their effects in the after world. But the spirit of the bad, the lazy, the coward, or the thief would be driven before the Great Spirit into a region that was barren, cold, and desolate, with rugged and sterile mountains infested with noxious animals and insects. There game was scarce, meager, and unsavory, and the soul had to wander through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain. 775

Our own Comanche informants revealed no such notions at all. Nor do the Shoshones have any such conception of post-mortem immanent justice. We suspect these assertions should be taken with a grain of salt, if not rejected.

Believed limitations of immortality included loss of scalp, strangulation, death in the dark, and mutilation. If the scalp were taken after death, the Comanches looked on life as annihilated. A scalp removed before death, whether by accident or design, affected immortality not in the least. To preserve the scalp on the head of a dead comrade was of more consequence than the preservation of one's own life; while by the same token, scalping a foe was of much greater merit than simply sending his spirit out of this world into the next, whence it would eventually return to plague the Comanches anew. "Dot" Babb says the Comanches did not scalp a Negro since they believed he had no soul, but they might kill him to prevent his killing Comanches. But the dance leader's scepter, given to Ralph Linton in 1933, had several scalp symbols on it—tokens of scalps taken by its original owner—and a couple of them (colored differently) were pointed out to represent Negro scalps. [829]

Fear of strangulation arose from the belief that life (spirit or "soul thing") issued from the mouth at the moment of death. Thus if death occurred through choking, the passageway was closed and the spirit, unable to free itself, remained in the mortal body and was forever imprisoned in the ground at burial. Next to fear of strangulation came the fear of death in the dark, for the spirit that left the body in the dark might be unable to find its way to the after world and thus wander forever in darkness. Although the majority believed that mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, there were some who [763]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 584 Well, my brother was chumming around with this young boy. He was about nineteen and he went to Fort Sill School. And my brother, he go down there and come home with him sometimes. Finally, that summer when school was out, he brought that young man home with him and he stayed with us all summer. My mother said, "You better get married to this boy. He's a nice boy. He always helping with everything, and he might work for us if you get married to him." I didn't have no sense enough to . . . I mean I don't think about love, or anything like that. So I said, "If he wants to marry me, I marry him." So my mother said, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" and he said, "Yeah, I'll marry her." And that's the way I got married. They just give their kids away like that. If you ask anybody, "Do you want to marry my daughter?" They say, "Yeah." That's your husband . . . just like that.

115 159 Sanapia had one son, and shortly after his birth she left her first husband at the urging of her mother. She married again within a year and remained married to her second husband until his death in the early 1930s. She had a son and a 115 159 daughter by her second husband. Following the death of her second husband, Sanapia's life took on a tone which is recalled most vividly by those who wish to 154 discredit her. During this time her violent bursts of temper, excessive drinking, 743 sexual promiscuity, and zest for gambling won for her a notoriety which has 543 never entirely left her. She talks of those years as "the time I was roughing it out."

Sanapia's second husband was apparently her favorite. He is also the only one of her spouses which she refers to as "husband." She was emotionally very ravaged by his death. It is interesting that the more tradition-oriented informants will mention Sanapia's misbehavior after his death but add no note of blame, simply emphasizing her grief. Kardiner (1945:77) makes the following statement, when discussing a Comanche woman's behavior after the death of her child. Perhaps the reaction to the death of a loved husband could correspond to the same pattern.

> After the death of a child a young woman who had previously been entirely respectable would become exceedingly active sexually and would have a whole series of affairs. This behavior, which sometimes lasted two or three years, was recognized as a sort of psychotic state and did not result in the same sort of difficulties that accompanied elopement or break-up of a marriage. The husband would feel sorry and would wait until she recovered and then resume the regular marriage relationship.

115 159 756 It was during the years when Sanapia was "roughing it out" that she first attempted to employ her doctoring skills. She was approached by a sister who wished Sanapia to doctor her sick child.

> She came to visit me one day when I was around here. She rolled a smoke with that Bull Durham and handed it to me, and I took it. I didn't even think what she was here for, but then I knew. She ask me to doctor her sick baby. I got so nervous I just start to shake all over and I told her to go away because I was feeling shame, I guess. Then I start to think what my mother told me, how I couldn't refuse nobody, so I went with her. I kept thinking that I couldn't do no good, but you know, I got that baby well. I thought that was some kind of sign, so I thought that I might try to make something out of this doctoring.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 756 755 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first interview. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though Sanapia never directly alluded to this. 775 755 515 756 783

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient. 775 755 756 763

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She 775 755 756 782

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the
541 horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

492 Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and
177 Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.)
492 This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stal-
164 lion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

000 He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

763 When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

124 The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

000 With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

191 after all, a twelve-year-old Indian boy has only a twelve-year-old Indian boy's head.

763 158 My personal feeling is—and I believe anyone who lived around the plains Indians at the turn of the century will agree—that the greatest miracle performed that afternoon was calling the Martny wives back from the hypnotic state of the death wail. This is a deliberate, self-induced mental condition; and when the women have been [304] in it for a sufficient time, they become impervious to pain. They slash their breasts, bodies, and legs; and if the state continues long enough —say into the third day—it is climaxed by their whittling off a finger with their butcher knife. Generally it is the forefinger of the left [147] hand. Women in this thralldom seem to have a high coagulatory con- [165] tent in their blood. Evidence of women's bleeding to death from self-inflicted wounds, when in this hypnotic state, is nil.

[147] Possibly this blood property is a result of the women's heavy meat diet, or it may be a chemical change in the blood brought on by the severe hysterical state under which they are laboring. One thing old plainsmen are agreed on: Indian women are extremely dangerous when in the wail, and even their own menfolks give them a wide berth.

Because this state is deliberate and self-imposed, they resent being called back to normalcy. It is entered into to escape a sorrow—something they cannot face in their normal state. Perhaps their minds become as blank to sorrow as their bodies do to pain. In a way it is the kind of thinking a drinker uses, when he stultifies his senses with liquor to forget his inadequacy. Of this I am sure—I could never myself have the courage to call three wailing Comanche women back to sanity.

000 I think of three things happening that day that we can properly label phenomena. First is the dragging of this boy by a frantic horse, through the brush and timber of West Cache, for more than two hours, without the horse's ever once kicking or stepping directly on Albert's head or rib cage. The Bone-setter must have diagnosed these facts, and Dr. McLain must have overlooked them.

Phenomenon number two is a strange cowboy's riding through the country, chancing upon this isolated camp, and seeking food at that exact time. Number three is, of course, that this particular stray cowboy had the courage and willingness to take on a job shunned by a trained, educated doctor, and the skill to turn out a workmanlike job.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

×627 672 *Case 19. Accidental Homicide*
Informant: White Wolf

"Two young boys were out hunting turkeys one time, when one of them stepped on a dry stick. It scared away the birds, and the other boy got so angry that he shot at his friend. He fell wounded in the side.

"In a panic of fright the boy fled from the spot where his friend lay bleeding on the ground. As he came into the village, he was met by his father, who asked where his friend was. The youth said he did not know; he told his father that his friend had left him an hour or more before, to come home.

"Later on the mother and sisters of the wounded boy got worried; they went out into the mountains calling his name. Finally they heard a low moaning; there, among the rocks, they found their boy lying in blood. In his mother's arms the boy told her he was dying. He begged her not to kill his friend, because it had been accidental. Revenge would not bring him back.

"When the wounded youth died, the parents of his friend covered all the funeral [764] necessities and provided gifts to be buried in the grave with the body."

Whereas murder allowed no adjustment other than death, accidental homicide could be settled by proper payment to the *family* of the deceased. Thus the boy who did the killing was not punished. However, it should be noted that the principals in the case were minors. It may have been otherwise with adults.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

428 relationship." The maternal uncle had prior claim over the paternal.

However, the right to inherit must have meant very little when balanced against it were the exacting requirements of customary mourning. Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of a dead man gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that from the estate. The [762] burial of a suicide-mother in the Yɛp Eaters band was in this pattern. The mother hanged herself because her son called her a bitch for not doing for him what his wife should have done. When the body was brought in by her 428 elder sister and father, they laid out a large buffalo rug over a thong. Then, ● 764 "on this they put all the pretty, fine things the *family* owned. They dressed the dead woman in all her finery, painted her face, combed and plaited her hair, painting the scalp red up the part. They covered her arms from wrist to elbow with silver bracelets. They put on her finest moccasins with silver dollar trimmings. She wore two beautiful belts with handsomely trimmed possible pouches, and so forth. The women dressed her body. (A man dressed a man's.) Her father sat at her head, calling on all her relatives and friends to take their last look. There was a big crowd gathered outside. 'We are going to throw her away. She is going to live in the ground,' he cried. After the people had seen her, they folded the blankets over her, folding in all the fine, pretty things; then they wound the thong about it.

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"They brought her horse then with its own saddle. Across it, they threw her body. They put their finest silver-mounted bridle on the horse. They all mounted their horses, and the sister led the funeral horse to a natural cave in the mountains. They put her in it with her saddle. Then they killed her mount.

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765

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Three Years Among the Comanches

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

● 764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

him constructed of poles. Into this enclosure is placed his 764
personal effects—his saddle and bridle, his tomahawk, scalping knife, bow and arrows and lance, all the inanimate property he possesses. The enclosure is then roofed with bark and covered with earth. This part of the burial ceremony concluded, all his horses and mules, even if he was the owner of a hundred, are brought to the grave and killed. When a squaw dies, her property, also—her calico gown, cooking kettle, tools for dressing skins—are buried with her, and the horse upon which she was accustomed to ride slain in the same manner.

They are buried with their heads to the west, because 764
they believe at the resurrection, of which they have vague 775
and indefinite notions, they will arise and march eastward, again to take possession of all the country from which the accursed white man has driven them and their fathers. They bury their property with them and kill their horses because they suppose their souls will have need of them in the other world.

Among them are prophets, corresponding with our di- 793
vines, who maintain with exceeding strictness their sacer- 781
dotal dignity. The prophet addresses them on various occasions, such as the green corn dance, and the festival of the roasted dog, but especially in the time of the new moon. At all times they listen to him with the most profound reverence, their heads hanging down, and not a murmur of sound among them from the commencement of his exhortation to its close; but in the season of the new moon, they fall on their faces to the earth before him, and there remain still and motionless until the sound of his voice has ceased.

They believe in God, a great spirit, who created and gov- 775
erns the earth, sun, moon, and stars. They have an unwaver-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Battle with the Apaches

As soon as they had left the ground, the Apaches again 727
appeared upon the height, and bore away their dead also.
It was a drawn battle.

This encounter was unexpected on both sides. The Apaches, as I learned, were gathered around a spring, cooking their meat, little expecting the approach of an enemy, when the van of our party came upon them. At that time a deadly strife existed between the tribes, and it would have been a scandalous violation of an Indian's idea of manhood to have separated, under such circumstances, without a bloody tilt at arms.

The Comanches lost in this battle seventeen warriors; the Apaches, probably as many more. Had the combatants belonged to a civilized people who keep a record of their wars, it would have furnished a thrilling page of history; but thousands of such sanguinary struggles take place on the lonely prairies of which the world knows not. That same season, however, they buried the tomahawk and danced the pipe dance, and henceforward were at peace.

The close of this eventful day was occupied in burying 727
the slain, which ceremony was performed in their custom- 764
ary manner, except they seemed to chant the death song 775
with more energy and feeling than on ordinary occasions. With them, death, at any time, even the nearest and dearest of their kindred, is not regarded as an event to be deplored, but on the contrary, to be welcomed with rejoicing; but when a warrior dies on the field of battle, their joy and exultation knows no bounds, for their crude theology assures them his departed spirit is, at once, caught up by the Great Spirit, and borne to the region of everlasting and supreme felicity.

We saw no more of the Apaches, and the following day 224
turned our course up the prairie—crossed the mountains

231 not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In com-
174 parison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the
556 Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

231 The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

431 It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's per-
[764 sonal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed
428] his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

728 In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods,
[439] but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.' "[26] 887 522

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed. 164

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely. 763 888 [762]

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before 764

[26] Informant: That's It.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

764 the natural warmth had left the body of an adult, the knees were bent upon the chest, and the head bent forward to the knees. A rope was used to bind the limbs and body firmly in this flexed position. The corpse was bathed, the face overlaid with vermilion, and the eyes sealed with red clay. The corpse was dressed in the finest apparel obtainable, relatives and friends furnishing some of their own for the occasion. It was laid upon a blanket, and relatives and friends were usually permitted to take a final look at the deceased. The blanket was then folded around the body, this again tightly corded with a rope or thongs of rawhide. The body was placed in a sitting posture upon a horse. A woman riding behind, or one on either side of the horse, held the body in position until the place of burial was reached. A few near relatives and friends accompanied the body to its final resting place, wailing and weeping on the way.

The preferred burial place was a natural cave, crevice, or a deep wash among the rocks of the highest accessible peak, or in the head of a canyon, preferably to the west of the lodge of the departed. If such a place could not be found, a hole was made just large and deep enough to contain the body, or the body was set upon the ground and a pen of poles and rock erected around the grave. In either case the body was deposited in a sitting posture or on its side, facing the rising sun, and the grave was covered with rocks, sticks, and dirt, apparently with no special system or arrangement. The ideal burial place of a medicine man was high on the south side of a hill or slope—if possible, at the spot where he had received power.

During the last half of the nineteenth century the Comanches, especially those living on the Red River, away from the mountains, occasionally used scaffold or tree burial, a method commonly practiced by the Cheyennes and other Plains tribes. In such instances the body was placed in a tree and made secure by means of ropes or rawhide thongs which bound it to the branches above and below the corpse. The elevated burial was also made by binding three poles together and raising them in tripod fashion, the crossing made as high as practicable, and the body bound securely to the poles above the point of intersection. The reason for the elevated burial was to protect the corpse from wolves and other predatory animals, but it seems to have been used by the Comanches only when a satisfactory ground burial

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

place was not readily accessible. In the elevated burial the body was extended at full length, hands to the sides, and placed on robes or blankets, which were then folded closely over it, and the bundle bound with ropes or thongs of rawhide passed many times about the whole. In a few cases war parties buried their dead comrades in a water hole. Buffalo bones or skulls, stones, or something of an identifying nature were sometimes used to mark the spot of burial.[27] 764

When an old person died, or one whose services were no longer useful, there was little mourning and that for only a short time. On the other hand, when a young man of established fame and prestige as a warrior and hunter was killed, the mourning was intense and prolonged. The name of the dead was not mentioned. To do so was a mark of disrespect, for it revived memories and made relatives and friends prolong their mourning. For a like reason, friends and relatives avoided passing in sight of the grave, and if the band ever came back to an old camping place where a relative had died, his kinsmen began mourning all over again, but "the second mourning was not so severe; the dead can't see them so well." Female relatives testified to their grief by wailing, moaning, and howling. They tore off or removed their customary apparel and wore rags or skin aprons only. They gashed themselves across the face, arms, legs, and breast with a knife, glass, or flint until they sometimes fainted from loss of blood, and then kept the wound raw and irritated for months. Often they cut off their hair, an ear, or a finger. The present explanations for such self-imposed torture is that the pain diverted their thoughts from their grief, but among the Shoshones and Comanches there was a time when women were killed on their husbands' graves, and self-torture may have been accepted as a satisfactory self-immolation. Black paint supplanted the customary red and yellow smeared upon their copper-colored faces. 765 [304]

Sometimes they built a fire and held a funeral dance by marching

[27] This description of Comanche burial is compiled from statements by a number of informants; also, Parker, *op. cit.*, 137; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 53, 132, 162, 170; H. C. Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," B. A. E. *First Annual Report*, 99–100; Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 42; Lee, *op. cit.*, 152; Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 56; Babb, *op. cit.*, 142, 144; Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*, 74; James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West*, 33.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be supposed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail-
152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

172 (F) In a near upright position in front (south) of the skeleton was a one-gallon galvanized pail 18 cm. high (Fig. 4). The diameter of the base is 17.5 cm., and the diameter of the mouth is 20.86 cm. The side seam is lapped and folded; the edge of the bottom overlaps the outer surface of the sides and is soldered to them. The attachments for the bail are secured by two iron rivets each. The bail is iron wire 6 mm. in diameter. The lip of the bucket is formed by rolling the top of the sides outward and crimping it over an iron wire; the resultant lip is 5 mm. thick.

The pail seems to predate forms common in the 1880's. In pictures and specimens that I have seen from the 1880's the bail attachment and the bottom are already quite different -- the ends of the bail are looped around a hoop at the top of opposite sides of the pails. The bottoms are inset and the edges are bent around the lower edge of the sides, in the same manner as modern galvanized pails (compare with Fig. 4).

Conclusions: The beads and bracelets have a long history in the Southern Plains. The pail, vulcanized cloth, and stirrups probably date from the latter half of the 19th century. It is not presently possible to assign a more specific date to these items.

ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

127 *Tribal identification:* Specific information on burial practices of the Southern Plains tribes is rare. Reports by travelers, captives, and soldiers [114] do offer some data; but they are often inconsistent, conflicting, and probably incorrect. Therefore, only those reports that describe interments similar to the situation encountered at the Jared site will be used for comparison.

171 It is well known that tribes in the Plains disposed of their dead in a number of ways.

●764 There is nothing in which the Plains Indian varies so much as in the respect paid to the dead, in the care and management of the body, and in greater or less elaboration of the funeral services (Dodge 1882:155).

If the people were busy when a death occurred, the following account might apply:

The body of a chief who dies in other than the winter season is generally deposited in a cave; that of a common warrior in any convenient hole or ravine, a few handsful of earth, or sometimes only grass or leaves, being thrown over them. Women and female chil-

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

764 171 101 114

[p. 323-8]

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 Other tribes were in the area at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these villages were located near The Jared site. It is unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

172 764 171

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 171 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 175 The Comanches had long been in frequent contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

648 fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact
175 Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin
175 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from
439 their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

175 Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians,
648 and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food,
[178] clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

764 The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

172 The literary and historic records help substan-
764 tiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche
[171] informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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[p.324-B]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1S60 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

2

Sanapia, 1895–1968

Early Childhood

SANAPIA WAS BORN at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in the spring of 1895 in a tepee encampment of *yapai* Comanches who had traveled to Fort Sill for rations from the vicinity of Medicine Park, Oklahoma. As with most Comanche women her age, Sanapia only knows that she was born in the spring and has therefore arbitrarily set her birth date at May twentieth. 115 159

Her father was Comanche and her mother Comanche-Arapaho. Sanapia was the sixth in a family of eleven siblings, having five older brothers, three younger brothers, and two younger sisters. As is still the custom among the more traditionally oriented Comanches, the maternal grandmother is very instrumental in rearing her daughter's children. Both Sanapia's mother and her mother's older brother were eagle doctors. [603] [855] [756]

> Yeah, my mother doctored . . . she could do anything. One time it was her playmate . . . one time they were playing and she died. They put her buckskin dress on her, and you know in them days when anybody died they put red paint all over their face and their arms and their feet and then they put them away. They fix her up like that. My mother was playing with the rest of the kids. She was just a little bitty girl. She said, "I'm going to my tent and go to sleep. After awhile I play some more." Later these kids came to her and said, "They want you over there. Go to doctor." And she was just about ten years old that time. She went down there and she said, "No, no, she not going to go. I don't want her to die. I'll fix her up." She told all those people that, "You all get out. I'll fix her up." And she was sitting in that tent making all kinds of racket and pretty soon that little girl get up. She came back to life and lived many years. My mother died before her. [764]

Sanapia's maternal uncle was also very active among Comanche peyotists, leading peyote meetings throughout southern Oklahoma. Sanapia also counts among her relatives a paternal grandfather who was an important *yapai* leader in the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

428 relationship." The maternal uncle had prior claim over the paternal.

However, the right to inherit must have meant very little when balanced against it were the exacting requirements of customary mourning. Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of a dead man gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that from the estate. The [762] burial of a suicide-mother in the Yɛp Eaters band was in this pattern. The mother hanged herself because her son called her a bitch for not doing for him what his wife should have done. When the body was brought in by her 428 elder sister and father, they laid out a large buffalo rug over a thong. Then, 764 "on this they put all the pretty, fine things the *family* owned. They dressed the dead woman in all her finery, painted her face, combed and plaited her hair, painting the scalp red up the part. They covered her arms from wrist to elbow with silver bracelets. They put on her finest moccasins with silver dollar trimmings. She wore two beautiful belts with handsomely trimmed possible pouches, and so forth. The women dressed her body. (A man dressed a man's.) Her father sat at her head, calling on all her relatives and friends to take their last look. There was a big crowd gathered outside. 'We are going to throw her away. She is going to live in the ground,' he cried. After the people had seen her, they folded the blankets over her, folding in all the fine, pretty things; then they wound the thong about it.

"During this time the women wailed. They tore their dresses off, leaving only skin aprons to cover their mid-region. They hacked at their arms and legs and face. Some cut off an ear. The men cut their flesh, too. This was done by her immediate kin and close friends.

"They brought her horse then with its own saddle. Across it, they threw her body. They put their finest silver-mounted bridle on the horse. They all mounted their horses, and the sister led the funeral horse to a natural cave in the mountains. They put her in it with her saddle. Then they killed her mount.

"When they came back—there was her tipi where she had lived with her father. Back of it was her son's tipi. They put all their belongings inside and burned them. They had *nothing* left."[5]

When people so made themselves destitute, they were on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went afoot on a raid to get horses and start life anew.

428 In situations where the family did not spontaneously go as far as did this 626 last one, the public pressure of mourners *forced* them to further giving. ●765

[5] The quotations are from Talker, recorded by Jeannette Mirsky.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. " . . . in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

174 rediscovered by the Yap-eaters (*Yampatikə*) and Antelope bands
619 (*Kwəharɛnə*), who went far southward into Mexico on a raiding expedition. The relationship was restored, and thereafter they maintained a loose alliance with their western and northern kinsmen.[17] But still they were distinct enough to help the United States troops against other Comanches—a fact remembered with bitterness by members of other bands to this very day.

Another Comanche band which the Anglo-Americans came to know well, though unfavorably, was the Those Who Move Often (*Nɔyɛka*), or *Nɔkoni* (Those Who Turn Back). Although all Comanches were nomadic, these were the real gypsies of the tribe. "They always turned back before they got to where they were going," said Eagle Tail Feather; but it is more likely that they were just drifting about, not going any place in particular. After the death of a chief
[765] who bore the same name as his band (*Nɔkoni*), because of the tabu
[551] forbidding the speaking of a dead person's name, the band became known as *Dətsanɔyɛka* (Wanderers Who Make Bad Camps); they moved so much that they were slovenly in their camp habits.

In 1786, Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico stated that most of the Wanderers were located between the Arkansas and the Red rivers, but that their camps were to be found across Texas as far south as the banks of the Pecos. During the nineteenth century the Wanderers generally ranged immediately north of the Wasps. Together with some of their neighbors, the *Tenawa* and the *Tanima* (Liver-eaters), they composed the group referred to as the Middle Comanches. The map based on the expeditions and accounts of Captain Marcy, 1849–52, shows the Middle Comanches along the headwaters of the Red River for about one hundred miles southward to the headwaters of the Brazos (Main, Double Mountain, Clear Fork, Salt Fork, and Middle Fork) River in the region between Fort Phantom Hill and Fort Belknap.[18] Their favorite retreat and stronghold was in the breaks of the Pease River country where they found protection from the blizzards and safety from pursuing enemies.

Another powerful band was that of the Buffalo-eaters (*Kutsuɛka*),

[17] Agent E. L. Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "Report," May 18, 1881 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K-13).

[18] Abel, *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, map.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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place was not readily accessible. In the elevated burial the body was extended at full length, hands to the sides, and placed on robes or blankets, which were then folded closely over it, and the bundle bound with ropes or thongs of rawhide passed many times about the whole. In a few cases war parties buried their dead comrades in a water hole. Buffalo bones or skulls, stones, or something of an identifying nature were sometimes used to mark the spot of burial.[27] 764

When an old person died, or one whose services were no longer useful, there was little mourning and that for only a short time. On the other hand, when a young man of established fame and prestige as a warrior and hunter was killed, the mourning was intense and prolonged. The name of the dead was not mentioned. To do so was a mark of disrespect, for it revived memories and made relatives and friends prolong their mourning. For a like reason, friends and relatives avoided passing in sight of the grave, and if the band ever came back to an old camping place where a relative had died, his kinsmen began mourning all over again, but "the second mourning was not so severe; the dead can't see them so well." Female relatives testified to their grief by wailing, moaning, and howling. They tore off or removed their customary apparel and wore rags or skin aprons only. They gashed themselves across the face, arms, legs, and breast with a knife, glass, or flint until they sometimes fainted from loss of blood, and then kept the wound raw and irritated for months. Often they cut off their hair, an ear, or a finger. The present explanations for such self-imposed torture is that the pain diverted their thoughts from their grief, but among the Shoshones and Comanches there was a time when women were killed on their husbands' graves, and self-torture may have been accepted as a satisfactory self-immolation. Black paint supplanted the customary red and yellow smeared upon their copper-colored faces. 765 [304]

Sometimes they built a fire and held a funeral dance by marching

[27] This description of Comanche burial is compiled from statements by a number of informants; also, Parker, *op. cit.*, 137; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 53, 132, 162, 170; H. C. Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," B. A. E. *First Annual Report*, 99–100; Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 42; Lee, *op. cit.*, 152; Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 56; Babb, *op. cit.*, 142, 144; Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*, 74; James Hobbs, *Wild Life in the Far West*, 33.

The Comanches

765 around it while singing a doleful song. Some would remain at the grave, mourning and refusing to eat, until relatives forceably took them away. The period of intense mourning was probably from three to fifteen days' duration. Afterwards they might continue to go out from camp at sunrise and at sunset to mourn and "feel lonely" (if in summer, until the leaves fell, or if the winter, until the leaves reappeared). Although a year was considered to be the socially prescribed period of mourning for a close relative, in actual practice no set time was established. A well-to-do widow of three years who came to Marcy's camp in 1854 was still mourning her loss. It was reported that she went out every evening from camp to howl and cry and cut herself with knives. She had separated herself in a measure from the tribe and joined a group of seven other widows who were also still mourning their losses.[28]

Men sometimes cut off their hair ("they thought a lot of their hair") on one side of the head, usually the left, when a close relative or friend died or was killed. Like the women, they occasionally cut their own flesh. They smoked and prayed, and for a few days offered the first morsel of food at each meal to the supernaturals for the benefit of the dead.

768 Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of the dead gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that of the estate. Articles of intimate personal usage belonging to the deceased were buried with the corpse—ornaments, trinkets, gun, lance, bow and arrows, axe, knives, pipe and tobacco, cooking utensils, and tools for dressing skins. However, an object of especial value might be held out to be given to a comrade or a dear friend of the deceased with or without his request. Possessions with medicine power were either destroyed by throwing them into the river or by placing them in a tree where they would rot. Even the tipi in which the dead person—man, woman, or child (but not a baby)—lived was burned along with the less important articles. At the funeral of a prominent warrior or member of a well-to-do family, the dead person's horse was given to his best friend or it was slain near the grave. The saddle and bridle were placed in the grave with the corpse. Several horses might be killed, even an entire herd, amounting to as many as three

[28] Parker, op. cit., 192.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be supposed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail- 152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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in safety; that there is no cause for crying, and exhorts them to refrain; when, by mutual consent, they cease crying as easily as they commenced it, and go about their business. But if any of their friends have died in the fight, or otherwise, their grief appears deep and lasting. In this case, they immediately commence cutting and disfiguring themselves in a shocking manner, and with varied and unseemly gestures, accompanied with loud and tremendous yells, they seem to try to excel each other. They will ascend the loftiest peaks of the tallest mountains they can reach, and through the whole of the gloomiest night, send abroad through the surrounding forest their dismal wailings, in howls of horrid [59] accent. Nor are their signs of grief much less pungent when they lose their friends at home; but they hold all others enemies, and treat them accordingly, dead or alive. The reader has seen plenty of this in the preceding narrative; but I will here add, they fastened the scalps of our murdered friends to the bridles of their mules, so as to suspend them under the chin of the animals, and this was their constant practice while I was with them. When they encamped, they would fix them upon the top of long poles, and set them up by their tents, as I have seen flags upon garrisons, and elsewhere.

When a woman was to be confined, they removed the grass and everything else from the surface of the ground, and in a convenient place in the tent

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N 06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eyewitnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 603 855 [765] people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

115 159 604 756 755 Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

115 159 771 Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

115 159 771 755 You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6] 428 626 765

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations towards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7] 428 183

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge. [492] [766]

[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. "... in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298. 177

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be supposed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, • 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail-
152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

574 224 special request for a certain animal before the active hunters rode into the slaughter.

Objects of material culture were personally owned; but the test of owner-
422 ship was not production so much as use. Clothing was prepared and made by the women, but owned by the person who wore it. A robe made by a woman for herself was hers, while a robe made for her son or husband belonged to that worthy. Tools and utensils used by the women belonged to the women and were also made by them. Every warrior carried his own kit of tools for the making of bows and arrows. This kit was an indispensable part of his personal equipment and was always carried fastened to his body, so that no matter what the emergency he was prepared to equip himself with weapons. Some older men specialized in arrow-making. They gave arrows to petitioners with or without consideration. Each man marked his own arrows with distinctive feathers or by some characteristic of production. Women made saddles for themselves and held them as their own
[492] property. The man's saddle, which was of a slightly different style, was
[438] owned by the men. Among the Comanches they were made by Mexican
[727] captives who specialized in the trade for pay.

Medicine paraphernalia were made by the owner according to his vision
422 directions. If the help of others was needed, they received no pay other
424 than food. The medicine formula was privately owned, but could be trans-
438 ferred in consideration of payment, or given as gift, or inherited. The power itself, however, had to come through a dream as a confirmation of the efficacy of the transfer. War honors were another very distinct form of incorporeal property. These could be transferred as a gift of high esteem, as has been described. They were not, however, articles of trade in economic exchange.

422 The tipi, which was made, erected and moved by the woman, was not
586 hers by proprietary right. The decision as to its disposal belonged to the husband, though if generous and well-disposed towards her, he frequently gave it to the wife on separation.

Throughout the simple catalogue of goods we find that articles of per-
422 sonal use were usually personally owned according to the principle of effective utilization.

INHERITANCE

428 In the disposal of a deceased's property there is but one rule which stood
768 out with constancy: *upon the death of a person all effects of his (or her) personal usage were destroyed.* This included clothing, weapons, saddles, tools, paraphernalia, and horses customarily ridden by the deceased. According to Neighbors, "They also killed their favorite wives, but this custom has

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

been done away with from intercourse with the more civilized Indians. . . ."[4] 428 Further, even the tipi in which the dead person, man or woman, lived was 768 totally destroyed; also for a child, but not for a baby. Articles of intimate personal usage were buried with the corpse. Other less important articles were burned. Possessions with medicine powers were either destroyed by throwing them into the river, or by placing them in an unfrequented tree where they could rot.

Claimants for any surplus property were the relatives, close friends 428 of the deceased and fellow tribesmen who came to mourn—especially those who mourned with enthusiasm. Superficially there seems to be no consistency in the Comanche rules of disposal—as to whether goods went to wife, to children, to brothers, or were given to non-relatives. The key is in the recognition of a plurality of levels of legal and customary claims.

First, the surplus property by "law" (presumably law, but its reliability could not be tested to determine enforcement) went to the widow, upon whom the obligation to share with others was imposed. Thus Itoβits said that a wife would "probably" inherit the property, and if her mother-in-law still lived, she might divide with her. Where the marriage had been polygamous, Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man stated, "Only those wives who had had children by the deceased husband may inherit from him; the first wife administers the distribution." That's It offered that a wife could not keep all the property for herself. "If she tried to, her husband's friends would make trouble."

The first outside claim could be that of the deceased husbands' best friend. He was privileged to ask for the favorite horse: refusal reputedly never occurred. But this was not a cut-in on the widow's property, because if the horse was not given to the intimate friend as a keep-sake, it was invariably slaughtered at the grave. In no event did it enure to the widow. By pre-death testament a man occasionally expressed the desire that his [763] horse be given to a specified friend, rather than be slaughtered.

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could establish an obligatory claim in two ways. By providing a suit of clothes or add- 428 626 ing property of their own to the goods buried with the person, they imposed upon the survivors an obligation to share the estate. Visitors mourned and mourned until they were given sufficient gifts to stop them. This was an irresistible pressure from without.

Within the group of heirs, after the wife, surplus horses went to the 428 "father, mother, brothers, and all other relatives according to the degree of

[4] Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes, etc.*, vol. 2, p. 133.

765 around it while singing a doleful song. Some would remain at the grave, mourning and refusing to eat, until relatives forceably took them away. The period of intense mourning was probably from three to fifteen days' duration. Afterwards they might continue to go out from camp at sunrise and at sunset to mourn and "feel lonely" (if in summer, until the leaves fell, or if the winter, until the leaves reappeared). Although a year was considered to be the socially prescribed period of mourning for a close relative, in actual practice no set time was established. A well-to-do widow of three years who came to Marcy's camp in 1854 was still mourning her loss. It was reported that she went out every evening from camp to howl and cry and cut herself with knives. She had separated herself in a measure from the tribe and joined a group of seven other widows who were also still mourning their losses.[28]

Men sometimes cut off their hair ("they thought a lot of their hair") on one side of the head, usually the left, when a close relative or friend died or was killed. Like the women, they occasionally cut their own flesh. They smoked and prayed, and for a few days offered the first morsel of food at each meal to the supernaturals for the benefit of the dead.

●768 Ideally, the immediate family and even the brothers and sisters of the dead gave away or destroyed property, their own as well as that of the estate. Articles of intimate personal usage belonging to the deceased were buried with the corpse—ornaments, trinkets, gun, lance, bow and arrows, axe, knives, pipe and tobacco, cooking utensils, and tools for dressing skins. However, an object of especial value might be held out to be given to a comrade or a dear friend of the deceased with or without his request. Possessions with medicine power were either destroyed by throwing them into the river or by placing them in a tree where they would rot. Even the tipi in which the dead person—man, woman, or child (but not a baby)—lived was burned along with the less important articles. At the funeral of a prominent warrior or member of a well-to-do family, the dead person's horse was given to his best friend or it was slain near the grave. The saddle and bridle were placed in the grave with the corpse. Several horses might be killed, even an entire herd, amounting to as many as three

[28] Parker, op. cit., 192.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

hundred or more of the deceased's best. A more economical practice, which was made to suffice in later days, was simply to shave off the manes and tails of the horses and mules which belonged to the deceased and deposit the hair at the grave. Those who did this were considered stingy, however.[29]

768

Outsiders who had no personal claim to a share in the estate could establish a claim by providing property of their own to be buried with the deceased.[30] Agent Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief wailed until they received sufficient gifts from the deceased's relatives to induce them to desist. "For instance," he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of the deceased, he continues until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[31] For the parents, mourning continued until an enemy scalp was brought in.

When people so rendered themselves destitute, they were dependent on the tribe. They were fed and cared for until they were ready to drop their mourning. Then the men of the family went on a raid to obtain horses and start life anew. In the course of time someone was likely to provide a lodge or help make one, and the family settled back to normal life. The death of a prominent member of the band

[29] This description of Comanche mourning is compiled from statements by several informants; also Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 286; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 152, 157; Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 24; Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 99–100; Lee, *op. cit.*, 152; Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 56; Babb, *op. cit.*, 108, 110, 136–38, 144; Wm. Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," Ethnological Society of London *Journal*, Vol. II (1850), 271; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374–75; Ole T. Nystel, "Three Months among the Indians," *Frontier Times*, Vol. V (October, 1927), 41; Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K–33, p. 440).

[30] Informant: Medicine Woman; also, Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 12, 1890 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence file K–33, p. 417); Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 120–23.

[31] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 132.

The Comanches

768 generally caused the entire village to be moved. It is possible that this practice sometimes served to check the ravages of disease, but its ostensible reason was to get away from the place of death, even as the tipi was destroyed.

761 Death was not feared by the Comanches. It was ever present and they lived in violence and danger. But the dead caused them great anxiety. They were extravagant in the manifestation of concern. Thus, life, which was received quite casually and with mild pleasure, was closed with extreme emotional outbursts.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 212
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1785, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tomo 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

755 the patient and spirt the water from their mouths in his face, and affectionately enquire if he is better. Should the poor creature answer in the affirmative, [152] (which is not often the case, as might well be supposed,) they attest their joy in the most ludicrous [764] manner; but if the patient dies at this, or at a subsequent period of his illness, he is interred in [757] the grave already dug at his door. The treatment is the same in the case of either sex, and they do not administer any kind of medicine. When a man 764 is buried, they put his gun, powder and ball, bow 768 and arrows, into the grave with him; and when a woman dies, they bury her as above stated, and then burn her tent and all she had; after which, 766 they join together and build the family a new one. When a young child dies, they bury it lashed to the board on which they carry it.

765 But no pen can describe the extent of their wail-
152 ings for the dead. When they return after a long absence, they alight from their beasts, and their women immediately turn them out, and then come and sit down at a respectful distance. Not a word of any kind is spoken by any one; the whole company is seated with the utmost silence. At length, without uttering a word, they begin to cry, and continue in this kind of exercise until it rises to a high pitch; when one of them suddenly stops, rises from his seat, and addresses the company, who at once give him their attention, while he tells them, in substance, that they have met together once more

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

the Indian character. The Comanchees manifest their sensibilities by mourning vehemently for the dead. They continue their lamentations stately, morning and evening, for a length of time proportioned to the affinity and the consequence of the deceased. The women shave their heads and scarify themselves with knives or sharp flints, until they are literally covered with blood. Whether they have derived this practice from the discomfited prophets of Baal, (I Kings 18, 28) is for learned antiquarians to determine. The men set too much value on the velvet softness of their tawny skins, to have them scarred and serrated by so unprofitable a custom; but they will sometimes shave their heads, which is also considered a grievous retrenchment of masculine beauty. At each periodical lament, the bereaved relations assemble unitedly to bewail their departed friend. Tears are shed in copious profusion, accompanied by loud and plaintive strains of hideous dissonance, not unlike the howlings of ravening wolves. The goods and chattels of the deceased, including his tent and all its apparatus, are sometimes burnt; and such of his horses and mules as the avarice of the living will relinquish, are killed in order to be transferred to the hunting grounds of Elysium, for the future benefit and behoof of the dead. It was estimated by eye-witnesses, that during the prevalence of the small-pox among them in 1819, when they were swept off, as with the besom of destruction, there were not less than 5000 of these valuable animals immolated in this manner. The mode of conducting their funeral obsequies, I have never witnessed, and believe they sedulously avoid the observation of strangers of these occasions.

[Note. The length of this letter compels us to divide it. The rest will appear next week.]

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, June 12, 1824]

Letter IV.

[Concluded]

Vanity, certainly, is not peculiar to the Comanchees, but they possess more vanity both national and personal,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [548]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
chcs and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and pre- 701
dates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union.

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 701
1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for 648
a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico.

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, 439
during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops.

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye* 000
to a River, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster.

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number 127
C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings 768
no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

195
115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
784

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
754 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
775
778

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[768] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[768] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
785

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

RITUAL AND EVIDENCE

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF SORCERY

The occurrence of supernatural sanctions may be legally irrelevant, for sin need not be illegal. But sometimes an act may be both sinful and illegal and the invocation of a supernatural sanction is one way of dealing with a grievance. When the sanction depends on invocation by the aggrieved or by an official, we have one form of resort to law—though it be also, or even exclusively, religious law. 121

There is a notion current among social scientists that religious tabu precedes legal strictures in the hypothetical time sequence of social development. Law emerges from religion, they say. This is one of those over-generalizations which trap seekers of sequences. Because in our own social history and that of Greece and Rome we can note an early precedence of religion as a source of some law, or because in some primitive societies tabu and supernatural injunction dominate human conduct, does not mean that such circumstances are characteristic of human society in general.[1]

Yet this erroneous notion is commonly accepted as self-evident fact. Harry Elmer Barnes' restatement of Franz Oppenheimer's thesis may be noted as an example. "Primitive punishment is inflicted either to remove the stain of impurity from society or to prevent a supernatural being from taking revenge on the tribe."[2] This is partly true of the punishment of murder among the Cheyennes. It would also be true for the punishment of incest among most natives of Australia. It holds only in very minor part for the Comanches. In none of the incest cases will the reader find a trace of fear of the supernatural expressed. Though religion penetrates the legal complex, law in this society does not reinforce religious beliefs. 121 688

Like all Indians, the Comanches were essentially religious. Their religion shows affiliations with characteristic forms of the Plains and in some respects with the Shoshonean peoples of the Great Basin. 771

It was an exceedingly simple, highly vital religion. The concept of the guardian spirit[3] was its heart and core. Success and excellence in any action

[1] Mr. A. S. Diamond (*Primitive Law*, London, 1936), has recently attempted to demonstrate the lack of validity of the "law from religion" doctrine by an historical examination of the development of the early legal codes of Asia Minor and Europe in particular. The codes, however, are the terminus, not the beginning of primitive law, a fact which makes his argument spurious as far as legal beginnings may be concerned.

[2] H. E. Barnes, *The Story of Punishment* (New York, 1924), p. 3.

[3] For the cultural significance and generalized nature of the complex see Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 29, 1924), p. 29.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

[77] or trait depended on power given to man by some supernatural being. The supernatural beings were animistic objects of nature—birds—the hawk, the eagle, and humming bird; animals—the bear, the otter, bison, rat, wolf, and others; reptiles and fishes; even insects. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed special attributes or powers which they could give to men as medicine. Other spirits were the imaginary environment: a whole fabric created by man's fancy, made real by dogma. These were the dwarf people, who lived in the mountains; the water babies, who lived in swampy places; the dead reincarnated as animals; and the ghosts of men, who were likely to turn up almost anywhere. By association, medicines were usually similar in some respect to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the respective guardian spirit. Lightning and thunder gave power, too, but the earth and the sun were akin to deities. They were active in the affairs of men, yet above that individualized pity which led spirit-beings to bestow medicine powers on an earthling.

The essence of the religion was found in the relation between an earthling and his guardian spirits. Power came in vision visitations. It was a dream phenomenon, or hallucinatory experience. It sometimes came uninvited. More frequently it was sought.

A vision quest entailed a solitary visit to a mountain, or to the grave of a dead medicine man. Fasting and certain rituals were involved, though no self-torture was used by these people. The watch lasted four days; it might last longer. The Comanche stayed at it until he received his vision, or else abandoned the quest.

Religious practice consisted in first instance of the patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. Behind these were relationships which prevailed between men and their guardian spirits, together with certain notions concerning supernatural forces in general: so those pertaining to Coyote, the trickster, or to the earth and the sun. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, these relationships and their observance were a matter of *individual* concern. The Comanche did have medicine societies of a sort, but they were limited both in extent and in importance. Dances or ceremonies were few and simple. Most of them were without religious significance. The great exception, the Sun Dance, was a relatively late acquisition from other Plains tribes.[4] [77]

Religion being thus an individual matter save in exceptional cases, the tabus which it enjoined were also limited in importance to the person

[4] R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1938), pp. 420–428.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

concerned. Infractions of tabus which endangered the community were foreign to the Comanche mind. Hence any idea that crime and punishment must spring from tabu proves in this instance sterile. It was the holder of the medicine, not the community, who suffered if the strictures of associated tabu were overlooked. 771

With this, however, we have not slammed the door on the possibility of supernatural admixture in law. Among the Comanches we find it in sorcery. 754

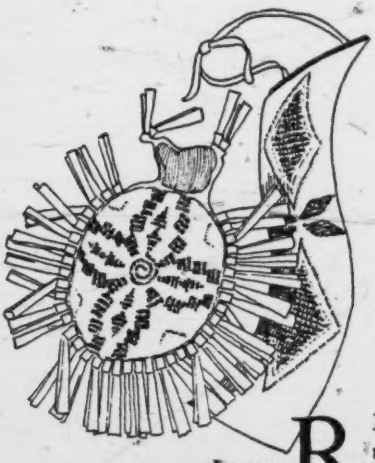
The Comanches made no basic distinction between a medicine man (shaman) and sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil. In a tribe where the majority of adults (especially males, but also women) held some medicine, those who were recognized as medicine men were those who possessed at least one *outstanding* thaumaturgic power. To be "evil" was to use one's power to the damage of the well-being of a fellow tribesman. Hence, the sorcerer was tagged "evil medicine man." Correlatively, to be "good" was to use one's powers to advance one's well-being in hunting or war without harm to others of the in-group, or to use the power beneficently for the curing of others in the band or tribe. A shaman could be wholly good; he could be good and evil; he could be almost totally bad. It depended on the path he followed.

One interesting psychological feature of Comanche sorcery was a not unusual compulsion to use medicine powers against some innocent victim without—even contrary to—the conscious desire to do harm on the part of the shaman. Should a dream "tell" a medicine man to cause the illness of another person, it became imperative that it be done. Failure to so function meant death to the shaman; his power turned on him. "No Bed could not help herself," observed She Invites Her Relatives, "The dream came. She *had* to put the curse on the person dreamed of. Else the sickness would come on her."

The sorcerer's curse was done by "throwing" a foreign substance into the body of the victim. It was done in secret. The exception was when sorcerers gathered together to do battle in tournaments of competitive skill. Unless the sorcerer's medicine was unusually powerful, he had to operate in the near vicinity of his victim, for it was difficult to throw the substance far. Feathers were the choicest medium; thorns, cacti, crystals and spiders were among the varied possibilities. Sorcery thus had some tangible vehicle. The projecting power was worked up with songs and prayer such as had been revealed to the sorcerer by the guardian spirit.

Sorcery was aggression. It was violent trespass against the individual's right to life and well-being. Here is the conflict situation. To meet it recognized measures were at hand. 754 627

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



VII

The Search for Power

RELIGIOUS practice among the Comanches consisted primarily of socially recognized patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. There were patterns for both individual and community ceremonials, but unlike religious practices in our own society, group participation was extremely limited in extent and importance. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, the observance was a matter of individual concern. There was no religious organization, no theocracy, no priestly class, no dogma. Every man could be his own priest and his own prophet—the individual interpreter of the wills and ways of the spirits. A direct revelation without priestly go-between was the panacea for human ills and aspirations, the one secure basis of earthly goods.

Every Comanche consumed with ambition set forth in quest of a vision from which power (*puha*) was to be derived. His power, or medicine as it is generally called, came in a mystic visitation, a dream phenomenon or hallucinatory experience; the Comanches did not confuse an ordinary dream with a revelation. Visions came only when sought and under certain stringent conditions. Dreams were interesting experiences, and hardly more. Bad dreams did not portend bad luck unless the dreamer revealed them within four days.

The vision was fundamental in the guardian spirit complex. Certainly it was to the Indian an unquestionable means of obtaining power. Its authority was absolute. Psychic experiences were socially recognized and regarded as the very cornerstone of cultural life. The

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

VIII

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

NO subject is more difficult to treat than one which deals with the beliefs of a people concerning abstract matters. It is not easy to learn from intimate associates their inmost religious ideas; it is obviously much more difficult to determine the beliefs of an alien race speaking an unfamiliar tongue and having a wholly different inheritance, training, and point of view.

The Comanches have often been designated as the skeptics or unbelievers of the plains. This conclusion has been based largely upon the fact that they had comparatively few well-established visible and externalized customs of religious meaning such as were found among other Plains Indians. Since their religion was largely individualistic, there was, as there is among our own people, great diversity of faith and feeling. They had no dogma and no professional priestly class to formulate a systematic religion.

It was not in the nature of the Comanche to be introspective. Nor was it in his nature reflectively to state his motives or ways of acting in formulae. The Comanche was oriented to see things as isolated episodes, not as a patterned unfolding of a great scheme.

We have already seen that the Comanche took the spirit beings with whom he had formal contact pretty much for granted. He hardly bothered at all to concern himself with the nature of the universe beyond them. It is to be expected, consequently, that the vague

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and scanty information that is available will reveal divergent and conflicting opinions concerning the supernatural.

Comanche religion was exceedingly simple, highly vital, and based on no more than casual attempts to explain satisfactorily the mysterious operations of nature by which he was confronted every day.

After burial, according to the somewhat fanciful account of an adopted Comanche, the spirit of the departed warrior mounted the spirit of his slain pony, his ghostly quiver of bow and arrows at his back, the spectre of his lance in his hand, the shadow of his shield on his arm—to gallop skyward, followed by his phantom herd loaded with ghostly possessions heaped by his relatives and friends in and about his grave. Straight into the sun and the pastures of the Happy Hunting Ground he sped, there to remain an extended time. But eventually, after an excursion in celestial pastures, the spirit of the departed must be reborn of the Earth Mother and return to keep up the population and power of the tribe.[1]

There is no doubt that the Comanches had an unwavering faith in a future existence. As to the nature of their after world, their accounts are fairly uniform. Their after world was generally conceded to be beyond the sun where it sets in the west. It was modeled after the imperfect reality of their everyday existence with all the disagreeable features absent, for all things there were perfect. It was a "valley ten thousand fold longer and wider" than their own valley (this specific reference was probably to the Arkansas), covered with groves, streams, and meadows. There was no rain or wind; the climate was always mild and the water cool. There the great chiefs of all the Comanches held their assemblies, and they and all the warriors were young. They followed the chase, but the war whoop never penetrated those sacred realms. There was no darkness there, for the Great Spirit was everywhere. In this heavenly valley there would always be plenty without the necessity of expending much energy or effort to obtain it. The "shade" of the Comanche could there experience to the fullest measure all the pleasures the material body had experienced or hoped for while on earth. There were buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope in abundance; pounded corn was forever at hand; and horses were fleeter than the wind. Beautiful birds warbled

[1] Hobbs, *op. cit.*, 33–34.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

776 the range of the mystically potent, but the individual consciousness ascribed power to a relatively narrow selections of beings, their identity being determined by chance experience.

To discuss Comanche religion in terms of a definite pantheon would therefore be preposterous. Comanche "gods" were not clear-cut beings with sharply defined cosmic or social functions. Divine power was not concentrated in a few major personalities, but diffused over the universe and likely to crop up in unexpected places. A Comanche did not first envisage a god and then worship him; he started with the thrill, with the sense of a supernatural agency, and objectified his emotional stirrings. There were, nevertheless, certain supernaturals that appeared rather frequently both in ritual and in visionary experiences, notably the eagle, the bear, and the buffalo.

•771 Religion and ethics were largely divorced. The really vital social canons had no supernatural sanctions. When a vision-seeker called upon the supernaturals to favor him, he hardly ever stressed his moral worth, but his desire for aid. What he pleaded for was not moral elevation, but some material benefit; and it was compassion that animated his patron in granting it. Often, to be sure, the visitant laid down rules of conduct, but they had no bearing on social considerations. Good intentions were no safeguard against the consequences of transgression. A man who unwittingly broke rules imposed upon him had to bear the brunt of the catastrophe, for ignorance of the "law" was no safeguard against punishment.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—i.e., "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form,
411 about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches.
776 Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a
[782] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they 181
are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439] who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on 771
earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776] idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789] storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818] 000

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains 175
and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost 562
exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, 175
is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission 684
is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always 175 696
yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend 175
of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon 627
him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of 682
the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of gov- 175
ernment, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, 571
they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The 175
little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for 578
thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect 175
and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe 771
in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but 175
have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they 771
consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them 776
as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal con- [775]
cerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional 175
concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity, 771

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 195! N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Comanchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to
[186] other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

seasons. In short they have no visible, operative religion; and such notions as they do entertain, are mere fanciful speculations, that apparently have not the slightest practical influence on their lives and conduct. They are enveloped in thick darkness, and live, and die in dismal estrangement from the God of Heaven. 175 771

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 22, 1824]

Letter III

The Comanchees, like all other heathen nations, mingle with the crudities of their religious tenets, some exceedingly absurd and unintelligible fantasies, to which they adhere with all the tenacity of a blind superstition. They believe in witchcraft, and impute to persons whom they suspect to be possessed of the "evil spirit", the most mischievous and diabolical propensities. All internal diseases, the nature or cause of which they do not comprehend, and they are by no means skilled in physics, they attribute to the *blasting breath* of some secret enemy, who is endowed by evil genii with the mystical powers of enchantment. They say the unhappy subject has been "blown", and represent the manner of communicating the occult infection, by blowing through the hand. These tricks of sorcery they sometimes charge to the evil disposed of their own people, but are never able to detect and identify the foul fiend, or instant immolation would be his destiny. They hold the Kitchies (a small band on a branch of the River Trinity) in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of *blowing;* and charge them with having "blown" the waters that intersect their route to Natchitoches, which has rendered their visits to that post so destructive to their people. Whatever may be the nature of the hidden disease, the consequence is often a gradual dissolution of the miserable victim, who pines away in langour and despondency, amidst unavailing threats of vengeance upon his mysterious adversary. The few persons I have seen who were supposed to have been "blown", have exhibited all the external symptoms of pulmonary affection: but the mild and equable tem- 175 754

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to 539
a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities 771
—that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations [776]
of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place 764
in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, 775
and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at 796
the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, 765
over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not 181
a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody.

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[789] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
197 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
791 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
197 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
791 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

/page 40 continued/

Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

/page 40 continued/

795 give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake
771 constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just
177 how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

/41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all
795 those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for
771 protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a
177 church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian
795 ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are
771 only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by
177 Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly
599 from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, C K 795 there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K [829] 771 Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to C K 793 795 suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, C K [129] and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they C K 793 795 533 829 are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

/page 43 continued/

C K 795 771 [179] [123] In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K 121 Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result C K 121 has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once 665 177 important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

C K 121 /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
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Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[771] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[715] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[794] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
721 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[224] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 159 603 855 [765] people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

115 159 604 756 755 Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

115 159 771 Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

115 159 771 755 You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [777]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 766 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

Element	Occurrence													
	B T	K A	Ele	Cos	Ele	Ab G	Da I	Da S	Wa	Ka C	Cr I	Cr S	WRS	Dus
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+
265a. (See note)														

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago NP12

| | | |

/page 41 continued/

795 Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christian-
797 ity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of
[829] the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin.
795 That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder,
783 or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it
171 were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage.
772 The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 776 772 177

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 778

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1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6 ●
Northern Shoshone NR14

Cannibalism arising from starvation was a Bannock Creek Shoshone obsession. Shoshone folklore shudderingly retails the activities of the dʒɔ'aβits, gigantic cannibal ogres who lived in the Saw Tooth mountains. The fear of actual cannibalism had become a folkloristic anxiety. The possibility of cannibalism is not even mentioned by the Comanches, from whose folklore the dʒɔ'aβits had entirely disappeared, though in other respects the mythology of the Shoshone and Comanche are very much alike.

C N 266 773 ●

To the northern Shoshone actual cannibalism was a crime to be punished with death. It was believed that the person who had once tasted human flesh suffered an inordinate craving for more. His skin took on a peculiar hue, so that such persons were altogether dangerous and loathsome. One story is told by the Bannock Creek Shoshone of an occasion when they came upon the deserted camp of another Shoshone group in Utah. Suspiciously, because of the appearance of the camp, they waited before entering the place, until one or two men had scouted it. The scouts found decimated cadavers and human bones in the wickiups, and in the largest they found an emaciated "chief" and his wife gnawing human bodies. These were the sole survivors of a devastating famine. When the scouts reported their gruesome news, there was much excitement amongst the outside Shoshones. They quickly agreed that the pair should be dispatched, and arming themselves with stones, they stormed the grass hut, trampling it down and stoning the hapless cannibals to death.

N 266 682 731

The father of Coyote Droppings became a hermit in his later years, living on the banks of the Snake River below the Raft River junction. The notion developed that he was a cannibal, and people talked and talked about him until they finally worked themselves up to decide, "We had better do away with him. He'll eat us up!" Two men were sent down to assassinate him, which they did. Cannibalism was a quasi-crime.

N 682 626

Combinations of circumstance led the northern Shoshone to consolidation of governmental and legal practices in one field which actually placed them ahead of the Comanches in this respect. They adopted the Plains Indian practice of policing the buffalo hunts in which they engaged. Hazardous invasions of the plains were generally undertaken in the fall of the year after the main seed and nut crops were in. Then the Bannock Creek Shoshones joined with other bands from the vicinity of Ft. Hall, including the Bannocks, to cross the continental divide into the buffalo country (buffalo had become extinct in Idaho about 1840). On occasion, union was joined with the Nez Perce and Flatheads, to increase their defensive power against the Blackfoot or Crow attacks. Military as well as hunting effectiveness was needful for the success of these ventures. To attain this end a small

N 224 625

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

133 west, when we emerged into a valley about four miles wide and thirty long. It was surrounded on all sides by very high mountains, exceedingly bleak and barren. There was not a tree, or bush, or even a blade of grass to be discovered over the entire surface of the valley. It was covered, to the average depth of fifteen feet, as near as I could judge, with broken pumice stone, a substance precisely similar to the lava of Vesuvius. That it was the result of volcanic eruptions there was no possible doubt, inasmuch as numerous tracts down which it had flowed from the mountain tops were distinctly visible.

172 The Rolling Thunder, in order to convince me of the correctness of a belief, universal throughout the Comanche nation, conducted me to the western side of this strange valley, where I saw, with infinite astonishment and surprise, the dilapidated ruins of a large town. In the midst of the falling walls of a great number of buildings, which, in some remote age, beyond doubt, had lined spacious streets, was what appeared to have been a church or cathedral. Its walls of cut stone, two feet thick, and in some places fifteen feet high, included a space measuring two hundred feet in length, and, perhaps, one hundred in width. The inner surface of the walls in many places was adorned with elaborate carved work, evidently the labor of a master hand, and at the eastern end was a massive stone platform which seemed to have been used as a stage or pulpit. In my surprise at beholding so unexpectedly these evidences of civilization in that wild region, I turned to the Rolling Thunder and asked if he could explain it.

● 173 This is the legend of the Comanches, as he related it: Innumerable moons ago, a race of white men, ten feet high, and far more rich and powerful than any white people now living, here inhabited a large range of country, extend-

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

ing from the rising to the setting sun. Their fortifications 773 crowned the summits of the mountains, protecting their populous cities situated in the intervening valleys. They excelled every other nation which has flourished, either before or since, in all manner of cunning handicraft—were brave and warlike—ruling over the land they had wrested from its ancient possessors with a high and haughty hand. Compared with them the palefaces of the present day were pigmies, in both art and arms. They drove the Indians from their homes, putting them to the sword, and occupying the valleys in which their fathers had dwelt before them since the world began. At length, in the height of their power and glory, when they remembered justice and mercy no more and became proud and lifted up, the Great Spirit descended from above, sweeping them with fire and deluge from the face of the earth. The mounds we had seen on the tablelands were the remnants of their fortresses, and the crumbling ruins that surrounded us all that remained of a mighty city.

In like manner, continued the Rolling Thunder, the 186 day will surely come when the present white race, which 773 is driving the Indians before it, and despoiling them of their inheritance, and which, in the confidence of its strength, has become arrogant and boastful and forgotten God, will be swept from existence. For the Great Spirit is *just*—and as certainly as the rivers flow downward towards the salt sea, or the sun rises in the morning and sets at night, so certainly will He yet restore the land of their fathers to the red man, when the days of his affliction are passed.

It would, indeed, be difficult to adopt any other hypothesis than the one entertained by the chief. The evidence before me was too clear and palpable to be controverted,

186 that at some period, more or less remote, this valley had
173 been inhabited by a people skilled in architecture and evidently possessing, in a high degree, a knowledge of mechanism and the arts. Whether the Rolling Thunder's account of their destruction is correct, or his belief that their successors will eventually be disposed of in the same summary manner is orthodox, will admit of argument; nevertheless, there is no doubt that, in common with all the tribes of the Comanches, he entertains this belief, in genuine sincerity. It is this unwavering faith in the future ascendancy of the red man, and the final restoration to him of all the possessions he has lost, which prompts him to perpetual resistance, and which so often led the Rolling Thunder to exclaim, after I had described some marvelous invention—"Wonderful, wonderful are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all."

224 After leaving the volcanic valley and ascertaining the feeding grounds of the bison, we returned to the village, and soon again set forth on the yearly buffalo hunt. It is
[136] a singular fact that on these excursions the hunters are followed by droves of wolves. They seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the business in which the party is about to engage. As soon as the skin is stripped from the
000 buffalo they surround the carcass and devour it. To wake in the dead of night, after dreaming, peradventure, of early home and friends, to find yourself under a rude tent, in those far distant wilds, surrounded by a savage tribe, produces sensations, lonely and desolate indeed—but terror mingles with the sense of desolation when, all around, the adjacent solitudes are vocal with the barking and snarling and howling of wolves, gorging themselves at their midnight feasts.

It was at such times as these my soul longed to reach once

The Horse and the Buffalo

to cook stone-boiled soup. The dried excrement (chips) of the buffalo burned slowly and made a hot and lasting fire for both warmth and cooking; it was sometimes used ceremoniously as a support to keep some sacred object from touching the ground, and it was so endowed with power that scouts swore their oaths of veracity on a pile of buffalo chips. The bones, hoofs, and horns of the buffalo were fashioned into cups, spoons, and ornaments; and the horns were occasionally fashioned into bows or worn on headdresses on special occasions. Sinews from the back made bow strings and thread. Ropes were made from the twisted hair. The hide was used to manufacture clothing, lodge coverings, thongs, saddles, bridles, and bags. When properly finished with the fine coat of wool and the hair left on it, it provided an unusually warm robe. Freed from the hair and dressed, it constituted a summer blanket. A green hide served for a pot before the white traders brought kettles, and braided strands of rawhide provided an excellent rope.

There was a time, according to Comanche legend, when the Indians did not have access to the buffalo. In the version recorded fifty years ago by H. H. St.Clair, Coyote effected their release by a ruse.[88] In a hitherto unpublished version given by That's It in 1933 it was *Ka:wus,* the Culture Hero, who turned the trick.

« « « Our knowledge only goes to the point where man and the earth were already here.

The People were out playing three kinds of games one day—the wheel game, throwing arrows, and shooting with the bow. A strange man came amongst them. He talked to no one. Just stood there looking on with a quiver over his shoulder.

After a while he said, "I'll go over there to defecate." He laid down his quiver and jumped in a creek. While he was down there, a young man went up and looked in his bag. There was a nice piece of fat in it. He took it up and showed it to the other Indians. They all wondered where that old man came from. "He certainly has plenty of meat," they all said.

Then they all plotted to stop playing at meal time. They left the

[88] H. H. St. Clair, "Shoshone and Comanche Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* No. 85 (July–September, 1909), 280–81.

The Comanches

773
539

old man all alone on the field. He just kept walking back and forth until, at last, he jumped back into the draw. The People kept looking. Then they saw him come out of the draw as a bird flying up and over the mountain.

Now The People wondered how they could get over the mountain to see. At last they thought of two birds. One was Owl. He flys quietly. The other was Quail. He walks quietly.

These two went over the top of the mountain, and there they saw a single tipi facing east. At sunset they landed near it.

After dark Owl said, "That's what we're here for. I'm going."

As he lit on the tipi pole, the old man inside said, "Uh, there's an Indian."

Owl flew back to Quail and told him, "He knew I landed, and when I flew away, he said, "Uh, the Indian is gone.' "

Then Owl and Quail went up close together. They could hear someone talking. Then there was no sound for a long time, so Owl told Quail to go up to the tipi. Quail went up and peeked. Three times he looked. Then he went back to Owl. "There are three people there," he said, "an old man, his wife and daughter."

They waited a long time, this time—until midnight.

Then the daughter spoke. "Mother," she said, "let's have something to eat."

Owl said, "There they go. They've got plenty of meat."

Then they waited another long time, and again they heard the girl ask for something to eat. But her mother warned her, "Sh-h-h, don't talk like that. You can't tell how those Indians travel."

Owl nudged Quail, "She means us."

This happened three times when finally the old man said they should eat. So the woman opened a parfleche and took out lots of meat. When they were through eating, she just swept the suet and loose chunks to the back of the tipi.

Then they went to sleep. Quail went up and snitched some pieces. "Here's your meal," he said to Owl. Then they flew back to The People with some meat in their claws.

They exclaimed, "My, they have lots of meat, we shall have to go around the mountain to get at that stuff." So they moved camp. They packed all their stuff on ten horses, representing each band.

The Horse and the Buffalo

The old man saw them coming. "What do you want?" he asked them. 773 539

"Oh, we're just here for a visit."

He was suspicious, nevertheless, and he drew a line from a tree to a stump, telling them to camp on the other side and not to cross the line. For three successive days he visited them, but he always kept them from coming to his camp. Every time he would say, "I don't know where we can get any meat to eat at all."

Ka:wus was there with The People. He could turn himself into any form. "It's up to you," The People told him. "You have to figure out how to get meat. He isn't ever going to give us any."

"There is only one way," *Ka:wus* replied. "Just leave it to me. Now you people break camp and move away." Then he changed himself into a puppy.

The old man followed after The People to see where they went. After a while, the daughter came to see if she could find anything in their old camp. Just that little puppy was there.

"Oh, you poor little puppy," she cried out. "You're mine." But the pup backed off like it was shy.

"Don't be afraid," she coaxed it. "From now on you are never going to be hungry. I'll prove it to you now. Come on!"

With that she opened the door to the tipi, and *Ka:wus* went in. There was a hole in the floor, and down there he saw a hundred thousand buffaloes!

Just then the old man came back. "Take that dog out," he ordered. "You can see from the look in its eyes that it is a human being. Take it out, or I will kill it."

The old man followed his daughter outside the tipi as she did what she was told. She put the puppy down, and then her father went away again to see if The People were coming back. As soon as he was out of sight, she picked the puppy up and took him right back in the tipi.

"You'll never get hungry," she kept consoling him, and she showed him all those buffaloes.

Then he began to act like he was getting nervous, and he jumped right out of her arms. He jumped around and shouted just like a human being, stampeding the buffaloes. They smashed down the door, and out they poured.

The Comanches

•773 That dog was still in there. The girl grabbed a club to brain
539 him, but he turned back to his human form. Hanging on to the side of a buffalo, he rode out without her getting him. He made straight for the hills, and there he saw that mess of buffaloes.

With that he went straight back to his people.

"How did you make out? What happened?" They wanted to know.

He told them, "Tomorrow at sunrise those buffaloes will be right at our door," he said.

After that they always had plenty of buffalo to eat. That is how they got them. » » »

136 The American bison, or "buffalo," as it is commonly called, is not really a buffalo at all. It is a gregarious bovine ruminant, one of the largest members of the family *Bovidae* that also includes cattle, sheep, goats, and antelope. It is a close relative of the bison of Europe, although quite different in appearance in many respects. It is of rather early origin. Recently discovered fossil remains are said by geologists to belong to the middle Pleistocene age, to be not less than four hundred thousand years old.

The first buffalo seen by Europeans was in 1521 by Cortez in the menagerie of Montezuma. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the first European to report seeing buffalo in Texas. Pedro de Castañeda, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, recorded that there were so many of them he did not know what to compare them to except the fish in the sea; they were so thick that many times his party was unable to go through them.

The buffalo were found on the whole of the Great Plains. The eastern limit of the buffalo land followed roughly from the north along the ninetieth meridian to the northeastern corner of Iowa. Then it bore slightly to the southwest, crossing the Red River about the ninety-eighth meridian, ran south in Texas to about the thirty-first degree of latitude, entered the southern part of New Mexico about the one hundredth and fourth meridian, and roughly followed the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains to the north. Thus the entire Comanchería fell well within the buffalo range.

Within this area the vast herds drifted back and forth in seasonal

776 bad and evil visited upon man, there was none as to the source of all that was good and beneficial in life. Through the medium of a host of inferior spirits, the Great Spirit brought about all that was good or beneficial to the Comanches, such as health, peace, plenty, and happiness. He aided a worthy warrior in all his undertakings, delivered his enemies into his hands, protected him from danger, privation, and pain, and provided all good and pleasurable things. All good and useful animals were made by him for their use. All their success in hunting was the result of his benevolence. They thought that if they lied to the Great Spirit, or displeased him, he would withdraw his guardianship, allowing them to die or suffer other punishment.

●773 The origin of the Comanches was credited to the Great Spirit, according to the early reporters. In one version, another race inhabited the country before them, but a great flood of waters covered the whole earth, and the inhabitants, whom they supposed were white, saved themselves from being destroyed by turning into white birds and flying away. After this the Great Spirit sent down to earth a secondary spirit to create the Comanches. When first made, the Comanches were imperfect. The spirit returned to the Supreme Being and told what he had done. Thereupon, the Great Spirit directed him to return to the earth and complete his work by giving intelligence to the beings he had created and to instruct them how to live. The secondary spirit carried out the instructions. He taught the Comanches how to make the stone arrow points and knives of stone and bone for cutting. He taught them how to put the arrow points on shafts, showed them how to make a bow, and how to use the arrows for shooting. He told them that the buffalo, deer, and the elk—all the animals that are on the earth—were for their use. He taught them to make fire by rubbing two sticks or by knocking together two hard stones until the fire started.[6]

Another account of the creation of the Comanches as told by a long-time adopted Comanche warrior, although differing somewhat in details, likewise credits the work to the Great Spirit. According to this story, the Great Spirit collected the dust from the four corners of the earth to make man, so that when man died the earth would not refuse him a burying place by saying, "Thou hast not been taken from me, hence I cannot receive you in my bosom." When the Great

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Spirit created man, the earth shook and trembled and said unto the Great Spirit, "How can I feed the vast multitudes of man that will issue from the first created?" And the Great Spirit replied, "We will divide the maintenance of man; you will feed man during the daytime with all that you produce, while when the night will come, I will send my sleep upon man, and he will rest, and he will be fed by me with the peace of slumber, and he will awake refreshed in the morning." 773

The Great Spirit took eight parts to form man: the body from the earth, the bones from the stones, the blood from the dew, the eyes from the depth of the clear water, the beauty from his own image, the light of the eyes from the sun, the thoughts from the waterfalls, the breath from the wind, and the strength from the storms. The first man was of such gigantic size that his head reached the skies and his eyes looked from one end of the earth to the other, but menial labor and unwholesome food diminished his size and made him vulnerable.

After the Great Spirit had created man, he ordered all of the inhabitants of the spirit world to go and prostrate themselves before man as recognition that man was the greatest of the Great Spirit's creations. All obeyed the command except one, who as a result of his failure to do so was cast out from the spirit world and made to roam around on earth. To seek revenge, this demon took refuge in the tooth of the serpent, the fang of the spider, the legs of the centipede, and in other poisonous animals, insects, and reptiles to torment and harm man on earth at every opportunity.[7] [825]

Inasmuch as the Shoshones and other tribes of the Great Basin had some conception of an otiose Supreme Being, who in the minds of some was equated with Wolf, the big brother of Coyote, it is not unreasonable to accept the basic validity of these early nineteenth-century descriptions of Comanche beliefs in a Great Spirit. Wolf was wholly beneficent; his acts of original creation made all things perfect and good. Coyote, the mischievous Til Eulenspiegel of Shoshonean folklore, was the spoiler of all things, however. His was the role 773 776

[6] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.

[7] Narrated by Herman Lehmann, Comanche captive, who became a respected warrior and member of the tribe. Jonathan H. Jones, *A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes*, 199–200.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

773 of the transformer who undid the good works of his big brother. 776 He brought hardship, travail, and effort into the lives of men. He represented the force of Evil as we conceive it—and yet the Shoshones in no way thought of him in his relationship to Wolf as a conflict of good and evil. Coyote was not bad; he was no more than wantonly mischievous.

When we consider the writings of the early whites among the Comanches on the Great Spirit and the Evil One, we are plagued by serious doubts. We cannot but feel that they, who lived in a time of great religious conviction in this land, projected something of their own ideas of what the Comanches ought to have believed into their descriptive accounts.

At any rate, the old Comanches living in 1933 who served as informants for the Santa Fé Laboratory group revealed only the slightest vestiges of such ideas. The Great Spirit was only occasionally mentioned by them; none showed any concern with the problem of evil. Coyote, in the folk tales recounted by these later-day Comanches, had moved almost entirely from the realm of myth and legend to assume a position of no more than a power-giving animal—except that the old Shoshonean tabu against killing coyotes retained a good deal of its force. The transformer tales, except for the Comanche story of the release of the buffalo, were lost, one and all. What remained of the old Coyote folk tale and myth cycle was only that part which told of Coyote as a harmless bungler and trickster. And the hero in all these tales, as told by Slope, Post Oak Jim, and That's It, was no longer Coyote but Fox, Coon, and Bob Cat. As for the Creation, the typical attitude was expressed by Post Oak Jim: "We never gave much consideration to Creation. We just knew we were here. Our thoughts were mostly directed toward understanding the spirits."

776 The Comanches were not quite certain of the relationship existing 821 between the Great Spirit and the Sun. Sometimes the two were closely associated, while at other times a distinction was made between them. Robert S. Neighbors makes a clear distinction, saying that they offered the first puff of smoke to the Supreme Being, the second to the Sun, the third to the Earth, and so on to the lesser objects of

[8] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.
[9] Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," *loc. cit.*, 268.

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 711 Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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A doctor should never suggest that he could cure an individual but must wait for the individual to approach him. Again Sanapia states that a violation of this norm would be an indication on the part of the doctor that he, and only secondarily his Medicine, is the important element in the potential curing. 115 159 756

A doctor must be paid for any services he renders, no matter how slight. Similarly, a doctor cannot work his Medicine without payment. In the case of an eagle doctor, this applies even to family members. In addition, the payment, with the exception of certain relatively inexpensive ritual items (green cloth and tobacco) required at the first interview of doctor and patient, must be left to the discretion of the patient. A doctor cannot refuse anything which is offered in payment. Furthermore, Sanapia was instructed that she must immediately give away a portion of her final payment to anyone in her immediate vicinity at the time of payment. This "give away" is a means by which Sanapia honors her Medicine. 115 159 756 465 [431]

> And one thing, when they come to me . . . anybody comes to me and say, "I want you to doctor me," bring plain goods, no figure or nothing. Dark green goods. They have to take that and smoke and they going to give me that green goods. Either a yard or two or three or four yards like that. That's the only thing I ask for. And they say, "Now what else we going to pay you when you get this boy, this girl, this woman, this man well?" I say, "That's what I call for . . . just the green goods. And if he gets well or she gets well, its up to you. If you think I get that person well, its up to you." But I'm not going to say I want this and that and that and I want so much money. I'm not going to say that because that's what my mother told me. She said, "Don't you ever ask for anything. Its going to be given to you. I don't care what anybody says, its going to come to you." Now, up to today, when anybody give to me . . . give me blanket or any kind of goods . . . I ain't supposed to keep it. It be like somebody come here and I doctor them and they get well and they come in and pile things up here for me and those girls are out there. I call them and say, "Here, you all. Take you choice out of this." And whatever they leave, that's mine. And that's the way I get all my things today and that was my mother's words . . . what she told me to do.

Origin of Eagle Doctors

It was also during this period of training that Sanapia was told the origin story of the Comanche eagle doctors.

> Way back in years there used to be an old woman who was pretty poor. She had a grandson she tried her best to take care of because all her children were gone and all that was left was this grandson. When them people moved their camps, she used to trail behind them. When they set up another camp, the old woman would camp right outside on the edge of that camp place. Sometimes people, mens, brought them food, meat, you know. But most times they were poor and hungry. And it went on and went on till one time they were all down south and west among them Navajo and Pueblo peoples. They was all trading each other. Meat and blankets for corn and meal and things. One Comanche young man got a whole pile of that corn meal and brought it to the old woman. That's the only way they could get that stuff them days. The grandson was happy over that, you know, over that young man bringing those things and helping 756 773

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

him constructed of poles. Into this enclosure is placed his 764
personal effects—his saddle and bridle, his tomahawk, scalping knife, bow and arrows and lance, all the inanimate property he possesses. The enclosure is then roofed with bark and covered with earth. This part of the burial ceremony concluded, all his horses and mules, even if he was the owner of a hundred, are brought to the grave and killed. When a squaw dies, her property, also—her calico gown, cooking kettle, tools for dressing skins—are buried with her, and the horse upon which she was accustomed to ride slain in the same manner.

They are buried with their heads to the west, because 764
they believe at the resurrection, of which they have vague 775
and indefinite notions, they will arise and march eastward, again to take possession of all the country from which the accursed white man has driven them and their fathers. They bury their property with them and kill their horses because they suppose their souls will have need of them in the other world.

Among them are prophets, corresponding with our di- 793
vines, who maintain with exceeding strictness their sacer- 781
dotal dignity. The prophet addresses them on various occasions, such as the green corn dance, and the festival of the roasted dog, but especially in the time of the new moon. At all times they listen to him with the most profound reverence, their heads hanging down, and not a murmur of sound among them from the commencement of his exhortation to its close; but in the season of the new moon, they fall on their faces to the earth before him, and there remain still and motionless until the sound of his voice has ceased.

They believe in God, a great spirit, who created and gov- 775
erns the earth, sun, moon, and stars. They have an unwaver-

775 ing and undoubting faith in a future state of existence, and in future rewards and punishments. They hold that the soul of the wicked coward or thief, after death, will be driven before the frown of the Great Spirit, afar off into a region barren and cold and desolate, there to wander forever through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain; but the good Indian, who has been brave in battle and walked uprightly among his tribe, will be translated to a valley ten thousand times ten thousand fold longer and wider than their own valley of Mannasaw, where the climate is always mild as it is in the moon of plants; where there is cool water, and pounded corn and mustang meat forever at his hand, and where buffalo and deer abound, and the horses are fleeter than the wind.

[173] They have many traditions but no records; nevertheless, 212 they have certain hieroglyphics by which they contrive to communicate intelligence with as much accuracy as if they understood the epistolary art. For instance, if one party goes out before another has returned, and wishes to convey information of the course they have taken and the business they are upon, they will seek some point where it is probable their trail will be discovered. Here, providing themselves with a thin piece of birch bark, which can be folded in the form of a letter without breaking, they will make such figures and emblems upon it as represent the idea they wish to convey. If they are on the war path, the character will be a tomahawk and a scalp; if on a visit to a friendly tribe, it will be a pipe; if on a buffalo or deer hunt, there will be no characters, but the folded bark will simply enclose some of the hair of the animal of which they are 212 in pursuit. If they intend to be absent a month, the emblem 201 will be the full moon; if two weeks, a half-moon, if only a few days, the new moon. Then they strike a hatchet deep

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Battle with the Apaches

As soon as they had left the ground, the Apaches again 727 appeared upon the height, and bore away their dead also. It was a drawn battle.

This encounter was unexpected on both sides. The Apaches, as I learned, were gathered around a spring, cooking their meat, little expecting the approach of an enemy, when the van of our party came upon them. At that time a deadly strife existed between the tribes, and it would have been a scandalous violation of an Indian's idea of manhood to have separated, under such circumstances, without a bloody tilt at arms.

The Comanches lost in this battle seventeen warriors; the Apaches, probably as many more. Had the combatants belonged to a civilized people who keep a record of their wars, it would have furnished a thrilling page of history; but thousands of such sanguinary struggles take place on the lonely prairies of which the world knows not. That same season, however, they buried the tomahawk and danced the pipe dance, and henceforward were at peace.

The close of this eventful day was occupied in burying 727 the slain, which ceremony was performed in their custom- 764 ary manner, except they seemed to chant the death song 775 with more energy and feeling than on ordinary occasions. With them, death, at any time, even the nearest and dearest of their kindred, is not regarded as an event to be deplored, but on the contrary, to be welcomed with rejoicing; but when a warrior dies on the field of battle, their joy and exultation knows no bounds, for their crude theology assures them his departed spirit is, at once, caught up by the Great Spirit, and borne to the region of everlasting and supreme felicity.

We saw no more of the Apaches, and the following day 224 turned our course up the prairie—crossed the mountains

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

want to know is what has become of these people on the war party. 787
You are wonderful. You know everything.

The answer came in a clear voice—

"They are all killed."

A sickly man with them asked if he would get well.

"You will die in the fall," came the answer.

Then they asked the bird who he was. It was the spirit of an evil medicine man who had died of tuberculosis.

After a while one of them went out to open the flaps of the tipi.

He came back in to light the fire.

They could hear the ghost calling as he went. That was all. » » »

This is the Algonquian spirit séance without the shaking of the tent at the visitation of the spirit. Inasmuch as the northern Shoshone did not have this rite, it is probable that it was borrowed from the neighboring Cheyennes.[17]

Ghosts did not generally bother the Comanches, but the Co- 775
manches definitely were uneasy about them. The tabu on the use of the names of dead people has already been mentioned several times. Hunters, raiders, and campers often saw and heard groups of people who were there one moment and gone the next. They were ghosts who haunted battlefields or scenes of annihilation.

Ghosts gave great power to the men who could stand up to them. Such ghosts appeared either as bare-bone skeletons or as bloody, scalped spectres waving long knives. Several stories are told of men who were chased all the way home from their vision vigils right into their own tipis by terrifying ghosts, who came with the rising moon.

Not all ran away, however. Slope knew one who got ghost power.

« « « A bunch of Comanches camped near a haunted spot. They asked a young man to go down to the spring for water. He just stalled around.

"Are you afraid?" They asked him.

He said he wasn't, so he took up a cow paunch and started for the water, thinking about ghosts. He heard something behind him; then he felt arms about his neck; he could see only bones—no flesh on

[17] Cf. K. N. Llewellyn and E. A. Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way: Conflict and Case Law in Primitive Jurisprudence*, 91.

The Comanches

775 them. He dropped the paunch and seized the arms fast, so he could carry the ghost on his back.

The people heard him coming. They heard the squeaking of the bones.

"Coward, what are you doing out there?" they called. "Bring us that water."

He just threw the skeleton in at them. They all fled and fell in a heap. The ghost disappeared.

That night it came back to the young man. It gave him medicine.

"You will be hard to hit," it told him. "Bullets will never kill you. Keep a ball of white clay with you. When there is going to be a fight, paint yourself white all over."

"Never go into the battle first. Wait until your friends retreat. Then go right in."

The next day the party went on. They made a good raid on a herd of Mexican horses, but the Mexican pursuit caught up with them. The battle started. He went off to one side to prepare himself. Another young man came up to ask for the protection of his medicine. He gave him some and told him how to wait.

At the right time, they charged, and they turned the tide by killing several Mexicans. After that he became a famous warrior. » » »

754 Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis. In a
775 case of epilepsy, recounted by Breaks Something, a medicine man with power over ghosts was called in. He looked at the patient and said. "This disease has nothing to do with ghosts; it is not in my line; must be something else." He could not help this sickness; it seemed to be something inside of the sick man.

776 Another source of great power for the Comanches, and Shoshones, too, lay in the "little men"—the *nɜnəpi*. They were believed to be no more than a foot high. They were armed with little shields, bows, and arrows, which killed every time they shot. They also threw little spears with points made of alligator spines. The Comanches say that the *nɜnəpi* made all the little stone arrowheads that they found all around. A few daring medicine men sought power from the little men, but most people did not want to possess it, for it was too dangerous: a man might kill someone when he did not want to kill.

The Comanches

771 and scanty information that is available will reveal divergent and conflicting opinions concerning the supernatural.

Comanche religion was exceedingly simple, highly vital, and based on no more than casual attempts to explain satisfactorily the mysterious operations of nature by which he was confronted every day.

775 After burial, according to the somewhat fanciful account of an adopted Comanche, the spirit of the departed warrior mounted the spirit of his slain pony, his ghostly quiver of bow and arrows at his back, the spectre of his lance in his hand, the shadow of his shield on his arm—to gallop skyward, followed by his phantom herd loaded with ghostly possessions heaped by his relatives and friends in and about his grave. Straight into the sun and the pastures of the Happy Hunting Ground he sped, there to remain an extended time. But eventually, after an excursion in celestial pastures, the spirit of the departed must be reborn of the Earth Mother and return to keep up the population and power off the tribe.[1]

There is no doubt that the Comanches had an unwavering faith in a future existence. As to the nature of their after world, their accounts are fairly uniform. Their after world was generally conceded to be beyond the sun where it sets in the west. It was modeled after the imperfect reality of their everyday existence with all the disagreeable features absent, for all things there were perfect. It was a "valley ten thousand fold longer and wider" than their own valley (this specific reference was probably to the Arkansas), covered with groves, streams, and meadows. There was no rain or wind; the climate was always mild and the water cool. There the great chiefs of all the Comanches held their assemblies, and they and all the warriors were young. They followed the chase, but the war whoop never penetrated those sacred realms. There was no darkness there, for the Great Spirit was everywhere. In this heavenly valley there would always be plenty without the necessity of expending much energy or effort to obtain it. The "shade" of the Comanche could there experience to the fullest measure all the pleasures the material body had experienced or hoped for while on earth. There were buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope in abundance; pounded corn was forever at hand; and horses were fleeter than the wind. Beautiful birds warbled

[1] Hobbs, *op. cit.*, 33–34.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

from the treetops for his entertainment. And to add further to a condition conducive to a supremely happy after life, there was no suffering or sorrow there. 775

The Comanches knew that all this was so from what they thought was genuine observation. Death and resurrection were not uncommon. The mothers of Post Oak Jim and Slope both died, visited the land of the dead, and returned to life, because it was not yet their time to depart.

« « « My mother died from a fever. An iron grey horse was waiting for her. She got on and rode away.

After awhile, she came upon a travois trail. Many Indians had passed that way. The horse noticed something by the smell and trotted off down the trail neighing.

She came to the top of a high hill. There she looked to the west; the sun was low. Below her she saw a big camp in a grove of tall cottonwoods by a clear creek. The land looked so beautiful. Lots of Indians rode around on horseback. There were women playing old-time games [shinny].

Two men on horseback left the group and began to race toward her. As they approached, she heard them whooping and guns shooting. As they came, she was thirsty and got down to drink from a near-by spring. Scooping up the water, she splashed some on her face. It felt cool.

Then she came to. Her husband was blowing on her face, making a medicine. They gave her water and food; she felt better, got well, and lived a long time. » » »

That was Post Oak Jim's story. Slope's story, told quite independently, reveals the same simple belief. This was the experience of his grandmother, *Ya:ai,* who finally died in 1890, after a long life.

« « « When my grandmother was young, she got very sick. A medicine man worked on her, but he could accomplish nothing. Her time had come. So she died. People began mourning. They buried her possessions.

She started walking toward the other world. At last she came towards a creek bordered with tall cottonwood trees in which was

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•775 a big camp. Just before she got to the camp, she looked ahead and saw a large herd of horses. As she came closer to the horses, she saw a man approaching her on horseback. As he came nearer, she saw he was a relative long since dead.

Then she noticed a certain grey horse which had died and which had belonged to her family. The relative roped it for her and told her to mount and hurry to get on, as they had to get along.

She tried to mount the horse, but it balked. The man kept urging her to hurry, but the horse kept balking and balking. She couldn't get there.

Finally, she came to while still trying to get on the horse.

She opened her eyes. She saw people weeping for her. She told them she had come back. She was alive again. She lived a long life after that. » » »

Although Comanche ideas were fairly harmonious concerning the nature of the after world, there was some uncertainty about who might be eligible to enjoy its pleasures. Some early observers thought the Comanches had no idea of accountability; that they believed they would all go to Heaven (except in special cases, as when one happened to be so unfortunate as to lose his scalp after death). Such was the concept generally held by their neighbors on the plains. Among the Cheyennes the "Brave and cowardly, good and bad alike go there. All who have died are equal. After death there is neither reward for virtue nor punishment for sin."[2] On the other hand, nineteenth-century observers flatly reported that the Comanches did believe in future rewards and punishments.[3]

The Comanche's religion taught him that it was his duty to be courageous, to be brave in battle and faithful to his comrades in arms, to be generous to his friends, and to walk upright among his tribesmen. For that he would reap the reward of existence after death. The warrior who died in the fray and the woman who died in childbirth

[2] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, II, 91.

[3] Interesting comments on Comanche religion are found in these volumes: Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, 57; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 258, 260; Battey, *op. cit.*, 331; Lee, *op. cit.*, 153; Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," *loc. cit.*, 267; Rister, *Border Captives*, 26; Glisan, *op. cit.*, 74; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 102–103, 178, 180–81.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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were expected to receive special consideration on arriving in the eternal home beyond the sun. Mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, leaving the victim free of their effects in the after world. But the spirit of the bad, the lazy, the coward, or the thief would be driven before the Great Spirit into a region that was barren, cold, and desolate, with rugged and sterile mountains infested with noxious animals and insects. There game was scarce, meager, and unsavory, and the soul had to wander through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain. 775

Our own Comanche informants revealed no such notions at all. Nor do the Shoshones have any such conception of post-mortem immanent justice. We suspect these assertions should be taken with a grain of salt, if not rejected.

Believed limitations of immortality included loss of scalp, strangulation, death in the dark, and mutilation. If the scalp were taken after death, the Comanches looked on life as annihilated. A scalp removed before death, whether by accident or design, affected immortality not in the least. To preserve the scalp on the head of a dead comrade was of more consequence than the preservation of one's own life; while by the same token, scalping a foe was of much greater merit than simply sending his spirit out of this world into the next, whence it would eventually return to plague the Comanches anew. "Dot" Babb says the Comanches did not scalp a Negro since they believed he had no soul, but they might kill him to prevent his killing Comanches. But the dance leader's scepter, given to Ralph Linton in 1933, had several scalp symbols on it—tokens of scalps taken by its original owner—and a couple of them (colored differently) were pointed out to represent Negro scalps. [829]

Fear of strangulation arose from the belief that life (spirit or "soul thing") issued from the mouth at the moment of death. Thus if death occurred through choking, the passageway was closed and the spirit, unable to free itself, remained in the mortal body and was forever imprisoned in the ground at burial. Next to fear of strangulation came the fear of death in the dark, for the spirit that left the body in the dark might be unable to find its way to the after world and thus wander forever in darkness. Although the majority believed that mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, there were some who [763]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

•775 believed that such indignities as the body suffered after death, other than the removal of the scalp, permanently affected the spirit or shade. Thus, if the feet were cut from the body after death, the unhappy spirit was forced to dispense with them henceforth.

The Comanche who failed to approach the camp of the after world well mounted might also be refused admission into those celestial pastures. A current legendary story taught the importance of providing the deceased with a good mount. Once an old Comanche died who had no relatives or worldly goods. The villagers, concluding that almost any old nag would serve to transport him to the next world, killed at his grave an old, ill-conditioned, lop-eared horse. A few weeks after the burial of this friendless one, he returned, weary and hungry, riding the same old worn-out horse. He first appeared at a neighboring camp of Wichitas, where he was well known, and asked for something to eat; but his sunken eyes and his strange appearance frightened all who saw him, and they fled from his presence. Finally, one bolder than the rest placed a piece of meat at the end of a lodge pole and extended it to him. Shortly afterwards, he appeared at his own camp, creating even more dismay than in the Wichita village, so that the entire camp moved to Rush Creek, not far distant from the present site of Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Some of the Comanches, however, were bold enough to question the unwelcome, ghostly visitor about his reappearance among the inhabitants of the earth. When he had come to the "gates of paradise," he told them, the people would on no account permit him to enter upon such an ill-conditioned beast as he rode, and thus in sadness he had returned to haunt the homes of the greedy, stingy people who had not properly provided for him. Since then, no Comanche has been allowed to set out for the after world without a steed which would do honor to the rider and his friends.[4]

821 The nature of the cosmos was only vaguely conceived, and contemporary Comanches have no notions what the people thought about it in the old days, if they had any thoughts at all. The Comanches, so far as we can tell, had no star lore, and only the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-deities.

[4] Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 100.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some notions of a future state. There was a young woman among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no formal marriages among them. They generally take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify the connexions. The distinction, however, [56] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however, seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of government, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal concerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
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[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[793] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or
[796] seasons.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untomed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6

539 warm." Coyote said, "Six cold months would be too much, we should suffer from the cold. Ten summer months would be good." Another man said, "If we had ten summer months, our meat would spoil, we should suffer from heat." Then they debated. One little man sitting by the door, who was named Snow-Bird, said, "Well, let us have six cold months, with one month half cold and one half cool." Coyote was in favor of ten hot months, because he wished to play a trick on them. They were debating. The little man by the door got up, and said, "Six cold months is plenty for us." Saying, "Six months," he went out. All the assembly rose and followed him, repeating, "Six months." Coyote bade them wait. "What makes you pay any attention to that little man?" But the people did not listen to Coyote, who was thus unable to work his scheme on them. He went out last of all, saying, "We shall have six winter months." All the people laughed at him. "This is the first time you have failed to have your way," Coyote said, "Now we shall have six cold months. Now, then, let us have another council to name the months." When they had gathered, he announced, "The little man shall have just as many tongues as there are cold months." Then he named the months: "October, November, December, January, February, March, April." All agreed. "The little man will have seven tongues; every month one of his tongues will pass away until but one is left."[1]

After the council was over, Coyote said, "Now, do all of you go over there! I shall join you, and we will decide whether our dead should return after the lapse of four days. Long ago that was our way. To-day I object to our dead coming back." They met. He called them all to the edge of the water. He picked up a rock, held it in his hand, and spoke as follows: "Behold, our dead people shall do as this rock!" He cast it into the water. "This rock will not come back. Similarly, our people will not return. This earth is very large; but if the dead were to come back, it would get crowded. That is why I object to it." All the [775] people agreed with him. Since then our dead have not returned.

17. THE LIBERATION OF BUFFALO[2]

(Comanche Story)

Long ago two persons owned all the buffalo. They were an old woman and her young cousin. They kept them penned up in the mountains, so that they could not get out. Coyote came to these people. He summoned the Indians to a council. "That old woman will not give us anything. When we come over there, we will plan how to release

[1] Compare Culin, *Free Museum of Science and Art, Bulletin*, 1901, p. 20 (Wind River Shoshone).

[2] Grinnell, *l. c.* p. 145; Kroeber, *l. c.* p. 65; Dorsey and Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho*, p. 276.

/page 39 continued/

C consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
K The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
795 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
177 regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
C change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the
K vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.
[787]

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
C and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
K from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
787 old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real
177 it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the
[756] present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual
through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific
situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture,
the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
K the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
823 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
778 raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions
[787] (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace
trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
K since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
823 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
778 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
177 there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
[775] fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
C often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still
K able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.
787

Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
C its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
K
276
795
778
[787]

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175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
621 istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
727 numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
562 war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
593 as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
775 Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[778] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[79] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
578 Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
721 the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
579 groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
796 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[228] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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ceremony was similar, in its essentials, to the following description given by Sanapia of the blessing by her grandmother: 115 159 756 603

> One morning she told my mother, "This morning I'm going to bless my granddaughter. I want to fix it. I want my son to go out there and build a fire and when it turns to coals he could bring me some." And she had a little iron bucket, you know, and she said, "Put that big coal in this iron and bring it into my tepee. I want to bless her so she could live a long time and help people. And then she going to have children. And whatever she wants, anything at all, she's going to get it . . . easy way . . . she won't have to work, she won't have to do nothing." That's what she said, and then she blessed me. I was pretty good size, about fourteen I guess. She blessed me with all what she said and then she put cedar on them coals and she pray and sing. Then she put her hand on my head and I inhale that cedar and she fan it on my legs and arms, all over my body. She would sing a song and then she prayed some more. And you know, in them days I never did know how they prayed, but she would pray and she said, "You, I don't know what you are, but I want you to bless this little girl so she can grow up and live to be an old lady like me. You, the one who go in the night and watch people, I don't know who you are, but you're like that, bless her. And this earth, I want her to walk on you for many, many years. I want her to be strong and healthy and I want her to live many years." And after she got through, she took that red paint and put water in it and rubbed it like that. Just smeared it all on my face, and rubbed it from my knees down to the bottom of my feet. Then she said, "Now, she's going to stand on this earth. This paint comes from the earth and she's going to stand on it. And she's going to live long life after she gets old. Help peoples. And when she gets real old, and her hair turns gray and white and her teeth fall out, well, that's when she's going to die." That's what she told me.

In the early 1900s a flu epidemic struck the Comanches. Sanapia was afflicted, and her maternal uncle was summoned to treat her. It was during this treatment that the uncle gave his consent by including phrasing in his standard blessing ceremony at the termination of treatment which meant that Sanapia would regain her health only if she would devote her life to the profession of doctoring. Frightened by this bit of "blackmail," Sanapia promised that she would always strive to be a good woman and a good doctor. As a symbol of her promise, the uncle gave her a new name, "Memory Woman," signifying that Sanapia should never forget the oath made to her uncle as a condition for her regained health. 115 159 756 604 [164]

The next to give consent was the grandfather, but the final and most crucial consent needed was that of the mother. It was given early in the last year of training. With the mother's blessing–consent, the actual transfer of power began. This transference of supernatural power from the mother would progress through four stages, culminating in Sanapia's four days and nights of solitary meditation. The four-day ordeal, or vision quest, signals the termination of training, for it is at this time that the neophyte eagle doctor's power is tested during the period of solitary meditation as the ghosts converge on him in an attempt to frighten and harass him to the point that he will renounce his Medicine. In other words, even with the consent of the teacher and the three advisers, the actual fait accompli is ultimately the outcome of a kind of mystical combat between the 115 159 756 593 [603] 115 159 756 775

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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of
[778] her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
115 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
159 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
756 involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing
[824] ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 145

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195
115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
784

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
756 775 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
778

Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

[769] She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
785

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
787
755

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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

756 Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
755 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 775 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

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Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

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4

Ghosts and Ghost Sickness

Comanche Attitudes toward Ghosts

WALLACE AND HOEBEL (1952:173) write concerning the Comanches' attitudes toward ghosts: "Ghosts did not generally bother the Comanches, but the Comanches were definitely uneasy about them." Kardiner (1945:84) states that the Comanches have no ghost fear at all. I found that not only did my older Comanche informants feel uneasy about ghosts but in most cases they were terrified by them. In almost every interview with a Comanche informant, some situation was cited that dealt with the horrors which ghosts are capable of afflicting on the living. 775

Sanapia states that the whirlwinds, or "dust devils," common in southern Oklahoma are the only form which the ghosts take which is entirely visible to the human eye. In addition this is the only form by which the ghost will make his presence known during daylight hours. The nocturnal guise of the ghost is probably humanlike, in Sanapia's opinion, though she states that she has never seen a ghost at night. This fact is irksome to her because she believes herself to be an expert on the matter of ghosts and their behavior among the Comanches. She considers the lack of this experience as a major flaw in her background, though she accounts for it by mentioning the fear which her Medicine inspires in ghosts. The following is her description of an attempt she made to meet a ghost: [823]

> I tried it on a real dark night. I took my flashlight and walked from here to the highway. The darkest night. That's what I supposed to do because the ghost hates me and I hate it. He ain't never going to do nothing to me because I'm going to overpower that ghost. I could kill it, and the things that it done to a person. He won't do that to me because I got that Medicine. So I walk here to the highway the darkest night. They say there's ghost on the road, but I never did see any. I went to the highway, and then I come back. I just wanted to try. If there was a ghost, I never did hear one, I never see one. Nothing touch me, nothing in my way. I just wanted to see how it was for them to scare [756]

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775 a person . . . see how it is for it to scare me, but I didn't feel nothing. Nothing didn't scare me at all.

Sanapia feels that ghosts are probably the spirits of deceased persons who led evil lives and who are therefore doomed to wander the earth forever. Good people, according to Sanapia, probably go to the Christian heaven. She is not quite sure. Ghosts tend to remain near people and things which were familiar to them when they were alive. However, no particular correspondence between ghosts and certain deceased relatives exists. Ghosts are generally described as being "jealous hearted." They are jealous of the living.

Sometimes you be sleeping. They comes around and they just put something . . . dirt on your face. Or the whirlwind, they say that it is a ghost. It goes around and . . . supposing you be out there by yourself and here comes a whirlwind
[753] and just pass you like that. It don't often do that to anybody . . . just once in awhile it do that to somebody, and it twist their face. When I see them whirlwinds coming to me I say, "You go that way. Leave me alone," and it does it because I got that power. Or else sometimes people get scared when they laying in bed at night and one of those people of the family dies and the Indians say they get jealous of the one that are living in that house . . . either their sister or their son or their aunt or anything like that. They get jealous because they living and he died. And they the ones that come bother you like that. Sometimes they come in and you hear them just walking. They open the door and come in and come to your bed and they jerk your covers off or either just pull
[753] your hair like that or hold your hand. That's when they do that to you . . . twist your face.

Sanapia is not consistent in her statements concerning belief in the existence of ghosts. She feels certain of the existence of some kind of malevolent spirit which causes ill effects to those human to which it appears, but she is not sure
[171] that these ghosts are actually the spirits of men who were once alive. The Cheyenne, for example, felt that ghosts were derived from the dead but that they were not related to a specific dead individual (Hoebel 1960:86). Perhaps Sanapia's relations in Cheyenne-Arapaho culture have caused her to be ambivalent on point. At one time she will state that ghosts are the spirits of the deceased who while alive led evil lives, and at other times she will make statements such as the following:

Some of them would hear noises in the dark and think they see things . . . ghosts. That's what they think. I just think its their imagination . . . that's what. Because when anybody dead, they're gone. They ain't going to come back. How can they?

Ghost Sickness

775 The particular horror of the ghost is his ability to deform his victims,
753 usually by causing contortions of the facial muscles and in some instances paralysis of hands and arms. This condition is called "ghost sickness," or "twisted face," by

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Sanapia. The Comanche name for ghost sickness is *bedeyai*, which Sanapia translates as "ghost done it." She describes the condition in this manner: 775 753

You seen them, I guess. Their face get all twisted up on one way, and their eyes might get twisted up on the left side and their mouth would twist around too. Their eyes run all the time and they can't hardly see. You can see the gums in their mouth and the teeth. They get to slobbering so bad that they got to hold a rag over their mouth. Sometimes their hands get bent up and their arms get turned around and they be shaking sometimes. Oh! they stink when they get it, just like dead persons. I'll tell you, when you doctor someone with twisted face, its the most nasty thing you could do. You have to put your mouth right on it. 775 753 169

Usually, the ghosts do their harm to individuals whom they find outside and alone at night. The following is an example, from a Comanche informant, of a very standardized account of ghost contact. This tale, with only slight variations, was also collected from Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants. 775 753 [171]

We was up around Fletcher picking pecans one afternoon. It started getting late, but we didn't notice because we were having a good time. And the sun went down, so I told that bunch I was with that I was going. I started to walk to my pick-up parked up on the highway. And so I was walking. It was then that I heard something around me. Some sound like somebody walking behind me in the grass. The hair about to stand up on my head, because I knew what it was right then. So I start running. I run, and run, and run. After a time I turn my head to see if I loose it and, bang, it hit me right on this side of my face. It was right behind me every minute I was running. I fell down hard when it happened and seems like I went to sleep or something. When I woke up, it was still dark and my face was chilled-like, you know, it was dead feeling. So I got home after a while and my wife gave a holler when she see me with my face all screwed up like that. I guess it look pretty bad alright. Didn't hurt. It just look bad. We got it fixed up later. Indian doctor fix it up pretty good for me.

A key point to these tales of the appearance of the ghosts and the subsequent contortion of the face of the individual contacted lies in the emotion of fear. In every tale of this nature, the ghost victim states the fear he felt at the sight or sound of the ghost. I also collected several accounts in which the individual contacted by the ghost describes how he managed to control his fear at the appearance of the ghost and thus avoided the ghost contortions. Sanapia is very explicit on this point. She states that the only defense against the ghost is courage. 775 753 152

You might be walking along, out there someplace, and you hear some sound moving along behind you. If you going to turn around, you got to turn all around, turn your whole body around, and look right at it. See what it is. But if you just turn your head, take a peek, that's when they twist your face. Turn all the way around and look at it and say, "What do you want? Come here, let me see you," or "Go away. You're dead." Say that to it and it's gone. That's the way they do. You got to stand up to that ghost. You got to show it you ain't afraid of it. If you don't, they got you, and they twist you up right now.

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775 Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white
753 men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor
[756] someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from
[754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when
753 discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to
754 cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chap-
756 ter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively
[178] ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence
154 of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains
571 because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

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fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group. 775 154 571

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they 157 178 177 [775]

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157 177 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

178 775 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most 177 178 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work, 775 571 the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces [186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of 154 directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional 571 nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *puhakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 154 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 756 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the [465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient. [465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 756 291 376 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The 775 756 376 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers, [175] [516]

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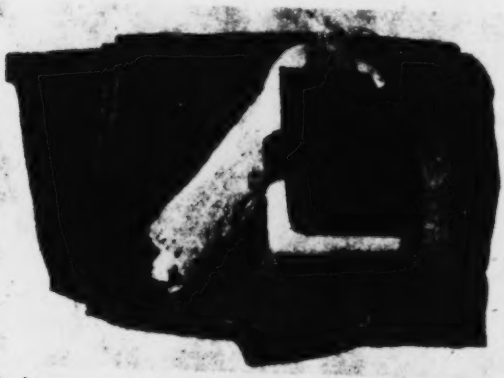

Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison-advisor. This approach ritual payment consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅝-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches

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775 smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremonially, it was
756 an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker" (1952:
276 180). After Sanapia has taken the cigarette, thus agreeing to the contract, the
775 patient places the green cloth in front of her and lays the Bull Durham and the
756 corn shuck leaves on the cloth.
465 Sanapia states that the requirement of the piece of dark-green cloth follows from the nature of the major medicine which she employs in the treatment of ghost sickness. This type of payment can no doubt be connected with the ritual involved in her collection of *bekwinatsu*, or "swelling medicine." It is necessary for Sanapia to pay the plant with a piece of green cloth before extracting it from the earth.

> The medicine I use, that swelling medicine, got green leaves. The cloth goes with that. That's what the meaning of the dark green goods supposed to be. It stand for that, you might say. That kind of medicine get them well and they paying for it.

775 When Sanapia has accepted the cigarettte and taken the required four
756 puffs, she says to the patient, "Tell me your troubles." The patient then begins
755 to inform Sanapia of the specific reasons that he has sought her aid and generally to unburden himself concerning any and all varieties of "trouble" which he is experiencing. According to Sanapia, this patient monologue can continue for several hours. It is during this outpouring that Sanapia makes her diagnosis or decides exactly what course of action she will pursue regarding the patient.

Sanapia's doctoring ethics forbid her to divulge anything about which a patient has spoken to her. Many of Sanapia's expatients were aware of this fact or were advised of it by their liaisons, and they mentioned "how good it was to talk to that old lady." The patient has a rare opportunity to speak to an old and therefore, it is assumed, wise woman and to know that her supernatural sanctions forbid her to repeat anything she has been told. They are able to gain the counsel of a woman who has had many years experience in listening to these confidential disclosures. The patient also knows that because of the nature of the doctor–patient relationship, Sanapia will only pity him and offer sympathy. It would be considered impolite and improper if Sanapia censured her patient for anything he might say during his monologue.

> What they tell me I ain't supposed to tell anybody. It is so sad sometimes to listen to them. They say horrible things sometimes, but I guess that's because they sick peoples. But they come here and I can get them well. I've helped many people that way.

The psychotherapeutic tenor of Sanapia's doctoring is illustrated by the fact that she bases her diagnosis upon the nature of the emotional ventilation of the patient during his rambling monologue. She does not recognize that she bases her diagnosis on the content of the patient's disclosures but only that she makes her diagnosis after this occurrence. However, it is obvious from the material

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which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 756 755 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first interview. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though Sanapia never directly alluded to this. 775 755 515 756 [783]

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning of the third day the patient should be cured Sanapia then blesses him, and the patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient. 775 755 756 775 755 756 763

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She 775 755 756 782

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
[237] she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

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775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[262] *bakwinatsu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
756
774

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third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes. 775 755 756 794

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bekwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands. [278]

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance. 775 755 756 [534]

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

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775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
778 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.[6]

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

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775 $25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about
756 $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated
465 that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness
[261] which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them . . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

755 An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her
756 house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no
[775] effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed
[754] by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

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775 164 [755] The Comanches use "crooked mouth," "twisted face," and "twisted up" as synonyms for ghost sickness, and these terms are helpful in their descriptive capacity. It is also significant that Sanapia is almost always successful in curing this affliction in adults, though she is much less efficient in curing these same symptoms when they appear in infants and are considered the result of witchcraft.

A survey of the literature on hemiplegic disorders strongly suggests for consideration a vaguely understood variety of paralysis called Bell's palsy. Bell's palsy is due to the paralysis of the seventh cranial nerve and results in the paralysis of one-half the face. The condition is usually abrupt in onset, reaching its peak within a few hours. In the majority of cases the paralysis appears as an isolated finding without demonstrable cause. The eye on the affected side cannot be closed and its waters excessively. The lips are displaced toward the healthy side and the corner of the mouth sags. "No proof of bacterial or viral infection has yet been adduced, and the actual pathogenesis remains unknown" (Kunkle 1950:1493). Treatment usually consists of kneading and friction on the afflicted side (Goodall-Copestake 1926:225).

124 775 164 I prepared simplified descriptions of ordinary hemiplegia, multiple or disseminated sclerosis, shaking palsy or Parkinson's disease, and Bell's palsy, neuromuscular disorders which all share some symptoms in common, and read them to Sanapia for her reaction. She immediately chose the account of Bell's palsy as a description of ghost sickness, even suggesting that I had based the description on information with which she had supplied me.

775 164 The medical descriptions of Bell's palsy describe the facial paralysis present in ghost sickness; however, in these accounts no mention is made of a concomitantly occurring contraction, spasm, or paralysis of the hands and arms, a symptom which from Sanapia's accounts occurs in many cases of ghost sickness. The emotion of fear, a key theme in the accounts of actual ghost contagion, offers a clue to the etiology of the affliction of the hands and arms. Dr. Gail Neely (1968) offered the suggestion that fear or emotional shock is one of the major causes of hyperventilation, or highly irregular, abnormally rapid respiration. Schottstaedt (1960: 48–51) supports Neely's suggestion and adds:

> Hyperventilation deserves special emphasis because of its importance in giving rise to symptoms. . . . This process ultimately results in a state of respiratory alkalosis with effects throughout the body. Many sensations result from this chemical derangement. . . . If hyperventilation continues long enough, spasms of the hand and feet (tetany), a feeling of being paralyzed, and actual loss of consciousness may occur. . . . Any of these manifestations may arouse fear; the more dramatic ones ordinarily do.
>
> In addition, an anxious person often has irregular respiration, which may become sufficiently severe to produce all of the manifestations of hyperventilation. The overt behavior is usually avoidance, ranging from a readiness or desire for flight to actual running away.

Medical descriptions of tetany, which, as Schottstaedt mentioned, can be caused by hyperventilation, follow Sanapia's description of the hands in ghost sickness to the letter. Aub (1951:1275) writes:

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The hands become stiff, with rigid fingers. The thumb is markedly adducted and partially covered by the stiff fingers, which are usually bent only at their metacarpophalangeal joints. The palm of the hand is hollowed, while the wrist and elbow are flexed. 775 164

It is significant that Sanapia's methods of doctoring ghost sickness follow the treatment by white doctors for Bell's palsy and hyperventilation. Her rationale for her method of treatment is not similar, but the actual results of the behavior which she initiates are. She applies her mouth to the patient's face in an attempt to suck the illness from the individual. She also applies liquid medicines to the face area and draws her Medicine feather over the skin in the afflicted area. This could constitute the "gentle massage," "kneading of the cheek muscles," and "gentle friction" prescribed by Kunkel (1950:1493–1494) and Goodall-Copestake (1926:225) for treatment of Bell's palsy. When Sanapia turns her attention to treating the contorted hands, her method, in general, follows that which Dr. Neely states that he utilizes to relieve the symptoms of hyperventilation. She drapes a towel or piece of cloth over the patient's face and directs him to inhale the pungent smoke produced by smoldering medicines. During this phase of treatment she croons to the patient and gently reassures him that his condition will be cured. Neely stresses that the calm reassurance of the patient suffering from hyperventilation was a necessary part of the treatment. He also temporarily places a bag or some sort of facial covering over the patient's mouth and nose to impede the invidiual's intake of oxygen and force the recirculation of carbon dioxide. He also notes that smelling salts or ammonia can be used to further decrease the patient's attempts at excessively deep and rapid breathing. 775 164 171 755

A Psychogenic Hypothesis

In an attempt to discover an organic or static description of ghost sickness it was found that the types of disorders which most thoroughly describe ghost sickness are all highly suspect as to their being more organic than more functional in nature. The particular reasons why this hypothesis was suggested prior to the discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation were based on the noted similarity in age, sex, and general personality type of the ghost victims and the fact that though the rules for ghost avoidance are extremely simple and obvious, certain individuals still apparently voluntarily violate these rules with full knowledge of the predicted consequences. The discussion of Bell's palsy and hyperventilation added further evidence for the role of psychological phenomenon, for example, the emotion of fear, desire for avoidance, shock, emotional strain, pressure, and the therapeutic value of reassurance in the treatment of hyperventilation. 775 164

Two concepts of psychosomatic medicine must be mentioned and their utility evaluated before proceeding further. These concepts are "conversion reaction" and "vegetative neurosis." A conversion symptom is a symbolic expression of a well-defined emotional content, while a vegetative neurosis is the physiological

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775 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than
164 an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a
775 definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unen-
177 durable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense
154 desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three
156 most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

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does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative 186
treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. 775
Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of 177
the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the 154
white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation 156
must act.

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequiv- 186
ocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means 775
nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the 154
Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives 156
into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

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Precipitating Factors

186 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally
775 dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors
154 dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved.
156 The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means
775 by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses
154 which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation.
156 It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a
184 Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to
177 the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women
775 could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of inde-
154 pendence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence
156 of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively con-
184 trolled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men"
177 in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize
562 them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to
775 the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with
154 one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—
156 total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-
184 oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner
177 considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

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Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated. 756 775 755 756 754 755 [128]

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared. 754 854 164

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children. 754 854 164 152

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of 754 854 164 756

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754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
756 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
775 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
164 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat
755 the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
756 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
775 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal
154 Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775]
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *təpinatsu,* 754
ekapokowa:pi, kusiwəna, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwəna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Təpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 754 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 201

159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

that had been built up when horses were rare were such that horses remained almost wholely prestige tokens and transport bearers. 262

Great numbers of cattle obtained from raids on Mexican and Texas settlements were also eaten, especially in later years. The majority were butchered and consumed by the raiders wherever they were found, or as soon as the raider felt himself at a distance safe from attack by the whites. The Comanches made no attempt to herd them. Many head of stolen cattle were not butchered, but went to New Mexican traders in return for ornaments, arrows, kettles, and other articles. Although the Comanches thought beef was poor eating when buffalo was to be had, nowadays an old Comanche likes to sink his teeth into mediocre beef with plenty of fat as the nearest thing to the buffalo he loved.

Dog meat was regarded as an almost sacred dish by the Sioux, and to the Cheyennes "A nice fat, boiled puppy is just like a turkey on Thanksgiving to you white people."[2] But the Comanches did not eat dog meat. Medicine Woman says it is because "Once, when the people moved, they left an old, old lady in camp with a dog. Several weeks later when the people returned to the site, they found that the dog had killed the woman and had consumed most of her body. Henceforth the Comanches refused dog meat, since dogs ate human flesh."[3] There is a deeper reason, however. Dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is tabu. He is the Trickster of Comanche and Shoshone mythology—a demi-god. Although coyotes were occasionally hunted for their furs, they were never eaten or wantonly killed. Post Oak Jim shot one for the fun of it once when out on a cattle raid. Came a cyclone, and Jim thought his horse was spinning on its head; it rained all night, and in the morning it was so cold they nearly froze. "That coyote's mother probably made medicine," said Jim. "Coyote has medicine. If we harm one, it will get back on us some way." 262 776 825

The same with dogs. Post Oak Jim killed a dog once, and ever after he thinks he had bad luck with his children. They all got sick and died. In 1933 Howard White Wolf had a dozen curs on his place. He did not dare to kill them himself, but he asked a member of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group to do it for him. White 776 825

[2] E. A. Hoebel, Cheyenne Field Notes (unpublished).
[3] Informant: Medicine Woman.

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776 825 men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

262 Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

266 The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

266 In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

000 In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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what might come. He was not arrogant toward the helping powers—far from it—he was grateful for the help they could extend to him. He knew that he could not well do without that help, but was confident that it was forthcoming. The spirits were beneficent. They gave of their power, not in compassion but in altruism.

The regular pattern called for the candidate to remain at his solitary watch for four days and nights, but the quest might be prolonged. He remained until he received a vision, or else abandoned the quest to try again at a later time when conditions were more propitious. The vigil was completed with a vision or hallucination which made known to the candidate his personal and individual magic medium, the mysterious bond between him and that supernatural power which would henceforth act as the helping guardian of his destiny. A wind rustling through a pass or the timber, the bark of a dog, the howl of a wolf, the scream of an eagle might end the quest and send the candidate home to offer thanks to his newly found guardian spirit.

The newly acquired guardian spoke and understood the language of his ward and possessed special attributes or powers which it could transfer. On the fourth night of his search, Yellowfish heard a voice as distinctly, he vows, as if some person were standing near and speaking to him. "Tomorrow morning go take a bath in the creek below, and then go towards the east until you see a one-year-old buffalo coming across a ravine." He followed the instructions minutely and met the one-year-old buffalo crossing the ravine. Thereafter Yellowfish possessed the medicine of the one-year-old buffalo.[3]

During the revelation, the guardian spirit emphasized certain tabus and procedures which his ward must carefully follow; otherwise the medicine either would not work or would cause evil. Medicine is power, and power is not to be handled casually. Among tabus commonly noted was one in connection with medicine men's eating certain foods, or at least eating them only under certain conditions. Should anyone walk behind a medicine man while he was eating, he was certain to become ill or lose his power, unless he had "heap big medicine."[4] All medicines had to be protected from grease and the ill effects of menstruating women. Eagle medicine men could not per-

[3] Informant: Yellowfish.
[4] Informant: Medicine Woman.

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775 them. He dropped the paunch and seized the arms fast, so he could carry the ghost on his back.

The people heard him coming. They heard the squeaking of the bones.

"Coward, what are you doing out there?" they called. "Bring us that water."

He just threw the skeleton in at them. They all fled and fell in a heap. The ghost disappeared.

That night it came back to the young man. It gave him medicine.

"You will be hard to hit," it told him. "Bullets will never kill you. Keep a ball of white clay with you. When there is going to be a fight, paint yourself white all over."

"Never go into the battle first. Wait until your friends retreat. Then go right in."

The next day the party went on. They made a good raid on a herd of Mexican horses, but the Mexican pursuit caught up with them. The battle started. He went off to one side to prepare himself. Another young man came up to ask for the protection of his medicine. He gave him some and told him how to wait.

At the right time, they charged, and they turned the tide by killing several Mexicans. After that he became a famous warrior. » » »

754 775 Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis. In a case of epilepsy, recounted by Breaks Something, a medicine man with power over ghosts was called in. He looked at the patient and said, "This disease has nothing to do with ghosts; it is not in my line; must be something else." He could not help this sickness; it seemed to be something inside of the sick man.

● 776 Another source of great power for the Comanches, and Shoshones, too, lay in the "little men"—the *nɜnəpi*. They were believed to be no more than a foot high. They were armed with little shields, bows, and arrows, which killed every time they shot. They also threw little spears with points made of alligator spines. The Comanches say that the *nɜnəpi* made all the little stone arrowheads that they found all around. A few daring medicine men sought power from the little men, but most people did not want to possess it, for it was too dangerous: a man might kill someone when he did not want to kill.

The Search for Power

The Shoshone notion that *nɜnəpi* power gives Herculean strength (a little man can pack a deer on his back) seems to have been dropped by the Comanches. At least, it was not mentioned. 776

Comanche religious beliefs and practices, although they were socialized, remained almost wholly individualistic. Group rituals were few and far between until the introduction of the peyote cult. 796

Of group rituals practiced in the mid-nineteenth century by the Comanches, we know of only two—the Beaver Ceremony and the Eagle Dance. The Sun Dance was not tried until 1874, and that, apparently, no more than once.

The Beaver Ceremony is known as *pianahuwait,* "Big Doctoring." It was performed under the direction of a powerful beaver medicine man assisted by others with beaver power. Other people joined in the ceremony to share in its general effects of well-being, although the cure was held only at the request of a family who had a member suffering from tuberculosis or sorcery. 796 755

An extra-large tipi was raised and carefully prepared inside. Placed erect in the very center of the lodge was the trunk of a cottonwood tree, which reached to the top of the tipi. Slightly to the east of the pole, toward the door, was the fireplace. North and south of this were dug two elongated ponds, filled with water and edged with willows. They were beaver ponds. On the outside of each pond a little effigy mound of earth was made in the form of the beaver facing westward.

Just outside the tipi, to the south of the entrance, was dug a pit two feet deep by six or seven feet long, with the long axis running north and south. At the edge of the northwest corner of the pit (the corner nearest the door of the medicine lodge) was set a vertical pole, ten feet high, from which an eagle feather was hung.

When the ceremony began, the patient was laid at the extreme western edge of the tipi, with two women assistants to the doctor taking their places to the north of him. The doctor worked from the south side of the patient. A group of song leaders filed in to their places at the south side, and a band of drummers sat along the edge of the tipi in the southeast quadrant. Spectator participants filled all the remaining space to the east and north.

In the cure, the fire was lighted after the patient was brought in.

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

Nineteenth-century observers of the Comanches (Dodge, Neighbors, Babb, Burnett, and others) attributed a strong belief in a Supreme Deity to the Comanches, whom they generally addressed as the Great Spirit, but at times as "Our Sure Enough Father."[5] The Great Spirit was a vague, omniscient, all-powerful being, who was credited with creating and governing the earth, sun, moon, and stars. He was the chief god, the creator, the first of all addressed in prayer, and to him the first smoke was offered. The person who prayed looked upward and perhaps held his hands toward the sky. While some maintained that the Comanches believed that the Great Spirit dispensed good and evil, life and death, at his will, others insisted that they believed also in an Evil Spirit who was the antithesis of the Great Spirit. The supposition was that there was eternal conflict between the Great Spirit leading the forces of good and the Evil Spirit controlling the forces of evil. It was argued that the unhappy thought of a father who, though all powerful, permitted ills and sorrows to afflict his children, was forever irreconcilable with Indian philosophy. So strongly did the Comanches feel about the subject of the bad god, says Colonel Dodge, that it was practically tabu as a subject of conversation—a reticence shared by other Plains Indians, but which gave rise to the supposition that the Comanches did not believe in the negative element. The Evil Spirit was not equally powerful with the Great Spirit, however, for he shared with the Great Spirit in control of the earth only. Believing as he did in the immortality of the soul, the Comanche could not conceive of god rivalry in a perfect world. Hence for those who adhered to the philosophy of a dual power, much of the individual outward religious forms revolved around invoking the aid of the Great Spirit and appeasing the wrath and enmity of the Evil Spirit. 776

Through the medium of a host of inferior evil spirits, the Evil Spirit, it was claimed, brought about every mortification or disaster—droughts, disease, hunger, distress, and discomfort—and was the author of unhappiness, sorrow, and defeat. He made such animals as the panther and venomous serpents, reptiles, and insects for the injury of man. [753]

Although there may be some question as to the source of all the

[5] Babb, *op. cit.*, 44.

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776 bad and evil visited upon man, there was none as to the source of all that was good and beneficial in life. Through the medium of a host of inferior spirits, the Great Spirit brought about all that was good or beneficial to the Comanches, such as health, peace, plenty, and happiness. He aided a worthy warrior in all his undertakings, delivered his enemies into his hands, protected him from danger, privation, and pain, and provided all good and pleasurable things. All good and useful animals were made by him for their use. All their success in hunting was the result of his benevolence. They thought that if they lied to the Great Spirit, or displeased him, he would withdraw his guardianship, allowing them to die or suffer other punishment.

773 The origin of the Comanches was credited to the Great Spirit, according to the early reporters. In one version, another race inhabited the country before them, but a great flood of waters covered the whole earth, and the inhabitants, whom they supposed were white, saved themselves from being destroyed by turning into white birds and flying away. After this the Great Spirit sent down to earth a secondary spirit to create the Comanches. When first made, the Comanches were imperfect. The spirit returned to the Supreme Being and told what he had done. Thereupon, the Great Spirit directed him to return to the earth and complete his work by giving intelligence to the beings he had created and to instruct them how to live. The secondary spirit carried out the instructions. He taught the Comanches how to make the stone arrow points and knives of stone and bone for cutting. He taught them how to put the arrow points on shafts, showed them how to make a bow, and how to use the arrows for shooting. He told them that the buffalo, deer, and the elk—all the animals that are on the earth—were for their use. He taught them to make fire by rubbing two sticks or by knocking together two hard stones until the fire started.[6]

Another account of the creation of the Comanches as told by a long-time adopted Comanche warrior, although differing somewhat in details, likewise credits the work to the Great Spirit. According to this story, the Great Spirit collected the dust from the four corners of the earth to make man, so that when man died the earth would not refuse him a burying place by saying, "Thou hast not been taken from me, hence I cannot receive you in my bosom." When the Great

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Spirit created man, the earth shook and trembled and said unto the Great Spirit, "How can I feed the vast multitudes of man that will issue from the first created?" And the Great Spirit replied, "We will divide the maintenance of man; you will feed man during the daytime with all that you produce, while when the night will come, I will send my sleep upon man, and he will rest, and he will be fed by me with the peace of slumber, and he will awake refreshed in the morning." 773

The Great Spirit took eight parts to form man: the body from the earth, the bones from the stones, the blood from the dew, the eyes from the depth of the clear water, the beauty from his own image, the light of the eyes from the sun, the thoughts from the waterfalls, the breath from the wind, and the strength from the storms. The first man was of such gigantic size that his head reached the skies and his eyes looked from one end of the earth to the other, but menial labor and unwholesome food diminished his size and made him vulnerable.

After the Great Spirit had created man, he ordered all of the inhabitants of the spirit world to go and prostrate themselves before man as recognition that man was the greatest of the Great Spirit's creations. All obeyed the command except one, who as a result of his failure to do so was cast out from the spirit world and made to roam around on earth. To seek revenge, this demon took refuge in the tooth of the serpent, the fang of the spider, the legs of the centipede, and in other poisonous animals, insects, and reptiles to torment and harm man on earth at every opportunity.[7] [825]

Inasmuch as the Shoshones and other tribes of the Great Basin had some conception of an otiose Supreme Being, who in the minds of some was equated with Wolf, the big brother of Coyote, it is not unreasonable to accept the basic validity of these early nineteenth-century descriptions of Comanche beliefs in a Great Spirit. Wolf was wholly beneficent; his acts of original creation made all things perfect and good. Coyote, the mischievous Til Eulenspiegel of Shoshonean folklore, was the spoiler of all things, however. His was the role 773 776

[6] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.

[7] Narrated by Herman Lehmann, Comanche captive, who became a respected warrior and member of the tribe. Jonathan H. Jones, *A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes*, 199–200.

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773 of the transformer who undid the good works of his big brother.
776 He brought hardship, travail, and effort into the lives of men. He represented the force of Evil as we conceive it—and yet the Shoshones in no way thought of him in his relationship to Wolf as a conflict of good and evil. Coyote was not bad; he was no more than wantonly mischievous.

When we consider the writings of the early whites among the Comanches on the Great Spirit and the Evil One, we are plagued by serious doubts. We cannot but feel that they, who lived in a time of great religious conviction in this land, projected something of their own ideas of what the Comanches ought to have believed into their descriptive accounts.

At any rate, the old Comanches living in 1933 who served as informants for the Santa Fé Laboratory group revealed only the slightest vestiges of such ideas. The Great Spirit was only occasionally mentioned by them; none showed any concern with the problem of evil. Coyote, in the folk tales recounted by these later-day Comanches, had moved almost entirely from the realm of myth and legend to assume a position of no more than a power-giving animal—except that the old Shoshonean tabu against killing coyotes retained a good deal of its force. The transformer tales, except for the Comanche story of the release of the buffalo, were lost, one and all. What remained of the old Coyote folk tale and myth cycle was only that part which told of Coyote as a harmless bungler and trickster. And the hero in all these tales, as told by Slope, Post Oak Jim, and That's It, was no longer Coyote but Fox, Coon, and Bob Cat. As for the Creation, the typical attitude was expressed by Post Oak Jim: "We never gave much consideration to Creation. We just knew we were here. Our thoughts were mostly directed toward understanding the spirits."

776 The Comanches were not quite certain of the relationship existing
821 between the Great Spirit and the Sun. Sometimes the two were closely associated, while at other times a distinction was made between them. Robert S. Neighbors makes a clear distinction, saying that they offered the first puff of smoke to the Supreme Being, the second to the Sun, the third to the Earth, and so on to the lesser objects of

[8] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.
[9] Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," *loc. cit.*, 268.

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veneration in whatever order they might choose.[8] Bollaert states that the Great Spirit was supposed to live in the Sun,[9] but other accounts have it that he lived beyond the Sun. Some Comanches explained that he was so far distant in the sky that they could not hear him speak, and that when they wished to communicate with him, they were obliged to do it through the medium of the Sun, which was nearer and which they could see and converse with. Josiah Gregg thought that the Sun was their principal deity. His conclusion was based partly upon the fact that the Comanches, when preparing for a campaign, ceremoniously placed their arms in the early morning on the east side of their lodges that they "may receive the blessing of the fountain of light at his first appearance."[10]

Apparently the Sun represented the visible medium through which the Great Spirit revealed himself. No doubt the Comanches found it extremely difficult to separate the two, and in their worship of the Sun were paying humble reverence to the Great Spirit at the same time. Their veneration of the Sun cannot be doubted. To this fact practically all those who have commented on Comanche religion have left testimony. It was certainly the most dominant single feature of Comanche belief. The Sun was worshiped as the primary cause of all living things. Contrary to Agent Neighbors' statement, most informants insist that the first puff of smoke was blown toward the Sun. "Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the Sun . . . ," explained That's It, in describing the conditional curse. His religion taught him that the Sun was his father, and he addressed it as such in prayer. "He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore, 'early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!' The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you.' "[11]

The conditional curse appears to be typical of the reverential attitude toward the Sun; it is called *taβeβekʌt*, "sun-killing." E. Adamson Hoebel has recorded several similar cases where the defendant appealed to the Sun, who knew all and could pass and execute judgment.

The Sun, however, was not the only body worshiped. Next after

[10] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 438.

[11] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 89–90; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

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the Sun, the Earth was named in prayer. It was worshiped as "Mother" because it was the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life. The Earth was the mother not only of men, but of animals. The mother is the natural protector of the young. The buffalo, by loosening the earth with his horns and pawing or rubbing the loose earth upon his body, and the Comanche, by praying to it and covering himself with paint taken from it, each calls the attention of his mother to her child. It has been said that some Indians would not kill a person while he was digging in the earth—while he was making his medicine, for it might be too strong; but he would distract the attention of his intended victim; then when he looked up, they were on equal terms.

Mother Earth was implored to make everything grow which they ate, that they might live; to make the water flow, that they might drink; to keep the ground firm, that they might walk upon it; to make certain herbs and plants grow, that they might be able to heal the sick; and to cause the grass to grow on which the animals fed. The Great Spirit put the Earth here and put them upon it. Without the Earth nothing could live; there could be no animals or plants. Such reverence for the earth was not unique with the Comanches, but was common among the Indians of the plains. The Earth was addressed in prayer after the Sun and, like the Sun, was regarded as having power to look down on earthlings and pass and execute judgment.

> Smoking to the power, he first addressed the Sun saying, "You, Father, know the truth of the matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall." Then to the earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you." Whereupon he gave his pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.
>
> She swore to the powers, "Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true."[12]

Needless to say, not all those who invoked the judgment of the

[12] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 100.

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powers had great faith in the fulfillment of their prayers. In this particular case the woman later admitted that she did not believe in the power of the Sun and had lied. Yet, the many cases remembered by the people where divine judgment had been implored and executed upon the guilty party is evidence that the philosophy was strongly implanted in Comanche society.

The Moon also had the quality of a deity. "She is the Mother—as is the Earth." She was particularly the guardian of the raid. A group of Comanche marauders bent on stealing horses laid a rope on the ground and sat within it. They made smoke to the Moon, praying, "Mother, if it be your will, let this rope take many horses."[13]

Although Sun and Earth and Moon were active in the affairs of men, they were akin to deities and as such were above individualized pity. They gave no personal power and did not come forth as guardian spirits. They were tribal deities who loomed pre-eminent in an individual's consciousness, except when ousted from that position by a special spirit to which a Comanche looked for protection and guidance. Comparison of the latter in strength with the Sun and Earth did not spontaneously arise. It became significant only when and if there was a clash of interest; and then the assurance with which a Comanche relied on his individual patron against the rest of the universe was amazing. Yet there is little suggestion that the visitants were sent by higher authority. They conferred bounties in their own right. The supernaturals might come to loggerheads on behalf of their mortal protégés, or again they might co-operate to aid a favorite. Nothing prevented a man from gaining power from several supernaturals. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed the power to assume various forms. The transformation from one being into another could be instantaneous, and the reverse process could occur as suddenly. The guardian spirit was most likely to confer on its ward a blessing or power corresponding to its own natural gifts.

The spirits dwelled in springs, in rivers, on the prairies, in the hills, or in high bluffs. Any phenomenal object of nature was likely to be the residing place of a spirit.

A place was told of, far to the north, where there were always

[13] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

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clouds which the sunlight never penetrated. This was the home of a powerful spirit that brought the winter. He came in a cloud, forcing the Sun back, and as he approached, he spread the cold over the country. Then in the spring the Sun grew higher and higher and told the spirit of the cold to move back, for he must heat the earth and make the grass and all other things so that the Comanches could prosper.

The thunder often appeared as a great bird, somewhat like an eagle, but much larger. The Thunderbird made the thunder and lightning and storm and rain. It was dark blue, or showing the color of cut lead like a thundercloud, with red zigzag markings extending from its heart to the tail and wing tips. It went south at the approach of winter and returned from the warm country with the Sun, bringing the heat and the rain. In its talons the bird carried arrows with which to strike its enemies; therefore, the Indians believed that the eagle on our coins is a Thunderbird. Its shadow was the thunder cloud; it produced lightning by rapidly opening and closing its flashing eyes; thunder was the sound made by the flapping of its enormous wings; and the downpour which followed was from the lake carried on its back.

The Thunderbird supposedly had its dwelling on some high mountain or rocky elevation difficult of access. It discharged arrows, but they could not be seen even when they killed people or animals. Although the Thunderbird myth was common to most Plains Indians, the Comanches have given it variation. They had evidence other than thunder and rain of the existence of the great bird. They told of a spot on the upper Red River where the grass remained permanently burned off over a space having the shape of a huge bird with outspread wings. They claimed that the Thunderbird once alighted there. A hunter shot and wounded a large bird which fell to the ground, but because of its large size, he was afraid to go close enough to kill it. He returned to camp for help. When his party approached the ravine where the bird had fallen, they heard thunder and were blinded by terrific flashes of lightning coming from the ravine. While attempting to approach nearer, one of the hunters was struck dead by a flash. Realizing that their victim was the Thunderbird, the rest became frightened and fled back to camp.[14]

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

The Comanches had great fear of thunder and lightning. It gave them no power and was dangerous in a way that the Sun, Earth, and Moon were not. It was malicious and wantonly prone to tease mankind. "In a thunderstorm you have to remain quiet; you must not say anything to thunder and lightning, as it has no pity." 776 821

They were afraid, but they were Comanches and they did not like to be pushed around. So every now and then one of them got defiant.

« « « I was out riding once when a rainstorm came up. I got off my horse and got down among some weeds and put my head down. The thunder was making noise all around. Finally I decided it was making fun of me—lightning and thunder likes to make fun of someone—so I got on my horse and made a war whoop in defiance. Then I ran away. The lightning struck right near me. I got away, but thunder and lightning has no pity. » » »

This was Post Oak Jim's personal experience. He reverted to the same theme later on. His lesson impressed him greatly, but it was reinforced by what happened to one of his friends.

« « « Thunder and lightning has no pity for them who talk back. We were out in a bunch branding. When we were eating our breakfast, a thunder shower came up. A tough guy, who was with us, went out and shot at the lightning with his gun to show that he was not afraid. The lightning struck and killed him. » » »

A belief of more recent days is not to look in a mirror when it thunders. The lightning may look in, too, and strike you.

Like most prairie tribes, the Comanches greatly revered the buffalo. It has been reported that the dry buffalo head was their idol. Before the entrance of a sweat-lodge there was likely to be a buffalo skull. Out on the prairie might be seen the skulls of buffalo turned so as to face the main camp, the idea being that the guardian spirit would direct the herd to move in the direction the skulls were facing. 776 825

[14] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *loc. cit.*, 968–69.

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776 825 Sometimes when they were ceremoniously smoking, after puffs had been blown to the Great Spirit, Sun, and Earth, a puff was blown to a near-by buffalo skull with a prayer that it provide the people with meat to eat and skins for their lodges and clothing. At times they prayed to the buffalo in general to range where hunting would be good.

Sometimes buffalo talked to a person. Although in Cheyenne mythology it was only the buffalo male that talked, in Comanche mythology it could be either male or female, old or young. A buffalo might turn into a human being and through its supernatural power reveal the location of the herd to the people or otherwise perform good deeds. A Comanche story which has survived not only is interesting but explains how the guardian spirits functioned through the medium of the buffalo.

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" " " Once when a party of Comanches went on a buffalo hunt, they were accompanied by a young boy. He was a handsome child, and his family, who were well-to-do, dressed him in the finest regalia and provided him with the best of equipment and a swift horse. When the hunters charged and scattered the herd, the boy selected and followed a small group which contained a beautiful young calf. The boy selected this buffalo for his kill. His first arrow hit beneath the lowest rib. He shot again, and again his arrow found its mark, but the buffalo did not fall. The boy decided to retrieve his arrows, but the buffalo ran into a stream and stopped in the middle of it. The boy would not go into the water because he did not wish to spoil his fine clothes, so he abandoned the chase.

Ordinarily a buffalo shot as this one had been would die, but through its supernatural power the young buffalo maintained life, as it had fallen in love with the boy. It rejoined the herd and in time gave birth to a calf. The boy by means of the two arrows was father of the calf. The other members of the herd would not play or associate with the calf. The calf noticed that the other calves stood around their mothers and fathers, and he wondered about his father. When he asked his mother about his father, she explained to him that his father was "one of those who eats us, and it was I who desired that he be your father." The calf then insisted on seeing him, even after

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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his mother warned that they would be killed should they upon the long journey meet scouts from his father's people. They traveled by night, and after many days came in sight of the village. The mother told the calf to do as she did. She rolled herself about on the ground, and there stood a woman dressed in a buffalo-robe with peg holes or eyelets about the edges. The calf rolled on the ground and became a handsome boy, wrapped in a beautiful yellow calf robe. Then the woman told the boy to go forward to the center of the village; there he would find his father and his relatives in his tent. The boy found everything just as his mother had said, and told his father his story. His father remembered the incident, and asked for the boy's mother. They went for her, and the father said that both were to live in his house. The woman returned the two arrows to the father and cautioned him not to drink from any stream except as she directed. 776 825 537

The people in the village were starving. As soon as the buffalo woman learned of this, she took a piece of dry meat and fat and gave it to the man. Although the portion was small, he satisfied his appetite without consuming it all, and passed the remainder to another. When they had all eaten their fill, a portion of the dry meat still remained. When the father again spoke to the buffalo woman about the plight of the tribe, she directed every family to pack a parfleche as if it were full of dry meat. When morning came the parfleches were full of dry meat. After they had again eaten, she directed them to break camp and follow her. She led them to a herd of buffalo, and they made a rich killing. They were aware that the strange woman was the cause of their success; also they noticed that neither she nor the calf boy ever ate.

Some time had passed, and the Comanches were prosperous. One day the father of the buffalo calf, while traveling across the prairies, became very thirsty. He remembered the warning given him by the woman, but thought he would merely wet his mouth. As he did so, there occurred a great confusion in the camp, and the people saw the woman and the boy, who had been instantly transformed into a buffalo cow and calf, fleeing from the camp. The father was very sad, for the woman had made him very prosperous through her supernatural power. Likewise, the people were sad, for they had learned to love the buffalo woman and the calf-boy."[15] » » »

The Comanches

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The coyote was regarded by the Comanches as a brother, who often warned those who possessed power to speak and understand its language, of impending trouble. "Coyote medicine was for knowing things ahead or in the future."

When Skinny and Wrinkled was staying with an old man north of Medicine Park, Oklahoma, the old fellow asked him one night, "Well, have you heard from our friend yet?" Skinny and Wrinkled had heard nothing. The old man admonished him, "Well, you better listen hard now. I believe he is coming around pretty soon."

Not long after, they were talking one night when the dogs began to bark. The old man told Skinny and Wrinkled to shut them up. "I believe there's our friend."

Sure enough, there was a coyote howling.

"I could not interpret what he was saying, but the old man could."

"You better start saving up your bread," was his version of the message. "He says there is going to be a hard winter this year. We aren't going to have much to eat."

That is the way it was, according to Skinny and Wrinkled. The winter before, the Comanches had more flour than they knew what to do with. That winter there were hardly enough rations to give them what was due them.

The coyote also predicted good fortune. One night a coyote howled, and at breakfast the mother of Skinny and Wrinkled said it was telling the tribe that they were all going to get a lot of money soon. Her husband, who was quite a skeptic, laughed and said, "How do you know?"

She insisted, however, and warned, "You wait and see. If the old man talks again before the week is out, it sure is coming true."

On Friday they heard him again. The very next day there were checks for $180 each at the agency for every member of the tribe.[16]

If, when the Indians were on a journey, a coyote jumped up before them, looked at them, and barked or howled, they would likely change their course and travel no farther in that direction that day. A friendly spirit in the form of a wolf was warning them of danger,

[15] Gene Weltfish, "The Man Who Married a Buffalo Wife, A Comanche Story," *Caddoan Texts* (*Publications* of the American Ethnological Society, XVII), 218–23.

[16] Informant: Yellowfish.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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and they must heed the warning. The enemy was generally found just where the coyote told them.

Eagles possessed power in matters concerning war. Because of this power their feathers were attached to shields, worn tied in the hair, and during the later period they were placed on the war bonnet. Owing to the protective power of the bird, those wearing the feathers believed that they would not be hit by either bullets or arrows.[17] When eagle feathers were attached to the shield, it could not be pierced by either bullets or arrows. The Comanches secured a part of their feathers by taking young eagles from their nests and keeping them in captivity. (Young eagles were easily kept by tethering them by the legs to a pin driven in the ground.) After the eagles had reached full size, they pulled out the tail feathers. War whistles were made from wing bones of eagles.

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The deer had much power which might be used for good or evil. It had the power to cause or cure disease. It could say to its favorite: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground, there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." At times it was a helper in love affairs. Possibly because the elk had great vitality and was hard to kill, it was credited with having great strength which could be transmitted to those whose guardian spirit it happened to be. The bear possessed power to cure wounds. The skunk possessed great power. Doctors used its hide to hold their medicine. Men tied its tail to their horses' tails in war. For a member of a war party to kill and skin a skunk while on the way to attack was likely to nullify some of the most powerful war medicine.[18] The roadrunner had the power to reinvigorate and give speed, since it was a speedy bird. The owl was unpopular, for it brought bad news, but the Comanches never shrank nearly so much with fear and horror at the sound of its hoot as did the Kiowas. The wolf gave power to walk barefoot on the cold snow. Medicine men who had this power painted the flesh between their toes red like that of the wolf. And if a person would howl like a wolf before eating red haws, there was no danger of foundering on them.

In like manner, in an ever lessening degree, practically all animals

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This was the reason attributed by the leader for the failure at Adobe Walls.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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776 and insects were attributed certain powers by someone. One of the
825 very few animals known to the Comanches which never gave supernatural power was the horse. Although of extreme economic value, horses had no place in the ceremonial life of the tribe; nor did they ever appear in visions or significant dreams except as incidental details. This was also true of the dog. It would seem that the dog and horse, as everyday parts of the Comanche household, were too profane to be thought of as power givers. Man had control of them. Givers of power had to be outside his realm of dominance.

776 Just as animals, birds, and insects might be guardian spirits, so
823 was any unusual phenomenon of nature likely to be the abiding place of a spirit. Some of these places, because of the extraordinary power of the spirit abiding within, became rather famous among the Comanches. One such place is Medicine Mounds.

Medicine Mounds are a line of rounded hills in Hardman County, Texas, between the Pease and the Red rivers. They are rather conspicuous, the cones rising about 350 feet above the surrounding plain. Flanking them to the west is a gully-washed scar of an ancient buffalo trail. On the top of the highest of the four mounds is a flat cap rock, a protector against erosion. It was believed by the Comanches to be the dwelling place of a powerful and benevolent spirit.

A Comanche medicine man first discovered its great power when once his band came to hunt in the vicinity of the mounds. He had a young and beautiful daughter who was ill of fever and was growing weaker day by day. Her father had sucked worms and evil spirits out of many a brave and many a squaw, had chanted away the pains of many a girl, and had smoked the weakness from many a boy, but he could not cure his own daughter. He had rattled his gourd all night long while he prayed and chanted. From his medicine bundle he had prepared cures, while the moon was dark and while it was full. He had mixed and tried his formulae in every way he knew. He had consulted other medicine men. But all without results. One morning he came out of his tipi and in despair was gazing silently into the distance when suddenly his eyes came to rest on the rock-capped peak of the highest mound. Here was a powerful spirit that could help him, he thought. So without touching water or food, he went apart to pray and fast until the spirit should send him a revelation. At length

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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it came. He was instructed to take his medicines to the high rock and there mix them so that the power of the good spirit should enter into them. He prepared the medicine as directed by the vision, gave it to his daughter, and then again went out and prayed to the mound spirit—prayed with the patience of those who live under the sun, and watch shadows, and note day by day the greening and the browning of the grass. At length he heard the voice of his daughter. He bounded into the tipi. Her eye was bright, her color almost healthy. She had slept deeply, she said. From that hour she mended steadily and soon was able to return to her work.

Thereafter this medicine man made regular visits to the mound, made offerings to the mound spirit, and performed his cures through its aid. The fame of the mound spirit spread. Other medicine men came. From the gypsum waters of a spring at the base of the mounds, the ailing Comanches came to drink. The spirit came to be a protector for the Comanche bands. Here it could view the country for miles around, and from this lofty point directed arrows of hunters to the vitals of buffalo and deflected those of enemies shot at his wards, the Comanches. And today the name of the four extraordinary hills lined against the ancient buffalo trail that runs down to Pease River remains as a testimonial of the associations they had for the native people who lived by and vanished with the buffalo—Medicine Mounds.[19]

Medicine Bluff is another place commemorated in name and held in great reverence by the Comanches as being the abode of a powerful, benevolent spirit. It is located in Comanchería at the confluence of Cache and Medicine Bluff creeks. The two creeks empty into Red River and are overlooked by a precipitous bluff—Medicine Bluff. It is a mile in length, forming a perfect crescent, rising at once from the bed of Medicine Bluff creek, which flows at the base of the perpendicular scarp, to the height of 310 feet. The surface of the face of the bluff is perfectly regular and smooth. Moss covers the sides with a garb of pale green. The greater portion of the face is perfectly bare, though at some places a few stunted cedars have found lodgment in the crevices. From the rear the bluff presents three knolls, the center one being the highest. Mount Scott, about eight miles dis-

[19] J. Frank Dobie, "Stories in Texas Place Names," *Straight Texas*, 32–34.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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tant, stands forth with its pyramidal outline like a sentinel guarding the eastern gate of the Wichita Mountains.

There, from the bluff, according to a Comanche legend recounted by Thomas Battey, a powerful spirit looked over and cared for his people, saw that game was abundant and that his children were prosperous and happy. Comanche medicine men erected a cairn about six feet in height upon the summit of the principal knoll. Here the sick repaired or were brought by their relatives or friends, and here they were left to its invisible and subtle power. Especially those who were past the cure of the medicine men were deposited on the altar and left to be disposed of by the spirit. If the sick had not offended the supernatural powers, they were suddenly healed and returned to their kindred. Sometimes they were transported bodily to the after world. But if they were notoriously bad, they were allowed to die, and the ravens descended from the air, and the wolf came up from the valley and devoured the body, and the bones were gathered up by the Evil Spirit and deposited in the land of terrors.[20] At times the vicinity of the bluff became suddenly lighted up as by a great fire. The dews of night, the rain, and the wind circled about the spot of the altar at the very summit, but none of these agencies of nature trespassed, and the patient was thus left sheltered better than in his own tipi.

To the spirit was attributed the power of resurrection. Once an old warrior, who had long lived among the women of the village, having ceased to hunt or go on the warpath and having been turned out to wait his time to join his fathers, had struggled to the top of the bluff to die and be borne away to the after world. Each night after his departure, when darkness covered the face of nature, the awe-stricken people of the village below observed a great blaze, as if a fire had been built to alarm them. On the morning after the third night, a young man equipped as a warrior was seen descending the bluff, along the trail to the village. He approached the chief's lodge and sat by the fire. The warriors gathered around, but no one recognized him and so remained silent, waiting for him to speak. Lighting his pipe, decorated with beads and feathers of strange birds, the stranger, after all had made the ceremonial smoke, began his story.

When he had reached the top of the hill, he could see the village

[20] We read this to be un-Comanche-like embroidery supplied by Battey.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and hear the laughter of children, the mourning of his kindred, and the barking of the dogs. He could see the buffalo and deer in the distance, and the young warriors in all their pride and strength. Then he asked himself, "Why do I live any longer? My fires have gone out. I must follow my fathers. The world is beautiful to the young, but to the old it has no pleasures. Far away to the setting suns are the hunting grounds of my people. I will go there." After these words, he had mustered all he could of his failing strength and leaped into the air from the giddy height before him. He knew no more of the woes of life. He was caught up in midair and transported into a smiling country where there was no rain and no wind, where the great chiefs of all the Comanches were assembled. They were all young and chased the buffalo and feasted. There was no darkness. The Great Spirit was everywhere and everybody was happy. 776 823

The story captivated the minds and imagination of the listeners, and the strange young warrior became at once an oracle and a big medicine man in the tribe. His counsel was all-powerful, and his abilities to cure were considered infallible. Reverence for the bluff was enhanced; and in the years that followed no Comanche would ascend to the summit of the hill except for a most sacred purpose. When white soldiers fired shots at the cliff to hear the echoes, the Comanche guide, Blue Leggings, was horror stricken, and he refused to scale the peak with the soldiers, saying, "Me no sick!"[21]

At times a young man, eager to take the warpath for the first time, ascended to the sacred spot in quest of his vision. Having provided himself with a shield, in accordance with ceremonial instructions the youth proceeded to the highest point of the bluff, remaining for three successive days. A part of the ceremony included presenting the face of the shield to the rising sun each morning, as if warding off an arrow or a spear. The sacred surroundings of the place and the Sun, the emblem of the Great Spirit, casting its rays upon the shield were supposed to endow it with supernatural protective powers.

On principle no Comanche worshiped the entire animal life or physical phenomena of his country. But accounts of recent and legendary visions prove that no wild species or type can be ruled out as a possible source of power. The world view precluded nothing from 776

[21] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 98.

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776 the range of the mystically potent, but the individual consciousness ascribed power to a relatively narrow selections of beings, their identity being determined by chance experience.

To discuss Comanche religion in terms of a definite pantheon would therefore be preposterous. Comanche "gods" were not clear-cut beings with sharply defined cosmic or social functions. Divine power was not concentrated in a few major personalities, but diffused over the universe and likely to crop up in unexpected places. A Comanche did not first envisage a god and then worship him; he started with the thrill, with the sense of a supernatural agency, and objectified his emotional stirrings. There were, nevertheless, certain supernaturals that appeared rather frequently both in ritual and in visionary experiences, notably the eagle, the bear, and the buffalo.

771 Religion and ethics were largely divorced. The really vital social canons had no supernatural sanctions. When a vision-seeker called upon the supernaturals to favor him, he hardly ever stressed his moral worth, but his desire for aid. What he pleaded for was not moral elevation, but some material benefit; and it was compassion that animated his patron in granting it. Often, to be sure, the visitant laid down rules of conduct, but they had no bearing on social considerations. Good intentions were no safeguard against the consequences of transgression. A man who unwittingly broke rules imposed upon him had to bear the brunt of the catastrophe, for ignorance of the "law" was no safeguard against punishment.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
439 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form,
411 about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches.
776 Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a
[782] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they 181
are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439] who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on 771
earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776] idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789] storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority. The pains and penalties of their criminal laws, are confined almost exclusively to the weaker sex. The incontinence of a wife, is punished by cutting off her nose. This odious abscission is made from the junction of the cartilage and bond, obliquely down to the lip. Several instances of this shocking penal infliction are now extant. But the sentence of mutilation is sometimes remitted in consequence of the interposition of male connections. The decisions of the law always yield to a determined resistance.

If one man wantonly kills another, the nearest friend of the deceased, is permitted, and indeed it devolves upon him as a duty, to revenge his death, by taking the life of the murderer. But the price of blood, may be commuted for articles of more value and convenience than blood, and murder may be atoned for, and the spirit of revenge appeased by liberal donations to the living relatives of the deceased. Such atrocities however seldom occur. Notwithstanding the extreme laxity of their whole economy of government, and their entire exemption from legal restraint, they live together with a degree of harmony that would do credit to the most refined and best organized societies. The little bickerings and jealousies and inordinate strivings for thrift and distinction, that disquiet and mar the social circles of refinement, are unknown to the rude and simple children of nature.

The Comanchee system of religion is about as perfect and luminous as that of their jurisprudence. They believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of existence, but have adopted no mode or manner of worship. Indeed they consider the Supreme Being, to be so far removed from them as not to wish to interfere directly, in their temporal concerns, and as equally unwilling to be interfered with. They therefore leave him to enjoy his repose without molestation, and expect the same indulgence for themselves. They have no idea of a special superintending Providence, or that the Great Spirit takes any particular cognizance of the actions of men. And they consequently defer all their devotional concerns, if indeed they entertain any, to a dark futurity,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that
175 constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
771 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06.

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and
682 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis.*

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
786 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
786 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
324 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[796] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[224] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, 115
it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 159
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The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory 115
elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she 159
addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to 756
attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select 775
from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion.

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane 115
of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such 159
entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus 756
possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men 778
only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible.

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such 115
as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm 159
is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal 756
home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, 775
as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere [776] ●
deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white [772]
men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote 115
comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore 159
entirely self-sufficient. 756
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Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to 115
contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying 159
the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to 756
present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme 771
had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural [778]
power and the desirability of its acquisition and control.

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a 115
successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 159
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

The Comanches

721 554 nition of his deed. Other than securing witnesses or presenting circumstantial evidence in support of his claim, he might take a formal oath that what he claimed was true. It is evident that in the confusion of battle a man might believe himself entitled to honors claimed by others. At the first opportunity after the fight, the chief called the warriors together, preferably before they arrived at the main camp.[1] But the procedure varied from band to band and according to circumstances. One account has the leading warriors seat themselves in a semicircle. Near the opening of the circle was placed a buffalo hide. Some of the Indians danced to the beat of drums. A warrior rode into the circle, stopped suddenly, and plunged his spear in the buffalo hide. Music and dancing stopped, and the warrior under oath narrated in detail the circumstances connected with the deed which he claimed as a coup. When he had finished, he dismounted and joined his comrades in the semicircle, and the dancing and drumming were renewed. Then a second warrior was called upon. The same procedure was continued until each claimant for honors had told his story. Those seated in the semicircle either publicly recognized the deed as a coup or rejected the claim.

A scout who was out alone sometimes ran unexpectedly into an enemy, perhaps killing or counting coup on one. In such a situation there was no one to witness his deed; it was necessary for him to attest its truth. If he was a member of the Water Horse band, he did so by taking the buffalo-chip oath. On returning to the band, he signaled that he had important news. Before entering the camp, he waited for all the warriors to assemble. They all lined up in a row behind three or four buffalo chips, which were stacked on end, tipi wise. When they were ready, the scout rode in and speared a chip for each man he had killed or struck. With each blow he cried, *"A:he!"* If he had counted no coup, he merely walked around the pile and then [777] scattered it as a sign that the news he was bringing was true. The false asseveration of a coup brought bad luck and death.

554 The Comanches recognized two coups struck on the same victim by different persons. Subsequent coups received no credit. The Cheyennes counted coup on an enemy three times, while the Arapahos touched four times. In battle, members of one tribe counted coup

[1] Informant: Yellowfish.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Discovery of the Watch

While they were stripping and dressing me in this manner, one of them picked up my coat and discovered the watch. He seized it with avidity, examined it intently, turning it over and over, immensely pleased, as his countenance plainly indicated, with the singular and pretty bauble. While thus regarding it, the minute hand ticked round to half-past three, when the alarm went off. The utter astonishment of the Indian was beyond description. Holding it out at extreme arm's length, his head thrown back, and staring wildly, he was too much surprised, as it roared and rattled for two minutes, to decide whether it was safest to let it fall to the ground or retain it in his grasp. By the time it ceased, a dozen had gathered round him, looking into each other's faces in silent wonder. The one who held it presently pointed to me, then at the watch, then at the spot where he had found it, speaking at the same time fast and earnestly, informing them, I suppose, that I was the owner of it. Approaching and holding it out to me, they made signs expressive of their desire that I would cause it to repeat the alarm. The idea at once flashed upon my mind, that I might make it serve a useful purpose. They untied my hands—when I accepted it with an air of reverence and adoration, wound it up solemnly, and so regulated it that in a few minutes off it went again, and again was the dusky crowd struck with increased wonder and astonishment. This was repeated frequently, the savages in the meantime holding it to their ears to hear it tick as they had seen me do, when the chief wrapped it carefully and tenderly in his deerskin pouch and placed it in his bosom, not, however, until I had comprehended from their gestures, such as pointing upwards, then at the watch, then at myself, that they regarded it as something supernatural which connected me with the Great Spirit.

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411 531 sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

411 ●778 Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physical but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away [84] from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

At Work and Play

The father of Rhoda Greyfoot, who was a famous medicine man, had a shield, but Rhoda never saw it. "They were very precious about them," she said. 411 778

Painted shields usually had power, and the designs symbolized that power. If a young man wanted a new shield endowed with power and was willing to encumber himself with all the burdens and limitations that power imposed, he had three choices for obtaining it. He could ask a man who had a medicine shield for a share of his power, he could go on a vision quest himself to get instructions for the design from a spirit source, or he could ask a medicine man to procure a design for him.

In the first case, the young man would visit the owner of a medicine shield and smoke with him. Not until the pipe had been smoked would he make his request, for, having smoked with him, the shield owner must grant the favor he asked. The donor gave him some power, but he still retained his own power, too. The young man then had his shield painted by the donor as an exact duplicate of his own. If, however, the young man received instructions for the design from a spirit source, he would ask a "good artist" to paint his shield according to the vision. As for the third possibility—asking a medicine man to procure a design for him—Post Oak Jim gave the following account:

411 539 778

« « « A boy brought his shield to a peyote meeting and asked the leader for advice. He smoked and asked assistance. He was told to leave the shield by the door at the side of the fire tender.

After the midnight water ceremony the leader took the shield, put cedar on the fire, held the shield over it, and shook it. He gave it to the boy, who was sitting on the south side. He took the shield and made a circle. The leader said he would have directions for him in the morning, and the boy thanked him. [The leader can give directions at a meeting or afterwards.]

In the morning he told the boy to bring an artist and he would dictate the design to him. "The design will be all right," he said, "so don't be afraid. If you want to know about it, go to a lonely place some night, and the shield will tell you all about it."[20] » » »

[20] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

The Comanches

411 A shield with power not only gave its owner the general protec-
078 tive influence due to its sacred character, but also endowed him with those qualities attributed to heavenly bodies, birds, mammals, and other living creatures from whom the design-giving vision came. It also might afford protection from the elements, for some shields were sacred to thunder and lightning.

411 The lance was another favorite weapon of certain Comanches. The use of the war lance has been associated with the horse, but it is evident that the tribes who came to occupy the plains in historic times were acquainted with the stone-headed lance as a hunting implement before they entered the plains. Two types of lances were used by the Comanches. One was a hooked lance, so called because the shaft was bent somewhat in the shape of the conventional shepherd's crook. The other was the ordinary lance, six to seven feet in length. It had a wooden shaft of bois d'arc armed in modern times with an iron or steel point in any shape which was convenient and easily made from the material at hand. Some lance heads were as much as thirty inches long by one inch wide, tapering to a point at the end away from the shaft. Previous to the acquisition of metal, the lance head was of chipped stone, often leaf-shaped. In either case, the head was bound to the shaft with sinew of rawhide thongs and glue in much the same way that the arrow point was bound to the shaft. The shafts of old-time spears were decorated only by a feather or a bunch of feathers attached near the butt end. Beaded shafts like the one on Quanah Parker's spear were a late fashion. Sheaths, which might or might not be decorated, were sometimes made for lances.

411 The battle spear was not a weapon for any ordinary man to carry.
554 It was never hurled javelin-wise but was always thrust from under the arm. If thrust overarm, it might hit a bone and break the point or frighten the rider's horse, according to Breaks Something. Only a brave man carried a spear, because it meant hand-to-hand combat. More than this, a spear carrier could never retreat and live to face his fellow warriors. There was no alternative for him but victory or death. In Breaks Something's opinion, the war lance ranked higher as a symbol of a war chief than any headdress, and warriors who carried the spear went without a war bonnet. His own brother, after the Battle of Adobe Walls, gave up his spear, and all his family was glad.

At Work and Play

"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office. 411 554 [727 728]

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wəpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon. 411

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were 517

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

mit anyone to pass behind them while they were eating because an 784
eagle is upset by such an act. Post Oak Jim, in explaining this, said 787
that he once had two captive eagles who took to eating back to back so as to prevent this possibility.

The newly gained power was generally referred to as "making 778
medicine." The identification of certain powers was a life-and-death secret. Without the consent of this power, the possessor could not talk about it. The possession of power entailed serious responsibility, lest it cause harm rather than good. The owner must have faith, otherwise his power might not work. Practically every power carried with it one or more songs which the possessor had to learn and which were usually revealed during the visions. The possessor of strong medicine could, therefore, have quite a number of songs which he had to be able to sing at all times. It was not unusual in a Comanche camp to see a medicine man go out from his tipi after the evening meal, lie flat on his back, and to the music or time of a rattle sing his songs over and over again.

By association, medicines were usually similar in some respects to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the bestowing guardian spirit. Therefore, the medicine bag which contained the material substance that served as a medium for consultation with the guardian spirit was likely to contain a great variety of objects identified with its source of the power. Among its contents might be a handful of sweet grass, certain herbs, a deer's tail, a bird's claw, small stones, the gristle of a bear snout, the dried maw of a buffalo, the skins of certain animals, particularly the buffalo, bear, or otter, plumes of certain birds, beaver oil, a smooth, round, hard ball sometimes found in the stomach of a buffalo, and so on without end. Each had a use; the sweet grass was protective; the herbs possessed healing power; the bird's claws inspired dash and courage; the stones brought health and long life since they do not wear out; the small ball from the buffalo's stomach, which this animal was believed to have swallowed, not only added great strength to its possessor but rendered him invincible in battle. These stones were reported to have been as much as three inches in diameter.[5]

[5] Battey, *op. cit.*, 332–33; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 162.

The Comanches

178 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[751] 237] [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakat* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, 535 partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 778 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received 787 an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [78] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 174 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*juman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

30: Levy E-S (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [129] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 7AB In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. C K [182] Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 7A5 7A8 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. C K 7A5 177 A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

/page 39 continued/

C K 745 177 C K [787] consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed. The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descriptions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K 787 177 [756] Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K 823 778 [787] C K 823 778 177 [775] C K 787

C K 276 745 778 [787] Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[789] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
177 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
791 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
777 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
791 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
796 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[225] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal
[778] power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[826] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

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[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

195
115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
784

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
756 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
775
778

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[769] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
785

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[888] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their
115 midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
159 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
756 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
755 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote-hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [777]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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115 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection
159 of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite
756 daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does
593 not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense
115 medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is
159 received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's
756 feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may
● 778 acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 784 115 159 756

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic. [753]

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

756 Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
755 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [325]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunhip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamɜmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
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> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant.

[778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most sur-
[778] rounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824

[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 278 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment. 755 757 [177]

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling. [752]

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar. [778]

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *puhakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
[237] she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She sometimes affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.
[778]

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekucinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes. 775 755 756 778 787 533

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775 755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanker was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

756 778 787

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment. [782] [783]

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 775 756 465

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[114] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry biv- 778
ouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 726
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and con- 778
genial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his [595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes.
A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ40
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

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PETOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																			
	Ut	Wi	Sh	Ow	Ch	Ar	Ha	Pa	Wa	Ok	Lo	Ko	Ma	Ne	Ho	Ar	Ta	Ma	Ch	Ut
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	°+	–		(–)		°–		°–	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+			
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open			°–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+		–	–	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	°+	–		+	+	+		–	°–	°–	–	+	+	+	–			
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)°	–	(–)	+	°–	°–	–	°–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	°–	°–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	°+	+		°(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–	–	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+					
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	°+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	°+	°+	+	+	+	°–	°+	+	+	–				

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamampitts*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupitts* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four 778

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

Mode of Indian Burial

him constructed of poles. Into this enclosure is placed his 764
personal effects—his saddle and bridle, his tomahawk, scalping knife, bow and arrows and lance, all the inanimate property he possesses. The enclosure is then roofed with bark and covered with earth. This part of the burial ceremony concluded, all his horses and mules, even if he was the owner of a hundred, are brought to the grave and killed. When a squaw dies, her property, also—her calico gown, cooking kettle, tools for dressing skins—are buried with her, and the horse upon which she was accustomed to ride slain in the same manner.

They are buried with their heads to the west, because 764
they believe at the resurrection, of which they have vague 775
and indefinite notions, they will arise and march eastward, again to take possession of all the country from which the accursed white man has driven them and their fathers. They bury their property with them and kill their horses because they suppose their souls will have need of them in the other world.

Among them are prophets, corresponding with our di- 793
vines, who maintain with exceeding strictness their sacer- 731
dotal dignity. The prophet addresses them on various occasions, such as the green corn dance, and the festival of the roasted dog, but especially in the time of the new moon. At all times they listen to him with the most profound reverence, their heads hanging down, and not a murmur of sound among them from the commencement of his exhortation to its close; but in the season of the new moon, they fall on their faces to the earth before him, and there remain still and motionless until the sound of his voice has ceased.

They believe in God, a great spirit, who created and gov- 775
erns the earth, sun, moon, and stars. They have an unwaver-

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 805
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure through- 535 out, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 178 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received 787 an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [781] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 174 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch. 627x 684 558

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic approaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath. 627x 782

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ṭaβéβekʌt. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[8] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in. 627x 177 562

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

[8] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he 793]
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [782]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form,
411 about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches.
776 Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a
[782] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted. 684 627 593

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taβ βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you." 684 627 782

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6] [184]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act. 684 627 782 593

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter. 684 627 782

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk. 684 627 593

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder. 682 [593]

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90–91.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *pubakui*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
782
823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278 824 755 757 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treatment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [782] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

sanawiba

[137] "yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" (broomweed) *Guitierrezia dracunculoides*

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes.

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kuiwɜna

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is very aware of the psychological factor in illness and the necessity of treating psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 756 755 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first interview. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though Sanapia never directly alluded to this. 775 755 515 756 [783]

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient. 775 755 756 763

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She 775 755 756 782

775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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various power sources for the task at hand. She deposits some cedar on the coals 775
and smokes her Medicine feather by lightly waving it through the rising smoke 755
four times. She then lays her feather on the fragment of Mexican sarape, which 756
also underlies the medicines she will use, and holds her hands in the medicine smoke. With a washing motion, she draws the smoke over her face, arms, chest, and legs. After she "cleanses" herself with the smoke, she takes her feather and ceremonially fans her patient.

She then takes her Bible between her palms and, extending her arms before 775
her, she prays to "God and Jesus and especially the Holy Ghost" to assist her 755
in healing her patient. If she is inspired to do so, she will sometimes open her 756
Bible at random and read from it in an attempt to receive a sign from "God, 779
Jesus, or the Holy Ghost" concerning the direction she should take in her doc- 782
toring, or the possible outcome of her treatment.

Next, Sanapia picks up her Chief Peyote, and holding it in her right 775
hand, she speaks to it. As mentioned in the chapter on medicines, Sanapia 755
will usually threaten the peyote rather than beseech it or pray to it when she 756
uses it in dotcoring. As she talks to it, she will transfer it from hand to hand in 278
order to draw the power it possesses into her hands.

After Sanapia has made her opening prayers, she is in a very agitated 775
emotional condition. This is mentioned both by Sanapia and by some of her 755
expatients. She considers the chills, shaking, and trembling that she experiences 756
as signs that her power has entered her, and she will not begin to doctor until 152
she reaches this state.

> And when I pray like that . . . well, that power just come over me, comes down and gives me that chills and I start shaking all at once and pretty soon it goes away and then I start. Sometimes I can't hardly touch them, the way my hand be shaking. It makes me feel like that power wants to make me get them well right now.

When she has regained control of her hands after the siege of trembling, 775
Sanapia begins the treatment proper. She takes a segment of the white root of 755
bekwinatsu and masticates it to a moist pulp. She then spews it over the patient's 756
face, head, and arms if they have been affected by the ghost contagion. She also takes this moist pulp, and, after rolling it between her palms, she rubs it over the areas of the patient's body which exhibit symptoms of ghost sickness. After so doing, she deposits this premasticated root in the patient's mouth and instructs him to to swallow it.

Sanapia then chews another piece of *bekwinatsu* together with a few leaves of sweet sage to sweeten her mouth and, retaining this concoction in her mouth, applies her mouth to the contorted areas of the patient's face to suck out the sickness. Although she has the option of utilizing her sucking horn in other cases, she is obliged to use her mouth in the doctoring of ghost sickness.

Her mouth and hands are the areas of her body which are believed to be especially charged with power. This is the rationale for the spewing of medicines on a patient, the administering of medicines which have been premasticated by

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before
he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women attempt to kill their children. 754 756 [828]

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim.

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this. 754 756 785 [782]

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tapinatsu*, 754
ekapokowa:pi, *kusiwsna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwsna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

273 of our store with a recessed double doorway at the front. Old Warrior and his woman would take possession of this setback, spread down the blanket they rode on, sit down and pretend they didn't see anyone passing or hear anyone who spoke to them.

276 Once they were seated comfortably in the setback, they would have a ritualistic smoke. Mrs. Warrior would produce a baking-powder can from the folds of her blanket, take out a dried and trimmed oak leaf, hand it to her husband, then hide the can. After wetting the leaf with his tongue, Old Warrior would rub the moisture into the leaf with his thumb and forefingers.

During the leaf-softening and limbering process, the wife brought out a sack of Bull Durham smoking tobacco. When Old Warrior decided the leaf was properly conditioned, he took the tobacco sack and carefully poured the proper amount into the curved leaf. Care was exercised not to spill a grain of the precious weed.

Rolling tobacco into a cured leaf for a smoke is an art, or at least an accomplishment. There probably never was a white boy in all Comanche land who didn't try it at least once. When the leaf was rolled, it was necessary to hold it in place with thumb and finger to keep it from unrolling again.

By the time Old Warrior finished preparing the smoke, his wife, having caused the Bull Durham sack to disappear, produced a match. This ceremonial consumed even more time than my telling. Everything was done in slow motion. Maybe slow rhythm is a truer description. The ritual continued after the leaf cigarette was lighted; the husband took a few puffs and handed the cigarette to his wife; the wife had her puffs and handed it back. This exchange continued until the cigarette was too short to hold. They made the smoke last a surprisingly long time, but they never smoked a second cigarette, regardless of how late they had to wait for their whiskey.

276 562 I saw the same ritual performed a number of times by other old couples, and I have seen old men smoke by themselves, but I have no recollection of ever seeing a Comanche woman smoke by herself or with other women. We often had as many as a dozen wives sitting in the back of the store, but none of them ever smoked.

276 782 I questioned frontier friends about the old people's smoking. They said the plains Indians never used tobacco like the white man. Tobacco to the older Comanches was never a solace or a dissipation;

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

to them tobacco was a gift from the great spirit. What I had witnessed 276
could be considered in the nature of a prayer or communion—perhaps 782
you could apply the word *sacrament* to it.

I made a number of plans to observe these incidents more thorough- 123
ly, but none materialized. One was to count the number of puffs each took from the cigarette, and another was to find out who furnished Old Warrior his whiskey. The trouble was that I could only watch Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior between the chores which needed to be done around the store. Late customers had to be waited upon; the team of little Spanish driving mules had to be hitched up for our trip to the claim, when we could finally close the store; occasionally there were letters to be mailed, so they would be sure to leave on the early morning mail hack for Lawton. These necessary duties made my watching a hit-and-miss activity.

Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior's ritual extended to the drinking of 273
whiskey. The bottle was always kept out of sight. When Old Warrior had the bottle opened, Mrs. Warrior held up part of her blanket over one arm in front of her husband, hiding him while he had his drink. When it was Mrs. Warrior's turn, he held up his blanket to shield her.

After the bottle passed back and forth a few times, the old couple headed for home. But they never left the bottle, so I assumed they kept some for the road. Their departure would leave me with a number of things to wonder about.

I wondered if they would make it home safely, if the little mare was trained to wait in case they went to sleep and fell off. If the weather was inclement, I worried about the two elderly people catching cold. Also, I wondered what their three Carlisle-educated children, two sons and a daughter, thought of their parents' late hours.

The old people's confidence in the little chubby mare was not misplaced. They survived each trip. I imagine Old Warrior and his wife felt they had been very discreet while in town, and that none of the white people had the slightest idea they had purchased whiskey.

I once heard a story at a Comanche gathering that may explain the care Old Warrior and his wife exercised when on whiskey trips. An 273
old fellow told of having the record books of the old Deyo Mission. 797
They had been left with his father, Ho-var-ith-kh, for safekeeping.

After telling of the formation of the first congregation, he turned to me and said laughingly, "You knew Old Warrior? Well, once Old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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girl. When told how seriously ill she was, he asked if he could come in and pray for her. The parents consented. The child was in a coma, and it would not disturb her. The prayer was long and, of course, in his native tongue. 609 [782]

I am sure there was no doubt in his mind but that God understood Comanche. When he arose, there were tears in his eyes. He assured the worried parents their daughter would live. Wiping the tears from his eyes, he went out, untied his team, and drove away toward home.

These are some episodes I tell over in my mind, recalling Wer-que-yah, bringing his picture before me clearly. They are the bold brush strokes. Then they, in turn, bring many tiny details to mind as I continue to think of him. ooo

There are friendly smiles; quick, firm handclasps; an arm held high, waving me to leave the trail and ride by his home, where, smiling, he shows me his excellent field glasses. He has seen me afar off and has waited to wave. These are the fine brush strokes that fill in the background of my picture of Wer-que-yah, Jesus-Man Comanche.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Ka	Cum	Ka	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 8	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 8	WES	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tano
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Concluded on next page)

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[782]

On the Reservation

« « « Charcoal led us on a trip to find where the peyote plants grew. The Apaches knew where it was, and they gave the directions to Charcoal. 177 795

On the road Charcoal finally recognized the place which the Apaches had described to him. All the Comanches spread out to search for the plant. They had never seen it growing before, but *Mamɜ̃ka* recognized some. He called the others to come look.

They all gathered around the patch and arranged themselves in the peyote-meeting formation. Charcoal was the leader. He made smoke to the peyote. He addressed it, saying, "We are going to take you for protection against the enemies."

Then he cut off the head of a big peyote plant just below the ground. He cleaned the dirt off of it, wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in his pocket over his heart. Now he told the others to cut all the peyote they needed. He said they would have a meeting that evening.

For their peyote lodge they cut brush which they formed in the shape of a tipi and covered with robes. Charcoal formed the earth crescent and fireplace in the center. All prepared for the meeting; they bathed and returned to the camp to get painted up. Then they entered the tipi in the ceremonial fashion. *Mamɜ̃ka* was the fire tender. Charcoal placed the first button he had cut on the crescent for the road medicine, Father Peyote. He lit a cigarette with a coal, and then he spoke to the peyote. He told it he heard it had power; he was going into enemy territory; and he told it he was going to carry it for protection. He put his cigarette down and chewed some [183] wild sage which he rubbed over his body as a purifier. The other men did the same.

Now a bag of peyote buttons was brought in. Charcoal took four. Each of the other men was also given four.

Then each man chewed a piece of peyote into a pulp. He spewed it out into his hand, made four circular motions toward the fire, and swallowed it. Then he spit in his hands and rubbed them over his head, arms, and ears to take away aches and pains, and to hear better.

Charcoal used his bow for the singer's staff. A rattle and drum had been brought along for the occasion. Each man sang four songs as they passed the staff and the rattle and drum around the circle.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place [534] in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
● 783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

344 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

341 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is [426 absent. If the family with whom she stays are under 783] the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when [262] it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [60] retreat four days, during

/page 41 continued/

Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christianity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

3

Medicine Kit

Care of Medicines

SANAPIA KEEPS the various kinds of botanical and nonbotanical medicines which she utilizes in a leather "travel case." This case is kept on a shelf on the west wall of her bedroom. She will also only open her medicine kit on the west end of a room or tent. The medicines in the travel case are kept orderly and fully stocked at all times to facilitate speed in an emergency call on her services. Each medicine is wrapped in a piece of cloth. The cloth is black in almost every instance, though Sanapia states that this is only coincidence. In the inside lid of the case she keeps her Medicine feather—a tail feather of a golden eagle. 756 278

Sanapia is the only one allowed to touch this box or its contents, and she will not open it in the presence of small children or menstruating women. The medicine kit is potentially very dangerous if handled in an incorrect manner or by the wrong person. Sanapia recalls what happened to the niece of an eagle doctor who died several years ago. 756 278 783

> When S——— died, a niece got into her medicine bag. Now don't you know she sure shouldn't done that. But it got her . . . she got that twisted face and nobody fix her . . . couldn't do a thing for her. If she had sense, she would take that bag, don't open it mind you, and throw it in the creek. Then it couldn't hurt nobody.

Running water, because of its desacralizing effect, is Sanapia's only remedy by which the possible harm produced by an individual's inadvertent contamination by supernatural power or Medicine belonging to another can be undone. In a doctoring situation if it is absolutely necessary that another person touch some object connected with her medicine kit, this person must immediately be cedared, or "smoked," upon completion of the task, that is, the dried and rubbed leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals and the rising smoke is drawn over the contaminated person in a ritual cleansing act. After the cedar ritual

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

756 Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
755 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helenium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
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757
[77]
[137] *ekəpa*

"red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing up there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunənatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakuma[k]

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakuma[k] is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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which has been presented and the material still to be presented that Sanapia is very aware of the psychological factor in iliness and the necessity of treating psychological as well as physiological symptoms in a patient. 756 755 775

Treatment of Ghost Sickness

Immediately after this first interview, Sanapia instructs the patient to bathe in the stream which flows west of her house and to change his clothes. The actual treatment will begin after sunrise on the day following the first interview. Between this time and the time of the initiation of treatment, the patient is treated as a guest of Sanapia's household. During this time Sanapia sharpens her first diagnosis by a more thorough examination of the patient. Continual bathing is the only activity which is required of the patient. Since Sanapia will have to apply her mouth to the patient in her doctoring, she instructs him to wash often so he will be as clean as possible when Sanapia begins treatment. The notion of the magical effect of water is also probably present, though Sanapia never directly alluded to this. 775 755 515 756 [783]

Sanapia will doctor her patient three times daily for a period of two days. The treatment will be given at sunrise, midday, and sunset. By the morning of the third day the patient should be cured. Sanapia then blesses him, and the patient is dismissed. If, by the morning of the third day, the patient is not well, Sanapia continues her doctoring through another series of six treatments. After four days if the patient shows no sign of improvement, Sanapia will concede that she has failed in her attempts to cure her patient and will suggest either that he go to the white doctors in Lawton to obtain any comfort which they can supply or that he resign himself to his impending death. However, Sanapia states that even if she knows that her patient is going to die, she will usually not tell him because, as she says, "I can't stand to look at them when I have to say that to them. It makes me feel just so bad that I can't do it." Sanapia's ability to foretell the death of a patient is not solely based on her developed skills at prognosticating from the individual's physical condition. She states that she hears a voice which tells her that absolutely nothing can be done to save her patient. 775 755 775 755 756 763

> I hear, "He's dead right now, he's dead right now." And I know they going to die. I know that part too. They would get up and sit up and talk and walk. Well, they eat their food and drink water and they feel good. But I know that's the last meal they going to have. That's the last drink they going to have.

Before sunrise on the day that she will begin treatment and before she awakens her patient, Sanapia selects and prepares the medicines she will use. She then ties them in a cloth bundle, for she will take them with her when she, accompanied by her patient, goes to make her prayers with the rising sun. She then awakens her patient, prepares his breakfast, and takes him to a secluded place on a small knoll south of her house. It is still dark when they walk to the selected place of prayer. Sanapia sits facing east with her patient beside her. She 775 755 756 782

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

Comanche NO6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

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PETOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ut	Ka	Ki	Cheh	Ch	Ar	Dri	Dra	Wa	McC	Ci	Cr	Ste	Ta	Ca	Ar	Ma	Ma	Ma
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–		(–)		•–		•–	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+		
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+		
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+		
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+		
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–		+	+	+		–	•–	•–	–	+	+	–			
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•–	(–)	+	•–	•–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+		
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	•+	–	+	–	+	+		
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–		+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+		
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•–	•+	+	–				

Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 108[A]

Element	Occurrence																	
	Lt	E-A	Eo	Com	Ess	Ab S	Dn 1	Dn 2	Wn	Co	Ot 1	Ot 2	WSS	Ute	Cro	Del	Tsu	
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+		
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+	
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−		
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−		
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+		
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	•+	+		
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+		
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	

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At Work and Play

Making an excellent bow string was a task for a specialist. The bow string was made of the sinew of the buffalo bull or deer, derived from the tendon which lies along either side of the spine from the shoulder blades to the hip bones. The tendon was shredded or subdivided longitudinally into fine threads of fiber. It has been estimated that each sinew had then ten times the strength of ordinary cotton thread of equal size. These sinews or threads were next soaked in glue water, and, while damp, several were twisted to form a strong, perfectly round cord of the same size and tension from end to end, and the ends knotted. Post Oak Jim said that he preferred bow strings made of horse-tail hair because "they didn't break and were not spoiled by moisture." Still, he thought bear gut was the best material of all.[8] 411 283

Arrows, next to the bow, were the most precious possessions of a Comanche. Much time was devoted to searching for arrows that had been shot. They were too hard to obtain and cost too much effort to be wasted. This was also true of points lost from the arrow shafts. Nevertheless, it is asserted on good authority that Comanches would never retrieve an arrow which had taken a human life, enemy or friend.[9] Great skill, patience, and judgment were required to make a perfect arrow. The old men who made the best arrows were highly respected for their special skill. Although there was a great difference in arrows, the proportions between the shaft, head, and feathers were quite definite. If these proportions were maintained, the arrow performed efficient and effective work in the hands of an expert bowman; otherwise, it was a failure. An arrow too light in the shaft would not fly steadily; one too heavy would not carry its force long enough. When a good, well-balanced arrow struck the mark, the feather end tilted upward. "The Cheyennes, Pawnees, and Pueblos don't know 411 [784]

[8] This description of bow-making is compiled from statements by informants Kills Something and Post Oak Jim; also, R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West*, 348–49; Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 295–96; Fannie M. Hughs, *Legends of Texas Rivers*, 219; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160; Anon., "Indian Bow and Arrow," *Frontier Times*, Vol. VIII (December, 1930), 141; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 94; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 412; Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 25–27; Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, I, 174; Garretson, *op. cit.*, 178–79; Babb, *op. cit.*, 134; also, oral communication of others to Wallace.

[9] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 46.

787 what might come. He was not arrogant toward the helping powers—far from it—he was grateful for the help they could extend to him. He knew that he could not well do without that help, but was confident that it was forthcoming. The spirits were beneficent. They gave of their power, not in compassion but in altruism.

776 The regular pattern called for the candidate to remain at his solitary watch for four days and nights, but the quest might be prolonged.
787 He remained until he received a vision, or else abandoned the quest to try again at a later time when conditions were more propitious. The vigil was completed with a vision or hallucination which made known to the candidate his personal and individual magic medium, the mysterious bond between him and that supernatural power which would henceforth act as the helping guardian of his destiny. A wind rustling through a pass or the timber, the bark of a dog, the howl of a wolf, the scream of an eagle might end the quest and send the candidate home to offer thanks to his newly found guardian spirit.

The newly acquired guardian spoke and understood the language of his ward and possessed special attributes or powers which it could transfer. On the fourth night of his search, Yellowfish heard a voice as distinctly, he vows, as if some person were standing near and speaking to him. "Tomorrow morning go take a bath in the creek below, and then go towards the east until you see a one-year-old buffalo coming across a ravine." He followed the instructions minutely and met the one-year-old buffalo crossing the ravine. Thereafter Yellowfish possessed the medicine of the one-year-old buffalo.[3]

● 784 During the revelation, the guardian spirit emphasized certain
787 tabus and procedures which his ward must carefully follow; otherwise the medicine either would not work or would cause evil. Medicine is power, and power is not to be handled casually. Among tabus commonly noted was one in connection with medicine men's eating certain foods, or at least eating them only under certain conditions. Should anyone walk behind a medicine man while he was eating, he was certain to become ill or lose his power, unless he had "heap big medicine."[4] All medicines had to be protected from grease and the ill effects of menstruating women. Eagle medicine men could not per-

[3] Informant: Yellowfish.
[4] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

mit anyone to pass behind them while they were eating because an eagle is upset by such an act. Post Oak Jim, in explaining this, said that he once had two captive eagles who took to eating back to back so as to prevent this possibility.

The newly gained power was generally referred to as "making medicine." The identification of certain powers was a life-and-death secret. Without the consent of this power, the possessor could not talk about it. The possession of power entailed serious responsibility, lest it cause harm rather than good. The owner must have faith, otherwise his power might not work. Practically every power carried with it one or more songs which the possessor had to learn and which were usually revealed during the visions. The possessor of strong medicine could, therefore, have quite a number of songs which he had to be able to sing at all times. It was not unusual in a Comanche camp to see a medicine man go out from his tipi after the evening meal, lie flat on his back, and to the music or time of a rattle sing his songs over and over again.

By association, medicines were usually similar in some respects to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the bestowing guardian spirit. Therefore, the medicine bag which contained the material substance that served as a medium for consultation with the guardian spirit was likely to contain a great variety of objects identified with its source of the power. Among its contents might be a handful of sweet grass, certain herbs, a deer's tail, a bird's claw, small stones, the gristle of a bear snout, the dried maw of a buffalo, the skins of certain animals, particularly the buffalo, bear, or otter, plumes of certain birds, beaver oil, a smooth, round, hard ball sometimes found in the stomach of a buffalo, and so on without end. Each had a use; the sweet grass was protective; the herbs possessed healing power; the bird's claws inspired dash and courage; the stones brought health and long life since they do not wear out; the small ball from the buffalo's stomach, which this animal was believed to have swallowed, not only added great strength to its possessor but rendered him invincible in battle. These stones were reported to have been as much as three inches in diameter.[5]

[5] Battey, *op. cit.*, 332–33; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 162.

cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe. 276 796 [778]

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round; [784]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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411 steel, about two feet and a half long and an inch wide, tapering to a point, fixed into a slender handle of bois d'arc, the whole weapon being about seven feet in length.

714 The Comanche shields were described as being circular in form,
411 about two feet in diameter, and made of wicker work covered with two thicknesses of Buffalo hide. Between the coverings of buffalo hide was a padding of hair about an inch thick. With the advent of the rifle the Indians probably reinforced their shields. At any rate the tough buffalo hide covering, turned flesh side out and polished as much as possible, would turn a rifle ball unless it struck it perpendicular to the surface.

411 Long after they had become acquainted with metal implements the Comanches continued to use a war club made by binding a withe around a hard stone of about two pounds in weight. A groove around the stone helped to keep it in place. The handle was about fourteen inches long. No doubt the Indians often put this stone to various uses such as driving stakes.

771 Very little is known about the religion of the wild Comanches.
776 Their religious conceptions were evidently vague and they had comparatively few well established customs of religious meaning. One observer credits them with acknowledging a supreme ruler and director, whom they called the great spirit, and with worshipping the sun as the great cause of life and the earth as the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life.[23] It may well be doubted that they had any conception of a single "Great Spirit," but their veneration for the sun and earth can not be doubted. When game was brought down on a hunt the carcass was immediately prepared and cooked, but no matter how hungry the Indian might be, not a
[783] bite was eaten until the chief or leader had cut off a morsel and buried it. Similarly when the chief lit his pipe the first puff of smoke was blown toward the sun and the second to the earth.[24]

● 784 Naturally these savages had many taboos. One or two of these may be mentioned as illustrative, for they were sometimes matters of great consequence. In 1787, the Spanish in New Mexico tried a colonization experiment with the Comanches and spent a consider-

23. Parker, Notes Taken with Marcy, 231.
24. See Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180. Ceremonies preceding the meal similar to this were common among the plains tribes. See Hodge, I, 455.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 212
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They 000

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1788, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tome 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726 fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782 offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784 food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone
462 distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to several violent privilege-rights. A married woman could be wholly at the mercy of her husband's whim. He was free to extort from her a confession, as well as the name of her lover, by use of the cruelest third-degree methods. He either choked her until she gasped out the required information, or he took her out to a spot some distance from the camp where he built a fire over which he slowly lowered his terrorized wife until she gave him the information he wanted.

More refined men put the matter in the hands of the Sun and Earth. They took their wives to a lonely spot for *taβ βekat*, "sun killing." The suspecting husband filled his ceremonial pipe and smoked to the great powers, addressing first the sun. "You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down upon them don't let them live until fall." Then to the Earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you."

Thereupon the wife smoked the pipe and avowed her innocence with an appeal to the Sun and Earth to kill her if she lied. Comanche dogma has it, and supporting cases are offered, that when women made this ritual conditioned curse, the Sun knew if they were guilty, and it killed them. Its penalty for perjury was death.[6]

Women, for their part, had no demand-rights against their husbands that they be faithful in marriage; they could exact no penalties from them. Hence, they had no opportunities to put their husbands to the test. But in recent decades some did turn the tables by demanding of the Sun and Earth, when they took the oath, that the powers kill the husband if the wife were innocent of the act.

Finally, it should be noted that when the issue was put to the Sun and Earth, no legal action against the corespondent followed. The death of the wife ended the matter.

On the other hand, the collecting of damages from the offending male did not necessarily absolve the wife. If her absconder was strong enough, she had a good chance of escaping her husband's ire. But she ran terrible risks. In seven of forty-five Comanche adultery and wife-absconding cases the women were slain by their husbands—one in seven! Three of these were adulteresses; four were absconders. Of the twenty other adulteresses five were mutilated by their husbands; four had their noses cut off, and one had the soles of her feet slashed so she could not walk.

One may wonder that any Comanche woman played the game against such odds. We see it as additional evidence that mere severity of the law is not enough by itself to make people behave.

The Comanche law of murder was most simple. For a Comanche husband to kill his wife—with or without good cause—was not murder.

[6] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 90–91.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and
682 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[578] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
789 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign
789 toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, 115
her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two 159
eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened 756
mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, 789
one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life.

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother 115
to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia 159
was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that 756
rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia 784
to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is 262
eating. 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural 115
abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four 159
stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage 756
marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures.

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar,
[789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's
[825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
159 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
756 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
784 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
262 potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 775 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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195 115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
784

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

756 Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
775 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
778

Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[769] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
785

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 784 115 159 756 [753]

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

a buffalo robe, a bone pipe, tobacco, and the material for producing a light. Clad only in breechclout and moccasins, he set out to find a place far enough removed that people would not disturb him, and still near enough to camp that it would not be too difficult to return when weak from hunger. He stopped four times on the way, each time smoking and praying. The spot selected was a solitary place at the top of a hill, or perhaps the site of a grave of a famous warrior or, more especially, of a medicine man who had had the kind of power the candidate desired. Medicine Bluff in the Wichita Mountains was one of the favorite locations. 787

The candidate preferred a position on the south slope where he could see both east and west. As darkness approached, he smoked and prayed for power, for good power, and that he might use it for good. He covered himself with the buffalo robe at night as he lay facing the east, and he had to keep his head covered the whole night through. Rising at daybreak, he faced the east to receive the benefit of the power radiating from the sun. He was required to fast during the vigil, but unlike some Plains people, inflicted no self-torture. The Comanche was confident of himself as a man: he was reverent toward the power-giving spirits, but he felt no need to debase himself before them, to lacerate and mutilate himself in sacrificial appeasement. He was quietly humble before the sources of spiritual power, but he saw no call to demean himself in lamentation and self-pity. He called not for mercy; for him there was no Siouxan self-objection as in the opening plaint of a Winnebago on the vision quest: "O, spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you." For him, no Arapaho wails: [785]

Father have pity on me,
Father have pity on me,
I am crying for thirst,
I am crying for thirst,
All is gone—I have nothing to eat,
All is gone—I have nothing to eat.

The Comanche on the vision quest might suffer the inner turmoil of anxiety and apprehension; yet he lay quietly waiting for

[2] Informants: Kills Something; Yellowfish; also, Ralph Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVII (1935), 424; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 176.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after meno-
pause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring
once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic
Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no
loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power
from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women attempt to kill their children. 754 756 [828]

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim.

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this. 754 756 785 [782]

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

754 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle
237 plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Lowie emphasizes the play aspect of this phase of warfare. "Obviously," 727
he writes of the Crow, "the idea was not primarily to reduce a hostile force 555
but to execute a 'stunt'; to play a game according to whimsical rules."[5]

In addition to the standardized honors any audacious deed performed against the enemy could be claimed as a coup by a Shoshone or Comanche.

WAR INITIATIVE

The prosecution of warfare was very much a matter of individual dis- 721
cretion. Any Comanche was theoretically eligible to lead a war party. There was no chief or power which could say him nay. Were the individual not, however, a man of proved reputation or the possessor of potent medicine, his raid would remain strictly personal and private. He would simply be unable to muster a following. Nevertheless, no one would object to his going out alone. It was quite a different matter, on the other hand, if a man whose qualities had been attested in combat let his intention to take the war path be known. All fighters who wished to do so came to signify their desire to join his party. Dreams about a successful raid were not deemed necessary [787] ●
as a sanction for starting a war party, but in most cases such dreams were the effective stimulus.

There were two primary motivations for organizing a war party. The first was an entirely personal matter, depending simply upon desire for action, honors, or horses. Merely to feel the urge was to be at liberty to muster such men as would volunteer to go. On the other hand, a war party instigator might bind himself to avenge the death of a fellow tribesman by enemy hands. A slain man's father carried a heavy weight upon his heart while his dead son remained unavenged. "His conscience is not clear." There was but one thing for him to do. He must seek out the lodge of a brave warrior who had compassion for his suffering and whom people would trust and follow. Carrying his sacred pipe, the father or relative of the dead man offered smoke. The warrior knew what was wanted. If he accepted the pipe, smoking with the emissary, he bound himself in contract to take out a party which would not return until it had taken an enemy scalp. (We were unable to discover a single instance in which the pledge was unfulfilled.)

The warrior made known to the camp that he was going forth. He was to avenge the death of "their" slain friend. He exhorted. He said the young men would join him; he told the people that braves did not care, though it meant death. The Vengeance Dance was held before departure. The dancers were those who were going to join the war party. This sort of war party

[5] R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 228.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 683 To combat sorcery counter-medicine was first available. This was a socially acceptable action which in content was precisely the same as was the illegal grievance against which it moved.[8] Counter-medicine was used when a power surpassing that which lay in the curse was available. An alternative was to cause the sorcerer to break his tabus. On the purely physical plane, when neither of these two methods was successful or available, coercive threats were hurled, with the result that the accused took the conditional curse, or in rare instances either out-faced the "prosecutors" or was violently attacked by them.

x627 ●787 694 But first there was the problem of evidence. Here the situation was different from that we have observed in the marital situation. The act of aggression was secret and the aggressor a dangerous person. The problem, therefore was one not only of evidence—it was also one of detection.

With a number of medicine owners in the tribe, and every shaman a potential sorcerer, the finding of the guilty one was not a simple matter. The recourse was to divination.

When a tribesman had fallen under the curse of a sorcerer, only a powerful shaman could discover the nature and source of the magic. For this each medicine man had his own special technique. In all cases, however, its essence lay in divination. The general pattern was to divine by waving an eagle feather medicine-fan over the patient while singing medicine songs. When the power was strong enough, the image of the guilty sorcerer appeared beneath the fan. So certain was the technique in the more common cases that our informants explained, "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." The words of a diviner were accepted truth for those associated with the sick man. They stood as such unless the accused sorcerer was firm in denial.

787 x627 755 Other divinational techniques were found in the peyote and beaver ceremonies. The former is a relatively modern, and the latter an ancient religious rite. The beaver ceremony was a notable curing service; it was one of the few Comanche religious forms in which there was group participation.

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[8] There is nothing incongruous in magic as an instrument of law. When used as a recognized sanction, it serves a justifiable end, and is therefore "good." It must not be forgotten that all sanctions, whatever their nature, work a harm to the wrong-doer. It is this that gives sanctions their power of restraint. So Malinowski sees sorcery as a means of maintaining social order in Melanesia, *Crime and Custom*, pp. 85–94. Hogbin goes with him in interpreting the data from Ontong Java, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (New York, 1936), pp. 216–223. Evans-Pritchard sounds the same note for the Zande of Africa, *Sorcery and Native Opinion* (Africa, vol. 4, 1931), pp. 22–55.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer. 787 627^ 755

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse. 627^ 755 683

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by Mr. E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938). 796 276

chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing. 252

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. [251] Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning.

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter. 224 787

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the 224 825 787

224 825 787 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusɛtɛmini,* "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a [837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians,* 312.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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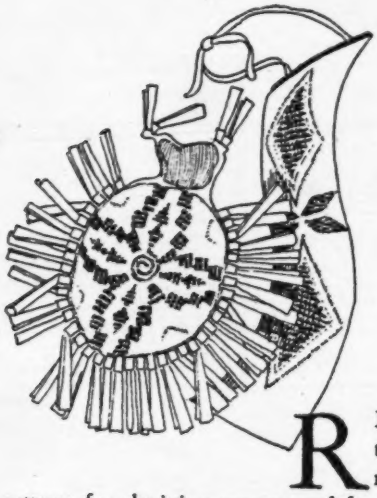

VII

The Search for Power

RELIGIOUS practice among the Comanches consisted primarily of socially recognized patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. There were patterns for both individual and community ceremonials, but unlike religious practices in our own society, group participation was extremely limited in extent and importance. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, the observance was a matter of individual concern. There was no religious organization, no theocracy, no priestly class, no dogma. Every man could be his own priest and his own prophet—the individual interpreter of the wills and ways of the spirits. A direct revelation without priestly go-between was the panacea for human ills and aspirations, the one secure basis of earthly goods.

Every Comanche consumed with ambition set forth in quest of a vision from which power (*puha*) was to be derived. His power, or medicine as it is generally called, came in a mystic visitation, a dream phenomenon or hallucinatory experience; the Comanches did not confuse an ordinary dream with a revelation. Visions came only when sought and under certain stringent conditions. Dreams were interesting experiences, and hardly more. Bad dreams did not portend bad luck unless the dreamer revealed them within four days.

The vision was fundamental in the guardian spirit complex. Certainly it was to the Indian an unquestionable means of obtaining power. Its authority was absolute. Psychic experiences were socially recognized and regarded as the very cornerstone of cultural life. The

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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[787] experience gave an individual a feeling of significance, a "thrill" of greater or less intensity. Among the tribes east of the Rockies, the emphasis was upon the vision induced by hunger, thirst, purgatives, or self-laceration; while west of the mountains a widespread attitude regarded the vision as unsought, involuntary, a thing of predisposition.[1] The Comanches recognized both forms. They retained a Shoshonean residue (the unsought dream) and had acquired the Plains method of reaching out for power. Power might come as an unsought blessing, but that was not sufficient; hence a Comanche strived for it by courting the aid of the supernaturals in the traditional way but without self-torture.

The vision was sought on continually recurring occasions: for mourning, for warpaths, for revenge, for curing disease, for success in hunting and raiding. Men who became especially noteworthy for their success in healing, procuring desired weather conditions, or en-
[756] suring a successful chase or war party, came to be singled out as medicine men, *puhakʌt*. The supreme test of power was whether a revelation worked. The Indian was a pragmatist. Not everyone who claimed supernatural gifts was signally successful. Either the medicine was not strong enough, or the protégé did not carry out commands accurately, or the vision-seeker had been maliciously deceived.

The selection of a man's medicine was the most important and sacred event in his life. Growing up with a firm belief in the all-sufficiency of personal visions, young men sought them without any prompting from their elders. From the stories of renowned contemporaries o. mythical heroes they had learned that this was the way to make their mark. In later life there was usually some special reason, such as the desire for vengeance or worry over a sick child, that drove a man to seek supernatural aid. In any case the Comanche followed a well-established pattern.

The initial vision quest was made about the time of puberty, before the youth had gone on the warpath for the first time. The vision-seeker was usually prepared by a local medicine man for the desired experience. As a form or symbol of purification, the candidate was required to bathe, in a preliminary step to seeking relations with the supernatural.[2] It was necessary for the candidate to possess four things:

[1] Ruth Benedict. *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*, 23–26.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

a buffalo robe, a bone pipe, tobacco, and the material for producing a light. Clad only in breechclout and moccasins, he set out to find a place far enough removed that people would not disturb him, and still near enough to camp that it would not be too difficult to return when weak from hunger. He stopped four times on the way, each time smoking and praying. The spot selected was a solitary place at the top of a hill, or perhaps the site of a grave of a famous warrior or, more especially, of a medicine man who had had the kind of power the candidate desired. Medicine Bluff in the Wichita Mountains was one of the favorite locations. 787

The candidate preferred a position on the south slope where he could see both east and west. As darkness approached, he smoked and prayed for power, for good power, and that he might use it for good. He covered himself with the buffalo robe at night as he lay facing the east, and he had to keep his head covered the whole night through. Rising at daybreak, he faced the east to receive the benefit of the power radiating from the sun. He was required to fast during the vigil, but unlike some Plains people, inflicted no self-torture. The Comanche was confident of himself as a man: he was reverent toward the power-giving spirits, but he felt no need to debase himself before them, to lacerate and mutilate himself in sacrificial appeasement. He was quietly humble before the sources of spiritual power, but he saw no call to demean himself in lamentation and self-pity. He called not for mercy; for him there was no Siouxan self-objection as in the opening plaint of a Winnebago on the vision quest: "O, spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you." For him, no Arapaho wails: [785]

Father have pity on me,
Father have pity on me,
I am crying for thirst,
I am crying for thirst,
All is gone—I have nothing to eat,
All is gone—I have nothing to eat.

The Comanche on the vision quest might suffer the inner turmoil of anxiety and apprehension; yet he lay quietly waiting for

[2] Informants: Kills Something; Yellowfish; also, Ralph Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVII (1935), 424; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 176.

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787 what might come. He was not arrogant toward the helping powers—far from it—he was grateful for the help they could extend to him. He knew that he could not well do without that help, but was confident that it was forthcoming. The spirits were beneficent. They gave of their power, not in compassion but in altruism.

776 The regular pattern called for the candidate to remain at his solitary watch for four days and nights, but the quest might be prolonged.
787 He remained until he received a vision, or else abandoned the quest to try again at a later time when conditions were more propitious. The vigil was completed with a vision or hallucination which made known to the candidate his personal and individual magic medium, the mysterious bond between him and that supernatural power which would henceforth act as the helping guardian of his destiny. A wind rustling through a pass or the timber, the bark of a dog, the howl of a wolf, the scream of an eagle might end the quest and send the candidate home to offer thanks to his newly found guardian spirit.

The newly acquired guardian spoke and understood the language of his ward and possessed special attributes or powers which it could transfer. On the fourth night of his search, Yellowfish heard a voice as distinctly, he vows, as if some person were standing near and speaking to him. "Tomorrow morning go take a bath in the creek below, and then go towards the east until you see a one-year-old buffalo coming across a ravine." He followed the instructions minutely and met the one-year-old buffalo crossing the ravine. Thereafter Yellowfish possessed the medicine of the one-year-old buffalo.[3]

784 During the revelation, the guardian spirit emphasized certain tabus and procedures which his ward must carefully follow; other-
787 wise the medicine either would not work or would cause evil. Medicine is power, and power is not to be handled casually. Among tabus commonly noted was one in connection with medicine men's eating certain foods, or at least eating them only under certain conditions. Should anyone walk behind a medicine man while he was eating, he was certain to become ill or lose his power, unless he had "heap big medicine."[4] All medicines had to be protected from grease and the ill effects of menstruating women. Eagle medicine men could not per-

[3] Informant: Yellowfish.
[4] Informant: Medicine Woman.

mit anyone to pass behind them while they were eating because an 784
eagle is upset by such an act. Post Oak Jim, in explaining this, said 787
that he once had two captive eagles who took to eating back to back so as to prevent this possibility.

The newly gained power was generally referred to as "making 778
medicine." The identification of certain powers was a life-and-death secret. Without the consent of this power, the possessor could not talk about it. The possession of power entailed serious responsibility, lest it cause harm rather than good. The owner must have faith, otherwise his power might not work. Practically every power carried with it one or more songs which the possessor had to learn and which were usually revealed during the visions. The possessor of strong medicine could, therefore, have quite a number of songs which he had to be able to sing at all times. It was not unusual in a Comanche camp to see a medicine man go out from his tipi after the evening meal, lie flat on his back, and to the music or time of a rattle sing his songs over and over again.

By association, medicines were usually similar in some respects to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the bestowing guardian spirit. Therefore, the medicine bag which contained the material substance that served as a medium for consultation with the guardian spirit was likely to contain a great variety of objects identified with its source of the power. Among its contents might be a handful of sweet grass, certain herbs, a deer's tail, a bird's claw, small stones, the gristle of a bear snout, the dried maw of a buffalo, the skins of certain animals, particularly the buffalo, bear, or otter, plumes of certain birds, beaver oil, a smooth, round, hard ball sometimes found in the stomach of a buffalo, and so on without end. Each had a use; the sweet grass was protective; the herbs possessed healing power; the bird's claws inspired dash and courage; the stones brought health and long life since they do not wear out; the small ball from the buffalo's stomach, which this animal was believed to have swallowed, not only added great strength to its possessor but rendered him invincible in battle. These stones were reported to have been as much as three inches in diameter.[5]

[5] Battey, *op. cit.*, 332–33; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 162.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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757 The vapor bath or sweat lodge was used extensively in medical treatment as in the cure of Breaks Something.

789 Beyond curing and lending their protective power to others, the Comanche medicine men served to make rain and as seers. The rain-making medicine of Big Bear called for the use of an outside tail feather of a black eagle. With his power it was necessary only to dip the feather into water and sprinkle towards the sun four times. "A cloud will soon appear and shortly it will rain." Big Bear overdid it once when living in a tipi northeast of Cache, Oklahoma. He made medicine for a rain with some wind in it. Came a cloud. It grew bigger. Then came rain and a big wind that blew his tipi down. "His wife got after him for not asking for a nice, soft rain."[16]

●787 A seer might be called upon to learn the fate of overdue war parties. In one simple method the medicine man "dreamed" on it and gave the answer in the morning. The other method was a regular séance. Post Oak Jim's account of such a séance is as follows.

« « « A war party was gone for a long time; they wanted to find out about it.

The medicine man had them clean up a nice place on the ground for a special tipi west of the camp. He selected about seven special men to go in with him. The camp was ordered to remain quiet. He had a fire built, and they went in just before midnight. They smoked and told the medicine man what they wanted to know.

He told them to put out the fire and close the smoke vent from outside.

Then he put on his blanket and went out into the night. He made a call. From way off an answer came back. He called again; the answering call was closer. He called a third time; it was closer yet. On his fourth call the answer was near by.

Then he re-entered the tipi and sat down.

"Everyone remain quiet," he told them. "The ghost is coming. That was his call."

The ghost, in the form of a bird, lit on top of the tipi. They could hear it was heavy.

From inside the tipi, the medicine man talked to it. "What we

[16] Informant: Slope.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

want to know is what has become of these people on the war party. 787 ●
You are wonderful. You know everything.

The answer came in a clear voice—

"They are all killed."

A sickly man with them asked if he would get well.

"You will die in the fall," came the answer.

Then they asked the bird who he was. It was the spirit of an evil medicine man who had died of tuberculosis.

After a while one of them went out to open the flaps of the tipi.

He came back in to light the fire.

They could hear the ghost calling as he went. That was all. » » »

This is the Algonquian spirit séance without the shaking of the tent at the visitation of the spirit. Inasmuch as the northern Shoshones did not have this rite, it is probable that it was borrowed from the neighboring Cheyennes.[17]

Ghosts did not generally bother the Comanches, but the Co- 775
manches definitely were uneasy about them. The tabu on the use of the names of dead people has already been mentioned several times. Hunters, raiders, and campers often saw and heard groups of people who were there one moment and gone the next. They were ghosts who haunted battlefields or scenes of annihilation.

Ghosts gave great power to the men who could stand up to them. Such ghosts appeared either as bare-bone skeletons or as bloody, scalped spectres waving long knives. Several stories are told of men who were chased all the way home from their vision vigils right into their own tipis by terrifying ghosts, who came with the rising moon.

Not all ran away, however. Slope knew one who got ghost power.

« « « A bunch of Comanches camped near a haunted spot. They asked a young man to go down to the spring for water. He just stalled around.

"Are you afraid?" They asked him.

He said he wasn't, so he took up a cow paunch and started for the water, thinking about ghosts. He heard something behind him; then he felt arms about his neck; he could see only bones—no flesh on

[17] Cf. K. N. Llewellyn and E. A. Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way: Conflict and Case Law in Primitive Jurisprudence*, 91.

The Comanches

796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
755 here. *Kowino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the
796 Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

The Search for Power

Each dancer carried in his right hand a rattle, decorated with feathers, paint, and beads; and in his left hand he carried a wand or fan prepared from the wing feathers of an eagle. The dancers were young eagles attempting to leave their nest and parental care in order to soar away, masters of the sky. The dancers did not sing, but attempted from time to time to imitate the cry of the young eagle. When a dancer lagged or wearied, the leader either blew his eagle-bone whistle as a warning for him to speed up or reinvigorated him with new power by waving the eagle fan above him. When the music ceased, the dancers dropped on their knees and sat back against their legs to rest, but the moment the music resumed they sprang to their feet and began dancing again. 787 796

Between dances a warrior would rush into the circle and recite an outstanding coup or deed which he had performed. At the close of his recital a deafening applause of yells, drum beats, gourd rattles, and the stamping of feet went up. These speeches were like pep talks to encourage the young dancers to acts of bravery. During the dance, the warriors of the girl's people rushed up and made a sham attempt to recapture her. In actual practice they rushed in and recited some coups of their own. These recitals had to be true, because the power of eagle medicine was so strong that misfortune would befall any who on this solemn occasion falsified the facts. Spectators looked on in reverential silence.

About mid-morning, the mother of one of the dancers brought water for the participants and set it down near the circle. The leader drank and then offered the water to the dancers, each drinking in turn and passing it to the one on his left. After the "failure" of the girl's relatives to recapture her, they brought in presents, which they deposited before her in the circle. Relatives and friends of the dancers might also provide some of the gifts.

The medicine man retained a portion of the presents and gave the others to the dancers. One informant had received a horse when he danced. Not infrequently a dancer went through the ceremony without gaining power. "There had to be something inside stretching and pleading, reaching and grasping for power, if it were to be obtained."

The dance ended shortly before midday. No ceremonial departure

787 796 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 224 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 796 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

The Comanches

776 The coyote was regarded by the Comanches as a brother, who
787 often warned those who possessed power to speak and understand its
825 language, of impending trouble. "Coyote medicine was for knowing things ahead or in the future."

When Skinny and Wrinkled was staying with an old man north of Medicine Park, Oklahoma, the old fellow asked him one night, "Well, have you heard from our friend yet?" Skinny and Wrinkled had heard nothing. The old man admonished him, "Well, you better listen hard now. I believe he is coming around pretty soon."

Not long after, they were talking one night when the dogs began to bark. The old man told Skinny and Wrinkled to shut them up. "I believe there's our friend."

Sure enough, there was a coyote howling.

"I could not interpret what he was saying, but the old man could."

"You better start saving up your bread," was his version of the message. "He says there is going to be a hard winter this year. We aren't going to have much to eat."

That is the way it was, according to Skinny and Wrinkled. The winter before, the Comanches had more flour than they knew what to do with. That winter there were hardly enough rations to give them what was due them.

The coyote also predicted good fortune. One night a coyote howled, and at breakfast the mother of Skinny and Wrinkled said it was telling the tribe that they were all going to get a lot of money soon. Her husband, who was quite a skeptic, laughed and said, "How do you know?"

She insisted, however, and warned, "You wait and see. If the old man talks again before the week is out, it sure is coming true."

On Friday they heard him again. The very next day there were checks for $180 each at the agency for every member of the tribe.[16]

If, when the Indians were on a journey, a coyote jumped up before them, looked at them, and barked or howled, they would likely change their course and travel no farther in that direction that day. A friendly spirit in the form of a wolf was warning them of danger,

[15] Gene Weltfish, "The Man Who Married a Buffalo Wife, A Comanche Story," *Caddoan Texts* (*Publications* of the American Ethnological Society, XVII), 218–23.

[16] Informant: Yellowfish.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

 [787] 776 825

and they must heed the warning. The enemy was generally found just where the coyote told them.

Eagles possessed power in matters concerning war. Because of this power their feathers were attached to shields, worn tied in the hair, and during the later period they were placed on the war bonnet. Owing to the protective power of the bird, those wearing the feathers believed that they would not be hit by either bullets or arrows.[17] When eagle feathers were attached to the shield, it could not be pierced by either bullets or arrows. The Comanches secured a part of their feathers by taking young eagles from their nests and keeping them in captivity. (Young eagles were easily kept by tethering them by the legs to a pin driven in the ground.) After the eagles had reached full size, they pulled out the tail feathers. War whistles were made from wing bones of eagles. [231]

The deer had much power which might be used for good or evil. It had the power to cause or cure disease. It could say to its favorite: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground, there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." At times it was a helper in love affairs. Possibly because the elk had great vitality and was hard to kill, it was credited with having great strength which could be transmitted to those whose guardian spirit it happened to be. The bear possessed power to cure wounds. The skunk possessed great power. Doctors used its hide to hold their medicine. Men tied its tail to their horses' tails in war. For a member of a war party to kill and skin a skunk while on the way to attack was likely to nullify some of the most powerful war medicine.[18] The roadrunner had the power to reinvigorate and give speed, since it was a speedy bird. The owl was unpopular, for it brought bad news, but the Comanches never shrank nearly so much with fear and horror at the sound of its hoot as did the Kiowas. The wolf gave power to walk barefoot on the cold snow. Medicine men who had this power painted the flesh between their toes red like that of the wolf. And if a person would howl like a wolf before eating red haws, there was no danger of foundering on them.

In like manner, in an ever lessening degree, practically all animals

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This was the reason attributed by the leader for the failure at Adobe Walls.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the
619 Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular inter-
621 vals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance
[801] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some
787 medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp 1-419 not processed]

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, 535 partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 778 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received 787 an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [78] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 74 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.
553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
657 children by count, as early as 1875, the first formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

[p. 244-A]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis.*

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
781 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

/page 39 continued/

C K 795 177 C K [787] consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed. The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descriptions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K 787 177 [756] Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K 823 778 [787]

C K 823 778 177 [775]

C K 787

C K 276 795 778 [787] Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
C depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
K broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
778 has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
276 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
777 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
771 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
777 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation. In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal
[778] power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[826] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut's* power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long: I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[886] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
755
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote–hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
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Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatiu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
775 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
755 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
756 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
778 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
787 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place
533 with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked 775
during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently 755
before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she 756
has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their 778
pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have 787
to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. 533
Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes.

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775
755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother 756
> like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head 778
> and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my 787
> hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanket was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with [782]
her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the [783]
standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment.

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does 775
not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 756
465

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775]
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *təpinatsu*, 754
ekəpokowa:pi, *kusiwəna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwəna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Təpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

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754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 [595] [842]

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 [555]

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. [171] [551] [881] [787]

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

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"Red Young Man turned to his friends and said, 'You have heard the request of my mother. To it I now agree. After you eat—all of you—bring your fathers here.'

"They did as he asked; they brought their fathers to his tipi. Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'You are all familiar with what we have been doing—you know our rules. Look upon us all! My father did not live to see me. I missed him. I have called you here because I have something to say to you. I entered this order when I was young, when I was without ties. These friends joined me under the same circumstances.'

"A father said, 'You speak truly.'

"In this group of young men was Red Young Man's nephew (aza), whose father was Red Young Man's brother-in-law (tets). The brother-in-law said, 'My wife's brother, you have been in this from your youth; now you are of middle-age. Even so is your nephew, my son. I speak as your mother spoke. I wish both of you would discontinue this. This is my opinion and desire.'

"The father of one of the others agreed with the mother and the brother-in-law. The father of the youngest put in his word for it, too—'because we are so happy to have you back after so many years.'

"Then Red Young Man said to the fathers, 'Today, at this very instant you finish with us, we will take off our tassels. We will disband forever. Before we come to that I wish that you well-seasoned men of wise counsel would give us your advice and blessing. That is all. Let us fill our pipe.'

"They filled the pipe to bless the dissolving of the band. There was silence as [788] the pipe was lit. The brother-in-law took the pipe; he presented it to Sun, the Father and to Earth, the Mother. 'Accept this, Father,' he said, 'today in a few moments these young men shall be broken asunder.' He passed the pipe to the next father who did the same and said the same. Then to the third father. He finished the prayer with these words, 'They have devoted their whole youth to this cause. Now that they are middle-aged they are going to lead a quiet, stay-at-home life.' They did not pass the pipe to the mother—but she spoke and voiced her happiness at the outcome of the decision.

"Red Young Man spoke again, 'We have come to dissolve,' He speared out a black kerchief. 'We are going to take the tassels from our shoulder and our head.' He prayed. He prayed, saying how in his youth he had followed the dictates of his heart—a Crow Feather Tassel Wearer. He had lived alone without regard to family ties. The Great Power Which Pervades All Things be his witness! By taking off the emblem he was now ready to devote himself to family obligations.

"He then called his nephew. 'We started out with only one thought, you and I: that we would be killed together. I, who put this emblem on you, now take it off.'

"Then he called the older friend to do the same with him. At last he called the younger one. 'Behold our younger brother (tâmi), who tirelessly performed all the duties we placed on him! You be witness that I take from him his emblem.' All the tassels were laid on the kerchief.

"When night came the obligations were done. Then Red Young Man tied up the kerchief. He said to the father, 'Tomorrow we do what we have not yet done

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwʌp.[8] A man joined the tɛ́kniwʌp class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1. The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

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[197] [8] The word tɛ́kniwʌp, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tɛ́gwɔni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called naθedink tɛ́gwɔni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, pʌ́nɪθo, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

absence. The Comanches knew the conditional curse for adultery and sorcery cases, and also had ordeal. They made no legal use of the latter; the former was not extended into general legal practice. This is more notable than the *absence* of either procedure. Nothing could more interestingly evidence the inertia in the way of diffusion or further adaptation of institutions *within* a single culture. 627x

Papítsɔin may be best called a joking ordeal. In the presence of others a joker (who could be anybody so long as his relationship to the butt of the joke did not demand avoidance) addressed another person of either sex. In an off-hand manner the remark would be dropped, "Well, and so I hear you have been having intercourse with So-and-so." [602]

The usual reaction was indignant denial. If so, the joker picked up a bit of dirt between the fore-fingers and sprinkled it on the hair of his victim. This done, were the victim guilty of the sex conduct charged, the loss of all hair was supposed to result, and the victim would appear ridiculous in the eyes of all people. Or even more terrifying, if the jokester placed the dirt upon the tongue of the victim, guilt would be proved in loss of speech. 627x 789

This is a practice which lives today and causes much mirth for the onlookers and terror for the party accused. In the summer of 1933 Skinny And Wrinkled told with great gusto how he had seen a woman running down the main streets of Lawton, Oklahoma, speeding as though pursued by the Holy Terror, which was in fact no more than a laughing young Indian with a pinch of dust between his fingers. [522]

Non-submission to the test proves guilt even as does submission and the occurrence of the unfortunate consequences. This is ordeal in all its aspects of a supernatural test save the solemn setting and the presence of a dispute of interest-importance to the disputants. One would expect that in the event the victim of the joke were a married woman, and found guilty, her husband would perforce institute proceedings against the adulterer. Nevertheless, the assurance of informants is that it was never used seriously, a statement which is substantiated by the complete absence of any ordeal practices in the case histories of disputes which were collected.[11]

OATH

In the Buffalo Tongue Ceremony,[12] a very definite immunity from legal consequences for an unfaithful wife was observed. After a big hunt the 627x 684

[11] The joking ordeal was unknown to the Shoshone. Its counterpart was found among the Cheyennes. This indicates a late acquisition for the Comanches. [171]

[12] This ceremony is lifted from the sun-dance complex of other tribes. Its rarity among the Comanches is attested by the fact that no mention of its practice was made by informants used by the laboratory group. Dr. Mirsky recorded it independently.

The Comanches

757 The vapor bath or sweat lodge was used extensively in medical treatment as in the cure of Breaks Something.

●784 Beyond curing and lending their protective power to others, the Comanche medicine men served to make rain and as seers. The rain-making medicine of Big Bear called for the use of an outside tail feather of a black eagle. With his power it was necessary only to dip the feather into water and sprinkle towards the sun four times. "A cloud will soon appear and shortly it will rain." Big Bear overdid it once when living in a tipi northeast of Cache, Oklahoma. He made medicine for a rain with some wind in it. Came a cloud. It grew bigger. Then came rain and a big wind that blew his tipi down. "His wife got after him for not asking for a nice, soft rain."[16]

787 A seer might be called upon to learn the fate of overdue war parties. In one simple method the medicine man "dreamed" on it and gave the answer in the morning. The other method was a regular séance. Post Oak Jim's account of such a séance is as follows.

« « « A war party was gone for a long time; they wanted to find out about it.

The medicine man had them clean up a nice place on the ground for a special tipi west of the camp. He selected about seven special men to go in with him. The camp was ordered to remain quiet. He had a fire built, and they went in just before midnight. They smoked and told the medicine man what they wanted to know.

He told them to put out the fire and close the smoke vent from outside.

Then he put on his blanket and went out into the night. He made a call. From way off an answer came back. He called again; the answering call was closer. He called a third time; it was closer yet. On his fourth call the answer was near by.

Then he re-entered the tipi and sat down.

"Everyone remain quiet," he told them. "The ghost is coming. That was his call."

The ghost, in the form of a bird, lit on top of the tipi. They could hear it was heavy.

From inside the tipi, the medicine man talked to it. "What we

[16] Informant: Slope.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he 793]
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [782]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they 181
are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439] who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on 771
earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776] idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789] storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to pre-
754 clude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them.
They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think,
175 or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface
789 of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate
[237] with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and un-
175 erring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck,
751 one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

175 The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited
595 extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their
[585] principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death.
[687] The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game.
175 His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance
593 on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in
462 catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and
000 waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the *fatal weakness* of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and
627 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[578] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
789 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII[A] most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white.

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9]

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair.

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89–90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94–95.

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[789] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
197 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
771 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
M the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
621 sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[775] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[774] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[775] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[794] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone, while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
721 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[224] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal
[778] power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
115 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
159 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
756 involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing
[826] ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
789 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

After Sanapia had taken the coal and covered her hands with the ashes, her mother began the transmission of supernatural power to Sanapia's mouth. Two eagle feathers, manipulated by the mother, were drawn across Sanapia's opened mouth four times; however, in the course of the fourth movement of the feathers, one of the feathers disappeared. At this occurrence Sanapia's mother told her that the eagle feather had entered her mouth and would dwell there for the rest of her life. 115 159 756 789

As with a similar phenomenon occurring in a variety of witchcraft which will be discussed in Chapter 5, Sanapia states that she does not believe that an eagle feather actually was inserted into her mouth but rather that the idea, the essence, or the Medicine which the eagle feather symbolized, was the entity which was placed in her mouth. She does not attempt to explain the disappearance of the second feather from her mother's hand except to suggest that her mother possessed certain powers which she did not transmit to Sanapia. This first phase was ended with the mother's application of red paint to Sanapia's face, forearms, and legs, from the knees to, and including, the soles of the feet.

Two tabus, or "rules" as Sanapia calls them, were attached by the mother to the powers transmitted in this first phase of the actual transmission. Sanapia was forbidden to eat any kind of fowl. Her mother warned that if she broke that rule, the feather in her throat would kill her. The second tabu forbade Sanapia to allow people to pass behind her carrying food, especially meat, while she is eating. 115 159 756 784 262 264

> That eagle, when he eats, he don't like anybody to be behind him. When its sitting on the ground, and it see anybody behind him, it twist all around and sit toward you. If he back there eating meat, he don't want any meat behind him. If some kid carry meat on a plate, it just give me chills all at once . . . you know, if they be behind me. I don't care if I don't see it, if there's meat on that plate behind me I get chills, and I know someone back there. My mother said, "If you keep it like that and try to take care of yourself, it won't make you loose your ways about it. That's going to be the rule I give you. You got to do that. Don't let anybody go behind you when you eat, especially if they carrying meat."

It is impossible to say if certain kinds of power or specific supernatural abilities to achieve a certain exclusive end were transmitted at each of the four stages of transmission. From Sanapia's discussion it can be said that each stage marked an increase in the degree of power generally. Before the beginning of the actual power transmission Sanapia was taught the ritual procedure which she would require as a doctor. The four stages of transmission acted to instill in her ever-increasing powers to successfully actualize the goals of these doctoring procedures. 115 159 756

An analogy can be made with the construction of an automobile. Before it is actually energized, it is equipped with everything that it will require to efficiently operate. Then, at the source of manufacture, it is carefully observed while given several rigidly controlled and graded performance tests. Supernatural power, like an untested automobile, is potentially dangerous to the operator. This appears to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar, [789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's [825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
159 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
756 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
784 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
262 potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient 755
believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in 756
her powers. Some of Sanapia's expatients have noted her ability to make things [789]
appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a 756
difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of inter- 756
viewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her 128
medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital 121
function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost 775
sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of 164
organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn),[2] and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[3] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

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531
237
[789]
[415]

FIGURES 19–20. Comanche shield, with medicines attached, and painted cover. (USNM 44532.)

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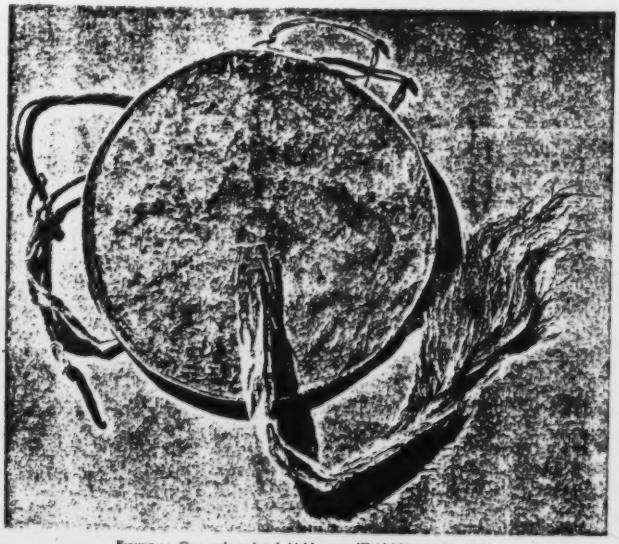

FIGURE 21. Comanche painted shield cover. (Field Museum 60,579.)

[p. 170]

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. 714 531
The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed 532 rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. 172 Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in 531 West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield 531 paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a 714 yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any 789 missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24–25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in 411 Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. [237] wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse 531 or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in [237] length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure [237] 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they [825] made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, 415 Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa In- 237 dians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in 415 diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated [531]

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). [714]

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1844, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791]
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he 793
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [782]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

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113 [1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

668 c) After Iʒatai had issued the call for the Sun Dance "which was widely heralded,
792 and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red river near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred percent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered threads of the tribe together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[7]

d) The doctrine which Iʒatai preached was as follows:

a') The Caddoes, Wichitas and other tribes which had settled into reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being.

b') This was the fate in store for the Comanches if they heeded to the demands of the government.

c') But if they would turn to the war path and annihilate the Whites, then they would again become powerful and prosperous.

d') With his supernatural power he was empowered to cover all the warriors with immunity to bullets, and so he could guarantee the success of the venture against the Whites.[8]

[619] e) Because of the violent tenor which the councils took, the pénəteka (Swift Stingers) band of Texas Comanches and a few other smaller groups withdrew and departed for home.

668 f) When the Sun Dance was finished he led a great war party of Comanches, ac-
792 companied by some Kiowas and Southern Cheyenes, south into Texas to wipe out
726 the buffalo hunters who had their headquarters at Adobe Walls. There they came up against the new large caliber, long-range buffalo guns with which the professional buffalo hunters were equipped. The effect was disconcerting and disastrous. Iʒatai was discredited, and though he did not receive the horse-whipping that some of the warriors threatened, his influence as a prophet and leader was ended.[9]

g) But the fire Iʒatai had set was not yet burned out. Throughout that summer and the next year scores of murderous attacks were made upon white travelers and settlements throughout the southern plains. The result was to provoke determined military action and the abandonment of the Quaker Policy in Indian Affairs on the part of the United States. By 1875 the Comanches were militarily crushed, and that year "marks the end of their influence as a frontier factor of significance."[10]

So ended the Comanche experience with militant messianism in 1873–74.

668 In conclusion, attention may be called to the significance of these data for the
171 question of North American prophet cults. Wallis[11] has summarized the materials which demonstrate a general and long-standing tendency to messianic attempts in this part of the aboriginal world. Spier, in proving the roots of the Ghost Dance in the Prophet Dance complex of the northwestern tribes, has laid stress upon the indigenous nature of regeneration of the dead in the cultures of that area.[12] The

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 374. [8] Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*, unpublished.

[9] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also, Hoebel, *Comanche Field Notes*.

[10] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[11] W. D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston, 1918), Chap. V.

[12] Spier, *op. cit.*, *in toto*.

Mode of Indian Burial

him constructed of poles. Into this enclosure is placed his 764
personal effects—his saddle and bridle, his tomahawk, scalping knife, bow and arrows and lance, all the inanimate property he possesses. The enclosure is then roofed with bark and covered with earth. This part of the burial ceremony concluded, all his horses and mules, even if he was the owner of a hundred, are brought to the grave and killed. When a squaw dies, her property, also—her calico gown, cooking kettle, tools for dressing skins—are buried with her, and the horse upon which she was accustomed to ride slain in the same manner.

They are buried with their heads to the west, because 764
they believe at the resurrection, of which they have vague 775
and indefinite notions, they will arise and march eastward, again to take possession of all the country from which the accursed white man has driven them and their fathers. They bury their property with them and kill their horses because they suppose their souls will have need of them in the other world.

Among them are prophets, corresponding with our di- 793●
vines, who maintain with exceeding strictness their sacer- 781
dotal dignity. The prophet addresses them on various occasions, such as the green corn dance, and the festival of the roasted dog, but especially in the time of the new moon. At all times they listen to him with the most profound reverence, their heads hanging down, and not a murmur of sound among them from the commencement of his exhortation to its close; but in the season of the new moon, they fall on their faces to the earth before him, and there remain still and motionless until the sound of his voice has ceased.

They believe in God, a great spirit, who created and gov- 775
erns the earth, sun, moon, and stars. They have an unwaver-

over her shoulders in luxuriant profusion, halfway to the 3c2
ground, and around her forehead was a tin band, scalloped
on the upper edge, after the fashion of a crown.

Kianceta was indeed comely to look upon, but her soul 727
was far more lovely than her form. Though an untutored 609
woman of the prairie—one of a low and ignorant class—
I have reason to remember her with respect and gratitude.
She sympathized with the poor captive when others laughed
at his calamities—sat down by his side, and looked up sor-
rowfully into his face, when the young savages in the village
beat him with stones and sticks until he sought shelter in
the tent. An hundred times she stood between him and
those who threatened harm—gave him corn when others
had it not—attended him when sick—casting red-hot stones
into a trough of water to make him a steam bath, and wrap-
ping him in thick buffalo skins until his cold was broken
up and his health restored.

Next morning the tribe was assembled, and Che-ra-se- 793 ●
chick-a-lo, the prophet, made a speech. He was not as 574
earnest and impressive as Karolo—palpably inferior in every
respect—nevertheless, he was listened to with the most
profound attention. At the conclusion of his exhortation,
they indulged in a long and jolly feast, when Moko and
the three other wives of Big Wolf came and kissed me [152]
again and again, and then bestriding their mules, rode [576]
away towards their own valley of Mannasaw, weeping as
they went.

My time was now passed either in attending upon the 000
Spotted Leopard, or sauntering idly through the village,
continually thinking of escape. This subject was never
out of my mind. By observing the rising and setting sun,
I could tell the points of compass, and recalling, as far as
possible, the direction of the different routes I had taken

21: Burnet T 5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Comanchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to
[186] other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
753 have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
793 true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or
[796] seasons.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of 609
Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face 123
to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white 609
man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little 643
town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by [657]
the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians [595]
married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daugh- [793]
ter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well- [563]
to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary 584

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms. 601 551 576 [794]

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain 593

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias. [124]

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the 191 794 most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few sentences at a time. The performance of this 191 function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177 195] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

[p. 242-A]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[262] *bekwinatu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
756
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes. 775 755 756 794

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bekwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands. [278]

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance. 775 755 756 [539]

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money. 609 191 571

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City. 609 191 797 [794] [551]

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature. 657 191 609

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds. 609

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the 648 657

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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influx. The Oregon Trail had been opened, and in the seventies the Prophet Dance, a cult of revival of old ways, was sweeping the Northwest. 648 x

The Comanches had no contact with this remote phenomenon, but their crisis was similar. Through all their time they had felt no need for tribal integration, but now it was stand together or go under. 648 x 795

As so often happens in the history of oppressed peoples, a messiah came forth in answer to the need. This was none other than a young and as yet untried warrior–medicine man, *Ishatai,* Coyote Droppings. Coyote Droppings gave evidence of strong powers. He was immune to bullets—not in itself an outstanding trait, for many great warriors had over the years been possessed of such medicine. More significant was his claim to have "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[9] This was unusual. Also, he had, as had other medicine men before him, brought back the dead from the After World. He had power all right. But what really gave him prestige was his successful prediction that a comet which was attracting much attention early in 1873 would disappear in five days and would be followed by a summer-long drought. These things are reputed to have occurred in accordance with his prophecy.

In their despair the Comanches were willing to turn to him for the kind of leadership their established chiefs could not give. When he belched forth a "wagonload" of cartridges and swallowed them again in the presence of several Comanches, they believed that they had really seen this thing. Word spread that Coyote Droppings had such powers as no other Comanche had ever before possessed.[10]

In the hard spring of 1874 the Prophet felt that the time had come for the great endeavor. He announced that the Comanches should gather for a tribal Sun Dance. They should make a great medicine and save themselves. The call, according to R. N. Richardson, "was widely heralded, and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red River near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred per cent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered

[9] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement,* 373.
[10] Battey, *op. cit.,* 302–303.

threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—i.e., "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

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cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor[1] to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole. 648X 795● [527 641]

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sokwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material. [177 574]

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[1] [i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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could only escape by dodging into the lodges where the mounted Mud Men could not follow them.

The clowns performed no police functions at the dance, as do the Pueblo *koshare*,[12] for the Comanches had no use for tribal police. Neither were they an intrinsic part of the dance itself, as are the *koshare*. They provided a simple comic relief in the serious activities of the Sun Dance preparations; they were a light-hearted gesture in an act of desperation—the inauguration of the Sun Dance for the earthly salvation of the Comanche way of life. As soon as they were done with their clowning, they returned to the creek to cleanse themselves so that they could be back in time for a more serious drama—the sham battle.

While the dance lodge was being finished, a group of warriors went down to the creek to build a symbolic fortified enemy encampment of a circular rail fence. When all the work on the dance lodge was finished, a scout who had served as a real scout went out to find them. He rode back to the main camp signaling the discovery of enemies. All the warriors in the main camp prepared as if for battle, and together they sallied forth to the attack, women and children following to see the show. In the assault on the enemy camp each man attempted to re-enact his own great war deeds before the eyes of the woman and children, who, according to Post Oak Jim, "got scared by the real way they seemed to fight." When the enemy was destroyed, the whole tribe marched back to the camp singing the Victory Song.

It is most probable that the rail-enclosed mock enemy camp was not intended to represent an Indian encampment. Plains Indian villages were not stockaded. Could this have been the white settlement at Adobe Walls, Texas, with its surrounding adobe enclosure, that the Comanches were going to annihilate as soon as the Sun Dance was over? If so, this dramatic by-play was a projective wish-fulfillment of their plan to destroy the whites who were destroying them, just as the symbolic buffalo hunt was a wishful recapture of the herds that were no more.

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is

[12] E. C. Parsons and R. L. Beals, "The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Maya-Yaqui Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVI (1934), 491–514.

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The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one. 182 648x 795

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing. 648x 795

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles. [534]

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days. [535]

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[18]

[18] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

The Comanches

x 648 In keeping with the lack of masochism in their approach to the supernatural, the Comanche Sun Dancers made no effort to torture ●795 themselves by hanging from the center pole with rawhide thongs through their breasts, as did the tribes to the north. Nor was there any dragging of buffalo skulls around the lodge by means of thongs passed through the back muscles. The only self-denial was of water and food for the duration of the dance, and even this was mitigated by chewing the bark of the slippery elm and a bath in the creek each night.

Visions came to some individuals who fainted in the course of the dancing—an important feature of the Sun Dance for most Plains tribes. In their dances the Comanches did not bother to make vision-seeking a primary interest, however. It was not the reason for which they were dancing. They were dancing to revive the power of the tribe, to weld themselves into one cohesive unit that would launch forth on the great military venture that would sweep the whites from all their land. That was what Coyote Droppings had brought them together for. That was why they were dancing.

There had been much strong talk by Coyote Droppings before he had got the Sun Dance under way—inflammatory talk. Coyote Droppings preached that the Caddos, Wichitas, and other tribes who had accepted reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being. Was this what the Comanches wanted? It would be their fate, he warned them, if they gave in to the lures of the government to get them on the reservation. But he knew, he exhorted his tribesmen, from his visits to the Great Spirit, that if they would all turn to the warpath and annihilate the whites in one fell swoop, the buffalo would come back in numbers. The People would flourish and once again they could live the old life—powerful and prosperous as they had been of yore. These things they could do, he assured them, because he in his great power would share his immunity to bullets with them all. Over them he would shed his protective mantle. They could not fail. They would have the Sun Dance and then go to war. That is why they danced, all except the Wasps, who went back home to Texas when they heard this strong talk in which they had no faith and which they felt boded no good. A few other small groups also pulled out before the dance, being either too prudent or too skeptical to follow the path of the fiery prophet.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Although a few of the Comanches refused to accept the Prophet, a host of Kiowas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes fell under his spell. They were ready for the great "putsch."

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On the day after the Sun Dance was finished, a large party of Comanche and Kiowa warriors "charged" the great Cheyenne camp which stood near by at the head of the Washita River. They were lead by Coyote Droppings and four war chiefs. When their charge was done, the Cheyennes charged in turn, and that evening all the warrior societies of the several tribes danced. "There was much excitement," notes George Bird Grinnell.[14]

The next day they took off for Adobe Walls, an old trading post built by William Bent's men in the eighteen thirties on the South Fork of the Canadian in Hutchinson County, Texas. It was now a center of operations for the later buffalo hunters. It was to be the starting point of the war of extermination. At daybreak on the morning of June 24, the attack was made by a long line of Indians in such numbers that "the noise of the horses' hoofs was like thunder."

Twenty-six white men stood inside the houses. Two were sleeping in a covered wagon outside the walls. With the men in the post was one white woman. It so happened that most of the men had been working all night on the repair of a roof beam, and so they were still up and around when the Indians charged. It also happened that they were armed with new large-bore, long-range buffalo rifles. They were resolute and stout-hearted. In the first charge they killed two Cheyennes and a Comanche. One Cheyenne charged within the walls and was killed. The others turned back and milled around. They charged again and again throughout the morning, and although there were more than enough warriors to overwhelm the little party in the adobe houses, it was not the Plains Indian way to take a bastion by storm.

Coyote Droppings, his naked body painted yellow, sat throughout it all upon his white horse on a distant hill. A Cheyenne father who had lost his son in the fighting taunted him with a dare to go down and bring out his son's body, if he really had immunity to bullets. He refused to move. As though to mock him further, a long-range shot from one of those deadly rifles knocked a member of his party from his horse as he sat with the Prophet watching the fiasco.

[14] Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 312.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Early in the afternoon the discouraged Indians gave up. They had killed three white men—they who with the Prophet's protection were going to scour them from the earth. Nine of their own number had been killed and a number wounded. Not a very sanguine battle as battles go in the histories of nations, but it was a crushing spiritual defeat for the Comanches and their friends whose hopes had been so falsely raised. Coyote Droppings had no real power.

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But the fighting on the Southern Plains was not yet over. The defeat at Adobe Walls did not check the war spirit, for the Indians plundered and raided for a time over a wide area—Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. In order to distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians, army officials issued an order for all friendly Indians to place their camps on the east side of Cache Creek. Many Kiowas and a large majority of the Comanches failed to obey, and the military regarded them henceforth as "hostiles." One group of the Those Who Move Often band, not wishing to surrender or to remain out on the prairie where they would be attacked, went to the Wichita agency to seek protection. Hearing of their presence there, the army officers went to demand their surrender as prisoners of war. An incident during the parley led to a fight and was the opening signal for new campaigns. Other Indians now joined the renegade bands, and probably one-half of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Cheyenne tribes were openly hostile during the early autumn of 1874.

Meanwhile, in July the government in Washington had given its consent for the army to attack the Indians in their own territory and to subdue them wherever they offered resistance to constituted authority. The outbreak of 1874 had put an end to the Peace Policy. From all sides, troops poured into the Comanche and Kiowa range. Colonel Nelson A. Miles moved south from Camp Supply. Major William Price moved east from Fort Union in northern New Mexico. Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Davidson operated to the west from Fort Sill. Colonel MacKenzie operated north from Fort Concho, Texas, along the "Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos." Colonel G. P. Buell pushed up Red River in the region between Davidson and MacKenzie. Their concerted purpose was to drive all the Indians on the reservation or to kill them.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933;1945)1952
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hunt to obtain a portion of their winter supply of meat, and the sale of buffalo robes was the source of a large part of their income. They preferred their own clothing obtained by means of the hunt to that provided by the government. The agent defended their cause, and the final decision was that they might continue to hunt off the reservation, but must be accompanied by a military escort when they did so.[18] 648x

The regulation was tardy, for the day of the old-time summer communal hunt was past. Nevertheless, the whole tribe set out eagerly for their old hunting grounds. But there were no buffalo. Only white bones gleaming ghostlike in the sun, victims of the white hunters' long-range rifles, remained as a reminder of the vast herds that once covered the plains. And even the bones were not to lie undisturbed for long; they were to be ground up for fertilizer. From creek to creek the Comanches journeyed. Their scouts ranged far and wide seeking the herds. The few antelope they met hardly provided them with daily food. Still there were no buffalo, no feasts of marrow bones and tidbits, no racks of meat drying for their winter needs, no buffalo robes to turn the cold north wind.

"They will come when the leaves fall," the Indians said. But the frosts came and the weather grew colder, and still the plains were empty. The time allowed by the agent for the hunt expired. Some gave up hope and returned to the reservation, glad to get their rations of flour, sugar, rice, and beeves. The agent sent an emissary with food to bring the others back to the reservation. The aid came in good time, for they were starving. They had killed some of their ponies and were suffering in the season's early snowstorm. They accepted the inevitable and returned sadly with the emissary to the agency. Sullenness and despair fell upon them. The buffalo had failed, and they now began to realize for certain that their old way of life had ended. Several war chiefs abdicated, and there followed a noticeable trend away from communal life toward family life. 177 648

Now the Comanches began to turn in all seriousness to a source of religious solace that could not and has not failed them. The Sun Dance had failed them and they felt that their power-giving spirits 177 795

[18] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 60; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1878, and reply, October 14, 1878.

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795 had all but forsaken them. Their accustomed guardian spirits, and even the Sun, lacked sufficient power to turn back the whites and to preserve their old tribal way of life; they needed and sought new power. The answer was peyote.

It was strong power, and it could always be invoked. Visions could always be had through peyote; it was reassuring to The People.

Peyote worship developed as essentially a group experience. It always has been, and still is. The old camp life was broken up. The Comanches were having to learn to live on isolated farmsteads. They yearned for the companionship of each other. In the peyote meetings they were brought together in the warm intimacy of the sacred tipi. They sat shoulder to shoulder in common experience. There they knew that they were not alone, and they could feel that all was not lost.

R. N. Richardson records the general belief that peyote was first used by the Comanches near Fort Sill, about 1875, shortly after they had been confined on the reservation.[19] D. P. McAllester, in his excellent study of Comanche peyote music, also sets the eighteen seventies as the period in which the Comanches first took up peyote.[20] This, it is true, is the time when the use of peyote in the form of a religious cult really took hold among the Comanches. Until their collapse and the failure of their venture with Coyote Droppings there was no functional reason for them to rely on a drug as the means to supernatural power, although they had access to it and, indeed, had used it in a limited way for some time.

There is ample evidence in the data given by Post Oak Jim, Breaks
[824] Something, White Wolf, Kɔwino, and Frank Moeda to make it quite certain that the Comanches "knew" peyote before the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days it was used exclusively as a war medicine—especially as an aid in seer-seeing to determine what dangers to expect or where to find horses or enemies.

Peyote, a small, gray-green, spineless, napiform cactus, is botanically known as *Lophophora williamsii*. It contains pharmacologically a complex number of alkaloids capable of producing a variety of physiological effects, including visual and auditory hallucinations, as well

[19] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 34, n.55.
[20] D. P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, 13.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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as a number of medicinal specifics for an as yet undetermined series of illnesses and pathological states. It is not, so far as has been determined, a habit-forming drug of the sort that requires continuing and increasing doses in order to meet a physiological craving. Unlike alcohol it does not cause a loss of muscular control or co-ordination, although it does produce a slowing down of reaction time accompanied by a sensation of euphoric relaxation and a feeling of absolute social harmony toward everyone present in the peyote session. Among the American Indians, at least, the effect is sedative and it has not the least tendency to rouse its partakers to violent behavior. It banishes fatigue and produces no "hangover" effects.

The ritual use of peyote goes far back into old Mexico. The *conquistadores* found it in religious contexts in Central Mexico, and it flourishes among the Cora-Huichol and, to a lesser extent, among the Tarahumara. The word "peyote" is corrupted Nahuatl (Aztecan) for the word for caterpillar, "peyotl," so called because the fuzzy white tufts on the rounded top of the plant look like the fuzzy back of a caterpillar.

By 1716, according to a note of Velasco, the Indians of South Texas were using "pellote." The Carrizo Apaches are believed to be the group through whom it was transmitted to other Apaches; and the Comanches believe that they first got it from either the Carrizo or White Mountain Apaches.

McAllester presents a full and detailed Comanche version of the acquisition of peyote from the Carrizo Apache. According to this account, a young Comanche war leader lost all his followers in a fight with the Carrizos. He himself was scalped, stripped, and left for dead. The Apaches were holding a peyote meeting sometime later when the scalped Comanche entered their lodge. He told them that in four days seven Comanches would arrive among them. "When those seven arrive you are to have a peyote meeting. When you have the meeting I command you to give them my bow and this peyote. They shall take these things from you with them." This the Carrizos agreed to do; and thus it came to pass that the Comanches learned about peyote.[21]

As McAllester points out, his version, which was recorded in

[21] *Ibid.*, 14–17.

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1940, is "more of an historical account than a myth," for it lacks the usual diagnostic characteristics of Plains Indian mythology. But when set against a hitherto unpublished and more pristine account, given to the Laboratory of Anthropology researchers by White Wolf in 1933, it may be seen to what degree the myth-making tendency has built up the story in the McAllester version.

« « « A war party of Comanches was returning from a raid in the country far to the west. When they were camped in the country of the White Mountain Apaches, they heard a drumming different from any kind they knew. Their leader said, "I shall go to see what kind of a thing this is. If I do not return, you will know that I am dead."

An Apache had had a dream that an enemy Comanche was to appear, so they were not surprised when this war chief showed up. Their leader had said they should bring him right in when he appeared.

When he came into their meeting, the Apache leader asked him why he was there.

"I wanted to follow up the drum," was his reply.

They were holding a peyote meeting, and the peyote leader told him to observe closely all that happened. In this way he learned the ritual. When the meeting was over, they gave him the drum and the Father Peyote. They told him where to find more peyote for the use of the Comanches. This is how we learned about this herb.

I was told this when I was a small boy by an old man who had been told it by an old man. » » »

White Wolf, at the time of the telling of this simple account was himself eighty ears of age.

Greyfoot observed that although the Comanches first got peyote from the Apaches "a long time ago," they dropped it "because some medicine men began using it in an evil way."

In the eighteen sixties it was coming into limited use again as war medicine, as indicated in the following account given by Breaks Something, who had been told it by *Mamsika*.

On the Reservation

« « « Charcoal led us on a trip to find where the peyote plants grew. The Apaches knew where it was, and they gave the directions to Charcoal. 177 795

On the road Charcoal finally recognized the place which the Apaches had described to him. All the Comanches spread out to search for the plant. They had never seen it growing before, but *Mʌmɛ̃ka* recognized some. He called the others to come look.

They all gathered around the patch and arranged themselves in the peyote-meeting formation. Charcoal was the leader. He made smoke to the peyote. He addressed it, saying, "We are going to take you for protection against the enemies."

Then he cut off the head of a big peyote plant just below the ground. He cleaned the dirt off of it, wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in his pocket over his heart. Now he told the others to cut all the peyote they needed. He said they would have a meeting that evening.

For their peyote lodge they cut brush which they formed in the shape of a tipi and covered with robes. Charcoal formed the earth crescent and fireplace in the center. All prepared for the meeting; they bathed and returned to the camp to get painted up. Then they entered the tipi in the ceremonial fashion. *Mʌmɛ̃ka* was the fire tender. Charcoal placed the first button he had cut on the crescent for the road medicine, Father Peyote. He lit a cigarette with a coal, and then he spoke to the peyote. He told it he heard it had power; he was going into enemy territory; and he told it he was going to carry it for protection. He put his cigarette down and chewed some [783] wild sage which he rubbed over his body as a purifier. The other men did the same.

Now a bag of peyote buttons was brought in. Charcoal took four. Each of the other men was also given four.

Then each man chewed a piece of peyote into a pulp. He spewed it out into his hand, made four circular motions toward the fire, and swallowed it. Then he spit in his hands and rubbed them over his head, arms, and ears to take away aches and pains, and to hear better.

Charcoal used his bow for the singer's staff. A rattle and drum had been brought along for the occasion. Each man sang four songs as they passed the staff and the rattle and drum around the circle.

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Then they passed out more peyote.

Finally, Charcoal spoke up: "*Mʌmɜka,* stir the fire. I have learned that tomorrow we shall all be killed."

He smoked again and spoke to the peyote, telling it that he did not expect anything bad like this from it. Now he was in a very dangerous place, he said.

Next he talked to his followers.

"Tomorrow we go over a certain hill. I have seen that there will be two companies of soldiers there. We might as well die now. Let this peyote kill us right here! Eat a lot of it."

With tears in his eyes, he ate more and more.

At midnight the water was brought in, and they all smoked. Charcoal again upbraided the peyote for treating him thus, and he ate more and more peyote.

After a while Charcoal spoke again.

"I have learned more," he said. "Tomorrow we shall meet some enemies, but no harm will come to us. We shall go on and capture some horses and get home safely. There will be a gray one for me."

The next morning they ate breakfast and prepared to leave. They traveled a bit and went up a hill. On an opposite hill, across a creek they saw two companies of soldiers. After a drill, the soldiers left. Our people went down the hill and traveled southwest all day long. At night they came upon an enemy camp where there were many horses, among them a gray one. Cried Charcoal, "That's *my* horse."

They gathered up the horses and made for home, Charcoal riding the gray.

This shows the wonderful power of peyote. It all came true. » » »

Charcoal's first peyote button was preserved by him until his death, when he gave it to a friend, who in time gave it to *Mʌmɜka,* who still preserved and cherished this famous button in 1933.

With such powers, peyote took firm hold of the Comanches as soon as they settled down on the reservation. Its worship flourished, until in the early part of the present century it suffered from opposition emanating from missionaries and government officers.

The old leaders were waging a losing fight to retain their religious practices through the peyote sacrament until James Mooney, a rep-

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resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

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the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

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would bring back the spirits of the dead Indians, the buffalo, wild horses, and all the other animals which had formerly been on the plains. Indians and whites would live together in brotherly forbearance. But the Sioux, as they took up the Paiute-Christian pacifism of the Prophet, transformed it into a doctrine of aggressive retribution. All peoples except the Indians were to be pushed off the earth into the seas whence they came, and be drowned. All that the Great Spirit required of the Indians was to have faith in the teaching and to dance strange new dances. It would not be necessary to go to war. The dance prepared the people for the Messiah and would bring forth the new earth.

Far out on Elk Creek, away from the agency, a camp was set up for the Ghost Dance. The ceremony was strange and solemn. The dancers, both men and women, sang a plaintive and pathetic song, representing their struggles and hardships. It was a ceremony of despair. Some dancers wore white clothes so that the ghosts of the departed would not be afraid to come back and live with their people. With hands clasped, the dancers moved around a center pole to the cadence of a chant, while the medicine man in the center strove to induce a hypnotic trance in each of the dancers. As the dance progressed, the dancers succumbed, falling on the ground in a stupor and remaining there for as long as an hour. During the trance they saw visions of the antelope and bison in numbers, and the dear, departed dead.

Sitting Bull was sincere, although he was also getting wealthy from the fees he charged. Many Indians were deeply affected and followed him around trying to touch the hem of his garments or grasp his hand and pray, frequently with tears rolling down their cheeks.

Most of the Comanche leaders, including Chief Quanah Parker, had no faith in the new prophecy. They recalled another day in 1874 when a young medicine man claimed great power and had made promises to save his people from destruction if they would only follow him. They had made medicine and followed him to Adobe Walls, where their faith and dreams were shattered and they learned to their sorrow that their leader had no more power than themselves. It had been a bitter and unforgettable disappointment.

On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites.

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah.

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them.

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

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C K 829 665 According to the other view such earlier factioning is recognized but felt to be unimportant. It is maintained that the unity of the tribes was not impaired until during the past four or five years. The older men were sensible and had great integrity. But the age group most active today are the product of a period in which people learned to lean on the government. These men, so the argument runs, are weaklings because they have been able or even allowed, to solve something for themselves. In other words it is a "lost generation" theory of sorts. The remedy for this state of affairs would be for a withdrawal of the Indian Service from virtually all areas of Indian life. /37/It is felt that a sink and swim period would be painful but would ultimately make the Indian self sufficient.

One is led to consider a view which explains present phenomena in the light of earlier cultural conditioning as well as one which attempts to explain in terms of exterior factors acting upon the community in the recent past. The ruminations of the informants on their own problems are not far from the thought processes of the anthropologist analyzing them. Both lines of thought seem rational and realistic if a trifle too pat. But a merging of the two might also be an easy out. Perhaps unfortunately, my own inclination, is to fashion an answer which would satisfy both sides of the argument to a greater or lesser extent.

C K 665 795 It has been mentioned above that the composition of the factions does not correspond with religious cleavages. On the other hand the present picture does not indicate that the Peyotists who are active in politics play a role equal to that of the non-Peyotists. Although there are indications that prominent Peyotists have been active and vocal political leaders in the past this does not appear to be the case at the present. Whether the present picture is a significant one is too early to say.

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C K 665 795 Of the four factions, two Kiowa and two Comanche, only one does not have a Peyotist in a leading position (opposition Kiowas). The Comanche separatists have a Peyote man but it is now almost an exaggeration to say that he is a leader although he has been in the past. Both the anti-separationists and the present Kiowa faction controlling the business council have one Peyotist each in a leadership position. In one case the Peyotist does not speak much, prefers not to take strong positions and lets his son, who has no clear religious affiliations, do most of the talking. The anti-separationist Peyotist is an elderly man who tries to play both sides. He is sympathetic to the separationists as well as to his own party and maintains that he is on the side he is on because of claims made by friendship ties. In any event the actions of the active as well as politically inactive (but prominent) Peyotists seems to be one of avoiding any political action which will place them irrevocably in a certain direction.

While there is no ready explanation for this, especially because we do not know whether Peyotists have always acted this way in politics, a look at one Peyote group and the affiliations of its members will serve to show why the individuals may be afraid of strong political commitments.

The Peyotist attempts to be a peaceful man and if dissension occurs within his local group of co-religionists he is made quite C 665 795 uncomfortable. John Pahdoponi withdrew from political life because he did not want to struggle with the new group coming into power (the present business council). Because of his dislike of the present council he favors separation as a means of side stepping the issue. Some of his former close associates are also active separationists. On the other hand one of his "brothers" in the Peyote community is a leader in the anti-separationist group. To add to this quandry,

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C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
572 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[609] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
177 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 118 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. C K [186] Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 115 118 [118] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. C K 115 117 A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

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C K consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
795 The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
177 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
C K regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
[787] change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
787 and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
177 from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
[756] old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C K areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
823 the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
778 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
[787] raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C K and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
823 since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
778 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
177 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
[775] there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
C K fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
787 often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
276 its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
795
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[787]

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[789] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
C depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
K broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
778 has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
276 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
197 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
771 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
197 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

/page 40 continued/

Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

/page 40 continued/

785 771 177 give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

785 771 177 /41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

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/page 41 continued/

Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christianity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

/page 41 continued/

The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every-
795 177 186 day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem /42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress, etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain
795 177 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken more at face value. The statements of the representative of the Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics. The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent." They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis, etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new factors enter the scene.

/page 42 continued/

C K 795 177 At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C K 829 177 If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position. He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an C K 795 177 objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote play a similar role. And <u>if</u> the White-Indian tensions are central to the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 179 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 771 C K [829] Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

C K [129] C K 779 795 533 829

/page 43 continued/

C K 745 711 [177] [123] In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K 121 C K 121 665 177 Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

C K 121 /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.-

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution estab-
619 lished as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
621 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
184 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
186 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
619 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
621 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
184 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions.
795 The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
619 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
621 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
184 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this
115 institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

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W
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APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

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Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

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De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 2–6).

W
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Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute MR3
Washo NT20
Comanche N06●

Peyote Element Distribution List

Element	Occurrence																	
	H.T.	K-A	Ka	Cous	Ka	Ar-B	Do-1	Do-2	Wa	No-C	Ch-1	Ch-2	WRB	Du	Co	W-P	Tot.
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No 6
Delaware NM7

C
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●745
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[534]
[579]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	K-A	Ho	Com	Ha	Ab S	Ze I	Dg S	Wis	Cr N	Cr I	Cr S	Ch	Ow	Co	Wi	Tom
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+•	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+ +
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+ +
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+ +
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+ +
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	−
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−•	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+

Comanche NM6 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ut	Ind	Ute	Cheh	Ell	Arp	Dri	Dri2	Wis	Sho	Ot	Ot2	Ell2	Pu	Ow	Pa	Tot
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	°+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	°+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°−	+	°+	−		+	°−	°−	+	°(+)	°−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	°+	+	°	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	°−	−	−	+	+	°+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		°+	°−	−	°+	°−	°−	°+	−	°−	°−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	°+	+	−	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−	°−	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

C
D
M
M5
M6
M7

74:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

C6
Cr
D
W
171
●745
746
[783]
[779]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Ev	Ch	Cheo	Ch	Ar	Ln	Dg	Wn	Mc	Ot	Ic	Ess	Ho	Ro	Ar	Ma	Tm
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–		(–)		•–		•–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+		
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–		+	+	+		–	•–	•–	–	+	+	–		
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	•–	(–)	+	•–	•–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	•–	
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	•–	•–	–	+	–	+	•–	
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–		+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	•–	•+	+	–		–	

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism

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Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	E-A	Kio	Com	Ku	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WR8	Da	Co	W-P	Tom
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−		+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+		+	
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

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171
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NOK
Delaware NM7
C
D
1711
.T85
P96
[538]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																		
	J.T.	K-A	Kio	Cam	Ess	Ary	Do 1	Do 2	Wm	No C	Ci 1	Ci 2	WRS	Uta	Gos	W-2	Tom
151. 4 times	+		+	–		+				–	•–	+	•–	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		–	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•–	+	+		(+)	+	+	–	+	+	•–	+	–	•+	•–	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•–	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							–				(+)	(+)	–	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•+	+	+		–	+
171. 4 times	+		+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+		–	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•–			+	+	+	+	+	–	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		–	–	•+	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																		
	UT	K-A	Ela	Cow	Ela	Ab 8	Dr 1	Dr 3	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WES	Dis	Gos	W-P	Tim
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader	•		+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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CC
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171
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Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago N P12

C
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● 285
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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ute	Kai	Kio	Cam	Kin	Ara	Dei	Dea	Wis	Nav	Ch1	Ch2	Wis	Ow	Cos	Wi-p	Mat
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	–	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•–
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	–	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–	

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Element	Occurrence																		
	1ST	K-A	Ed	Cos	Ed	Ab	Dr1	Dr2	Wis	Ko	Cr1	Cr2	WES	Du	Cos	W-P	Tha
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+	
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	••	+	
265a. (See note)																	

[A] C W 191 745 ● 746 [1142] [1147] [1276]

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Comanche N06 ●
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C
W
171
● 795
796

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 ● 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. AbS: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). W [824]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgᵊeʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin). W [276]

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C
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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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 [A]

Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). D

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Prans). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 795 ● 796 D [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98. D [823]

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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C 125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

D 127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

171 128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

● 795 130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

796 132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

D 133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

[276] [782] 134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

D [533] 160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7

[A]

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus). D 171 795 ● 796

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin). D [532]

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget). D [276] [782]

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: D [264]

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C D 171 ●795 796

Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

D [782]

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damê apê (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nî'mê apê (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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Comanche N06 ●
Delaware NM7

 [A] C D 171 795 ● 796

264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

60D

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG 6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM 9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

IODWC
162
191
795

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 32–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Schugnet, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page.)

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Comanche NO6 ●
Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NMq

[A]
I
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162
171
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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate- 000

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.5
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.0	2.5	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The ceremony, which lasted several nights, was rich in ritual detail and symbolism. As a by-product of the ceremony, detection of sorcery could occur. At a stage of the ceremony the officiating beaver medicine-man went into a trance. It was then that he "saw" the sorcerer. 787 627x 755

The peyote ceremony was drawn upon in much the same way. In using the peyote ceremony to cure a sick person, the ritual leader—who does the curing—received a vision of the sorcerer.[6]

The diviner, when he was powerful enough as a doctor, undertook the cure as the next step. Divination revealed the sorcerer and also the nature of the curse. Usually the doctor knew well enough the relative strength of his medicine when matched with that of the sorcerer. When he thought his best would equal or surpass the power of the curse, he threw his medicine against it. When he was doubtful, he took a chance on doctoring, or he recommended another specialist, or he took to the ruse of advising how the sorcerer could be brought to grief by causing him to break his tabus. When this succeeded, it automatically killed the powers of the sorcerer's medicine, thereby nullifying the curse. 627x 755 683

Curing and throwing back the curse were in Comanche society essentially one and the same. It was defense and revenge in one. The theory was that a curse let loose must find a goal. Under the direction of the curing doctor a counter-medicine—an anti-body—was induced into the body of the patient and the curse was driven out. This was most commonly demonstrated to the relatives of the sick one by pulling the foreign substance—the feather or whatnot—from the patient's body. It was good showmanship. The doctor breathed on it, rubbed it four times, and blew it from his palm away into the air. The patient got well; the sorcerer got sick. For the sorcerer there seems to have been no further cure. The only escape from this was for the sorcerer to recall his medicine before the cure began. Otherwise, either he or his intended victim died.

Post Oak Jim was once the mark of a rival medicine man in a case which illustrates this.

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[6] A good many Comanches are peyote devotees today. Meetings are held regularly throughout the year. Peyote is used for worship and curing, but the sorcery aspect has, so far as we know, dropped out of Comanche medical theory. This is in sharp contrast to Mescalero Apache practice, whereby peyoteism has become a vehicle for sorcery rivalry as described by Mrs E. Opler, *The Influence of Aboriginal Pattern and White Contact on a Recently Introduced Ceremony, the Mescalero Peyote Rite* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, 1937), pp. 143–166. For definitive treatment of peyoteism see W. LaBarre, *The Peyote Cult* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19, 1938). 796● 276

The Green Corn Dance

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 305
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow,*" keeping time to rude specimens of music hammered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

The White Women

The contour of their features, and especially their red hair, 727 indicated the race to which they belonged, beyond mistake. At the next festival of the full moon, where all, bond and [796] free, were permitted to mingle and converse, I found, to my surprise, they could speak English. It was the first time since my capture that I had heard the accents of my native tongue. The oldest woman had passed the age of sixty, and her name was Mrs. Marietta Haskins. The two younger were her daughters, the oldest, Margaret, perhaps, twenty-one, the other, Harriet, three years her junior. They appeared to be persons who had been brought up in humble circumstances, though possessing a fair share of intelligence. The following is, substantially, the version of their story.

They were natives of one of the midland counties of 000 England, where they occupied an obscure, though comfortable position in life. While thus situated, happy and contented with their lot, there came into the vicinity of their residence, one of the Latter-Day Saints, preaching and expounding the Mormon doctrines. His arguments were so ingenious—his appeals so eloquent and earnest—his description of the valley of the Great Salt Lake so glowing that many of the poor people listened and were converted. He represented the climate as more salubrious—the soil more fertile—the scenery more delicious than in any other region of the world. He portrayed, in fascinating colors, the life of ease and luxury the poorest thrall in England might lead in that favored land—where wild herds, the common property of all, darkened a thousand hills, and the bountiful earth yielded its fruits without toil.

The fortunate inhabitants of this paradise he pictured as basking in the full fruition of the highest earthly happiness. Discarding the false, domestic notions to which the wicked

224 825 787 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kuseemini,* "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a [837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians,* 312.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undisturbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc. 2*, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

The Search for Power

The Shoshone notion that *пэпэpi* power gives Herculean strength 776
(a little man can pack a deer on his back) seems to have been dropped by the Comanches. At least, it was not mentioned.

Comanche religious beliefs and practices, although they were so- 796 ●
cialized, remained almost wholly individualistic. Group rituals were few and far between until the introduction of the peyote cult.

Of group rituals practiced in the mid-nineteenth century by the Comanches, we know of only two—the Beaver Ceremony and the Eagle Dance. The Sun Dance was not tried until 1874, and that, apparently, no more than once.

The Beaver Ceremony is known as *pianahuwait,* "Big Doctoring." 796
It was performed under the direction of a powerful beaver medicine 755
man assisted by others with beaver power. Other people joined in the ceremony to share in its general effects of well-being, although the cure was held only at the request of a family who had a member suffering from tuberculosis or sorcery.

An extra-large tipi was raised and carefully prepared inside. Placed erect in the very center of the lodge was the trunk of a cottonwood tree, which reached to the top of the tipi. Slightly to the east of the pole, toward the door, was the fireplace. North and south of this were dug two elongated ponds, filled with water and edged with willows. They were beaver ponds. On the outside of each pond a little effigy mound of earth was made in the form of the beaver facing westward.

Just outside the tipi, to the south of the entrance, was dug a pit two feet deep by six or seven feet long, with the long axis running north and south. At the edge of the northwest corner of the pit (the corner nearest the door of the medicine lodge) was set a vertical pole, ten feet high, from which an eagle feather was hung.

When the ceremony began, the patient was laid at the extreme western edge of the tipi, with two women assistants to the doctor taking their places to the north of him. The doctor worked from the south side of the patient. A group of song leaders filed in to their places at the south side, and a band of drummers sat along the edge of the tipi in the southeast quadrant. Spectator participants filled all the remaining space to the east and north.

In the cure, the fire was lighted after the patient was brought in.

The Comanches

796 755 The medicine man, dressed according to the dictates of his medicine, approached the tipi from the east, swinging a bull roarer (*yuane:*[18]) as he came and calling to the people, inviting them into the lodge.

After circling the tipi in the clockwise direction, he leaped into the pit from the east; on climbing out on the west side, he was ready to enter the lodge.

All persons who wished to be spectators (everybody was welcome —sickly or puny ones were most likely to participate) gathered around. They first had to remove all metal objects from their persons; then they circled the lodge and jumped in and out of the pit as the medicine leader had done. After entering the lodge, anyone going to sit on the north side had to circle the fire clockwise to get there.

Now the ceremony began. The medicine man ordered the music to start. The drummers gave four beats, finishing with a yell. The song leaders followed with four special beaver medicine songs, after which the medicine man dismissed the singers, who moved over among the drummers.

The time had arrived for the invocation of the pipe. The assistants (the women who had summoned the medicine man) filled the pipe. They lighted it with an ember offered from the fire by a spectator. Each took a puff before handing the pipe to the medicine man. He drew four puffs of smoke and prayed according to the dictates of his medicine. The pipe was now returned to the women, who cleaned it and laid it on the ground before them.

The medicine man next took up his feathers. First they were dipped in the north beaver pond; next in the south. Circling as always in the clockwise direction, he returned to the patient, whom he fanned with the dripping feathers. The two assistants once more filled and lighted the pipe, smoked it, and passed it to the medicine man. He smoked as before. When he had done, he again passed it back to the assistants for cleaning.

Now standing at the feet of the patient, the doctor worked over him with herbs. When he had finished this process, he flung off his buffalo robe and shinnied up the cottonwood tree to stick his head

[534] [18] *Yuane* means "warm wind," the soft whirring noise of the bull roarer. It consists of a flat cedar board "in the shape of a beaver tail" swung above the head by means of a thong attached to a handle. In battle it was whirled, or else carried close to the shield for power to stop bullets.

out the top of the tipi (Does his spirit rest up there as in the séance?). 796 ●
Descending the pole, he ran around the fire and stepped into the bed 755
of coals from the east, fluttering his arms as a burrowing owl flutters its wings. This spectacular feat completed, he stepped back out of the fire to the east, and walking to the south to complete the circle, he resumed his place at the west edge of the lodge.

His next step was to circle around to the south pond and take some bark from the willows. This he chewed like a beaver. He exhaled upward, blowing out perfume of the beaver.

The first night's curing was over. The medicine man ordered the drummers and singers to start the closing song—a song in which everybody joined. At its end, the fire was extinguished, and everybody milled about in the tipi for a while. On leaving, each participant jumped into the ditch and climbed out on the east side of it. The service was over at midnight.

Early the next morning, the medicine man was out announcing when the next session would begin. The same procedure was repeated, except that it ended at noon. That night it was all done over again, and again the next morning. The whole ceremony lasted two nights and two days, ending at noon of the third day.

Before the people left the tipi on the third day, they sang the closing song four times. Meanwhile, the tipi stakes were loosened, so that at the close of the last song, while still singing, they could lift up the tipi cover and run out in all directions.

Thus was the most powerful of all the curing ceremonies of the Comanches consummated. It must have been an impressive rite, and one which stood out in the stark simplicity of Comanche ritualism. Ralph Linton suggests that the Beaver Ceremony may have been derived from Pawnee sources. He also calls attention to its Earth contacts (the entering into the pit) as an implication of a use of Earth medicine as well as of beaver.[19] We would add that the inclusion of the burrowing owl reinforces the weight of this suggestion.

Two versions of the Beaver Cure were given: one by Post Oak 796
Jim, a member of the Those Who Move Often band, and one by 755
Kɔwino, a Yep Eater. *Kɔwino's* version described a much more at- 184

[19] Ralph Linton, "The Comanche," in A. Kardiner (ed.), *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 67.

796 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented
755 here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed
184 in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the
796 Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

[801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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Each dancer carried in his right hand a rattle, decorated with feathers, paint, and beads; and in his left hand he carried a wand or fan prepared from the wing feathers of an eagle. The dancers were young eagles attempting to leave their nest and parental care in order to soar away, masters of the sky. The dancers did not sing, but attempted from time to time to imitate the cry of the young eagle. When a dancer lagged or wearied, the leader either blew his eagle-bone whistle as a warning for him to speed up or reinvigorated him with new power by waving the eagle fan above him. When the music ceased, the dancers dropped on their knees and sat back against their legs to rest, but the moment the music resumed they sprang to their feet and began dancing again.

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Between dances a warrior would rush into the circle and recite an outstanding coup or deed which he had performed. At the close of his recital a deafening applause of yells, drum beats, gourd rattles, and the stamping of feet went up. These speeches were like pep talks to encourage the young dancers to acts of bravery. During the dance, the warriors of the girl's people rushed up and made a sham attempt to recapture her. In actual practice they rushed in and recited some coups of their own. These recitals had to be true, because the power of eagle medicine was so strong that misfortune would befall any who on this solemn occasion falsified the facts. Spectators looked on in reverential silence.

About mid-morning, the mother of one of the dancers brought water for the participants and set it down near the circle. The leader drank and then offered the water to the dancers, each drinking in turn and passing it to the one on his left. After the "failure" of the girl's relatives to recapture her, they brought in presents, which they deposited before her in the circle. Relatives and friends of the dancers might also provide some of the gifts.

The medicine man retained a portion of the presents and gave the others to the dancers. One informant had received a horse when he danced. Not infrequently a dancer went through the ceremony without gaining power. "There had to be something inside stretching and pleading, reaching and grasping for power, if it were to be obtained."

The dance ended shortly before midday. No ceremonial departure

787 is remembered, but the feather wands and rattles used by the dancers
796 were given to the girl, and then the dancers rushed to the creek to bathe. They dived into the water upstream four times. They then dressed in their best attire and returned to camp to partake of a feast prepared by the women.[20]

The Medicine Dance reported by J. Lee Humfreville was probably a slight variation of the Eagle Dance. Unfortunately Humfreville gave few details, but in those there are only two significant points of difference: the ceremony he witnessed began in the afternoon and ended late in the night, and the dancers carried their medicine bags during the ceremony.[21]

796 All attempts to piece together a definite picture of the Buffalo
224 Hunting Dance have been almost futile thus far. One informant was of the opinion that it was the most important communal ceremony. Others were aware of its existence, but remembered none of its ritual or symbolism. Apparently it varied much in form and detail from tribe to tribe. It was rarely held, and only when the camp was in desperate need of buffalo for food or other necessities. It was a band or village affair, under the supervision of a shaman who possessed buffalo medicine. The dance was a prayer to the guardian spirit to direct the buffalo in plentiful numbers to their hunting grounds. Furthermore, the participants danced for power to be successful in the chase. Those going on the hunt could participate. Usually the dance was held in the main camp on the evening before the departure of the hunting party, but if buffalo were scarce, the hunting party sometimes danced after leaving camp. The dancers wore masks made of the whole skin of the buffalo head with the horns left attached.

276 Smoking was also associated with power, as has already been
796 demonstrated in the accounts of curing; it was therefore a sacred and ceremonious act. It is true that the Comanches smoked for pleasure, but never casually; and when smoking ceremoniously, it was an oath, a signature to an agreement, a pledge on the part of the smoker, or a prayer for power. In smoking for pleasure, they customarily used

[20] Informant: Yellowfish. Yellowfish danced the Eagle Dance when he was a young man. On another occasion the ceremony was observed by the Reverend John Melville while visiting the Comanche chief, Talaquitnamse, in the Wichita Mountains. Melville's unsatisfactory account of the ceremony is related in Barnes, *op. cit.*, 55–57.

[21] Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Savage Indians*, 438.

cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

276 796 on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

796 The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

[177] The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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first foods. All informants hasten to emphasize that it is not an original Comanche rite and that it has seldom been used by them. According to observers, the Comanches did not follow the customary procedure and ritual of their neighbors, but adapted the ceremony to their own fancy and practical situation. The ceremony was sponsored by the village headman, who secured the services of a prominent medicine man for the occasion. Instructions were issued, and at the appointed time all the people of the camp gathered at the accustomed meeting place. During the afternoon, the medicine man mixed his herbs and roots and boiled them until he had a thick broth. When the mixture was ready, he scattered his coals and addressed the people who had seated themselves around him in the customary fashion—the principal men immediately around him, the young warriors just back of them, and the women and children on the outside of the circle. He told them of the benevolence of the Great Spirit who had given them food in season and exhorted his listeners to be thankful for it.

After he had finished speaking, the people joined hands in two circles, one inside the other, and danced and sang to the accompaniment of drum and rattle. After about thirty minutes the headman had them line up and file past the medicine man, who gave each in turn a spoonful of his medicine. Stubborn children were compelled to swallow by holding their chins up until the medicine went down. The medicine was a strong purgative used for cleansing the system before eating the first green corn of the season.

That night or the next evening a number of fires were kindled near the circle, and the women roasted a quantity of green corn, which they piled on buffalo hides. After the roasting was finished, all the people sang and danced. When the dancers wearied, they sat in a circle, and the medicine man again addressed them. At the close of the address, he stood over the piles of corn and with his hands and eyes lifted toward the sky prayed for the Great Spirit to continue to give his people strong power. The people then ate the corn and returned to their lodges.[23]

So it was that the Comanches sought and manipulated power. If religion is the complex of man's interrelations with the supernatural

[23] Lee, *op. cit.*, 155–57; Barnes, *op. cit.*, 66–68, gives a disappointing account of a ceremony witnessed by the Reverend John Melville.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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Grinnell (9, p. 180) for the Cheyenne, but *Rhus glabra* was commonly 824 used by many tribes of Indians. The latter is the sumac, which 276 Schultes (21, p. 138) mentions as used by the Kiowa.

The leaves of two plants were said to be employed as wrappings 824 for cigarettes. One of these is the greenbrier (*Smilax bona-nox*), and 276 the other the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*). Our notes give 796 no explicit occasions on which the leaves of the blackjack oak were made into cigarette wrappings, but this was doubtless done chiefly at peyote ceremonies based upon the religious use of the cactus. According to Schultes (21, p. 138), this use of blackjack oak leaves (given as *Quercus nigra*) in the peyote ceremony is a common practice. La Barre (12, p. 48) states that cornhusk cigarettes are standard in the Kiowa–Comanche peyote ceremony, but that the Comanche and the Shawnee sometimes employ the leaves of the blackjack oak. Opler (18, p. 28) mentions the rolling of tobacco in oak leaves (species not given) or in cornhusk in the peyote ceremony of the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache.

Mr. Carlson and the other members of the field party engaged in a Comanche peyote ceremony, but as this will be described in a later report and as a rather full account of the Kiowa–Comanche type of ceremony has recently appeared (12, pp. 43–53), we need give little attention to peyote here. Formerly the Comanche doubtless obtained their peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) while they were on expeditions into its native habitat in the Rio Grande region of Texas and southward, but more recently they have acquired it by trade and have even cultivated it. La Barre (12, p. 57) refers to an unpublished manuscript by Hoebel describing an early ritualistic Comanche expedition for peyote. Apparently the Comanche were also familiar with the mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*), which has a native range roughly similar to that of peyote. La Barre (12, pp. 105–109, 126–127) summarizes the data concerning this narcotic plant, which seems at one time to have been the center of a prepeyote narcotic cult and whose use has been retained in connection with magic and ornament, particularly in association with the peyote ceremony. Participants in the peyote ceremony witnessed by our party had red beans, which were probably mescal beans (but may have been Erythrina), on the fringes of their leggings. Skinner (22, p. 261) describes Iowa leggings, ornamented with mescal beans, which he considered might be "of the modified Kiowa–Comanche

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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of
these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and
La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote
moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement
that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton
(New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and
the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the
red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially,
where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 619 621 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular intervals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance [80] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 787 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp 1-419 not processed]

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

and the erection of the lodge and the last four to the dance proper. When 796
the medicine man had selected a place for the dance, invitations were sent
out to the various bands. Informants knew of no formality attending this.
The bands moved to the place by easy stages, always making four over
night halts en route. The camp was pitched in a semi-circle about the site [631]
chosen for the lodge. The members of each band camped together, but the
bands had no regular order in the circle.

When the camp has assembled, gathering of materials for the lodge was 796
begun. Cottonwood was used for the posts and brush covering and either 346
cottonwood or cedar for the screen inside the lodge. Men and women went
out together to cut the smaller posts and brush. They wore wreaths of sage
and joked and sang. When the materials had been cut they were tied to
ropes and hauled back by groups of men on foot. These men usually halted
four times on their way back to rest and sing.

The cutting and transportation of the center pole was left until the 796
last. There seems to have been no ceremony attending its selection. It was 346
cut, in various instances, by a virtuous Comanche woman (i.e., one who had 727
always been faithful to her husband), a virtuous captive woman, and a
captive man who had a number of war deeds to his credit. Although in-
formants could give no explanation of these selections, the use of captives
for this important office probably reflects their importance in the social
and economic life of the tribe. The Comanche captives, who were mostly [463]
Mexicans, tended the horse herds and practiced most of the specialized
industries such as gun repairing and saddle making. They were also en-
couraged to accompany their masters on war parties and, if brave fighters,
could rise to any position open to a full blood. The captive woman who was
faithful to her master or the captive man who had won war honors had
behaved in a commendable way and deserved to be honored by the whole
society.

The center pole itself was a tree trunk about fourteen feet long and one 796
foot in diameter with a fork at the upper end. After it had been felled and 346
peeled, it was carried bodily to the site of the lodge, twenty-five or thirty 483
men bearing it by means of ropes passed under it. The bearers were changed
frequently so that everyone would have a chance to help. Four stops were
always made en route.

The construction of the lodge was never begun until all the materials 796
were on the spot. The center pole was erected first, being planted in a hole 346
two to three feet deep. The upper end was supported and guided by means
of a forked sapling. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to lift it, it
being set on the fourth attempt. At each attempt the medicine man blew

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

396 on his whistle of eagle bone. After the center pole had been set, the outer
346 circle of short posts and stringers was erected and rafters run from these to the fork in the center pole. In one case the entire lodge was then covered with cottonwood brush. In another only the walls were filled in with brush, the roof being left open. A single opening was left on the east side to serve as a door. Across the west side of the lodge a row of small cedar trees or cottonwood branches was set up, screening off an alcove into which the dancers could retire to rest and sleep.

While the lodge was being constructed, hunters were sent out to kill a
[532] three year old buffalo bull. At the dance where the lodge was fully roofed, the head and fore quarters of this animal were skinned and the skin stuffed with willow twigs, making a sort of manikin. This was set on top of the lodge with its head toward the east. In the dance where the open lodge was used the skin was simply placed in the fork of the center pole. During the
[786] time that the materials were being collected and the lodge erected ordinary rules of conduct were relaxed and there was a good deal of sexual license, although this apparently did not apply to close relatives.

796 When the lodge was finished or nearly finished, four or five clowns ap-
522 peared. The number of these performers does not seem to have been fixed
292 and anyone could adopt the rôle who wished. These clowns wore conical
536 helmets of willow twigs with the leaves and bark left on, the lower edges of the helmets coming down over their shoulders. They carried circular shields roughly woven of split willows, also with the leaves and bark, and long swabs or clubs made from willow saplings with the leafy twigs at their ends woven into a ball. They had large false noses of mud and their whole bodies, equipment and even their ponies were liberally daubed with mud. They road into camp at a gallop, chasing the people and dogs, striking anyone they could catch with their mud soaked swabs, and performing a variety of amusing antics. Those who were struck could not take offence, but people who did not want to take part in the fun would run into the lodges, where the mounted men could not reach them.

796 After the completion of the lodge, and probably after the clown's in-
541 vasion, there was a sham battle. While the finishing touches were being put to the lodge, some of the men had retired to the neighboring creek bottom and built a rough enclosure there, "like a rail fence." In this they established themselves, sometimes having women and children with them. A man who had served as a scout in actual combat came out from the main camp, located this "fort," and returned to report the presence of an enemy. All the warriors in camp then donned their full regalia and went out to attack it, followed by a crowd of spectators. During the attack each man reenacted

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the triumph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place [539] in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the 796
eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators 535
would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while [791
holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he 793]
swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small [782]
boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medi- 796
cine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of 535
hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and 789
bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. 796
There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the 535
dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people
535 had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

796 The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstain-
535 ence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers
785 were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

796 The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that
535 any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would
783 arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infre-
[558] quent, as they were considered disgraceful.

796 The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not
535 sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remem-
[346] bered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 535 778 787 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [78] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 74 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable
668 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun
796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

668 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short-
182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere-
535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had
796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

668 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

668 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior,
792 Iṣatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

113

[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

796 72 [535] If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā`r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā`r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies. [216]

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described. [533]

535 [796] During the entire period of the nā'wapinā`r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle. [242]

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápairē`ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā`r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating [62]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10] 427 177 434 [796] [657]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11] 427 434 [177]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the 427 423 427 423 177

10. Superintendent J. A. Bustin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1939 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1931 to 1939. [113]

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 22 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with hon- 181
ors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

000

Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[593] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[778] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[795] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[954] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[579] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
72 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[223] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Comanche N06●

Peyote Element Distribution List

Element	Occurrence																		
	H T	K-A	Ko	Com	Ko	Ab 8	Do 1	Do 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WR8	Du	Co	W-P	Tau	N	W
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	171	171
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	534	534
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	+	795*	795*
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	796	796
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+			
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+		
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+		
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+			
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+			
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+			
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+		
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+		
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+		
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–			

(Continued on next page)

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No 6
Delaware NM7

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	E-A	Ka	Cam	Ka	Ab S	Dei	Dg S	Wa	Nv	Cr I	Cr S	SBM	Du	Co	Ar	Tot
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+		−	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	•+	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•−	+	+	+	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	•−	−	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−•(+)		−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	

Comanche ND6 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																	
	H T	M-A	Mo	Cam	Ma	Ab B	Di I	Di S	Wm	Mo C	Ci I	Ci S	WB	Do	Cm	W-P	Tm
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	•(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
*65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
69. Form cross	+	•+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	•+	•+	+		−	
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		•+	+		(+)	•−	+	•+	−		+	•−	•−	+	•(+)	•−	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	•+	+	(+)	•+	•+	•+		+	+	•+	•+	+	•	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
79. 4 or more assistants		−	•−	−	−	+	+	•+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−		•+	•−	−	•+	•−	•−	•+	−	•−	•−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	•−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	

(Continued on next page)

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M6
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow N 0.10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
745
● 716
F763
778

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Pa	Sh	Co	Hi	Ut	Ut	Ut	Sh	Wa	Cw	Lo	Lo	Lo	Ess	Mo	Ch	Ar	Wm
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	•+	–		(–)		•–		•–	•+	•+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
96. In open			•–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+		–	–	–	+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	•+	–		+	+	+			–	•–	•–	–	+	+	+	+	–
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)•	–	(–)	+	•–	•–	–	•–	–	+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•–
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•–	•–	+	+	+	–	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	•+	+		•(–)		–			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+			+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	•+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–			+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–			+	•+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	•+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	•+	•+		+	+	+	•–	•+	+	–		–	

Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 108[A]

Element	Occurrence																		
	H T	E-A	Ko	Com	Ka	Ab 8	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	Ma C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WB	Da	Co	W-2	Tem
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	R	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	−	
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		−	
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	•+	+	+	−	•−	+	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	•+	•+	+	+	−				−	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		•+	+	(−)	−				−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		−	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	•+	+	−		−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	•−	+	+	+	
150. Worshippers incensed	+	•+	+	−		+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

Co
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Comanche N06 ●
Delaware NM7

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Ka	Ha	Ch	Ha	Ab	Du	Da	Wa	No	Ot	Ot	WS	Da	Co	Wa	Tom
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−	•−	+	•−	+		+	
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+			+	+	+		−	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	•−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	•−	+	−	•+	•−	
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		•+	•−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−	+		+	
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	•+	+	+		−	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•+	+		−	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	•−			+	+	+	+	+	−	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	•+	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	•+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	Ka	Ma	Co	Ch	Ar	Ni	Pa	Wa	Ok	Ti	Ko	Wi	Ge	Ho	Wa	Tu
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+°+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+°(+)	−	+	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+°		−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°−	°+		+	+	+	+			°(+)	+	−	+°(+)	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	°+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			°+	−	°+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		°+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		°+	−	−	+	°−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	°−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−°	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

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796 ●
[276]
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Winnebago N12

C
W
171
785
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[769]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	Ut	K-A	Ko	Cum	Ka	Ar	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	Ka C	Ch 1	Ch 2	WRS	Ha	Cm	W-P	Sma
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	•−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	−	•+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	−	−	•+	•+	+
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		−	−	−	−	•+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	•+	+	•+	+	+	−	+
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	−	+	−	+	•+	−	•+	−	−	•−	−	•+	−	−	−	+
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	
222. Wash before eating			−	−	−	−		•+		−	+	+	+	+	−	−	
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•−
224. Before eating	+		+	−		+		•+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•.
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		−	•−	+	+	−	+	+	+	
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•+	+		+	
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	−	+	•+			•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+		−	
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+	+	+	−	
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
236. Sun greeted	+		•−	−	(−)	−		•+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	−	−	(−)	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•−	•+	+	−	+				+	•−	−	−	−	−	−	

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche No6 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 113 [N]

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ut	E-A	Ela	Com	Kio	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WR3	Da	Co	W-P	Tse	C	W
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			121
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−			745
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		796 ●
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+			
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+			
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+		
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+		
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•−	+		
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+			
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+			
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+	+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	••	+			
265a. (See note)																			

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute

Comanche N06●
Winnebago NP12

C
W
171
795
● 796

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796 ●

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolised stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus). W [324]

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin). W [276]

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf). C

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre). D

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99. 171 745

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf). 796 ● D [778]

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98. D [823]

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be east is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to eat seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

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160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 53. W-P: See note 53.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kie: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kie: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kie: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer; then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 255a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

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236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

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265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

500

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Chief and His Household

Modern improvements have not been carried so far among 797 ●
them as to furnish the convenience of bells, such as are 595
used to call waiters in our fashionable hotels, but as a substitute mine host of the wigwam had tied a deerskin cord [202]
to the corner of each of his wive's buffalo mattresses, the [513]
other end extending under the canvas into his own tent, thus rendering only a slight twitch necessary to communicate intelligence their presence was required. It was their duty to attend him, come at his call and go at his bidding, standing towards him as much in the relation of slaves as of wives.

He was the civil chief as distinguished from the war chief, 622
and consequently the head of the tribe. This dignity carried with it the privilege of possessing four wives, a common [554]
Indian being allowed to have but one, subordinate officers [595]
two, and the war chief three. His name was Osolo, which, translated into Anglo Saxon, signifies "the Big Wolf." He [551]
had eight children, four of whom still remained in their mothers' tents, two had grown to manhood and taken wives to themselves, while two daughters had likewise left [591]
the paternal wigwam for the matrimonial lodge.

I had an opportunity now of observing their manner of 252
preparing and partaking breakfast, which certainly was not attended with an extraordinary ceremony or display. Outside the tent, in front of the door, two logs lay side by side. Between them the fire was kindled. A long slice of horseflesh was attached to the end of a stick, some four feet in length, by which the meat was held over the fire, and when barely warmed through was brought into the tent, the handle end of the stick thrust into the ground, the long slice dangling from the other end, resembling a drooping blood-red flag. Kiln-dried corn was next boiled and mashed and [415]
served in a large dish made of bark. Breakfast was then 000

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites. 177 648x 795

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah. [181]

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them. 797

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 224.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38] 657 871 874 242

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year. 797 871 [657] [657]

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Pomrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 18, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 352; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 88, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year
[874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94
657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 88.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 564. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.58; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa chil- 871
dren have attended public schools. The long range policy 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public
schools as the principal educational agency. It was gen- [177]
erally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1948.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NOt

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1918; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Bentin, op. cit., see. III, 11.

47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 13, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

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schools, they also converted the Indians to Christianity. Religious denominations were slow to send missionaries to the Comanches and the Kiowas. Shortly after his arrival in 1869, Agent Lawrie Tatum made an urgent request for missionaries, but his appeal went unheeded. Battey did some church work aside from his teaching, and the teachers of Riverside School in 1874 began a Sabbath School among the Kiowas.[48] The Reverend John McIntosh, a Baptist minister, began work in 1878 among the Wichita north of the Washita River, and two years later had completed the first church within the consolidated agency jurisdiction. But no Comanches attended any of these services.

It was 1881 before the Comanches heard a missionary. The Reverend J. B. Wicks, an Episcopalian, arrived at Fort Sill on June 23 and immediately began preaching to the Comanches. Wicks was accompanied by two missionaries, a Comanche and a Kiowa, who were returning to work among their own people. The two had been sent as prisoners to Florida in 1874, but had been released in 1878 and trained for missionary work. Wicks soon went to the agency headquarters on the Washita where he organized a church and conducted services for about another year, more for the whites, lamented Missionary J. J. Methvin many years later, than for the Indians.[49]

For several years after Wicks abandoned his efforts, there was no active missionary work. The Methodist held a monthly service for a time during 1885, but according to the agent, there were no Christian services for the Indians the next year. The Methodist Church, South, sent J. J. Methvin in 1887 to work with the Indians south of the Washita. Methvin confined his work to the vicinity of the agency.

Missionary activity did not begin on a significant scale until 1889, two decades after Agent Tatum had arrived to initiate the Quaker peace policy in dealing with the Comanches and Kiowas. The government provided the stim-

48. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1874, 222.

49. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1884, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1884, 81; Methvin, op. cit., 84.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, op. cit., 5:1-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Co- 797
manches were groping for new behavior patterns. They 178
cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency 657
supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both 743
remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a 657
unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health ser- 744
vice. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's 743
was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive im- 657
provement in the health and in health standards of the Co- 177
manches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and pre- 178
ventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural [64]
significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

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51. Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

622 624 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his
554 reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of
701 a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes
623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally
[622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in con-
203 travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all
685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which,
684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour, however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder,
682 the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him.
673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables,
538 probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known
177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the
[797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking
[175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century
159 Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 *The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants*
159 when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His
797 conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia. Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches,
115 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting
159 to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society.
797 Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her
177 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man
593 and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

[NEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 797 177 593 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings. Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all 115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photo- 159 graph of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive 797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt, 177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw 291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

This photograph dramatically conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white-Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely conservative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for the symbols and values of white society. 115 159 797 177 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 115 159 177 593

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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Sanapia's mother and father.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 177 797 872 [212] They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it. All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer. 115 159 241 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 159 593 756 868 824 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 159 756 868 [871] [582] Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully completed her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 driven east to the Nations and easily had at least a thirty-six hour start on any pursuit.

Caring for the store's money was a disturbing chore. It was nearly two years before we were able to get a safe, and yet another year before we had a local bank. About the time we got our store started, Dad bought the relinquishment on an improved claim. It was about a mile and a half from the store to the house on the claim. The homesteader was returning to Texas by wagon, so he sold us his furniture as well. When we began living on the claim, it meant carrying the money back and forth.

As it was always dark, winter or summer, before we could close the store, we worked various and sundry schemes to get the money back and forth. It was my job to hitch up the team, as well as to carry the silver. We could easily have two to three hundred dollars in silver if the freight wagons had been held up a day or two.

After I had tied the team out front, I would continue working around the store, including making necessary trips out to the tent warehouse in the rear. Finally I would stroll out into the darkness and not come back. I would have the coin sacks, my shotgun, and my bird dog. I tried to go a little different route each night; and before I approached the house I would send the dog ahead to inspect the house and barn to see if we had any company.

Mother handled the paper money and checks. She had a brownish tan wallet like the ones men carried in their inside coat pockets in those days. It was about the color of mesquite grass, and she had several feet of black thread fastened to it. She planned, if anyone stopped her, to throw the wallet out into the prairie. The thread would help us find it the next morning.

439 Our Indian business just seemed to happen. At least we had made
177 no conscious effort to attract it. In fact, Dad and Mother never made
443 any effort to learn the Comanche language. We were surprised to learn later that many merchants made it a practice to boost the price if an Indian was buying. I am sure that idea never occurred to any of
[797] us. We were later to find that the missionaries had been checking our prices and bookkeeping and had passed the word on to the Indians that we had one price for all.

We had no family history of past trouble with Indians; so when an Indian came in the store we accorded him the same degree of courtesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded.

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THE LOST ONES

WHEN WE WENT into the Comanche country in the spring of 1902, 114
it was not only a new country but a new way of life to me, a fourteen-year-old Kansas farm boy. The people I met, homesteaders or homeseekers, came from nearly every state in the Union, as well as from the Indian Nations. Ringed about us were Comanche families, camped rather than living on their allotments.

It was the Comanches, of course, who made the greatest impression on me. Almost as soon as Dad got his trading store opened, we started having an Indian trade. It just seemed to happen. We made no conscious effort to attract the Indians and wouldn't have known how had we wanted to try.

Mother bought our opening stock of dry goods, and she continued to do the buying as long as we ran the store. A few bolts of bright 443
colors, in both calico and gingham, together with matching cotton 177
braid, possibly proved an attraction to the Indian women at the start. Then too, Dad and Mother had the theory that we should treat everyone with the same degree of courtesy. These two things were the only concessions, if they were concessions, you could say we made.

Another thing that probably helped was that a missionary who 443
ran a mission back to the northeast on Blue Beaver Creek made a 177
check, unbeknownst to us, of the prices we charged to the white and 797

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "roman-
tic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
561 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
571 separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof
[609] from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
561 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
871 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
659 had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they
[873] made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I 000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180 pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While we were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure 123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles [481] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility [273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor, [609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for [177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out [797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the [123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when his people needed him.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money.

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City.

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature.

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds.

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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to them tobacco was a gift from the great spirit. What I had witnessed 276
could be considered in the nature of a prayer or communion—perhaps 782
you could apply the word *sacrament* to it.

I made a number of plans to observe these incidents more thorough- 123
ly, but none materialized. One was to count the number of puffs each took from the cigarette, and another was to find out who furnished Old Warrior his whiskey. The trouble was that I could only watch Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior between the chores which needed to be done around the store. Late customers had to be waited upon; the team of little Spanish driving mules had to be hitched up for our trip to the claim, when we could finally close the store; occasionally there were letters to be mailed, so they would be sure to leave on the early morning mail hack for Lawton. These necessary duties made my watching a hit-and-miss activity.

Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior's ritual extended to the drinking of 273
whiskey. The bottle was always kept out of sight. When Old Warrior had the bottle opened, Mrs. Warrior held up part of her blanket over one arm in front of her husband, hiding him while he had his drink. When it was Mrs. Warrior's turn, he held up his blanket to shield her.

After the bottle passed back and forth a few times, the old couple headed for home. But they never left the bottle, so I assumed they kept some for the road. Their departure would leave me with a number of things to wonder about.

I wondered if they would make it home safely, if the little mare was trained to wait in case they went to sleep and fell off. If the weather was inclement, I worried about the two elderly people catching cold. Also, I wondered what their three Carlisle-educated children, two sons and a daughter, thought of their parents' late hours.

The old people's confidence in the little chubby mare was not misplaced. They survived each trip. I imagine Old Warrior and his wife felt they had been very discreet while in town, and that none of the white people had the slightest idea they had purchased whiskey.

I once heard a story at a Comanche gathering that may explain the care Old Warrior and his wife exercised when on whiskey trips. An 273
old fellow told of having the record books of the old Deyo Mission. 797
They had been left with his father, Ho-var-ith-kh, for safekeeping.

After telling of the formation of the first congregation, he turned to me and said laughingly, "You knew Old Warrior? Well, once Old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Warrior got drunk and made a scene, and they "churched" him. Brought him up for trial in the church for being drunk. The charge and the minutes are written in the books. They didn't throw him out, though. Old Warrior promised to do better, and they gave him another chance."

Maybe this explains Old Warrior's actions—riding to town and back across the prairies instead of coming and going by the road and coming to town just at dark, knowing that the Indians and most white people would have left town in time to get home before night set in and the near emptiness of the unlighted street would make it easier for the whiskey peddler to slip him the whiskey.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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231 for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

797 Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek
[133] liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the
[368] boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

452 A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

361 There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in in-
413 dividual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The en-
[366] trance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader.
[657] He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated
[452] on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Wer-que-yah's camp sat a ways to the west of the trading post, in 452
a small grove of blackjack trees. When I rode up, he was apparently pleased to see me. I was to learn that this was the general attitude of all our Indian customers—glad we were collecting so their credit would be good until another payment. Putting away what they owed [454]
until they came home and paid us was too great a problem for them to cope with. Should they remain camped there till the rest of their money was gone, they would spend the money they were saving for our account.

Before leaving the store that morning, I took a small memo book and copied the amount each Indian owed as shown by the ledger. I believe there were only fifteen accounts in this first payment. After we shook hands, I got out my little book and started to tell Wer-que-yah how much he owed.

Then his manner changed. He seemed bothered and was no longer smiling. He began telling me to wait, "his house," for *tiwa* (white man), "then I pay." On foot, he hurried toward the south, across a bit of a swag in the prairie. I could see him all the way till he entered a tent. He came out quickly. With him was the little Baptist missionary 452
—well-trimmed Prince Albert whiskers and all. 797

Whenever I had met him, the missionary had had a calm, friendly, but dignified manner. But I realized as they approached now that both he and the Indian were of solemn mien. Reverend Deyo carried a small tablet and a pencil. Almost at once, he asked, "How much do you claim this man owes you?"

I took out my little memorandum book again and showed him the amount opposite Wer-que-yah's name—I believe it was slightly over $59.00—and he wrote it down at the top of his tablet. "I asked this Indian to keep his duplicate sales slips," he told me. "I want to see how their total compares."

I was busy thinking, while my customer went over to his hack and secured a woman's old purse that had long since lost both its shape and its looks. I was wondering what sort of a box the preacher and the Indian were trying to put me in. Supposing he hadn't kept all of the slips? Suppose he was honest, but had lost some? Maybe we hadn't always given him a duplicate!

The slips were rolled up endwise and tied with a strip of bed ticking. We untied them and straightened them out, and I started reading the total of each. The minister wrote them down in a column.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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452 Soon I came to a slip with a mistake of a dollar in the Indian's favor.
797 It was my mother's writing. The Indian had brought back a pair of girl's shoes, taken another pair that cost more, and also bought supplies —groceries and dry goods. I called the preacher's attention to the mistake, and he agreed. "Yes, it should be a dollar more." And he wrote it down that way. When he totaled the entries, the amount was exactly a dollar more than the amount I had given him.

During the auditing of the slips, both the minister and the Indian had remained grave and distant. The atmosphere wasn't friendly. Maybe they were embarrassed. I was. I was only in my fifteenth year, though I was operating in an adult sphere. My head was only a fifteen year-old head, and the same went for my experience. It was the first time anyone had seen fit to check our bookkeeping. In a way, I was feeling accused.

But when the preacher explained to Wer-que-yah, in the Comanche tongue, that our bookkeeping was honest, there was a bit of a lilt to the missionary's voice. And now the Indian was all smiles. As we arose from the ground, he exclaimed, "Wano! Wano!" a number of times and patted my back vigorously.

Then it was Reverend Deyo's turn. He extended his hand, saying, "I want to thank you for dealing with *my people* honestly. I checked your prices. I already knew you sell to the Indian and the white man at the same price. I shall tell *my people* you deal honestly. Not all merchants treat uneducated Indians fairly."

439 This incident may have accounted for some of our success as in-
452 dependent Indian traders. We, in turn, had to depend entirely upon
[672] the honesty of the Indian. He could neither be sued, nor could a judgment be levied against him.

000 Several years ago, two of my nephews were living with me and attending the university. One popular song you heard each time you tuned in on a radio program was "Don't Take Your Guns to Town, Son!" It was a plea of a mother to her son, just approaching young manhood, not to go to town armed, lest some gunman might see an easy way to get another notch on his gun and kill her offspring.

609 I told the boys I had once received much the same advice from an old Indian from whom I tried to borrow a gun while I was badly
452 scared. It was Wer-que-yah. It happened during another Grass Money payment at the same Cache reservation. This time Wer-que-yah's

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 178 In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [182] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 175 178 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 175 179 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

224 older children left the main camp for the operating base. Mules and pack horses were used to transport the hunting tents, which consisted simply of one or more undercoated skins thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes. They were also to bring back to the main camp the many hides and quantities of meat that would be taken. Only weapons, tools, and supplies that seemed necessary for the occasion were carried.

224 There was plenty of hard work for all concerned, but it was work spiced by anticipation of the excitement of great feasts and sharpened 535 by gay social activity. This was really the "Harvest Season." On at least one and possibly for several evenings before the hunting party left the main camp, the people gathered for the Hunting Dance at the central meeting place of the village just as lengthening shadows faded into darkness. The hunting party itself often continued to dance for one or more nights after they had left the main camp. There was no spiritual significance attached to the dance; each Comanche informant insists that the people danced because they "were glad they were going on a hunt." Why not? For the dance a fire was built, unless a bright autumn moon provided sufficient light. There [801] were two, four, or more drummers and singers, always an even number. The drummers and singers were men who had good voices, but for such strictly social dances no medicine powers were essential. Men and women lined up facing each other, and when the music began, the women crossed over and selected a partner. The dancers joined at intervals in the singing. They wore their everyday clothes, for no special ceremonial dress was necessary on this occasion. During the dance one man took care of the fire, but the wood was gathered by any of the enthusiastic dancers who wished to help. About midnight the dance ended and the people scattered to their lodges for sleep.[36]

224 The regulation of communal buffalo hunts under the strict surveillance of military police was one of the outstanding features of the cultures of practically all the Plains tribes. But of this the Comanches had nothing. They had, of course, no military fraternities such as those which did the policing for the other tribes, and in spite of their fierce individualism they seem not to have had the need for police

[36] Informants: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; Kills Something.

ing that paper was used for padding inside the shields, Anglo-American pioneers were quite puzzled at the Comanche interest in books. 411

The surface of the shield was stretched into a convex or saucer shape with the convex surface to the outside. A convex surface would readily deflect a blow. The shield was then hung up to dry. Sometimes the shield-maker would unlace the shield and remove the wooden frame, adding, of course, additional packing. This increased the safety of the shield, since a bullet could penetrate the wooden frame more easily than the packing.

A buckskin cover was usually fitted over the flint-like shield, much as a cover is drawn over a spare automobile tire. It was drawn in on the under side by means of a buckskin thong laced through eyelet holes around the edges. Through the hide itself were bored two pairs of holes, and through each pair was passed a loop or band of rawhide or buckskin. By means of these two bands the shield was fastened to the left arm near the elbow in such a manner as not to interfere with the free use of the hand.

After the shield had thoroughly dried and cured, it was treated by setting it up as a target, and if a bullet or an arrow pierced it when fired from a distance of about fifty yards, it found a place in the debris of the camp. In times of action the Indian manipulated his arm so as to make any blow strike the shield at an angle. Very few bullets fired from old-fashioned rifles would penetrate a well-constructed shield unless the bullet struck the surface perpendicularly, a near impossibility when the shield was in the hands of one expert in the art of using it.

The Anglo-American pioneers and soldiers who knew the Comanches well relate that their shields were usually adorned with three kinds of insignia. Bear teeth worn or painted on a shield indicated that the owner was a great hunter or had the toughness of the bear; scalps attached to or painted on the shield indicated its owner to be a mighty warrior, and horse or mule tails that he was an accomplished raider. The materials were attached by means of buckskin strings to the under side of the shield. Around the rim of the outside cover feathers were attached and held in place with sinew. Comanche informants maintained that there should have been an even number, usually four but possibly six or more. The arrangement made it pos- 411 531 [801]

796 755 184 tenuated ritual than that of Post Oak Jim's, which has been presented here. *Kɔwino* said that he described the ceremony as it was performed in later years. That's It, a Water Horse, had heard about the Beaver Ceremony, but had never seen it because it was not performed in his band.

787 796 Of the dances used by the Comanches in search of power, the Eagle Dance was outstanding. It was sponsored by a prominent member of the band, usually the father or uncle of a youth turning warrior. The sponsor sought out a medicine man with strong eagle or war power and offered a smoke. If the medicine man accepted, he assumed complete charge of the ceremony. The decision was for him a serious one. If he accepted, his own power would be diminished somewhat, since it would be spread among the dancers. On the other hand a refusal might be interpreted as lack of confidence in his own power, as fear to risk spreading it out. In such a case, the medicine man would suffer loss of prestige among his own people. Furthermore, there was the factor of remuneration. Relatives and friends of participants contributed gifts. The medicine leader could keep what he preferred for himself, leaving the remainder for the dancers.

After the medicine man accepted the request, he announced the time and place of the ceremony. He and the dancers arose before daylight, went to the creek, bathed, stripped to the breechclout, put on war paint, let their hair down and put eagle feathers in it, and rubbed themselves with sage. After that they sat in a semicircle, with the opening toward the east, and smoked ceremoniously.

When the smoking was over, the leader arose and, followed closely by the dancers, sneaked silently to a near-by camp to "capture" a girl. Spectators remained some distance apart. In the old days the girl had to be a captive. The girl's family made a pretense of defending their camp against the attacking party, but the "victorious raiders" carried the "captured" girl to their own camp where preparations had been made for the remainder of the ceremony.

● [801] A tipi or brush lodge was used. The medicine leader provided two, four, or six drummers and singers to help—never an odd number. They sat close together facing the east. The girl sat beside the leader. The dancers first assumed a position directly in front, facing east, but when the music began, they formed a circle around the musicians.

6: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 619 621 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular intervals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance [801] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 787 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp 1-419 not processed]

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo-Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

554 With regard to the "I" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

554 A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
701 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[a] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewɔkə*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[a] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

customarily asking for four different kinds of articles (four was the mystic number in which most Indians conceived things). Horses were always demanded, numbering from one to ten. The size of the demand varied directly with the wealth of the defendant and the fortitude of the husband and inversely with the war record of the defendant. The husband hoped to squeeze out as much as the traffic would bear and the wrongdoer was willing to yield.

The defendant on his side would pay in the end, but it would be unseemly to yield readily or to first demands. The procedure was one of higgling and haggling—with always the risk of a violent breakdown in the offing. For the husband, if mean-tempered or short of patience, might well cut the palavering short with a quick attack upon the defendant. Theoretically, then, the injured husband had recourse to use of physical force, if the offender failed to recognize his duty to pay up with a settlement that was reasonable in the eyes of the injured party. In fact, however, this was not a genuine legal privilege-right, since in event of homicide retaliation prevailed. The husband who pressed his suit to the killing point was bound to be slain in turn by the defendant's kinsmen. Here was the fatal weakness of the primitive system of the Comanches. Yet in forty-one of the forty-five recorded adultery and absconding cases the offender paid up and the matter became *res judicata* with an award in favor of the plaintiff. It is evident that the Comanches had a strong sense of the fitness of the law and that, willful as they were, wrongdoers submitted to its dictates.

This condition was implemented by two facts: (1) action was not initiated unless the facts were predetermined—guilt, as we have said, was rarely an issue except in sorcery cases; (2) the elopement pattern worked to tone down the first burst of anger; (3) usage saw to it that the husband could in the final resort always muster a greater amount of force than could the defendant.

In the nature of things, the adulterer or wife-absconder was (or thought he was) a more dangerous man than the husband he was wronging. If he had been left wholly to his own resources, the aggrieved husband would more often than not have been in a poor way to exact restitution. In the achievement of justice Comanche practice saw to it that if the husband were man-to-man on the short end of the power stick, he could marshal his brothers or friends to go a-lawing with, or for, him. When confronted with this deputation, the defendant rarely had recourse to marshaling *his* friends or brothers. It was not good form. And more than that—he had made his bid for prestige, and he would surely look bad if he failed to carry it through alone.

The plaintiff who called to his brothers for help naturally lost prestige to some degree, and in addition he had to turn over all that he received in damages. His "lawyers" got the a' of it.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278
824
[142]
291
302
[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278
824
137 "red berry cedar" *ekapokowa:pi* *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

able sum of money building on the Arkansas a village for a certain 784
band to move into. The Indians moved in, and all went well, until
the wife of a prominent chief died and the whole band immediately [768]
moved out and sought a new location a great way off. The Spanish
officer who reported this unfortunate occurrence explained that
these Indians had many superstitions, one being that when any
prominent person died the camp should be abandoned and the
place henceforth avoided.[25] We have the account of a similar
occurrence which happened many years later when the son of chief
Pah-hau-ca, of the Southern Comanches, died or was killed and
the chief abandoned his camp and chattels and moved far north to
a new camp.[26] The Comanches would fight desperately to rescue
the body of a fallen comrade so long as the scalp was intact; but
the moment this was removed they would abandon the body and
would not even touch it to bury it. According to some accounts
they also held the heart of an animal in veneration and generally [224]
avoided touching it when dressing a carcass.[27]

In literature and art the attainments of the Comanches were slight. 212
They had no system of writing other than that of crude pictures and 531
these commonly pertained to wars and the chase. On skins carefully dressed, they often drew designs, a common one being the sun in the center with different colored rays of light radiating out in finely drawn lines. Their shields were generally adorned with pictures and it may be that they, like their allies the Kiowas, had a system of Heraldry.[28] Their paint was made from colored chalks or clay and their brushes from tufts of hair. For drawings of a more temporary character charcoal often served as the pencil and any smooth surface like bone, a board, or the bark of a tree served for canvas.[29]

They had a system of enumeration, but apparently little or no 802
knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. The moon periods 805
served as time units; but it does not seem that they had a calendar
of any kind, other than the knowledge of the four seasons. They

25. Ugarte y Loyola to Don Fernando de la Concha, July 22, 1785, enclosing copies of reports made by the officers in New Mexico. Ms. Provincias Internas, Mexico City, Tome 65, University of Texas Transcripts.

26. Statement of Luis Sanches, interpreter, May 1844; Ms. Texas Indian Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.

27. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 181.

28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

484 requiring much strength to elevate some of the packages
462 to their place, yet it was all performed by women.

462 The Comanche Indian in his village is the idlest, laziest being in existence, a sluggard and a glutton. His sole and only pursuits are war and hunting. His wife, besides attending to the domestic duties of the tent, plants his corn and reaps it, cultivates his tobacco, tans his buffalo hides—in fine, performs wholly, without the remotest aid from him, every particle and kind of labor, which, among civilized beings, devolves upon the husband. So now, while the women toiled and strained and lifted, the men moped stupidly around, smoking their pipes, or lolled upon the ground.

727 Everything in readiness, I was once more blindfolded,
484 mounted, and tied, when the entire town, not only its men,
492 women, and children, but its furniture, its tents, its public and private buildings, all moved off on the backs of mules and horses. There was not left one stone upon another of that city.

727 Fortunately, the mule upon which I rode was led, so that I escaped the annoyance that befell me, under similar circumstances, on a previous occasion. Being deprived of the use of my eyes on the journey, except when we encamped at night, I cannot give a description of the country over which we passed, further than to say we crossed over many mountains, and that it seemed to me a wild and barren region. At the end of three days, or three "sleeps," as a [805] Comanche would express it, we reached the end of the journey. Here I found myself in a small village, of not more than twenty or thirty tents, inhabited by what appeared to be a portion of Big Wolf's tribe, on the bank of a considerable river that flowed to the southwest, and in a valley much larger than any I have before described.

into the trunk of a tree, and withdrawing it, place the end 212
of the bark epistle in the incision, the outer end pointing 201
in the direction they have taken. It will be seen they meas- 805
ure time by the changes of the moon. In the new, they give 796
themselves up to devotional contemplation and worship, [781]
rendering thanks unto the Great Spirit that although the old one has gone, another has been permitted to take its place. Every change is attended with some peculiar ceremony; but when it is in the full, occurs the festival of the roasted dog. With the exception of the refreshments, it differs but very slightly from a modern picnic. The squaws go out to a spring in some pleasant and shady spot, taking with them a number of curs, which have been fattened for the occasion, and kindling a fire, butcher and roast them. By this time the warriors approach, when, seating themselves promiscuously on the grass, they speedily strip the canine bones admidst much fun and laughter. On these occasions, while I was with them, Sahonkeno, the Fox—a lively and mischievous rascal—was always the life of the party.

Not long after my arrival in the valley of Mannasaw, 796
took place the first exhibition I had witnessed of the green 241
corn dance. This occurs in the latter part of July, or the hot moon. The day previous to the festival, a general meeting of the whole tribe was held in the square of the village. In the center stood the prophet, *Karolo*, signifying, as near as I was ever able to comprehend, a star, or planet; immediately around him, in a circle, were gathered the chiefs and principal men, seated on the ground; behind these were the warriors, and in the rear the women and children.

Karolo, the prophet, addressed them long and earnestly, 796
and made many gestures. Though I could not understand 241
his language, I knew from his manner and the intonations 537

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

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28. See Mooney, Kiowa Calendar, 230.

29. Smithwick, The Evolution of a State, 180-181; Dr. Ferdinand Roemer, Texas (Bonn, 1849) 293 ff.

192 navinain *menle* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nihW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nī· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItĪ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasīmīhtĪ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sīmīhtĪ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usīkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tīmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sīmīrimanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sīmīyū·tīmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetīmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sīmīnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sīmī- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokorīcī·pĪ *mile* (*one land count*); sīhī?-awotīhpetĪ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kī? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kī, causative + -?); sīmīnáraya·kī? *pound* (*one scaled*); sūnīrávekwiline?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pīpekuma?ri?i·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mīarīvo·pĪ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sīmīvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItĪ[131] *Sunday* (see 4.1); tapúharai/hapīeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atū/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sīhI?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

[805]
[805]
[171]
[113]

[p. 236-B]

From Cradle to Grave

A hilarious favorite was "grizzly bear." For this, a mound of sand, called the "sugar," was fashioned. Then one child was dragged around by his heels to smooth a circle around the "sugar." Outside the circle all the children formed a queue, holding to each others' waists and facing the mound. The leader was the "mother" protecting her young from the "grizzly," who was played by a child inside the circle. His part was to reach out of the circle and seize a child, but the mother protected the children by swinging the line back and forth. At last one child was caught and subjected to the penalty of being tickled ("eaten") by the bear in the circle. After that, players would break out of the line and try to dash in to steal some "sugar" from the grizzly's store and get out without his catching them. As each was caught, he was tickled, and the game went on until the "sugar" was all stolen or all the children were captured. 857 526

In another group game the children all sat in a row with their feet straight out in front of them. An old man had to join them in the fun. He would advance with closed eyes and feel up and down the row until he decided to choose one child. This one he picked up by the feet, head hanging down over his back, and carried him around in a circle back to the row. The other children asked the "It" many questions: "Do you have a horse, a saddle, a belt, etc?" The given answer was always "Yes." At last they rushed forward and took their playmate off the old man's back, crying that they were going to eat the old man. So they tickled the old fellow with joyous cries.

Other times they took pieces of old hide to the tops of hills. While some of the children rode on the hides, the others pulled them bouncing down with ropes. "Guess over the hill" (*nanip'ka*) was another favorite. Two older boys would organize the game. The boy who was "It" went over the hill; another stood guard at the top to make sure he did not spy while the other children hid under robes or blankets. When called by the guard, "It" came and tried to guess the names of the hiders.[6]

857

On rainy days all was still; the children lay quietly at home in their family tipis, for they were superstitiously afraid of thunder and lightning. Winter was the time for the telling of stories; not summer. [82] [538]

[6] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

775 believed that such indignities as the body suffered after death, other than the removal of the scalp, permanently affected the spirit or shade. Thus, if the feet were cut from the body after death, the unhappy spirit was forced to dispense with them henceforth.

The Comanche who failed to approach the camp of the after world well mounted might also be refused admission into those celestial pastures. A current legendary story taught the importance of providing the deceased with a good mount. Once an old Comanche died who had no relatives or worldly goods. The villagers, concluding that almost any old nag would serve to transport him to the next world, killed at his grave an old, ill-conditioned, lop-eared horse. A few weeks after the burial of this friendless one, he returned, weary and hungry, riding the same old worn-out horse. He first appeared at a neighboring camp of Wichitas, where he was well known, and asked for something to eat; but his sunken eyes and his strange appearance frightened all who saw him, and they fled from his presence. Finally, one bolder than the rest placed a piece of meat at the end of a lodge pole and extended it to him. Shortly afterwards, he appeared at his own camp, creating even more dismay than in the Wichita village, so that the entire camp moved to Rush Creek, not far distant from the present site of Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Some of the Comanches, however, were bold enough to question the unwelcome, ghostly visitor about his reappearance among the inhabitants of the earth. When he had come to the "gates of paradise," he told them, the people would on no account permit him to enter upon such an ill-conditioned beast as he rode, and thus in sadness he had returned to haunt the homes of the greedy, stingy people who had not properly provided for him. Since then, no Comanche has been allowed to set out for the after world without a steed which would do honor to the rider and his friends.[4]

821 The nature of the cosmos was only vaguely conceived, and contemporary Comanches have no notions what the people thought about it in the old days, if they had any thoughts at all. The Comanches, so far as we can tell, had no star lore, and only the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-deities.

[4] Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *loc. cit.*, 100.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

773 of the transformer who undid the good works of his big brother.
776 He brought hardship, travail, and effort into the lives of men. He represented the force of Evil as we conceive it—and yet the Shoshones in no way thought of him in his relationship to Wolf as a conflict of good and evil. Coyote was not bad; he was no more than wantonly mischievous.

When we consider the writings of the early whites among the Comanches on the Great Spirit and the Evil One, we are plagued by serious doubts. We cannot but feel that they, who lived in a time of great religious conviction in this land, projected something of their own ideas of what the Comanches ought to have believed into their descriptive accounts.

At any rate, the old Comanches living in 1933 who served as informants for the Santa Fé Laboratory group revealed only the slightest vestiges of such ideas. The Great Spirit was only occasionally mentioned by them; none showed any concern with the problem of evil. Coyote, in the folk tales recounted by these later-day Comanches, had moved almost entirely from the realm of myth and legend to assume a position of no more than a power-giving animal—except that the old Shoshonean tabu against killing coyotes retained a good deal of its force. The transformer tales, except for the Comanche story of the release of the buffalo, were lost, one and all. What remained of the old Coyote folk tale and myth cycle was only that part which told of Coyote as a harmless bungler and trickster. And the hero in all these tales, as told by Slope, Post Oak Jim, and That's It, was no longer Coyote but Fox, Coon, and Bob Cat. As for the Creation, the typical attitude was expressed by Post Oak Jim: "We never gave much consideration to Creation. We just knew we were here. Our thoughts were mostly directed toward understanding the spirits."

776 The Comanches were not quite certain of the relationship existing
●821 between the Great Spirit and the Sun. Sometimes the two were closely associated, while at other times a distinction was made between them. Robert S. Neighbors makes a clear distinction, saying that they offered the first puff of smoke to the Supreme Being, the second to the Sun, the third to the Earth, and so on to the lesser objects of

[8] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.
[9] Bollaert, "Observations on the Indian Tribes in Texas," *loc. cit.*, 268.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
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veneration in whatever order they might choose.[8] Bollaert states that the Great Spirit was supposed to live in the Sun,[9] but other accounts have it that he lived beyond the Sun. Some Comanches explained that he was so far distant in the sky that they could not hear him speak, and that when they wished to communicate with him, they were obliged to do it through the medium of the Sun, which was nearer and which they could see and converse with. Josiah Gregg thought that the Sun was their principal deity. His conclusion was based partly upon the fact that the Comanches, when preparing for a campaign, ceremoniously placed their arms in the early morning on the east side of their lodges that they "may receive the blessing of the fountain of light at his first appearance."[10]

Apparently the Sun represented the visible medium through which the Great Spirit revealed himself. No doubt the Comanches found it extremely difficult to separate the two, and in their worship of the Sun were paying humble reverence to the Great Spirit at the same time. Their veneration of the Sun cannot be doubted. To this fact practically all those who have commented on Comanche religion have left testimony. It was certainly the most dominant single feature of Comanche belief. The Sun was worshiped as the primary cause of all living things. Contrary to Agent Neighbors' statement, most informants insist that the first puff of smoke was blown toward the Sun. "Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the Sun . . . ," explained That's It, in describing the conditional curse. His religion taught him that the Sun was his father, and he addressed it as such in prayer. "He went above them to the Sun. 'Father,' he swore, 'early in the spring let the first lightning and thunder take my life if this thing be true!' The brothers sat back. They were satisfied. 'If you say such a thing, we can't dispute you.' "[11]

The conditional curse appears to be typical of the reverential attitude toward the Sun; it is called *taβeβekʌs*, "sun-killing." E. Adamson Hoebel has recorded several similar cases where the defendant appealed to the Sun, who knew all and could pass and execute judgment.

The Sun, however, was not the only body worshiped. Next after

[10] Gregg, *op. cit.*, 438.

[11] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 89–90; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

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the Sun, the Earth was named in prayer. It was worshiped as "Mother" because it was the receptacle and producer of all that sustains life. The Earth was the mother not only of men, but of animals. The mother is the natural protector of the young. The buffalo, by loosening the earth with his horns and pawing or rubbing the loose earth upon his body, and the Comanche, by praying to it and covering himself with paint taken from it, each calls the attention of his mother to her child. It has been said that some Indians would not kill a person while he was digging in the earth—while he was making his medicine, for it might be too strong; but he would distract the attention of his intended victim; then when he looked up, they were on equal terms.

Mother Earth was implored to make everything grow which they ate, that they might live; to make the water flow, that they might drink; to keep the ground firm, that they might walk upon it; to make certain herbs and plants grow, that they might be able to heal the sick; and to cause the grass to grow on which the animals fed. The Great Spirit put the Earth here and put them upon it. Without the Earth nothing could live; there could be no animals or plants. Such reverence for the earth was not unique with the Comanches, but was common among the Indians of the plains. The Earth was addressed in prayer after the Sun and, like the Sun, was regarded as having power to look down on earthlings and pass and execute judgment.

> Smoking to the power, he first addressed the Sun saying, "You, Father, know the truth of the matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall." Then to the earth he said, "You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you." Whereupon he gave his pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.
>
> She swore to the powers, "Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true."[12]

Needless to say, not all those who invoked the judgment of the

[12] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 100.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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powers had great faith in the fulfillment of their prayers. In this particular case the woman later admitted that she did not believe in the power of the Sun and had lied. Yet, the many cases remembered by the people where divine judgment had been implored and executed upon the guilty party is evidence that the philosophy was strongly implanted in Comanche society.

The Moon also had the quality of a deity. "She is the Mother—as is the Earth." She was particularly the guardian of the raid. A group of Comanche marauders bent on stealing horses laid a rope on the ground and sat within it. They made smoke to the Moon, praying, "Mother, if it be your will, let this rope take many horses."[13]

Although Sun and Earth and Moon were active in the affairs of men, they were akin to deities and as such were above individualized pity. They gave no personal power and did not come forth as guardian spirits. They were tribal deities who loomed pre-eminent in an individual's consciousness, except when ousted from that position by a special spirit to which a Comanche looked for protection and guidance. Comparison of the latter in strength with the Sun and Earth did not spontaneously arise. It became significant only when and if there was a clash of interest; and then the assurance with which a Comanche relied on his individual patron against the rest of the universe was amazing. Yet there is little suggestion that the visitants were sent by higher authority. They conferred bounties in their own right. The supernaturals might come to loggerheads on behalf of their mortal protégés, or again they might co-operate to aid a favorite. Nothing prevented a man from gaining power from several supernaturals. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed the power to assume various forms. The transformation from one being into another could be instantaneous, and the reverse process could occur as suddenly. The guardian spirit was most likely to confer on its ward a blessing or power corresponding to its own natural gifts.

The spirits dwelled in springs, in rivers, on the prairies, in the hills, or in high bluffs. Any phenomenal object of nature was likely to be the residing place of a spirit.

A place was told of, far to the north, where there were always

[13] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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clouds which the sunlight never penetrated. This was the home of a powerful spirit that brought the winter. He came in a cloud, forcing the Sun back, and as he approached, he spread the cold over the country. Then in the spring the Sun grew higher and higher and told the spirit of the cold to move back, for he must heat the earth and make the grass and all other things so that the Comanches could prosper.

The thunder often appeared as a great bird, somewhat like an eagle, but much larger. The Thunderbird made the thunder and lightning and storm and rain. It was dark blue, or showing the color of cut lead like a thundercloud, with red zigzag markings extending from its heart to the tail and wing tips. It went south at the approach of winter and returned from the warm country with the Sun, bringing the heat and the rain. In its talons the bird carried arrows with which to strike its enemies; therefore, the Indians believed that the eagle on our coins is a Thunderbird. Its shadow was the thunder cloud; it produced lightning by rapidly opening and closing its flashing eyes; thunder was the sound made by the flapping of its enormous wings; and the downpour which followed was from the lake carried on its back.

The Thunderbird supposedly had its dwelling on some high mountain or rocky elevation difficult of access. It discharged arrows, but they could not be seen even when they killed people or animals. Although the Thunderbird myth was common to most Plains Indians, the Comanches have given it variation. They had evidence other than thunder and rain of the existence of the great bird. They told of a spot on the upper Red River where the grass remained permanently burned off over a space having the shape of a huge bird with outspread wings. They claimed that the Thunderbird once alighted there. A hunter shot and wounded a large bird which fell to the ground, but because of its large size, he was afraid to go close enough to kill it. He returned to camp for help. When his party approached the ravine where the bird had fallen, they heard thunder and were blinded by terrific flashes of lightning coming from the ravine. While attempting to approach nearer, one of the hunters was struck dead by a flash. Realizing that their victim was the Thunderbird, the rest became frightened and fled back to camp.[14]

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

The Comanches had great fear of thunder and lightning. It gave them no power and was dangerous in a way that the Sun, Earth, and Moon were not. It was malicious and wantonly prone to tease mankind. "In a thunderstorm you have to remain quiet; you must not say anything to thunder and lightning, as it has no pity." 776 821

They were afraid, but they were Comanches and they did not like to be pushed around. So every now and then one of them got defiant.

« « « I was out riding once when a rainstorm came up. I got off my horse and got down among some weeds and put my head down. The thunder was making noise all around. Finally I decided it was making fun of me—lightning and thunder likes to make fun of someone—so I got on my horse and made a war whoop in defiance. Then I ran away. The lightning struck right near me. I got away, but thunder and lightning has no pity. » » »

This was Post Oak Jim's personal experience. He reverted to the same theme later on. His lesson impressed him greatly, but it was reinforced by what happened to one of his friends.

« « « Thunder and lightning has no pity for them who talk back. We were out in a bunch branding. When we were eating our breakfast, a thunder shower came up. A tough guy, who was with us, went out and shot at the lightning with his gun to show that he was not afraid. The lightning struck and killed him. » » »

A belief of more recent days is not to look in a mirror when it thunders. The lightning may look in, too, and strike you.

Like most prairie tribes, the Comanches greatly revered the buffalo. It has been reported that the dry buffalo head was their idol. Before the entrance of a sweat-lodge there was likely to be a buffalo skull. Out on the prairie might be seen the skulls of buffalo turned so as to face the main camp, the idea being that the guardian spirit would direct the herd to move in the direction the skulls were facing. 776 825

[14] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *loc. cit.*, 968–69.

192 mental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; papicihtīpka? *hairpin* (*fasten hair with something pointed*) but papivĪ *head hair*; pavoko?a·wO *tumbler, glass* (*clear or transparent cup*); pavoko?awovici? *nursing bottle* (*glass breast*); patīwiarī·pI *turquoise* (*algae-colored rock*) [pa *water* + tī-, intransitivizer + wia *wear out*, + tī·pI *stone, rock*]; pa·kīco?nika? *beaver fur hat* (*beaver hat*); pahorapĪ *well* [pa *water* + hora *dig* + -pĪ, nominalizer]; pahte?e·? *whip* (*customarily cracks*); pa?muci? *old style saddle* [pa?- *long* + muci- *sharp* + -?, nominalizer]; pawovivu·kU[74] *boat* (*water board horse*); pekwinarohtīman *canned salmon, or sardines* (*fish canned*); pia?ohapItī·? *grapefruit* (*big orange*); piakwAsu? *coat* (*big shirt*); piahuhcu?raivo·? *Republican* (*eagle White man*); ko·korá?a·raivo·? *Democrat* (*rooster White man*) [The eagle and the rooster were early party emblems]. pikakUsA *chaps* (*leather leggings*); pikwsi·? *single buggy* This was translated as *nothing behind*. [pi- *buttocks*; and kwasI *tail*; also pikwsinakwĪ *back end*]; pici?wīhpara? *brassiere* (*spread over breasts*); *picohkO *trousers* (*buttocks covered*); *pisayune? *tin, tin can, canned goods* (*paint falls off*) (pisapĪ *paint* + yuman *fall off* (?). Another informant thought this referred to a soft noise from tin rolled up and strung and put on moccasins]. pisimaroko·rī·pI *opal* (*rainbow, sore*
[821] *thumb, stone*) [Belief that if one pointed to the rainbow, one's finger would rot and fall off]; *piso·nA *cushion, rug* (*buttock pad*); pihivoa *type of modern dress; petticoat* (*spread out from the buttocks fan-wise*); ~~s~~ *pimoró·? *cattle* (*graze backwards* (?)); pimoró·?sari·? *collie* (*cattle dog*); *pihnárohtiya? *cake, sweet roll* (sweet bread); pihná·nohkopĪ *cake, cookies* (sweet baked); pieriyaimuya?ke? *radio* (ghost music); piesinakanipĪ *ready made* (*clothes*) [pie- *old*,

[113] [74] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes wo-we-poke (wovivu·kU *wooden or board horse*) for boat.

[p. 223-A]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 955. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1872, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1872, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1872, 68.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 which has never been shadowed to their minds, except by
771 the faint and flickering light of nature. The beams of divine revelation have never penetrated the dismal mists that constitute their moral atmosphere. They nevertheless be-
175 lieve in a final accountability, in which they plainly, but
771 perhaps unconsciously, indicate a sentiment of the omnis-
775 cience and ubiquity of the Great Judge of Heaven and Earth. By an obvious and natural impulse of unenlightened reason, which is most apt to prefigure the joys and sorrows of a future state, by the experience of the past and present, they suppose that when a good man dies, he goes to a fertile and salubrious country where the Buffaloes, which furnish their principal and favorite aliment, and every desirable species of game are abundant, and where they will enjoy the charms of the chase, with a more exquisite zest, without interruption and without satiety. The reverse of this destiny is assigned to the wicked, who they imagine will be driven away, to linger out a miserable existence, among rugged and sterile hills that are infested with all manner of noxious animals, and where the Buffaloes, Deer and Bears are scarce, and
175 meagre and unsavory to the palate. Goodness, however, in
577 their system of ethics, is a qualified term that has reference to acts of public benefit and renown, such as taking of scalps, expert and successful hunting, and dexterity in stealing from their enemies, rather than to the gentler virtues, that adorn and humanize and purify the heart.

175 They believe in polytheism and in both good and evil
771 spirits of either sex, but claim supremacy to the one Great Being, whom they represent as a Big Man, that can never
776 die, and who is the peculiar original parent of the Co-
[186] manchee race. The origin of other nations they assign to other subordinate Deities, and as their father is the Greatest God in Heaven, so they think themselves the greatest nation
175 on earth. They attribute an inferior modicum of divinity
771 to the sun, and suppose all febrile diseases to emanate from
[821] the displeasure of that magnificent candle of nature. They
[753] have no order of priesthood, but are not altogether exempt
[793] from the juggles of priestcraft. They have no symbols of
[796] true faith, neither do they know any distinction of days or seasons.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their 278 nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is [778] less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant 278 collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. 824 In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October 821 and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time.

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She 278 denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* 824 is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word 823 as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground."

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants 278 she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are 824 taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies;

[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
756 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
782 [276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches, however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
775 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
755 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
756 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed
782 to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
[237] she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

The Comanches

302 Black was the
war paint—the emblem of death—but red, yellow, olive green, and
[822] blue were favorite colors. There appears to have been no uniform manner of make-up. One warrior painted his face red, his eyelids white, and streaked his face with black. Another painted one side black and the other yellow down to the waist; another wore red on one side and yellow on the other, with lines of black upon his cheeks.

304 Tattooing was not conspicuous in the Comanche tribe, but both
301 sexes tattooed the face and body, the chest being the most commonly used part of the torso.[28] Clinton Smith records that his chief had a black star tattooed on his chest.[29] The warriors were as proud of their battle scars as old-time German students were of their dueling wounds, and brought them out more conspicuously by tattooing around them.[30] Bears' claws, horse hair, mules' tails, beads, and other similar
[411] materials might be appended to the hair or about the body. Bands of rawhide or copper wire served to protect the wrist of the left hand from the slap of the bow string.

Another fancy of the Comanche male was to puncture his ears for rings. "A young man," says Breaks Something, "sees other men have their ears pierced. He comes home and wants to have it done too." This was in late adolescence. The young man asked one of his female relatives to pierce his ears. She took him to the lodge of a woman who had recently had a baby easily, so it would hurt less. There she heated a needle red hot (in the old days she used a cactus spine) and burned six to eight holes all along the helix of one ear. The other was punctured only three or four times. A greased straw was then run through the hole, taken out, regreased, and left in until the wound healed. The boy liked to have all the holes pierced at once, so he could wear all his earrings at once. The old-time earrings were long, thin shells obtained from the Mexicans. A few old men can still be seen who wear circles of brass or silver wire. The many shells were so heavy that the top of the ear bent over under the weight, but the discomfort was borne for the satisfaction it gave. As for the piercing service, it was done for the boy gratis.

291 A Comanche woman clothed herself in buckskin. The luxurious

[28] Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, *Seven Years Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, II, 281; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 184.

[29] C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 47.

[30] Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 178.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Black Kerchief

Sanapia keeps most of her medicines wrapped in pieces of black material which are commercially sold as women's head scarfs. These large black squares of cloth are also used by some males as Western-style ties. When Sanapia is traveling without her medicine kit, though carrying her Medicine feather, she keeps it wrapped in a black kerchief. 756 755 278

The black kerchief, worn knotted at the throat, is a customary sign among the Comanches and neighboring tribes of a possessor of Medicine. Sanapia was instructed to always wear the black kerchief as a symbol of her powers. She does not wear this badge today for fear of ridicule. Sanapia does, however, keep a black kerchief tied to the headboard of her bed. She states that black is the color of luck and good fortune. She also adds that it indicates to ghosts that the wearer is not afraid of their powers. 756 292 [822] [775]

The black kerchief, or piece of black cloth, can be used in doctoring to cover the patient's face when he is instructed to inhale medicine smoke. Sanapia sometimes uses the black kerchief in this manner during the doctoring of ghost sickness. 756 755

115
142
291
302
516

Sanapia collecting medicines, 1967.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

N C 126 386

I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N ●C 517 ●822

The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N C 386 824

All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected; all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415

When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

Three Years Among the Comanches

157 Se-ma-naw, the youngest wife of the civil chief, pos-
624 sessed a cheerful and lively disposition, always frolicsome
551 as the young antelope of the prairie. She was the daughter of the war chief of the tribe, *Sa-was-saw*, the Bear, and niece of An-a-wak-ke-o, who was her father's sister. The name of the prophet was *Han-na-nos-ka-a*, signifying the wisest of the wise.

622 The Rolling Thunder possessed a remarkably inquisitive
157 mind, and was, moreover, extremely sociable. In the course of his life, he had several times crossed the borders of the Indian territory into Mexico, and had some faint notions of civilization—just enough to excite his curiosity. Hour after hour he would converse with me in his tent about the manners and customs of the whites. On these occasions, I endeavored to illustrate, in the best possible manner, their superiority and power. With a piece of charcoal, I would sketch on a sheet of birch bark the figure of a ship, "with wings whiter than a swan's and wider than many eagles"—its masts taller than the tallest cedar on the mountains—representing it as capable of carrying more than a thousand pack mules could bear; that in this great canoe, the white man would sail away over the salt water, beyond the sight of land, to a vast continent, distant more than a hundred days' journey to the east. He had never seen the
[173] ocean; nevertheless, he comprehended its vastness through the traditions of his fathers, who once dwelt upon its shore; but no logic could convince him that the mighty land beyond it was a part of this globe; his reasoning leading him irresistably to the conclusion that it must necessarily belong
• 823 to another planet. When I told him the earth was round like a ball, and on the opposite side were extensive countries and millions of people—that if we could bore a hole through it directly beneath our feet, we would emerge into

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

those countries, he laughed me to scorn, arguing that its 823
inhabitants would have to walk with their heads downward, and must necessarily fall off; besides, the premise upon which rested the superstructure of the argument was false, inasmuch as the earth was not round, but flat, a fact patent to the naked eye.

I described a train of cars, wooden tents placed above 000
rolling wheels, filled with a crowd of people outnumbering all his tribe, forced by the power of steam, such as he saw rise from the water boiling in his kettle, along an iron trail, faster than he ever saw the wild horse run across the prairie —endeavored to explain how they could converse, however distant from each other, through the marvelous electric telegraph, describing the immensity of their towns, the number of their warriors; in fine, whether under his own tent in the village, or encamped on the prairie after a day's hunt, he was constantly interrogating me upon some subject connected with their manners, customs, or inventions. Usually, 186
when I had concluded, the old man would remain silent a long time, absorbed in deep study, from which he would, at length, arouse and exclaim—"Wonderful! wonderful! are the works of the white man, but the Great Spirit will destroy them all!"

The Rolling Thunder evidently entertained a favorable 584
opinion of me. This was shown soon after my arrival in his camp, by insisting that I should take a wife. I took the matter into serious consideration, endeavoring to decide in my own mind what effect it might have on the chances of escape. The conclusion was that the effect would be favorable, and, accordingly, I signified to the chief that "Barkis was willin'."

The next step was to make a selection from the dusky daughters of the tribe, a matter about which I felt dis-

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

776 and insects were attributed certain powers by someone. One of the
825 very few animals known to the Comanches which never gave supernatural power was the horse. Although of extreme economic value, horses had no place in the ceremonial life of the tribe; nor did they ever appear in visions or significant dreams except as incidental details. This was also true of the dog. It would seem that the dog and horse, as everyday parts of the Comanche household, were too profane to be thought of as power givers. Man had control of them. Givers of power had to be outside his realm of dominance.

776 Just as animals, birds, and insects might be guardian spirits, so
was any unusual phenomenon of nature likely to be the abiding place
●823 of a spirit. Some of these places, because of the extraordinary power of the spirit abiding within, became rather famous among the Comanches. One such place is Medicine Mounds.

Medicine Mounds are a line of rounded hills in Hardman County, Texas, between the Pease and the Red rivers. They are rather conspicuous, the cones rising about 350 feet above the surrounding plain. Flanking them to the west is a gully-washed scar of an ancient buffalo trail. On the top of the highest of the four mounds is a flat cap rock, a protector against erosion. It was believed by the Comanches to be the dwelling place of a powerful and benevolent spirit.

A Comanche medicine man first discovered its great power when once his band came to hunt in the vicinity of the mounds. He had a young and beautiful daughter who was ill of fever and was growing weaker day by day. Her father had sucked worms and evil spirits out of many a brave and many a squaw, had chanted away the pains of many a girl, and had smoked the weakness from many a boy, but he could not cure his own daughter. He had rattled his gourd all night long while he prayed and chanted. From his medicine bundle he had prepared cures, while the moon was dark and while it was full. He had mixed and tried his formulae in every way he knew. He had consulted other medicine men. But all without results. One morning he came out of his tipi and in despair was gazing silently into the distance when suddenly his eyes came to rest on the rock-capped peak of the highest mound. Here was a powerful spirit that could help him, he thought. So without touching water or food, he went apart to pray and fast until the spirit should send him a revelation. At length

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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it came. He was instructed to take his medicines to the high rock and there mix them so that the power of the good spirit should enter into them. He prepared the medicine as directed by the vision, gave it to his daughter, and then again went out and prayed to the mound spirit—prayed with the patience of those who live under the sun, and watch shadows, and note day by day the greening and the browning of the grass. At length he heard the voice of his daughter. He bounded into the tipi. Her eye was bright, her color almost healthy. She had slept deeply, she said. From that hour she mended steadily and soon was able to return to her work.

Thereafter this medicine man made regular visits to the mound, made offerings to the mound spirit, and performed his cures through its aid. The fame of the mound spirit spread. Other medicine men came. From the gypsum waters of a spring at the base of the mounds, the ailing Comanches came to drink. The spirit came to be a protector for the Comanche bands. Here it could view the country for miles around, and from this lofty point directed arrows of hunters to the vitals of buffalo and deflected those of enemies shot at his wards, the Comanches. And today the name of the four extraordinary hills lined against the ancient buffalo trail that runs down to Pease River remains as a testimonial of the associations they had for the native people who lived by and vanished with the buffalo—Medicine Mounds.[19]

Medicine Bluff is another place commemorated in name and held in great reverence by the Comanches as being the abode of a powerful, benevolent spirit. It is located in Comanchería at the confluence of Cache and Medicine Bluff creeks. The two creeks empty into Red River and are overlooked by a precipitous bluff—Medicine Bluff. It is a mile in length, forming a perfect crescent, rising at once from the bed of Medicine Bluff creek, which flows at the base of the perpendicular scarp, to the height of 310 feet. The surface of the face of the bluff is perfectly regular and smooth. Moss covers the sides with a garb of pale green. The greater portion of the face is perfectly bare, though at some places a few stunted cedars have found lodgment in the crevices. From the rear the bluff presents three knolls, the center one being the highest. Mount Scott, about eight miles dis-

[19] J. Frank Dobie, "Stories in Texas Place Names," *Straight Texas*, 32–34.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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tant, stands forth with its pyramidal outline like a sentinel guarding the eastern gate of the Wichita Mountains.

There, from the bluff, according to a Comanche legend recounted by Thomas Battey, a powerful spirit looked over and cared for his people, saw that game was abundant and that his children were prosperous and happy. Comanche medicine men erected a cairn about six feet in height upon the summit of the principal knoll. Here the sick repaired or were brought by their relatives or friends, and here they were left to its invisible and subtle power. Especially those who were past the cure of the medicine men were deposited on the altar and left to be disposed of by the spirit. If the sick had not offended the supernatural powers, they were suddenly healed and returned to their kindred. Sometimes they were transported bodily to the after world. But if they were notoriously bad, they were allowed to die, and the ravens descended from the air, and the wolf came up from the valley and devoured the body, and the bones were gathered up by the Evil Spirit and deposited in the land of terrors.[20] At times the vicinity of the bluff became suddenly lighted up as by a great fire. The dews of night, the rain, and the wind circled about the spot of the altar at the very summit, but none of these agencies of nature trespassed, and the patient was thus left sheltered better than in his own tipi.

To the spirit was attributed the power of resurrection. Once an old warrior, who had long lived among the women of the village, having ceased to hunt or go on the warpath and having been turned out to wait his time to join his fathers, had struggled to the top of the bluff to die and be borne away to the after world. Each night after his departure, when darkness covered the face of nature, the awe-stricken people of the village below observed a great blaze, as if a fire had been built to alarm them. On the morning after the third night, a young man equipped as a warrior was seen descending the bluff, along the trail to the village. He approached the chief's lodge and sat by the fire. The warriors gathered around, but no one recognized him and so remained silent, waiting for him to speak. Lighting his pipe, decorated with beads and feathers of strange birds, the stranger, after all had made the ceremonial smoke, began his story.

When he had reached the top of the hill, he could see the village

[20] We read this to be un-Comanche-like embroidery supplied by Battey.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and hear the laughter of children, the mourning of his kindred, and the barking of the dogs. He could see the buffalo and deer in the distance, and the young warriors in all their pride and strength. Then he asked himself, "Why do I live any longer? My fires have gone out. I must follow my fathers. The world is beautiful to the young, but to the old it has no pleasures. Far away to the setting suns are the hunting grounds of my people. I will go there." After these words, he had mustered all he could of his failing strength and leaped into the air from the giddy height before him. He knew no more of the woes of life. He was caught up in midair and transported into a smiling country where there was no rain and no wind, where the great chiefs of all the Comanches were assembled. They were all young and chased the buffalo and feasted. There was no darkness. The Great Spirit was everywhere and everybody was happy.

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The story captivated the minds and imagination of the listeners, and the strange young warrior became at once an oracle and a big medicine man in the tribe. His counsel was all-powerful, and his abilities to cure were considered infallible. Reverence for the bluff was enhanced; and in the years that followed no Comanche would ascend to the summit of the hill except for a most sacred purpose. When white soldiers fired shots at the cliff to hear the echoes, the Comanche guide, Blue Leggings, was horror stricken, and he refused to scale the peak with the soldiers, saying, "Me no sick!"[21]

At times a young man, eager to take the warpath for the first time, ascended to the sacred spot in quest of his vision. Having provided himself with a shield, in accordance with ceremonial instructions the youth proceeded to the highest point of the bluff, remaining for three successive days. A part of the ceremony included presenting the face of the shield to the rising sun each morning, as if warding off an arrow or a spear. The sacred surroundings of the place and the Sun, the emblem of the Great Spirit, casting its rays upon the shield were supposed to endow it with supernatural protective powers.

On principle no Comanche worshiped the entire animal life or physical phenomena of his country. But accounts of recent and legendary visions prove that no wild species or type can be ruled out as a possible source of power. The world view precluded nothing from

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[21] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 98.

/page 39 continued/

C consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
K The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
795 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
177 regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
C change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the
K vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.
[787]

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
C and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
K from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
787 old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real
177 it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the
[756] present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
K the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
823 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
778 raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions
[787] (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
K since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
823 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
778 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out.
177 there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
[775] fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
C often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still
K able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.
787

Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
C its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
K
276
795
778
[787]

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 711 C K [829] Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

C K [129] C K 779 795 533 829

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of
[778] her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[826] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

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[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
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823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824

[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

4

Ghosts and Ghost Sickness

Comanche Attitudes toward Ghosts

WALLACE AND HOEBEL (1952:173) write concerning the Comanches' attitudes toward ghosts: "Ghosts did not generally bother the Comanches, but the Comanches were definitely uneasy about them." Kardiner (1945:84) states that the Comanches have no ghost fear at all. I found that not only did my older Comanche informants feel uneasy about ghosts but in most cases they were terrified by them. In almost every interview with a Comanche informant, some situation was cited that dealt with the horrors which ghosts are capable of afflicting on the living. 775

Sanapia states that the whirlwinds, or "dust devils," common in southern Oklahoma are the only form which the ghosts take which is entirely visible to the human eye. In addition this is the only form by which the ghost will make his presence known during daylight hours. The nocturnal guise of the ghost is probably humanlike, in Sanapia's opinion, though she states that she has never seen a ghost at night. This fact is irksome to her because she believes herself to be an expert on the matter of ghosts and their behavior among the Comanches. She considers the lack of this experience as a major flaw in her background, though she accounts for it by mentioning the fear which her Medicine inspires in ghosts. The following is her description of an attempt she made to meet a ghost: [823]

> I tried it on a real dark night. I took my flashlight and walked from here to the highway. The darkest night. That's what I supposed to do because the ghost hates me and I hate it. He ain't never going to do nothing to me because I'm going to overpower that ghost. I could kill it, and the things that it done to a person. He won't do that to me because I got that Medicine. So I walk here to the highway the darkest night. They say there's ghost on the road, but I never did see any. I went to the highway, and then I come back. I just wanted to try. If there was a ghost, I never did hear one, I never see one. Nothing touch me, nothing in my way. I just wanted to see how it was for them to scare [756]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
237 she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Dressing the Buffalo Skin

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824] ●
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

meat. They raised no vegetables of their own, yet they came from a 222
background of food gatherers and did not forget their heritage. They
utilized a large number of vegetables and fruits. Women did most of 222
the seeking for plants, but even the men knew what was growing 824
about them and how to use it. G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones have
given the expert judgment that "the average Comanche has a very
good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those
plants which are or have been of value to his tribe."[12] Fifty-two wild
plants with their uses as given by Comanche informants in the work
of the Santa Fé Laboratory group are listed by Carlson and Jones.
Of these, twenty-seven different plants were used as food. It would
seem that this number would compare rather favorably with the
variety of fruits and vegetables eaten by most Americans today.
Twenty-two of the listed plants were used for medicinal effect in [278]
the Comanche native pharmacology.

The facts, when marshaled, simply do not support the statement
of Captains R. B. Marcy and G. B. McClellan that fresh meat was the [262]
only food of the Comanches "with the exception of a few wild plants
which they find on the prairies."[13]

Among the fruits, the persimmon, mulberry, "haws," wild plums, 222
grapes and currants, juniper berries, hackberries, prickly pear cactus, 251
and sumac were gathered. Persimmons were eaten fresh and also de-
hydrated and stored. For storing, the persimmon was beaten to a
pulp, the seeds removed, and the paste sun-dried in cakes. The cakes
were later soaked in water and used in a variety of ways. Plums were
eaten fresh or stored for winter use in a similar manner, as were also
grapes. Prickly pears were sun-dried for winter use, and hackberries
were pulped, mixed with fat, and roasted in balls on the end of a stick.

Pecan nuts were an obvious delicacy for any Indians living in 222
Texas or Oklahoma, and if times were hard, the Comanches shelled
and boiled the acorn of the blackjack oak.

For starchy substance all Comanche bands dug and ate the tuber-
ous roots of Indian potato, either raw or boiled—and one band, re-
member, was even called the *Yep-eaters*. Four or five other root plants,

[12] G. G. Carlson and V. H. Jones, "Some Notes on Uses of Plants by the Comanche Indians," *Papers* of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XXV (1940), 518.

[13] Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1852*, 111.

Food, Clothing, and Dwellings

The poles were long, straight, and slender, usually of pine or cedar, peeled, seasoned, and pared down to a suitable diameter. They were sometimes pointed at the butt to prevent slipping on the ground. They varied in length from ten to twenty feet, depending on the size tipi desired. Robert G. Carter observed that hundreds of Antelope band poles were of cedar, approximately fourteen feet in length.[32] 342 [824]

Like the Blackfeet, Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Hidastas, Omahas, and others, the Comanches used four poles as a foundation. Many tribes, including the Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Arapahos, Pawnees, and Kiowas, on the other hand, used a three-pole foundation. The projecting tops of the poles of a tipi erected on a three-pole foundation have a spiral appearance, while the four-pole base tends to group them on the sides. It seems evident from the fact that the Comanches used a four-pole foundation like the Shoshones, Utes, and other northern tribes, instead of the three-pole foundation of the Kiowas, Pawnees, and other southern neighbors, that they first adopted the tipi while still in their northern environment. [171]

In erecting the tipi, the four poles were first tied together near the top and set upright. The butt ends of the poles were then pulled out and evenly spaced in a circle. Against this foundation were stacked the remaining poles, all tied together near the top with thongs of buffalo hide. They were set diagonally into the ground, as deep as two or more feet for a permanent dwelling, and three to four feet apart in a circle. Greater security was sometimes obtained by means of short stakes set at an angle across the lodge poles a few inches above the ground. A tipi thus set would withstand most of the strong winds that swept frequently across the High Plains.

The poles served as rafters. Buffalo hides, carefully fitted and firmly sewed together with sinew, were hoisted with a single pole from inside the framework. Women standing on each other's shoulders fastened the covering at the top. The covering was pinned up the front with wooden skewers the size of a lead pencil. From ten to seventeen buffalo hides were required to make a covering for the usual lodge, and rarely was a tipi larger than twenty skins, even if as many as twenty people were sheltered within. This number compares with an estimated average of fourteen and a maximum of

[32] Carter, *On the Border with MacKenzie*, 197; Lee, *op. cit.*, 128.

The Comanches

322 411 [824] into Texas. Bois d'arc is commonly recognized as one of the hardest, finest, and most durable of timbers. If it was not accessible, ash, white elm, ironwood, mulberry, or hickory were used, hickory being a highly esteemed bow wood.

When selecting bow wood, the Comanche chose a small upright sapling or a piece of timber with perfectly straight grain from a large tree. The heart of the tree was never used. The timber had to be straight and as free as possible from knots. It had to be seasoned or dried and not allowed to warp in the process. It was generally worked down to approximately the desired size while still green, since green wood worked more easily. Then followed the seasoning process, requiring weeks or months for completion. With fair use a properly made bow would last for many years, but since it might be accidentally broken at any time, timber in various stages of preparation was kept on hand. After the bow wood had seasoned, it was scraped and shaped to proper dimensions and rubbed with fat or brains to make it pliable. Then the stick was put aside, preferably in a warm place, to be worked again in a few days or weeks.[7] When worked to the proper finish, it was rubbed until it acquired a polish. Glue was spread over the bow, and fresh or wet sinew from the back of a buffalo bull or deer was applied. After the sinew had been wrapped, another coat of glue was applied and smoothed down by thorough rubbing. The bow was then laid aside until perfectly dry. In drying, the fresh sinew would shrink tightly to the wood and, with the glue, made the whole very strong and tough. A common wooden bow could be made in three days, but a week to a month was usually required to finish a fancy one.

411 381 Glue for bows and arrows was made from chippings from the rawhide of the neck of a buffalo bull, from the shavings cut from a buffalo bull hide in the process of thinning it down, or from horns and hoofs. These were boiled with water to make a strong glue. It was lobbed upon a smoothly whittled stick of mulberry or other wood and allowed to cool. The glue stick was carried in the bow case with the arrows for ready and frequent use. By softening in hot water it was ready as an instant mender for almost anything.

[7] This method is still used in East Texas for making handles for hammers, axes, shovels, and the like.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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177
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had all but forsaken them. Their accustomed guardian spirits, and even the Sun, lacked sufficient power to turn back the whites and to preserve their old tribal way of life; they needed and sought new power. The answer was peyote.

It was strong power, and it could always be invoked. Visions could always be had through peyote; it was reassuring to The People.

Peyote worship developed as essentially a group experience. It always has been, and still is. The old camp life was broken up. The Comanches were having to learn to live on isolated farmsteads. They yearned for the companionship of each other. In the peyote meetings they were brought together in the warm intimacy of the sacred tipi. They sat shoulder to shoulder in common experience. There they knew that they were not alone, and they could feel that all was not lost.

R. N. Richardson records the general belief that peyote was first used by the Comanches near Fort Sill, about 1875, shortly after they had been confined on the reservation.[19] D. P. McAllester, in his excellent study of Comanche peyote music, also sets the eighteen seventies as the period in which the Comanches first took up peyote.[20] This, it is true, is the time when the use of peyote in the form of a religious cult really took hold among the Comanches. Until their collapse and the failure of their venture with Coyote Droppings there was no functional reason for them to rely on a drug as the means to supernatural power, although they had access to it and, indeed, had used it in a limited way for some time.

There is ample evidence in the data given by Post Oak Jim, Breaks Something, White Wolf, Kowino, and Frank Moeda to make it quite certain that the Comanches "knew" peyote before the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days it was used exclusively as a war medicine—especially as an aid in seer-seeing to determine what dangers to expect or where to find horses or enemies.

[824]

Peyote, a small, gray-green, spineless, napiform cactus, is botanically known as *Lophophora williamsii*. It contains pharmacologically a complex number of alkaloids capable of producing a variety of physiological effects, including visual and auditory hallucinations, as well

[19] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 34, n.55.
[20] D. P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, 13.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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the plains proper have been gathered chiefly as incidental parts of 114
larger ethnographic studies, are generally meager, and are widely scattered. Two notable lists of plants used by Indians of the northern Plains are those of Grinnell for the Cheyenne (9) and McClintock for the Blackfoot (13). For the tribes of the southern Plains there is almost nothing available.[2] It is to assist in filling this hiatus in southern Plains ethnobotany that this paper is offered.

The data have been tabulated in order to present the material 128
in compact form and to provide a convenient listing of plants by 824
scientific name, common name, Comanche name, or by use (Table I). In the discussion the plants are arranged according to function, i.e. nutritive, medicinal, technological, and the like. Whenever convenient, identical or similar uses of the same or related plants by other tribes are pointed out. A small amount of data on Comanche uses of plants is drawn from other sources. We are grateful to Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel for permission to include some of his unpublished notes on plant names and plant uses of the Shoshone Indians, collected among the northern Shoshone of the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, in 1934.

The phonetic alphabet employed in recording the Comanche 104
plant names is that of the International Phonetic Association. Since this alphabet is in common use and should be readily available to the reader it is not reproduced here.[3] We are further grateful to Dr. Hoebel for assistance in checking the phonetics of plant names.

Wissler (26, pp. 218–219) lists among the chief traits of the typical [149]
Plains tribes "the dependence upon the buffalo or bison, and the 824
very limited use of roots and berries." Marcy and McClellan (15, 262
p. 102) state that fresh meat was the only food of the Comanche "with the exception of a few wild plants which they find on the prairies." Our data seem to indicate that rather full use was made of the available flora. Many fruits and berries were eaten and must have offered a welcome variation to the monotony of the meat diet. Nuts, starchy roots, bulbs, and various other plant parts were also utilized. Some of these offered only fresh seasonal food, and others

[2] Since this paper was written a monograph by P. A. Vestal and R. E. Schultes has appeared in which over a hundred Kiowa economic plants are discussed (*The Economic Botany of the Kiowa Indians as It Relates to the History of the Tribe*, Botanical Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, 110 p.).

[3] For a slightly modified form of this alphabet see Bloomfield (2, p. 547).

[Text continues on p. 526.—Analyst]

824

TABLE I

PLANTS USED BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

Scientific name	Catalog no.	Common name	Comanche name	Comanche use
Allium spp.	No specimen	Wild onions	pakøik, large onion t?diekøik, small onion	Bulbs roasted and eaten
Ambrosia psilostachya DC.	14425	Western ragweed	wɔanatɛu	No use known to informant
Amorpha angustifolia (Pursh.) Boynton	14433	False indigo	sɔhaʌiaβiᵛ	No use known to informant
Andropogon scoparius Michx.	14413	Little bluestem grass	ekɔnip	Stems used as switches in the sweat lodge; ashes from stems used for treating syphilitic sores
Argemone intermedia Sweet	14443	Prickly poppy	pitɛitoʌu	Sore eyes treated with sap
Artemisia filifolia Torr.	14410	Silvery wormwood	pasiwonɔpohɔβiᵛ	As mattress in childbirth; as cushion in tipi
Artemisia ludoviciana Nutt.	14415	Lobed cudweed; white sage	pohɔβiᵛ	Known to be used but precise use not known
Brayodendron texanum (Scheele) Small	No specimen	Mexican persimmon	dunaseika	Fruits eaten
Camassia esculenta (Ker.) Robinson?	No specimen	Wild hyacinth; camase	sikoɪ	Roots eaten raw
Carya illinoensis (Wang.) K. Koch	14448	Pecan	nakutβai	Nuts eaten; leaves used in treatment of ringworm

Celtis laevigata Willd.	14435	Southern hackberry	natɔokwɔ; mitsonâ	Fruits mixed with fat and eaten
Cephalanthus occidentalis L. ..	14417	Buttonbush	pesɔtai	Game sticks made from wood
Cirsium undulatum (Nutt.) Spreng.	14412	Thistle	tɔɔn	Roots eaten; infusion of roots used as medicine for gonorrhea
Cornus asperifolia Michx.	14430	Rough-leaved dogwood	parioβi	Arrow shafts made from stems
Coryphantha sp.	14403	Cactus	Not recorded	Unfaithful wives punished with spines
Crataegus sp.	14421	Thornapple; locally called "red haw"	ţidiamɔwo:	Fruits eaten
Crataegus sp.	14416	Thornapple; locally called "black haw"	tûpokɔ, fruit wɔkwe'kate, tree	Fruits eaten; inner bark chewed as gum
Croton monanthogynus Michx.	14446	Croton weed	guβsimawa	Leaves mixed with animal brains for use in tanning
Cymopterus acaulis (Pursh.) Rydberg?	No specimen	Cymopterus	tun'ha:	Rootstocks eaten
Diospyros virginiana L.	14436	Persimmon	nase'ka	Fruits eaten fresh or dried
Echinacea sp.	14408	Purple coneflower	ţukunɔnatsu	Roots used in treating sore throat and toothache
Elymus sp.?	14427	Rye grass	puitsaseni	No use known to informant
Eriogonum longifolium Nutt. .	14429	Eriogonum	ekanatsu; ekanaλβpa	Stomach trouble treated with infusion of roots

824

TABLE I (*Continued*)

Scientific name	Catalog no.	Common name	Comanche name	Comanche use
Gutierrezia sarothrae (Pursh.) B. & R.	14431	Snakeweed	sanawɛha; ohoya	Brooms made of stems; leaves used in treating whooping cough
Helenium autumnale L.?	14422	Sneezeweed	tidikwɔbam	Used in bath for treatment of fever
Helenium microcephalum Gray	14411	Sneezeweed	natsa'ksi	Used to induce sneezing in order to clear nasal passages or to expel afterbirth
Hoffmanseggia Jamesii T. & G.	14419	*Camote de ratón*	pitsamu	Tubers eaten
Ilex sp.?	No specimen	Holly; yaupon	Not recorded	Beverage made from leaves
Juglans nigra L.	No specimen	Black walnut	muβitai	Nuts eaten; leaves used in treatment of ringworm
Juniperus virginiana L.	14440	Juniper; red cedar	ekawaip'	Fruits eaten; smoke from leaves thought to have purifying effect
Lespedeza capitata Michx.	14441	Bush clover	puhihuβi'	Beverage made from leaves
Liatris punctata Hook.	14449	Button snakeroot	ataβitsɔnoi	Roots chewed for juice; remedy for swollen testes
Lophophora Williamsii (Lem.) Coulter.	No specimen	Peyote	Not recorded	Used in ceremonies for narcotic effect
Maclura pomifera (Raf.) Schneider	14399	Osage orange; *bois d'arc*	ohahupi'	Bows manufactured from branches; infusion of roots used in treatment of sore eyes

Malvastrum coccineum (Pursh.) A. Gray.	14450	Red false mallow	yɔkanatɛu	Infusion of plant used for reducing swellings
Morus rubra L.	14434	Red mulberry	etehupᵛ; sɔhɔβoko	Fruits eaten
Nelumbo lutea (Willd.) Pers.?	No specimen	Yellow lotus	keʃiate	Roots boiled and eaten
Nymphaea advena Ait.?	No specimen	Yellow pond lily	keʃiate	Roots boiled and eaten
Opuntia sp.	No specimen	Prickly-pear cactus	wɔkwɔ:i	Fruits eaten
Petalostemum purpureum (Vent.) Rydb.	14400	Purple prairie clover	pakɔ:tɛɔ	Roots chewed for sweet flavor
Prosopis glandulosa Torr.	14447	Mesquite	namoβitsɔni; natsɔkwe	Meal from pods eaten; leaves used to neutralize stomach acidity
Prunus angustifolia Michx.	14444	Chickasaw plum	Not recorded	Fruits eaten fresh or stored
Prunus spp.	No specimen	Wild plums	yusɔkɔ, early plum parawasɔkɔ, late summer plum kusisɔkɔ, fall plum natsɔmɔ, dried plum as it falls to the ground suikui, one particular plum	Fruits either eaten fresh or dried and stored for later use
Psoralea hypogea Nutt.?	No specimen	Indian breadroot	ɛ'kakoni	Roots eaten raw

TABLE I (*Concluded*)

Scientific name	Catalog no.	Common name	Comanche name	Comanche use
Quercus marilandica Muench.	14442	Blackjack oak; barren oak	ḏuhuıpᵛ	Acorns eaten; leaves used as cigarette wrappers
Quercus sp.	No specimen	Oak	pasaponi	Acorns eaten; trunks used for fence posts
Rhus glabra L.	14420	Smooth sumac	ḏimɔyoᵛ	Fruits eaten by children; leaves added to tobacco for smoking
Rhus trilobata Nutt.	14438	Ill-scented sumac; skunkbush	ḏatɔipᵛ	Bark used in treating colds
Ribes odoratum Wendl.	14439	Wild currant	huaβɔkoı	Fruits eaten
Salix sp. (Salix nigra?)	14445	Willow	ohassɔhɔβᵛᵛ	Sores eyes treated with ashes
Sapindus Drummondii H. & A.	14432	Soapberry	ɔtɔmitsɔnaı	Arrows for *aratsi* game made from stems
Smilax bona-nox L.	14414	Greenbrier	ṭamɔtsoi	Leaves used as cigarette wrappers
Solanum sp.	14424	Nightshade	dɔıpotɔtsi	Used in a general tonic and tuberculosis remedy
Sophora secundiflora (Orteg.) Lag.	No specimen	Mescal bean	Not recorded	Beans used as ornaments, possibly for ceremonial purposes
Typha latifolia L.	No specimen	Cattail	pisbuıni	No use known to informant
Vitis spp.	No specimen	Wild grapes	Not recorded	Fruits eaten fresh or dried for storage
Yucca louisianensis Trelease	14418	Soapweed; yucca	muımutsi	Roots used as soap
Zanthoxylum americanum Mill.	14398	Prickly ash; toothache tree	ḳunɔnatsu	Bark used as medicine for fever, sore throat, and toothache

Unidentified (fam. Cactaceae) *	No specimen	Cactus	eka mitsa:	Probably eaten
Unidentified	14401		itse; ţiməyhə	No use known to informant
Unidentified	No specimen		kusiipoko	Berries eaten
Unidentified	14406		kusiwəna	No use known to informant
Unidentified	14426		mawitsok^{v}	Decoction used in treatment of constipation and gonorrhea
Unidentified (fam. Labiatae)...	14423		nemeʎisas	Leaves used as perfume
Unidentified	No specimen		paiyap	Roots roasted or boiled and eaten
Unidentified	14400		pehenatsu; peheʎ	Used to check menstrual discharge
Unidentified	14437		poiya	Decoction of leaves used in treatment of fever
Unidentified	No specimen		qətanarixka	"Roots" roasted in fire and eaten
Unidentified	No specimen		sehetsitaina	Roots boiled or roasted and eaten
Unidentified	No specimen		taƀaxko	Roots cooked with fat to make soup
Unidentified	No specimen		totox'd	Tubers eaten
Unidentified	No specimen		tsuns	Roots roasted and eaten
Unidentified (fam. Cactaceae)..	No specimen	Cactus	Not recorded	Fruits eaten

* Obtained in Texas.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 were preserved for later use. The manner of preparation and storage
262 is of considerable interest.

824 The fruits of the persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) were eaten
262 fresh or were dried and stored for future comsumption. The per-
251 simmon was commonly used in this manner by various tribes in the southern prairies and in the Southeast, and it is frequently mentioned in early historical accounts. The common method of preparation for storage seems to have been to beat the ripe fruits to a pulp, remove the seeds, and dry the paste. The cakes thus formed were later softened in water and prepared in various ways for eating. The persimmon has achieved little commercial importance, but is still widely used and esteemed by Indians and whites wherever it is available. An informant also described a black persimmon (Comanche: *dunaseika*) obtained in Texas and Mexico. This was doubtless the Mexican persimmon (*Brayodendron texanum*), which occurs from central Texas southwestward into Mexico.

The fruits of the mulberry (*Morus rubra*) were eaten fresh, when ripe, but no attempt was made to store them. This species is the one most generally preferred by Indians, from the Iroquois country to Kansas and Missouri and southward.

The fresh ripe fruits of two hawthorns or "haws" (*Crataegus spp.*) were eaten by the Comanche. According to an informant, one should shout like a wolf before partaking of them, or he will be sure to get stomach-ache and constipation. An indication of the wide use of Crataegus fruits is a list, compiled by Yanovsky (27, pp. 30–31), of eleven species used by various tribes of Indians from the eastern states to California and British Columbia.

The Comanche names for several wild "plums" were recorded, including designations for early plums, late summer plums, and fall plums. It is quite likely that some of the "plums" are wild cherries or chokecherries. Only one was collected, the Chickasaw plum (*Prunus angustifolia*). The fruits of this species were either eaten fresh or stored for winter use. Another kind of plum (Comanche: *su:kui*) was also said to be stored after the seeds had been removed and the fruits dried on a hide in the sun. Later they were boiled in water and eaten. In the winter the Indians sometimes obtained
[222] plums by tracking pack rats to their nests and taking the hoarded supply.

Several species of wild grapes (*Vitis spp.*) were available to the

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Comanche and were either eaten fresh or dried in the sun and stored. 824 The dried fruits were dampened, worked into cakes, and baked, 262 fat sometimes being added in the process. Wild currants (*Ribes* 251 *odoratum*) were eaten fresh, but were not preserved, as they were among many tribes. Another fruit (Comanche: *kusi:poko*) was not seen, but was described as being black, and round, like a grape, and was said to be eaten fresh. Children were reported to be very fond of the sour acid fruits of the sumac (*Rhus glabra*), and various species were eaten by Indians wherever sumac was available.

The berries of the juniper or red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) also served as food on occasion, the practice of eating juniper berries of various species being common among the Indians of the Southwest and elsewhere. The Comanche name for the red cedar was given as *ekawa:p*^{v}, and it was explained that *eka* is the term for "red." No etymology of *wa:p* was obtained. To judge from Chamberlain's discussion (6, pp. 63–64), *wap* seems to be a root word for "cedar" in the Shoshonean languages. If this is the case, then the Comanche term *ekawa:p*^{v} is an exact equivalent of the colloquial English term "red cedar" for the same plant.

The succulent fruits of prickly-pear cactus (*Opuntia sp.*) were eaten fresh and were also dried for winter use. No specimens were collected, but the descriptions by informants leave no doubt as to the identity of the plants. The spines were rubbed from the fruits designed for storage, the seeds removed, and the pears dried in the sun. Another cactus, also, was edible, but an informant stated that before eating its fruit one should take the red juice and paint a cross on his forehead to prevent consequent diarrhea. A third cactus (Comanche: *eka mitsa:*) was said to be obtained in Texas, but the notes do not mention whether or not it was a food plant.

The fruits of the southern hackberry (*Celtis laevigata*) were beaten, pits and all, into a pulp and mixed with fat. This mixture was rolled into balls, which were placed on the ends of sticks and roasted over a fire. The Pawnee had a similar method of preparing hackberries, but added parched corn as well as fat (7, p. 76). Hack- 824 berries were commonly eaten by Indians of the Southeast, the Plains, 262 and the Southwest, the usual practice being to consume pit and all. 251 In this connection it is interesting to note that in chemical analyses 145 of hackberries prepared in the Indian manner Yanovsky *et alii* (29) found not only considerable amounts of carbohydrates and protein

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824 but also a high mineral content. The chief mineral constituent was
262 calcium carbonate, which accounted for about one quarter of the
251 dry weight of the fruits. It seems that the scanty-pulped, unpromis-
145 ing-appearing hackberry may have been a valuable element in the diet of the Indians.

824 The tuberous roots of the Indian potato or *camote de ratón* (*Hoff-*
262 *manseggia Jamesii*) were eaten raw or were boiled. Roots of related species were similarly treated by the Apache and certain Pueblo Indians of the Southwest (3, p. 52; 4, p. 42).

[252] The "roots" of another plant (Comanche; *tun'ha:*) were said to be eaten fresh or after they had been peeled, dried in the sun, and pulverized. The plant, which was described as growing along with the mesquite, was not seen, but the description and the manner of use suggest that it was probably some member of the genus Cymopterus. This opinion is strengthened by the similarity of the Comanche name to the Gosiute term (*tuña*) for *Cymopterus montanus* (6, p. 96). A single species (*Cymopterus acaulis*) is listed as occurring in Oklahoma (23, p. 373).

Two kinds of "wild onions" were described. A large, sweet-
[252] flavored variety (Comanche: *pakø:k*) was prepared by braiding the plants together and roasting over a fire. A smaller onion (Comanche: *tʔdiekø:k*), with red flowers, was considered less desirable. Wild onions were commonly eaten by various tribes of Indians, and it is not unlikely that both these plants actually belong to the genus Allium. Several species occur in Oklahoma.

Another plant (Comanche: *siko:*) was said to have leaves somewhat like those of a wild onion and to have blue flowers. The "root" (bulb?), which is eaten raw, has a sweet taste. This description strongly suggests the camass or swamp sego (*Camassia esculenta*), an important food plant of the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. The Gosiute name *pa-si-go* (6, p. 30) and the Snake name *paseego* (1, p. 9) are somewhat similar to the *siko:* of the Comanche. The Paiute name (*sego*) and the Gosiute name (*sigo*) (5, p. 498; 6, p. 30) for the Mariposa lily (*Calochortus spp.*) are even more similar to the Comanche term, but A. F. Chamberlain (5, p. 498) points out that the word *sego* in the Paiute language is a general term for bulbous roots. Calochortus, apparently, is eliminated because it does not have a blue flower and does not occur in Oklahoma (23). *Camassia esculenta* fits the description well and is available in Comanche

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County (23, p. 56); it is probably the plant to which the informant had reference. 824 262

The underground portion of a plant (Comanche: *e'kakoni*) described as "growing like a radish and having a root like a radish" was said to be peeled, and eaten raw. The "root" was further described as red and sweet-tasting. Except for the color, the plant might well be the widely used prairie turnip or *pomme blanche* (*Psoralea esculenta*) of the northern Plains. Grinnell (9, p. 178) describes, however, the Cheyenne use of a related species (*Psoralea hypogeae*) the root of which is red and which bears the same Cheyenne name as the *pomme blanche*, with a prefix meaning "red." This latter plant occurs in southwestern Oklahoma and may be the one in question.

A plant (Comanche: *totox'd*) resembling a small tomato bears a "root" (tuber?) about the size and shape of a walnut. This "root" is peeled before being eaten; the flesh is light in color. The description applies well to the wild potatoes (*Solanum Jamesii* and *Solanum Fendleri*) commonly used in the Southwest except that the plants are said to "appear in the spring and not last long." These wild potatoes are not listed in the flora of Oklahoma (23).

Several other plants which produced underground parts useful as food were mentioned by informants, and the Comanche names have been recorded. An herb (Comanche: *taḃaxko*) was collected in the spring, and the roots were cooked with fat to make a soup. A grayish vine (Comanche: *tsuns*) grows deep and produces a root which is roasted after its thin skin has been removed. (This might be some species of Smilax.) A "root" described as "like a sweet potato" (Comanche: *qɜtanarixka*) was said to grow in sandy places. This "root" is peeled and roasted. Another edible "root" which was compared to a potato has the Comanche name *sehetsitsina*. It was eaten either boiled or roasted. On the basis of its name and its use Hoebel (correspondence, April, 1939) suggests that this is the Indian potato, a plant which, he notes, "Grows in hills, flowers like Sweet William," and has "small white tubers, ripe in spring, [that are] boiled and eaten." Even with this description we are unable to suggest a specific identification. 824 262 252

A plant (Comanche: *paiyap*) was described as having a blossom like that of a sunflower, and edible "roots" prepared by roasting or boiling. This suggests the so-called Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus* 824 262

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824 *tuberosus*), but some other plant might fit the description equally well.
262 Hoebel (10) records three Shoshone food plants the names of which suggest a relationship to the Comanche *paiyap*. The first of these (Shoshone: *yep* or *muhaiyep*) has a single "root," grows in the hills, and is harvested in early March. The second (Shoshone: *ṭimbiyep*, that is, "rock *yep*") grows in rocky outcrops. It is of interest to note here that Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term *tiṁ-bo-ip* (rock + root + plant) for plants growing over rocks. The third has the Shoshone name *piayep*, meaning "big *yep*," which appears to be the Shoshone equivalent of the Comanche *paiyap;* it is described as having several large tubers.

824 The pod of the mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) contains a con-
252 siderable amount of gummy saccharine material, of which a number
263 of analyses have been made. One of the more recent shows the beans to contain about twenty per cent sugar (28, p. 656). The Comanche
[415] crushed them in a mortar made of buffalo hide, using a pestle of mesquite wood. After the beans were crushed, the seeds were removed and the pods pounded to a fine meal, which was used alone or added to corn meal as a sweetening. A mush was prepared by
[272] mixing mesquite meal with marrow, and a drink (Comanche: *pihi-sawanap*) was made by combining mesquite meal and corn meal in water. Whether or not this drink was allowed to ferment is not mentioned in the notes. The Comanche preparation and uses of
[170] the mesquite beans are almost identical with those of the Apache and the tribes of the Gila region of Arizona (3, pp. 43–44; 4, pp. 41, 53), where the mesquite was a staple food. Among these tribes a fermented beverage was prepared from the mesquite alone or from a mixture of mesquite and corn meal.

824 In times of scarcity the acorns of the blackjack oak (*Quercus*
261 *marilandica*) were eaten. They were shelled and boiled, and might
171 be stored for future use. The Comanche, unlike many other tribes, did not grind them into meal, but ate them whole. Castetter (3, p. 47) reports that certain of the Pueblos also boiled the kernels whole. Acorns were widely used as food by various tribes, particularly in the Southwest, the Southeast, and California, and among some Indians in the latter region they were the major food staple.

The roots of several plants were eaten or chewed merely for their flavor. These seem to have been chiefly in the nature of famine foods and food supplements rather than staples. The roots of a

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thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*), the Comanche name of which was *tsɜn*, 824 ●
were eaten raw. This same species (listed as *Cnicus undulatus*) and 261
others were used in much the same manner by the Gosiute (6, p. 56), 171
who called the plants *tsin'ga* or *tsi'na*. The Snake Indians ate the roots of a thistle (listed as *Cnicus eriocephalus*, 1, p. 10), which they called *tsinah*. Hoebel (10) gives the Shoshone name of another thistle as *tsɜ'ntnə* and states that the root was eaten after being roasted in ashes. Its stalk, while young and tender, was eaten raw, and had the interestingly similar Shoshone name *tsɜ'ngabɔk*. A plant not collected and not seen but described as a water lily furnished edible roots, which were prepared by boiling. Two plants of the water-lily family (Nymphæaceae) which were widely used by Indians in this manner and which would have been available to the Comanche (23, pp. 144, 145) are the American lotus (*Nelumbo lutea*) and the yellow pond lily (*Nymphaea advena*). The plant in question was probably one of these. The roots of the button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed, the juice being swallowed for its rich fatty taste, and those of the sweet-flavored purple prairie clover (*Petalostemum purpureum*) were likewise relished. The roots of the purple prairie clover and the white prairie clover (*Petalostemum candidum*) were similarly used by the Ponca (7, p. 94); those of another prairie clover (*Petalostemum oligophyllum*) found favor among some of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (3, p. 33). The inner bark of a hawthorn (*Crataegus sp.*) was said to serve as a chewing gum.

The nuts of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) were eaten fresh or were 824
stored, without preparation, for winter use, as were those of the black 262
walnut (*Juglans nigra*). Native wild pecan trees are plentiful in the rich valleys of the Comanche county and southward, and the nuts were prized by the Indians. They have been adopted as a delicacy by the white man, also, and the produce of both wild and cultivated trees is today an item of considerable economic importance.

Most Indian tribes make considerable use of plants as salads or 824
greens and also steep the leaves in water to prepare various bever- 262
ages. It is surprising that the Comanche notes do not include a 272
single plant used for greens, and mention only two whose leaves were utilized in making drinks. The leaves of bush clover (*Lespedeza capitata*) were boiled in water to furnish a tea. The other beverage was prepared from the foliage of a plant said to grow in damp places and to have red fruits. This description strongly suggests the mem-

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824 262 272 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *pɔ'·int*") which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 278 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

[844] The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases. [841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was [844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

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Plant remedies played a part in the Comanche treatment of 824 venereal diseases. The root of the thistle (*Cirsium undulatum*) was 278 boiled and the liquid drunk in cases of gonorrhea. Another medicinal 757 drink for gonorrhea was prepared by making an infusion of the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*). Syphilitic sores were treated with the ashes of the stems of little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*).

Two plants were used by the Comanche, in much the same manner, for both toothache and sore throat. For toothache the root of the purple coneflower (*Echinacea sp.*) or the bark of the root of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was held against the tooth to relieve pain. In cases of sore throat the root of the coneflower was boiled in water and the liquid drunk, or the inner bark of the prickly ash was ground and placed in the throat. This similarity may indicate some association of tooth and throat troubles in the minds of the Comanche, but it very likely has no significance, since both plants were general cure-alls among various tribes. The Cheyenne utilized Echinacea for the same purposes, and the methods of application were only slightly different (9, p. 188). Echinacea was an important medicinal plant among the tribes of the Missouri River region, where its use for toothache was identical with that of the Comanche, but no mention is made of it as a cure for sore throat (7, p. 131).

Three plants were prescribed for the treatment of "sore eyes." The root of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) was boiled in water and the decoction used to bathe them; the stems of willow (*Salix sp.*) were burned and the eyes treated with the ashes; and the sap of the prickly poppy (*Argemone intermedia*) was administered to the eyes. It was said that in gathering this latter plant offerings in the form of [222] beads or other objects were made to it.

A tea for "stomach trouble" was prepared from the roots of *Eriogonum longifolium*, and the leaves of mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa*) were chewed, and the juice swallowed, to relieve acid stomach. A remedy for constipation was a drink made by boiling the stems of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *mawitsɔkᵛ*).

The bark of the prickly ash (*Zanthoxylum americanum*) was mixed with water and the decoction drunk as a cure for fever. Two other plants were also specified for the treatment of fever. The leaves of one of these (Comanche: *poiya*) were mixed with an herb (unknown

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824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
436 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

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> They manufacture it into bows, which become articles of commerce, and 824
> are sometimes exchanged for peltries, etc. I knew a Sioux to give his horse for 411
> a single one; and among the upper tribes they frequently bring three or four 439
> beaver skins each. The tree is so highly valued, that they never destroy it, except when wanted for use, or in the territories of their enemies; in the latter case, they make its destruction as particular an object, as they do that of their game.

Since the Comanche were more or less in control of at least a part of the area in which the Osage orange grew they were doubtless in a position to profit through trading it to other tribes. The Tewa tribes of the Rio Grande valley specified the Comanche particularly as a source of their Osage orange bowwood (20, p. 68).

Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the bows of the Co- 824
manche as being made of the tough and elastic wood of the Osage 411
orange, "strengthened and reinforced with the sinews of the deer wrapped firmly around them." This brief and incomplete description suggests the sinew-backed bow which is classified by Mason (17, p. 638) as the "seized bow" and which had sinew "wrapped about" it, but Mason seems nowhere to describe this bow in detail, has no illustrations of it, and gives no distribution of it among American Indians. The description might also apply to the sinew-lined type of sinew-backed bow except that it does not mention the lining of sinew, often inconspicuous, which was usually bound on by transverse bands of sinew. The "Shoshonean or narrow" type of sinew-lined bow (17, pp. 638, 643, and Plates 61 and 79) may be indicated. This bow had its distribution among the Shoshonean tribes of the Great Basin and among the Apache, the Navajo, and the Pueblos, but, according to Mason, did not occur east of the Rocky Mountains (17, pp. 640, 643). Wissler (25, pp. 159–160), however, examined bows in the American Museum of Natural History from various Plains tribes and noted sinew-lined ones from some of the northern Plains tribes. He considered these intrusive from the sinew-backed bow area to the immediate west, supplementary to the self bow, and of exceptional occurrence. The Comanche bows which Wissler mentioned appear to have been of the simple, unbacked type. It does not seem likely that the Comanche bows mentioned by Marcy and McClellan were such, for Mason nowhere describes or illustrates self bows bound with sinew. Whether or not the bows seen by Marcy and McClellan were sinew-backed, and, if so, whether or not they were typical Comanche bows remain open questions. There is,

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824 apparently, no doubt that the Comanche were in frequent contact
411 with tribes using the sinew-lined bow, and that the tribes most closely related to the Comanche habitually used such bows.

Arrow shafts were made from straight stems of the rough-leaved dogwood (*Cornus asperifolia*). This species was also the preferred arrow material of the tribes of the Missouri River region (7, p. 108). Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the arrows of the Comanche as being "twenty inches long, of flexible wood, with a triangular point of iron at one end, and two feathers intersecting each other at right-angles, at the opposite extremity." They do not specify the material used for arrows further than by saying that it was "flexible wood." Arrows for the *aratsi* game were made from the stems of
[E24] the soapberry (*Sapindus Drummondii*). Wood for game sticks was obtained from the buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*).

824 The leaves of the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*) were mixed with
276 tobacco. The addition of other plant materials to tobacco was a common practice among many tribes of Indians, the leaves of smooth sumac being widely used in this way. Chamberlain (6, p. 72) notes that this species was smoked by the Gosiute, and Gilmore (7, p. 100) cites its use by the Indians of the Upper Missouri, but neither writer mentions its being mixed with tobacco. McGuire (14, p. 385) gives Marcy and McClellan (16, p. 102) as his authorities for the following: "Captain Marcy refers to the Comanche being extravagantly fond of smoking tobacco, which they call pah-mo, mixed with the leaves of sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)." West (24, p. 107) accepts this without question and repeats it. In neither the 1853 (15) nor the 1854 (16) edition of Marcy and McClellan are we able, however, to find this complete statement. The passage on Comanche smoking in these volumes (15 and 16, p. 102) is as follows: "All of them [the Comanche] are extravagantly fond of tobacco, which they use for smoking, mixed with the dried leaves of the sumac, inhaling the smoke into their lungs and giving it out through the nostrils." Evidently the Comanche term for tobacco and the name of the particular species of sumac were taken by McGuire from some other source and not from Marcy and McClellan, as is implied. It may be true that *Rhus trilobata* was smoked by the Comanche, but *Rhus glabra* was specified by our informants as the species which was smoked, and medicinal uses only were ascribed to the former. We know of only one other reference to *Rhus trilobata* as a smoking material, that by

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Grinnell (9, p. 180) for the Cheyenne, but *Rhus glabra* was commonly 824
used by many tribes of Indians. The latter is the sumac, which 276
Schultes (21, p. 138) mentions as used by the Kiowa.

The leaves of two plants were said to be employed as wrappings 824
for cigarettes. One of these is the greenbrier (*Smilax bona-nox*), and 276
the other the blackjack oak (*Quercus marilandica*). Our notes give 796
no explicit occasions on which the leaves of the blackjack oak were made into cigarette wrappings, but this was doubtless done chiefly at peyote ceremonies based upon the religious use of the cactus. According to Schultes (21, p. 138), this use of blackjack oak leaves (given as *Quercus nigra*) in the peyote ceremony is a common practice. La Barre (12, p. 48) states that cornhusk cigarettes are standard in the Kiowa–Comanche peyote ceremony, but that the Comanche and the Shawnee sometimes employ the leaves of the blackjack oak. Opler (18, p. 28) mentions the rolling of tobacco in oak leaves (species not given) or in cornhusk in the peyote ceremony of the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache.

Mr. Carlson and the other members of the field party engaged in a Comanche peyote ceremony, but as this will be described in a later report and as a rather full account of the Kiowa–Comanche type of ceremony has recently appeared (12, pp. 43–53), we need give little attention to peyote here. Formerly the Comanche doubtless obtained their peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) while they were on expeditions into its native habitat in the Rio Grande region of Texas and southward, but more recently they have acquired it by trade and have even cultivated it. La Barre (12, p. 57) refers to an unpublished manuscript by Hoebel describing an early ritualistic Comanche expedition for peyote. Apparently the Comanche were also familiar with the mescal bean (*Sophora secundiflora*), which has a native range roughly similar to that of peyote. La Barre (12, pp. 105–109, 126–127) summarizes the data concerning this narcotic plant, which seems at one time to have been the center of a prepeyote narcotic cult and whose use has been retained in connection with magic and ornament, particularly in association with the peyote ceremony. Participants in the peyote ceremony witnessed by our party had red beans, which were probably mescal beans (but may have been Erythrina), on the fringes of their leggings. Skinner (22, p. 261) describes Iowa leggings, ornamented with mescal beans, which he considered might be "of the modified Kiowa–Comanche

824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

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fumes were inhaled. The stems of the latter were tied in bundles 824 343 with which the Comanche switched themselves.

Yucca roots (*Yucca louisianensis*) were ground up for soap. 824 Various species were used as detergents by Indians in the Plains and 388 the Southwest particularly. The ordinary method of preparation is to strip the bark off the root and beat the root to a pulpy mass. The pulp is cut into small pieces which are dried in the sun and can then be kept until needed. When required, two or three of these pieces are soaked in water for about an hour, after which the water is agitated briskly with the hands. Suds immediately appear, forming a good lather. The Southwestern Indians prescribe yucca suds for ceremonial hair washing and also prefer them for laundering blankets and woolen garments. The roots have a high saponin content; commercial soap has been successfully manufactured from them. Another plant used in toiletry was an unidentified species (Comanche: [302] *nemeʎisas*) of the mint family, the fragrant leaves of which were valuable for perfuming.

The leaves of croton (*Croton monanthogynus*) were said to be 824 ground and mixed with brains of animals for use in curing hides. This 281 and other species of croton were widely utilized medicinally, but we know of no other instance of its employment in tanning. Richardson (19, p. 67) quotes two somewhat varying discussions of Comanche tanning, but in neither of these is any plant material mentioned.

Most tribes of Indians prepared brooms by binding together the 824 tough and moderately flexible stems of some plant, but there seems to 412 be little or no uniformity in the plants thus used. The one specified for this purpose by the Comanche was the snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*).

Comanche names were obtained for all the plants collected, yet 824 the informants, although knowing the names, could give no use for a number of them. Professor Kroeber has stressed the importance of collecting and recording negative data of this sort as well as positive data, and lists of "plants not used" have appeared in papers by his students. The Comanche informants could offer no use for the following plants: cattail (*Typha latifolia*), white sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*), false indigo (*Amorpha angustifolia*), western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*), a grass (*Elymus sp.*), and two unidentified plants bearing the Comanche names *kusiwɔna*, and *itse* or *ṭimɔyhɔ*. It may well be that some or all of these were utilized and that their functions

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824 were not known by the particular informants questioned. One man felt that the white sage had a practical value, but did not know what it might be. Some of these plants have been recorded as used by tribes more or less in contact with the Comanche and may have been employed in a similar manner by the Comanche. The informant who pointed out the western ragweed (*Ambrosia psilostachya*) gave its name as *woanatsu*, but knew of no use for it. The ending *natsu* [757] indicates a medicinal plant, and it is interesting to note that this plant was prescribed by the Cheyenne in the treatment of colds, cramps in bowels, and bloody stools (9, p. 188), and that it was also valued by the Gosiute in the treatment of sore eyes (6, p. 49), but has a quite different name, without the *natsu* ending, in Gosiute.

221 The Comanche were formerly a very nomadic people, particularly 166 after their acquisition of the horse. Marcy and McClellan (15, pp. 824 94–95) describe them as following the buffalo from place to place and also tell of their horse- and cattle-stealing expeditions, which covered over a thousand miles and even took them into the northern provinces of Mexico, consuming two years or more at a time. Richardson (19) tells something of the migrations, movements, expeditions, and contacts of the Comanche. They appear to have been in at least occasional touch with Apache and Pueblo Indians of the Southwest and with Plains and Plateau tribes as far north as what is now the Canadian border. It seems reasonable that they should have been an important agency in the diffusion of plants and of knowledge of plant uses as well as of other culture traits. They controlled practically all the limited area in which the valuable *bois d'arc* or bowwood grew and from which it was traded to the Siouan, the Caddoan, and other tribes to the north, and to the Pueblos to the west. They doubtless also were instrumental in spreading the narcotic cults based on the peyote and mescal beans. La Barre (12, p. 43) considers the Kiowa and the Comanche to be the center of diffusion of peyote in the Plains. Both peyote and mescal beans were native to the southwestern region of Texas and in Mexico, but were diffused almost throughout the Plains and as far northeastward as the Great Lakes. Certainly the many similar plant uses of the Comanche and of other tribes of the Plains, the Plateau, and the Southwest indicate either Comanche contact with these various peoples or a very active dissemination of such traits throughout these areas.

192 *mix* + -?]; namocono?i? *tweezers* [na- + mo·cO *whiskers* + no?I *pluck* + -?]; *namocowicke? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); namuvIsicima? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); nana?atahpunaha? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); narimu?irivo·pI *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); *nani?o·ki? *court* [na- + ni?o·kI *call people together* + -?]; nano·? *harness*, old people's word (*its load*); *nayohkahnI *brothel* [na- + yo·kO *copulate* + kahnI *house*]; *nayokOwa?ihpi? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); ni·picapI *operation* (*cut one open*); ni·pohpi? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); ni·hica?wi? *fan* [ni· + hihca?wI *cool a person* + -?]; nimivó·?e·tI *camera* (*customarily draws people*); nimimáka?e·tI *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); niminó?e·tI *bus* (*customarily carries people*); nimiwIcIke?e·tI *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); *ninakariki? *medal, badge* [ninapI *chest* + ka·rI *sit* + -ki benefactive + -? nominalizer]; ninaci?nika? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); niniyI?wi? *alligator* [ni-, reduplicated (?) + yi?wi (swallow) + -?]; no?anohkopI *pie* (*pregnant bread*, baked); no?sina?camokwe? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); nohihtaivo·? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); nohihknI *theater* (*play house*); nohkopI *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); nukIsari·? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); nunurawi? *movies* [nunurawipI *stampeded, ran off*, as buffalo herd].

*wanaramU *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); wanarasé·yu? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot* re pantaloons); *wanako?ce? *soap* (*cloth washer*); *wanacahkina? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); *wanaciya·? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); *wananapI *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); wanso·nA *cotton* [wanapI *cloth* + so·nA *pad*]; wansonamuvIcapI *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with the mouth*) [so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird]; wihavi·tI *parade* (*stretch along*, as line, etc.); *wo?arihkapI *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

[824]

[262]

[p. 226-8]

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115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

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115 year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine
159 plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not
756 native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the
[824] collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into
[278] manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the significance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through
115 159 756 him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be somewhat counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded
177 for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The
115 159 Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing
756 it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut*
[761] and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

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278
824

Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant.

[778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most sur-
[778] rounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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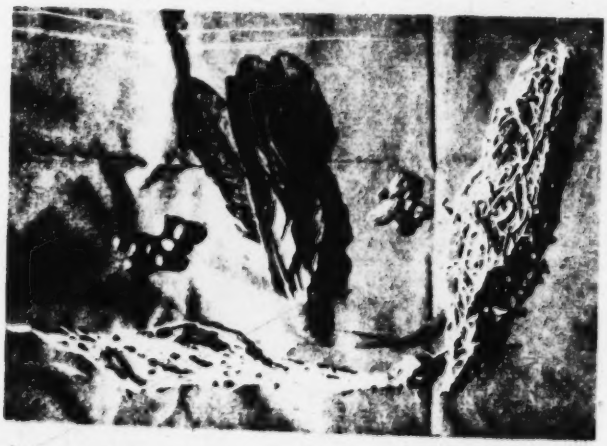
However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824



[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

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824
[142]
[291]
[302]
[516]

Sanapia preparing medicine.

but since Sanapia almost exclusively uses only the root of the plant for medicine, this concern with flowing water seems ubiquitous on medicine-plant-collecting trips.

278 801 [171] Her dosages of the various botanical medicines follow the mystical number four found in the southern Plains area. The medicinal decoctions and infusions which she prepares are always given in units of four—four cupsful, four spoonsful, and so forth. Her externally applied medicines, such as salves and liniments, are administered with four movements of the hand; and when dried cedar leaves are employed to produce medicine smoke, they are deposited on the live coals in the course of four consecutive abbreviated motions of the hand.

128 In the following discussions, a standardized introductory line will be used for each plant when possible. The Comanche term for the plant will be presented first, followed by Sanapia's translation of the Comanche term. The English translation of the Comanche term will be followed by the binomial classification of the plant, which in turn will be followed by the English common name.

278 824 137 "red berry cedar" *okapokowa:pi* *Juniperus pinchotii* (red cedar; juniper)

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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

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278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
757
[177]
[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

ekɔpa

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring
[841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a
[783] *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

puitsasene

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

kunɔnatsu

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment
[752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

bakumaᵏ

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakumaᵏ is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of 278
this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, 755
significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches 757
and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could [177] have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment.

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and [752] spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling.

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bɔkwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bɔkwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which [778] she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar.

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278 824 755 757 A decoction of the thick white root is externally administered in the treatment of ghost sickness, bruises, bone breaks, and menstrual cramps. A paste made from the root is used to coat the finger during the treatment of "poking the throat." This procedure is usually initiated in the case of children with diphtheria or other conditions which are acting to close the throat passage. Sanapia applies the paste to her index finger and lightly probes the child's throat to the extent of her finger's reach. This same paste is used as a liniment in all cases of severe stomach pains. In addition, Sanapia spews from her mouth a very dilute decoction of this medicine on patients suffering from ghost sickness.

There is more ritual activity involved with the collection of *bekwinatsu* [782] than with any other plant medicine which Sanapia utilizes. Upon approaching the area in which the plant will be collected, Sanapia recites a short prayer.

> Well, I tell it that I'm coming to take it way with me. I say that I need you help peoples that got twisted face . . . what them ghosts do to peoples, you know. Then I tell it that I'm going to give it something in return. I supposed to put a piece of green goods over its branche before I dig it out. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I'm in a hurry so I don't do that, but that's what I'm supposed to do, that's what my uncle told me to do.

When she approaches the plant, she situates herself to the west of the plant and drapes a small strip of dark green cloth over the spindly branches. She then digs the plant from the ground, detaches the long root, and deposits the remainder of the plant over the hole from which it was extracted with the strip of green cloth attached to one of the branches.

sanawiba

[137] "yellow flowers"; "makes knife sticky" *Guitierrezia dracunculoides* (broomweed)

Sanapia uses this plant medicine for the treatment of exzema and rashes when prepared as she describes.

> Get the tops . . . the flowers . . . and boil them into a jelly. Now, when anybody got excema, you just wrap it on . . . put it on a rag and wrap it on there. Use the tops . . . just tops. Boil them good and when they cool down, they get just like jelly. That jelly is what you use for medicine.

kutiwɜna

"it's gray" [No specimen]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines. It is used as an addition to many medicinal preparations to increase their potency. An infusion made from the root is also used as a sedative in the absence of peyote or concomitantly with peyote. It is specifically used, however, in the treatment of "fits" (epilepsy?) and as the main medicine employed in the treatment of witch victims.

When used to treat fits, the splintered root is boiled to a tea, and the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipɔhɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] [825] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

steeped to produce a decoction or infusion of the desired consistency and coloration, or she employs the powdered peyote buttons alone. She also makes a medicinal relish from the green peyote buttons. In many cases the peyote is left unaltered and used in its dried or green state. 278 824 755 757

As mentioned, Sanapia can involve peyote in the treatment of any type of illness. Peyote is used mainly by Sanapia as a painkiller and sedative. It can be prepared in numerous ways. To quiet pain, Sanapia gives the patient four peyote buttons to eat, in most cases by chewing them first. For colds, pneumonia, and internal disorders, a decoction or infusion of peyote, commonly called "peyote tea," is administered.

When treating ghost sickness, Sanapia manipulates peyote in several ways. The patient is given four buttons to act as a sedative. During treatment Sanapia puts some dilute peyote tea in her mouth, releases a portion of it into her hands, and applies this to the affected portions of the patient's face. While retaining some of the solution in her mouth, she applies her mouth to the patient's face. She may also spew this thin decoction over the patient if she believes this type of procedure would be efficacious.

She applies thin, latitudinal, coinlike slices of the peyote button in the treatment of arthritis, severe headaches, heart pains, and in any relatively localized area of pain. Of course, a liquid preparation of peyote can also be administered in these conditions. The exact manner of administration and preparation of all medicines is determined by Sanapia through experience and inspiration.

Sanapia carries several peyote buttons with her at all times. She considers this her minimal doctoring kit. Peyote is extremely important to Sanapia as a medicine. However, she feels that her powers make her superior to the peyote. She states that peyote is the most powerful of all plant medicines. It is also one of the few medicines which Sanapia talks to and the only one which she threatens.

təpinatsu

"rock medicine" 278 824

This medicine is not a botanical item. I include it under the section on botanical medicines for several reasons. Sanapia feels that rock medicine is totally composed of plant parts. Also, at times she speaks of it "growing on rocks." 237 755 757

Təpinatsu is the word which Sanapia applies to the gummy, amber-colored matrix produced by a variety of mason bee as the basic material for its egg depositories. This solitary bee affixes these irregularly shaped cases, which are usually between ½ and 1 inch in diameter and approximately one-fourth of an inch thick, to rocks and then proceeds to camouflage the case by inserting local grains of sand and pieces of gravel into the sticky matrix of the case. It is from the resulting rocklike appearance that the medicine gains its Comanche name. Sanapia describes its composition:

> Some little bitty bugs get gum from the cedars on them slick hills. Then they take bites from the yellow flowers on them broomweeds, and some sage

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *tapinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *tapinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *tapinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *tapinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia [844] also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian [303] perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.
756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
[237] she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She some-
[778] times affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

000 As soon as he was paid off, he sacked his saddle and made his way home by way of Kansas City. Part of the journey was made by stagecoach, part by passenger train, and part by mail hacks. He was home sooner than anyone else, including the boss, who was carrying the cattle owners' money. But the cowboy could tell them about what the different kinds of cattle brought.

He started right in securing commitments for a herd of stock cattle to start up the trail the next spring, as soon as graze was sufficient. With his father's backing, he had no trouble securing the
643 required number. When he got his herd across the Red River the next
609 spring, he too started for the Comanche chief's camp, and arranged a meeting at the same spot as before.

He said that when Quanah walked into their camp the morning of the rendezvous, he stopped where the rope corral for the horses had been the year before. The old cowman said it was the most luscious weed patch he had ever seen. He was sure every weed known to the Middle West was represented.

643 Silently, Quanah looked at the weeds for some time, then shook
609 his head, saying, "White man he come. Stranger [weeds] he come.
824 Indian he go."

Of course, the Chief was under the impression that the white man had brought the weeds to Comanche land; but actually the weeds were there all the time—scattered and stunted, choked back by the grasses, under normal conditions. But the horses, in and out of the corral during three days of rain, had completely destroyed the grama and mesquite sod, tramping it into the ground.

000 Weed seeds lying in the matted grasses now were in touch with the rich soil, and they grew and produced a sufficient seed crop to seed the coral ground completely this second year. Of course nothing ate the weeds, as there was an abundance of grass on every side.

Years later, in my time, this land was bought from the Indians and opened for homesteading by lottery. Weeds were not apparent, and many farmers looked forward to farming weed-free soil. But the farmer discovered the weeds were there; once the heavy sod was destroyed, they came on with a rush.

Somehow the weeds had managed a seed crop each year. Each year enough seed escaped the sharp eyes of the birds and seed-eating rodents to settle deep in the mesquite grass mat, preserve their species, and complete the cycle.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

N C 126 386 I derived, and minutes made at the time, will now only enable me to give you the modus operandi of extracting their dyes, without being able to give you the names of the ingredients. The specimens I had been enabled to collect have become dried up, and many have been lost by crumbling, and I was not enabled to procure seeds or other means of reproducing the plant, and am not sufficiently a botanist to give you a technical description of them. I can give you the facts only, but these are of sufficient importance to awaken curiosity, and lead to the investigations of secrets by those more intimately connected with the subject treated of, and I think of sufficient importance to have that enquiry efficiently made under governmental auspices.

N C 517 822 The colors most admired by the Camanches and Navajoes are crimson, blue, purple and green; consequently these colors are the most common among them in all their shades; and though in their weavings they blend these with brown, yellow and other colors, with singular judgment and taste, yet it is the brilliancy of those that you most admire.

N ●C 386 ●824 All their primitive colors are the products of the prairie and mountain flowers, and their semi-colors are composed of these and the inner bark and roots of but few other plants combined in such proportions as the hue intended to be produced. They have no mineral dyes that I am aware of. Many of these flowers are small, indeed most of them; and the plants of low size, and begin to bloom in February, March and April, and continue till summer. During the blooming, the flowers are gathered early in the morning, with the dew upon them, and dried of the dew under a shade. The leaves are carefully picked off, the stems and such as have their petals covered with pollen of another color —*e. g.*— such as are purple or scarlet with petals of yellow or white pollen, are carefully separated from it. Particular flowers only are selected: all flowers of purple color are not used to dye purple, and so of every other color, but such only as are known to make an indelible dye.

N C 386 281 415 When the desired quantity of leaves are collected they are carefully and cleanly bruised and into them a small quantity of ley (I shall hereafter describe it) is put, but only enough to make

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

 N C 386 281 415

a thick paste — which has the property of loosening the dye from the fabrics, and facilitating its extraction. A small bag shaped like a money purse, and but little larger, made of new dog skin, deer or wolf skin, tanned by the Indians in a manner peculiar to them, is used to compress the juice from the pulp. This bag, a foot or eighteen inches long and three or four inches wide, is half filled with the pulp. Two small handles of wood are stuck through the ends of the bag, about the length of a corkscrew handle, and used to grasp a firm hold, and as levers by which the bag is twisted until the juice is extracted through the pores of the skin, which are very open.

Whether extracted or not for immediate use, the dye is carefully bottled, in glass if it can be procured, or in small bladders, if glass is not to be had. I say small bladders, because if put away in large quantities, the dye sometimes spoils, they say, and produces dingy colors. When put away for future use the light is carefully excluded by overwrapping with skins, or any thing else, and generally buried in the ground under a shelter in which fire is not used, so as to exclude heat. The dyes, however, are generally used soon as extracted, as during the winter the women prepare their best wool, and have it ready in the spring and summer for the process of dying.

The pulp after compression is put into a small quantity of the same ley above spoken of, and permitted to remain several hours to extract any remaining dye that might be in it, and undergo the same squeezing process until no dye remains. N C 386 824 415

The ley is made with care of the ashes after burning, of the green wood of a shrub very similar to the *Auralia Spinosa*, if it be not the same of a stunted growth. So careful are they of procuring this ash unadulterated, that they have dry parcels of it laid by with which to ignite the green wood, that the ashes may not be commingled with those of other woods. The ley is usually made in a large gourd, well cleaned and dried, with the butt end cut off, and a small hole bored through the point of the neck to drip from. The gourd is three quarters filled with the ashes considerably compressed in it, and by a bale or handle suspended from a bar containing several of them. Each is then filled with

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 386 824 415

rain or pure river water: the point is stopped, and the water allowed to remain on the ashes for a day and night, and then permitted to drip into the vessel placed to catch the ley.

This ley is a little colored, and is clarified by the same process of filtration through clean white sand, or sand that has been used for the same purpose before — when clarified, the ley is used as before stated, and especially to set the colors, which seems to be the principal use of it. It has no caustic quality after filtration, but an astringency peculiar to itself — rather a pungent than burning quality. It is sometimes used to dilute the darker dyes and produce lighter shades.

N C 386

N C [388 824]

The wool to be dyed is washed in warm water until perfectly cleansed of the natural oil — using the root of a plant very abundant in Texas and southern New Mexico, as well as most of the southern states, of a very saponaceous quality, and known as the soap plant. In all their best fabrics — blankets, belts, leggings, etc., made of wool, their finest fleeces are used, and it is not unknown to many of our army officers and others, that the Navajoes give great attention to their management of sheep, and often produce fleeces almost or quite equal to the merino in fineness and softness of texture, by their skilful crosses and selections made after long and minute observations and care. A Camanche and Navajoe are as much delighted with the possession of a superior ram and ewe as of a fine horse, to the breeding of which they also give much attention. Von Thaer would not be more so with the possession of his finest buck. All their wool is dyed before spinning, and this is done by submerging it in the dye and letting it remain ten or fifteen days, the dye-pot being left covered: but during this soaking the wool is turned over once every day. Sometimes the lighter shades are imparted to the wool by soaking a shorter time — they say this produces a clearer tint. If not dark enough, the same process is repeated with fresh dye. I have been told by my guide, that the Camanches fumigate the wool after dying, over a smoke of the above described wood, to deepen the color, but I never saw it done.

N C 286 236

N C 386

N C 386 824

Their green color is produced from the leaves of several plants, the juice of which is expressed in the same manner as from the flowers, and used in the same manner.

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6

N C 386 824

Their brown color is made from the inner bark, roots and nuts of the walnut and of other trees, much in the same manner as our farmer's wives now dye their wool for home-made jeans.

N C 283 386

After the dyeing is finished, the wool is dried in the shade, and when well dried, exposed to the sun for a few hours; the dyeing is then complete, and the wool ready for spinning, except sometimes, perhaps, not always, they oil the wool slightly, and diffuse the dampness through it by rubbing and rolling it in the hands. I do not know the precise object of this, but they say it works better. This does not impair the color, for washing restores them to their first brightness. It seems to be the peculiar quality of the *set* that gives the lasting brilliancy of the color. I have seen the Camanche blankets, after being used for months, and abused by being put under the saddle, saturated with sweat, rained upon, slept in upon the naked earth, and when carefully washed, present the colors again, as bright as newly dyed silk.

N C 283

The spinning is what you would call twisting the thread; this is done altogether by the fingers, and somewhat similar to the ancient distaff, though reversing the order of operation. The distaff was used to wrap the raw material upon, and the spool or quill was used not only to wind the thread upon, but as the spindle to twist it. The Camanches reverse this order, and use the raw material for the spindle, and the spool only to wind the thread upon. They use no distaff.

A CAMANCHE SPINNING.

C [291]

In spinning, a small portion of wool only is used at a time — a mess, say, of a quarter pound weight, and shaped like an egg, say four or five inches long, and two or three in diameter, is wrapped around with a string sufficiently tight to keep it together, but loose enough at the point to permit the wool to be drawn out for spinning the thread — a small stone, of an ounce or so in weight, is tied on the middle of a stick of about six inches in length

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole 224
earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the 492
sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws 224
it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If [482]
he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are re- 462
markable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do 281
this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains [824]
of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until [825]
the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing. 252

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning. [251]

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter. 224 787

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the 224 825 787

224 825 787 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusetemini*, "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a [837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians*, 312.

that had been built up when horses were rare were such that horses remained almost wholely prestige tokens and transport bearers. 262

Great numbers of cattle obtained from raids on Mexican and Texas settlements were also eaten, especially in later years. The majority were butchered and consumed by the raiders wherever they were found, or as soon as the raider felt himself at a distance safe from attack by the whites. The Comanches made no attempt to herd them. Many head of stolen cattle were not butchered, but went to New Mexican traders in return for ornaments, arrows, kettles, and other articles. Although the Comanches thought beef was poor eating when buffalo was to be had, nowadays an old Comanche likes to sink his teeth into mediocre beef with plenty of fat as the nearest thing to the buffalo he loved.

Dog meat was regarded as an almost sacred dish by the Sioux, and to the Cheyennes "A nice fat, boiled puppy is just like a turkey on Thanksgiving to you white people."[2] But the Comanches did not eat dog meat. Medicine Woman says it is because "Once, when the people moved, they left an old, old lady in camp with a dog. Several weeks later when the people returned to the site, they found that the dog had killed the woman and had consumed most of her body. Henceforth the Comanches refused dog meat, since dogs ate human flesh."[3] There is a deeper reason, however. Dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is tabu. He is the Trickster of Comanche and Shoshone mythology—a demi-god. Although coyotes were occasionally hunted for their furs, they were never eaten or wantonly killed. Post Oak Jim shot one for the fun of it once when out on a cattle raid. Came a cyclone, and Jim thought his horse was spinning on its head; it rained all night, and in the morning it was so cold they nearly froze. "That coyote's mother probably made medicine," said Jim. "Coyote has medicine. If we harm one, it will get back on us some way." 262 776 825

The same with dogs. Post Oak Jim killed a dog once, and ever after he thinks he had bad luck with his children. They all got sick and died. In 1933 Howard White Wolf had a dozen curs on his place. He did not dare to kill them himself, but he asked a member of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group to do it for him. White 776 825

[2] E. A. Hoebel, Cheyenne Field Notes (unpublished).
[3] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

776 men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing
825 to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten
262 except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

266 The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

266 In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

000 In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

Spirit created man, the earth shook and trembled and said unto the Great Spirit, "How can I feed the vast multitudes of man that will issue from the first created?" And the Great Spirit replied, "We will divide the maintenance of man; you will feed man during the daytime with all that you produce, while when the night will come, I will send my sleep upon man, and he will rest, and he will be fed by me with the peace of slumber, and he will awake refreshed in the morning." 773

The Great Spirit took eight parts to form man: the body from the earth, the bones from the stones, the blood from the dew, the eyes from the depth of the clear water, the beauty from his own image, the light of the eyes from the sun, the thoughts from the waterfalls, the breath from the wind, and the strength from the storms. The first man was of such gigantic size that his head reached the skies and his eyes looked from one end of the earth to the other, but menial labor and unwholesome food diminished his size and made him vulnerable.

After the Great Spirit had created man, he ordered all of the inhabitants of the spirit world to go and prostrate themselves before man as recognition that man was the greatest of the Great Spirit's creations. All obeyed the command except one, who as a result of his failure to do so was cast out from the spirit world and made to roam around on earth. To seek revenge, this demon took refuge in the tooth of the serpent, the fang of the spider, the legs of the centipede, and in other poisonous animals, insects, and reptiles to torment and harm man on earth at every opportunity.[7] [825]

Inasmuch as the Shoshones and other tribes of the Great Basin had some conception of an otiose Supreme Being, who in the minds of some was equated with Wolf, the big brother of Coyote, it is not unreasonable to accept the basic validity of these early nineteenth-century descriptions of Comanche beliefs in a Great Spirit. Wolf was wholly beneficent; his acts of original creation made all things perfect and good. Coyote, the mischievous Til Eulenspiegel of Shoshonean folklore, was the spoiler of all things, however. His was the role 773 776

[6] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.

[7] Narrated by Herman Lehmann, Comanche captive, who became a respected warrior and member of the tribe. Jonathan H. Jones, *A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes*, 199–200.

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

The Comanches had great fear of thunder and lightning. It gave them no power and was dangerous in a way that the Sun, Earth, and Moon were not. It was malicious and wantonly prone to tease mankind. "In a thunderstorm you have to remain quiet; you must not say anything to thunder and lightning, as it has no pity." 776 821

They were afraid, but they were Comanches and they did not like to be pushed around. So every now and then one of them got defiant.

« « « I was out riding once when a rainstorm came up. I got off my horse and got down among some weeds and put my head down. The thunder was making noise all around. Finally I decided it was making fun of me—lightning and thunder likes to make fun of someone—so I got on my horse and made a war whoop in defiance. Then I ran away. The lightning struck right near me. I got away, but thunder and lightning has no pity. » » »

This was Post Oak Jim's personal experience. He reverted to the same theme later on. His lesson impressed him greatly, but it was reinforced by what happened to one of his friends.

« « « Thunder and lightning has no pity for them who talk back. We were out in a bunch branding. When we were eating our breakfast, a thunder shower came up. A tough guy, who was with us, went out and shot at the lightning with his gun to show that he was not afraid. The lightning struck and killed him. » » »

A belief of more recent days is not to look in a mirror when it thunders. The lightning may look in, too, and strike you.

Like most prairie tribes, the Comanches greatly revered the buffalo. It has been reported that the dry buffalo head was their idol. Before the entrance of a sweat-lodge there was likely to be a buffalo skull. Out on the prairie might be seen the skulls of buffalo turned so as to face the main camp, the idea being that the guardian spirit would direct the herd to move in the direction the skulls were facing. 776 825

[14] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *loc. cit.*, 968–69.

The Comanches

776 Sometimes when they were ceremoniously smoking, after puffs had
●825 been blown to the Great Spirit, Sun, and Earth, a puff was blown to a near-by buffalo skull with a prayer that it provide the people with meat to eat and skins for their lodges and clothing. At times they prayed to the buffalo in general to range where hunting would be good.

Sometimes buffalo talked to a person. Although in Cheyenne mythology it was only the buffalo male that talked, in Comanche mythology it could be either male or female, old or young. A buffalo might turn into a human being and through its supernatural power reveal the location of the herd to the people or otherwise perform
776 good deeds. A Comanche story which has survived not only is inter-
825 esting but explains how the guardian spirits functioned through the
539 medium of the buffalo.

« « « Once when a party of Comanches went on a buffalo hunt, they were accompanied by a young boy. He was a handsome child, and his family, who were well-to-do, dressed him in the finest regalia and provided him with the best of equipment and a swift horse. When the hunters charged and scattered the herd, the boy selected and followed a small group which contained a beautiful young calf. The boy selected this buffalo for his kill. His first arrow hit beneath the lowest rib. He shot again, and again his arrow found its mark, but the buffalo did not fall. The boy decided to retrieve his arrows, but the buffalo ran into a stream and stopped in the middle of it. The boy would not go into the water because he did not wish to spoil his fine clothes, so he abandoned the chase.

Ordinarily a buffalo shot as this one had been would die, but through its supernatural power the young buffalo maintained life, as it had fallen in love with the boy. It rejoined the herd and in time gave birth to a calf. The boy by means of the two arrows was father of the calf. The other members of the herd would not play or associate with the calf. The calf noticed that the other calves stood around their mothers and fathers, and he wondered about his father. When he asked his mother about his father, she explained to him that his father was "one of those who eats us, and it was I who desired that he be your father." The calf then insisted on seeing him, even after

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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his mother warned that they would be killed should they upon the long journey meet scouts from his father's people. They traveled by night, and after many days came in sight of the village. The mother told the calf to do as she did. She rolled herself about on the ground, and there stood a woman dressed in a buffalo-robe with peg holes or eyelets about the edges. The calf rolled on the ground and became a handsome boy, wrapped in a beautiful yellow calf robe. Then the woman told the boy to go forward to the center of the village; there he would find his father and his relatives in his tent. The boy found everything just as his mother had said, and told his father his story. His father remembered the incident, and asked for the boy's mother. They went for her, and the father said that both were to live in his house. The woman returned the two arrows to the father and cautioned him not to drink from any stream except as she directed.

The people in the village were starving. As soon as the buffalo woman learned of this, she took a piece of dry meat and fat and gave it to the man. Although the portion was small, he satisfied his appetite without consuming it all, and passed the remainder to another. When they had all eaten their fill, a portion of the dry meat still remained. When the father again spoke to the buffalo woman about the plight of the tribe, she directed every family to pack a parfleche as if it were full of dry meat. When morning came the parfleches were full of dry meat. After they had again eaten, she directed them to break camp and follow her. She led them to a herd of buffalo, and they made a rich killing. They were aware that the strange woman was the cause of their success; also they noticed that neither she nor the calf boy ever ate.

Some time had passed, and the Comanches were prosperous. One day the father of the buffalo calf, while traveling across the prairies, became very thirsty. He remembered the warning given him by the woman, but thought he would merely wet his mouth. As he did so, there occurred a great confusion in the camp, and the people saw the woman and the boy, who had been instantly transformed into a buffalo cow and calf, fleeing from the camp. The father was very sad, for the woman had made him very prosperous through her supernatural power. Likewise, the people were sad, for they had learned to love the buffalo woman and the calf-boy."[15] » » »

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Comanches

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The coyote was regarded by the Comanches as a brother, who often warned those who possessed power to speak and understand its language, of impending trouble. "Coyote medicine was for knowing things ahead or in the future."

When Skinny and Wrinkled was staying with an old man north of Medicine Park, Oklahoma, the old fellow asked him one night, "Well, have you heard from our friend yet?" Skinny and Wrinkled had heard nothing. The old man admonished him, "Well, you better listen hard now. I believe he is coming around pretty soon."

Not long after, they were talking one night when the dogs began to bark. The old man told Skinny and Wrinkled to shut them up. "I believe there's our friend."

Sure enough, there was a coyote howling.

"I could not interpret what he was saying, but the old man could."

"You better start saving up your bread," was his version of the message. "He says there is going to be a hard winter this year. We aren't going to have much to eat."

That is the way it was, according to Skinny and Wrinkled. The winter before, the Comanches had more flour than they knew what to do with. That winter there were hardly enough rations to give them what was due them.

The coyote also predicted good fortune. One night a coyote howled, and at breakfast the mother of Skinny and Wrinkled said it was telling the tribe that they were all going to get a lot of money soon. Her husband, who was quite a skeptic, laughed and said, "How do you know?"

She insisted, however, and warned, "You wait and see. If the old man talks again before the week is out, it sure is coming true."

On Friday they heard him again. The very next day there were checks for $180 each at the agency for every member of the tribe.[16]

If, when the Indians were on a journey, a coyote jumped up before them, looked at them, and barked or howled, they would likely change their course and travel no farther in that direction that day. A friendly spirit in the form of a wolf was warning them of danger,

[15] Gene Weltfish, "The Man Who Married a Buffalo Wife, A Comanche Story," *Caddoan Texts* (*Publications* of the American Ethnological Society, XVII), 218–23.

[16] Informant: Yellowfish.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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and they must heed the warning. The enemy was generally found just where the coyote told them.

Eagles possessed power in matters concerning war. Because of this power their feathers were attached to shields, worn tied in the hair, and during the later period they were placed on the war bonnet. Owing to the protective power of the bird, those wearing the feathers believed that they would not be hit by either bullets or arrows.[17] When eagle feathers were attached to the shield, it could not be pierced by either bullets or arrows. The Comanches secured a part of their feathers by taking young eagles from their nests and keeping them in captivity. (Young eagles were easily kept by tethering them by the legs to a pin driven in the ground.) After the eagles had reached full size, they pulled out the tail feathers. War whistles were made from wing bones of eagles. [231]

The deer had much power which might be used for good or evil. It had the power to cause or cure disease. It could say to its favorite: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground, there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." At times it was a helper in love affairs. Possibly because the elk had great vitality and was hard to kill, it was credited with having great strength which could be transmitted to those whose guardian spirit it happened to be. The bear possessed power to cure wounds. The skunk possessed great power. Doctors used its hide to hold their medicine. Men tied its tail to their horses' tails in war. For a member of a war party to kill and skin a skunk while on the way to attack was likely to nullify some of the most powerful war medicine.[18] The roadrunner had the power to reinvigorate and give speed, since it was a speedy bird. The owl was unpopular, for it brought bad news, but the Comanches never shrank nearly so much with fear and horror at the sound of its hoot as did the Kiowas. The wolf gave power to walk barefoot on the cold snow. Medicine men who had this power painted the flesh between their toes red like that of the wolf. And if a person would howl like a wolf before eating red haws, there was no danger of foundering on them.

In like manner, in an ever lessening degree, practically all animals

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This was the reason attributed by the leader for the failure at Adobe Walls.

The Comanches

776 and insects were attributed certain powers by someone. One of the
825 very few animals known to the Comanches which never gave supernatural power was the horse. Although of extreme economic value, horses had no place in the ceremonial life of the tribe; nor did they ever appear in visions or significant dreams except as incidental details. This was also true of the dog. It would seem that the dog and horse, as everyday parts of the Comanche household, were too profane to be thought of as power givers. Man had control of them. Givers of power had to be outside his realm of dominance.

776 Just as animals, birds, and insects might be guardian spirits, so
823 was any unusual phenomenon of nature likely to be the abiding place of a spirit. Some of these places, because of the extraordinary power of the spirit abiding within, became rather famous among the Comanches. One such place is Medicine Mounds.

Medicine Mounds are a line of rounded hills in Hardman County, Texas, between the Pease and the Red rivers. They are rather conspicuous, the cones rising about 350 feet above the surrounding plain. Flanking them to the west is a gully-washed scar of an ancient buffalo trail. On the top of the highest of the four mounds is a flat cap rock, a protector against erosion. It was believed by the Comanches to be the dwelling place of a powerful and benevolent spirit.

A Comanche medicine man first discovered its great power when once his band came to hunt in the vicinity of the mounds. He had a young and beautiful daughter who was ill of fever and was growing weaker day by day. Her father had sucked worms and evil spirits out of many a brave and many a squaw, had chanted away the pains of many a girl, and had smoked the weakness from many a boy, but he could not cure his own daughter. He had rattled his gourd all night long while he prayed and chanted. From his medicine bundle he had prepared cures, while the moon was dark and while it was full. He had mixed and tried his formulae in every way he knew. He had consulted other medicine men. But all without results. One morning he came out of his tipi and in despair was gazing silently into the distance when suddenly his eyes came to rest on the rock-capped peak of the highest mound. Here was a powerful spirit that could help him, he thought. So without touching water or food, he went apart to pray and fast until the spirit should send him a revelation. At length

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally
278 and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*)
757 were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply
[752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura*
411 *pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood
439 for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825
752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered
[776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĪ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; niepĪ *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wī·yu? *owl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural tradition. Also, animal names were frequently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

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Bear: parua?; wasape?; wīra?;[127] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarähpanakatĪ *has big soles*; pihīsoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĪ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kihwria? *drooler*; narīmiwahtĪ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivīhĪ? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?ainó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[127] The first three unanalyzable words may origically have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

[p. 240-A]

825 pacikwasi? *bare tail*; pïwïya?ino·hr *carries his own rope* (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: parú·kU *water animal* (?); tu?pa?wehni? *black hanging down (from the cheeks)*; cuhniwï?A *bone penis*.

Mourning Dove: ?eka?omo? *red legs*; pasahó·? (Possibly related to pasapĬ *dried up*. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); ku?ewó·?; na?yanimaitĬ *lazy one* (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, wo?woki? *barker*, in addition to the usual
[552] word for *dog*, sari·?, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named.

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: po?ro? (from Spanish, *puerco*); ho·kI (from English, *hog*); *muvipo?ro? (*nose* + po?ro?); munua? *nose mover*.

Mule: mu·ra? (from Spanish, *mula*); to?moci? (from to?mocI *sharp-pointed hoof*); mï·warï?ipĬ (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.)

Elephant: ?esi?inï·? *grey animal*; mu?kwipuna? *nose curled up*; mú·pichatïnó·wapI *carries things for mupic*[128] (a legendary giant).

Chicken: ko·ko?; ko·korá?a·?; ta·ya?ke? *dawn crier (rooster)*; ?ona?ai? *use salt* (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

191 5.1. Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

[128] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only mupic for elephant.

[p. 240 B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 The caveat that meanings do
●825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[122] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ʔevikuyú·si ʔ *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·ʔ *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[123]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[122] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [123] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

[p. 256-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ wakaré?ee?$_4$ tʌrʌebuhipʌ-
ha$_5$ hʌkikʌ$_6$ hʌkikahtʌ$_7$. 2. tʌtaatʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌe?tʌkʌse?$_3$
su?ana$_4$ ma$_5$ kʌma?kʌ$_6$ karʌrʌ$_7$, animuiha$_8$ pʌmi$_9$ pʌ$_{10}$
pia?a$_{11}$ maka?eku$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ rʌkʌbʌ́ni$_{14}$. 3. si?anakʌse?$_1$ mahri$_2$
yʌkwihkaku$_3$, piakwasinaboo?$_4$ marʌʌkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. sitʌ-
kʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ rʌhkapʌharuku$_4$ mʌh$_5$ tʌhkayʌ-
karʌʌ$_6$.— me$_7$ uhri$_8$ niikwiiyu$_9$. 5. sitʌhkʌse?$_1$ wakaré-
?ee?nʌh$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kwahikupʌsʌ$_4$ wekwinu$_5$, ke$_6$ mama?ai$_7$
niwʌnʌʌyu$_8$, suhka$_9$ kwasinaboo?a$_{10}$ tʌ?ʌyatʌ$_{11}$. 6. sitʌkʌ-
se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌma?ai$_3$ pʌ$_4$ ke$_5$ mʌhi$_6$ niwʌnʌku$_7$,
ʌmi$_8$ mahrʌ$_9$ ahpʌ?a$_{10}$ piwokʌtsi$_{11}$, nuhkitu?i$_{12}$,— me$_{13}$ u$_{14}$
niikwiiyu$_{15}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ tuhúbʌhkanu$_3$. 8.
tuhubʌkʌtsika$_1$ pʌ$_2$ puihoikiti$_3$ ekapitʌma$_4$ pisáanu$_5$. 9. si-
tʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —ke$_3$ hina$_4$ supana?iitʌ$_5$, nánahbi-
so?ai$_6$ yʌyʌmuhkutʌ$_7$, nʌʌ?mai$_8$ wakaré?ee?$_9$,— me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$
niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ maatu$_3$ tunehtsʌ-

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

539 825 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (a) turtle$_4$ is shade-sitting$_7$ in (the) shade$_6$ (of) little weeds$_5$. 2. As$_{12}$ its$_{10}$ mother$_{11}$ is feeding$_{12}$ flies$_8$ (to) it$_9$ [child], her$_2$ little$_2$ child$_3$ is sitting$_7$ there$_4$ beside$_6$ her$_5$ eating$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ much$_{14}$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ here$_1$, (a) big snake$_4$ arrived$_6$ to them$_5$. 4. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_7$ $_9$ them$_8$. --You two$_5$ are moving about eating$_6$ my$_3$ meat$_4$.— 5. These two$_1$ turtles$_2$ entered$_5$ in$_4$ their$_3$ backs$_4$ (and) talked$_8$ not$_6$ with him$_7$, (and) are afraid of$_{11}$ that$_9$ snake$_{10}$. 6. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{13}$ $_{15}$ him$_{14}$. —As$_7$ you two$_6$ are$_7$ not$_8$ talking$_7$ with me$_3$, I$_4$, will run$_{12}$, dragging$_{11}$ you$_5$, their$_9$ father$_{10}$.— 7. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ got angry$_3$. 8. Getting angry$_1$, around$_3$ his$_2$ eye$_3$ /he/ /applied$_5$/ /with/ red$_4$. 9. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{10}$ $_{12}$ him$_{11}$. —Lazy$_8$ turtle$_9$, (you) don't$_3$ know$_5$ anything$_4$, (you) move$_7$ slowly$_4$.— 10. This$_1$ snake$_2$ ran$_4$ towards him$_3$, twisted$_7$ his$_5$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Comanche Texts

539 nu̲$_4$, pʌ$_5$ kwasi$_6$ ma$_7$ kwasihoiki$_8$ wʌ?kwipunanu̲$_9$. 11. suni$_1$ u$_2$ mʌʌhtsi$_3$, maai$_4$ piwokʌ̲tsi$_5$, puhikabaiki$_6$ maai$_7$ tsahpó?tsemi?a̲$_8$. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ suni$_3$ pʌmi$_4$ u$_5$ mʌʌmi?aku$_6$, tʌebuhipʌ̲ha$_7$ su?ana$_8$ wʌnʌku$_9$, mahoiki$_{10}$ nʌʌ?kwipunu̲kwa̲$_{11}$. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ suni$_3$ pʌmi$_4$ u$_5$ mʌʌhka$_6$, pʌ$_7$ kwasi$_8$ tsahká?anu̲$_9$. 14. si?anetʌ̲$_1$ sitʌ$_2$ kwasinaboo?$_3$ kwasiwaaitʌ̲$_4$, nuhkínu̲$_5$. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$, —nohi?$_3$ nanʌ̲su?uyaa$_4$ nʌ?$_5$ u$_6$ mʌʌnu̲$_7$, — me$_8$ yʌkwiiyu̲$_9$. 16. sube?sʌkʌ̲se?$_1$ suni$_2$ uhka$_3$ u$_4$ mʌʌhka$_5$, sʌsʌmʌ?$_6$ kwasinaboo?$_7$ pi?to?na?i̲$_8$. 17. subetʌ̲$_1$.

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539 (own) tail$_6$ around$_8$ his$_7$ (the turtle's) tail$_8$. 11. Acting on$_5$
825 him$_2$ that way$_1$, dragging$_8$ him$_4$, (he) went bouncing$_3$ him$_7$ through the weeds$_6$. 12. As$_4$ he$_5$ went acting on$_6$ him$_4$ that way$_3$, as$_9$ little weeds$_7$ are standing$_9$ there$_8$, this$_1$ turtle$_2$ went off wrapping himself$_{11}$ around it$_{10}$ [weeds]. 13. When$_6$ he$_5$ [the turtle] acted on$_6$ him$_4$ [the snake] that way$_3$, this$_1$ snake$_2$ pulled off$_9$ his$_7$ (own) tail$_8$. 14. At this place$_1$ this$_2$ snake$_3$ is without a tail$_4$, (and) ran away$_3$. 15. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ said$_8$ $_9$. —I$_5$ caused$_7$ him$_4$ to be$_7$ very$_3$ laughable$_4$.— 16. From that time$_1$, when$_5$ he$_4$ acted on$_5$ him$_3$ that way$_2$, some$_6$ snakes$_7$ are bobtailed$_8$. 17. That is all$_1$.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (2 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 **Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.**

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*juman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had
627 killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality
[825] and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
787 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII A most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

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Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal
[778] power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[822] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals; and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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115 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being inter-
159 rupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on
756 the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar,
[789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's
[825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to
159 eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte
756 eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree inter-
784 twined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the
262 potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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195 115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
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The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
756 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
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Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[769] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron
159 in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct
756 result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine
825 eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She
787 can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a
[533] rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural
115 worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these
159 contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms.
756 Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her
787 mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remem-
[775] bered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother
115 and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the
159 final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid
756 independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason
787 why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her
533 mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act inde-
775 pendently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power
115 she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely
159 independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote
756 is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 775 171 [825]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamɜmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four 778

756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.
[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
782
823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipɔbɔβí*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for [825] the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

31: Jones E-5 (1967 1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

754 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle
237 plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his 754
supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witch- 756
craft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors 825
with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron
would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to [782]
the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been 754
witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable 164
to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The
unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration
on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and
which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes [753]
that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the
skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the
magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very 775]
similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the
case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate
excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic
fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In [753]
both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy
stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types 775
of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In con- 754
trast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the 164
supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and 753
malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness,
Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must
also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow con-
tiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *təpinatsu*, 754
ekapokowa:pi, *kusiwəna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the 755
peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwəna* and 756
applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where
the feather is located. *Təpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to
produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when 754
Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper 755
when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses 756
787

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 751 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 201

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she 562
must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cran- 581
ny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There
were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were [567]
not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche [548]
woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An 825
example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect
the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation
of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not [231]
pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mis-
treated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a [602]
relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche
as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was 768
killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his 589
brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his 587
brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood [608]
brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a
blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood bro-
ther's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Coman- 595
ches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way
of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, 162
there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. 595
Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more
than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single
man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women.
And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-
five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was 595
a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide
he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and pur-
chase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a
young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered,
gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby
or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously
they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably
decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable
number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet. 714 531

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions. 532 172 531

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs. 531 714 789

Comanche Quivers Figures 24-25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8] 411 237 531 237 237 825

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa Indians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1890s. This piece measures 8 cm. in diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated 415 237 415 531

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII-CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII). 714

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1843, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1-6, 11, 14, and 15.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night. 278 824 757 755 [783] [775] [783]

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position. [827]

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and 278 824 757 755 177

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

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In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 754 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 201

192 *nīmīkuheU *buffalo.* kwasu? *shirt, dress;* nīmīkwasu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napĪ *shoes;* *nīmīnapĪ *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nīmīnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahĪ *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hĪ *hair*); *nīmīwanahĪ *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nīmīwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yīva·ci? *grapes;* nīmīyīva·ci? *wild grapes.* nīmīvarīvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pī·yĪ *wild duck;* taivovī·yĪ *domesticated duck.* nīhkapĪ *dance;* taivonīhkapĪ *modern dance.* nīki·tA *Canada goose;* taivonīki·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe* (*White man's sweet*). taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nīmī?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapĪ *leather;* taivovikapĪ *leather;* nīmīvikapĪ *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nīmīmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon* (*its seeds got*); taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nīmīna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nīmīna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 Comparable to this simple widening of
197 meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the new cultural borrowings. These are often
[828] reflected in a word: kuhcutīvininA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yīharīhkapĪ *one with a hare-lip* (yīhA *fruit worm* + tīhkapĪ *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[70] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[70] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[p 221 B]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[886] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
115 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
159 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
756 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
755
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

754 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her
756 evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *puhakut* would resort to
756 witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a
828 Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puha* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the
[854] blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is
[164] also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women attempt to kill their children. 754 756

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim. [828]

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this. 754 756 785 [782]

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

31: Jones · E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization 753
of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body.

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, 753
she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be 754
prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free 237
to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible.

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the 753
affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, [828]
when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the 775
whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the [825]
behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states [827]
that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly [201]
over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

were expected to receive special consideration on arriving in the eternal home beyond the sun. Mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, leaving the victim free of their effects in the after world. But the spirit of the bad, the lazy, the coward, or the thief would be driven before the Great Spirit into a region that was barren, cold, and desolate, with rugged and sterile mountains infested with noxious animals and insects. There game was scarce, meager, and unsavory, and the soul had to wander through thorns and among rocks, thirsty, hungry, and in pain. 775

Our own Comanche informants revealed no such notions at all. Nor do the Shoshones have any such conception of post-mortem immanent justice. We suspect these assertions should be taken with a grain of salt, if not rejected.

Believed limitations of immortality included loss of scalp, strangulation, death in the dark, and mutilation. If the scalp were taken after death, the Comanches looked on life as annihilated. A scalp removed before death, whether by accident or design, affected immortality not in the least. To preserve the scalp on the head of a dead comrade was of more consequence than the preservation of one's own life; while by the same token, scalping a foe was of much greater merit than simply sending his spirit out of this world into the next, whence it would eventually return to plague the Comanches anew. "Dot" Babb says the Comanches did not scalp a Negro since they believed he had no soul, but they might kill him to prevent his killing Comanches. But the dance leader's scepter, given to Ralph Linton in 1933, had several scalp symbols on it—tokens of scalps taken by its original owner—and a couple of them (colored differently) were pointed out to represent Negro scalps. [829]

Fear of strangulation arose from the belief that life (spirit or "soul thing") issued from the mouth at the moment of death. Thus if death occurred through choking, the passageway was closed and the spirit, unable to free itself, remained in the mortal body and was forever imprisoned in the ground at burial. Next to fear of strangulation came the fear of death in the dark, for the spirit that left the body in the dark might be unable to find its way to the after world and thus wander forever in darkness. Although the majority believed that mortal wounds or mortal illness vanished at death, there were some who [763]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklanoma

Comanche Texts

ʔeeyu$_7$. 10. surʌʌse?$_1$ wihnu$_2$ tabetʌkʌtsi$_3$, pimoróoʔa$_4$ tʌkwʌsʌ́ʔeeyu$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnaahkanʌse?$_2$ sʌmʌʔa$_3$ pimoróoʔa$_4$ naʔnʌbeʔku$_5$ tʌháni?eeyu$_6$. 12. tʌasʌse?$_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌʔ$_3$ suhka$_4$ urii$_5$ hanikʌʔeeyu$_6$. 13. setʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhkaʔruaʔetʌ$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tʌhkapʌruaʔetʌ$_7$. pʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$ pituʌ$_{10}$ nomiaʔeeyu$_{11}$. 14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimiaʔeeyu$_4$. 15. nʌmʌ$_1$ sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatuwahka$_4$. nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌnu$_6$. 16. subetʌ$_1$. 539

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ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kill$_5$ cattle$_4$. 11. Four$_1$ families$_2$ butcher$_6$ one$_3$ cow$_4$, dividing (it) evenly$_5$. 12. Also$_1$ my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_4$ that$_6$ for$_6$ them$_5$. 13. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_5$ lots of$_4$ groceries$_5$, also$_6$ (they) get meat$_7$. (then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$ those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_6$ us$_5$. 16. That is all$_1$. 539 657 262 [829]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (5 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'" 539 [829]

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody. 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hoir, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

[423]

178 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased
511 from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew pro-
657 portionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

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829
[224]

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos
101 and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawa-
koni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as
657 that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1495-1496.

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites. Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [569] [191] C K 601 177 602 [161] 582 588 684 The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

/page 36 continued/

C K 665 If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

C K 665 829 Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

C K 648 179 101 K 648 179 101 C K 665 621 C K 648 665 621 As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

/page 36 continued/

C K 829 665 According to the other view such earlier factioning is recognized but felt to be unimportant. It is maintained that the unity of the tribes was not impaired until during the past four or *five years*. The older men were sensible and had great integrity. But the age group most active today are the product of a period in which people learned to lean on the government. These men, so the argument runs, are weaklings because they have been able or even allowed, to solve something for themselves. In other words it is a "lost generation" theory of sorts. The remedy for this state of affairs would be for a withdrawal of the Indian Service from virtually all areas of Indian life. /37/It is felt that a sink and swim period would be painful but would ultimately make the Indian self sufficient.

One is led to consider a view which explains present phenomena in the light of earlier cultural conditioning as well as one which attempts to explain in terms of exterior factors acting upon the community in the recent past. The ruminations of the informants on their own problems are not far from the thought processes of the anthropologist analyzing them. Both lines of thought seem rational and realistic if a trifle too pat. But a merging of the two might also be an easy out. Perhaps unfortunately, my own inclination, is to fashion an answer which would satisfy both sides of the argument to a greater or lesser extent.

C K 665 795 It has been mentioned above that the composition of the factions does not correspond with religious cleavages. On the other hand the present picture does not indicate that the Peyotists who are active in politics play a role equal to that of the non-Peyotists. Although there are indications that prominent Peyotists have been active and vocal political leaders in the past this does not appear to be the case at the present. Whether the present picture is a significant one is too early to say.

/page 41 continued/

Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christianity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

/page 42 continued/

C K 795 177 At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C K 829 177 If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position. He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an C K 795 177 objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote play a similar role. And <u>if</u> the White-Indian tensions are central to the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 43 continued/

C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K 795 771 C K [829] Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

C K 799 795 C K [129] C K 799 795 533 829

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 829 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them. This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to 292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would 302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore 301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the 292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of a dazzling whiteness.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Let us review what we know concerning the Bone-setter. Dr. McLain insisted that the cowboy's work indicated he possessed surgical training. His stitches were put in with a surgical needle and catgut suture, and he had a limited supply of powdered calomel. Excepting for the powdered calomel, these things were unlikely appurtenances to be carried by an itinerant cowboy. With the circulation of these facts, the tongues of the curious wagged. 000

The only other testimony comes from Jim Martny, Earny interpreting. No one else acknowledged knowing the cowboy or having seen him. Nearby ranch-owners and their ranch hands would not admit to knowing any cowboy who could fill the bill. They knew of cowboys who had set a bone or two; but this was a multi-fracture, a wholesale affair, along with the job of cleaning and stitching Albert's scalp back in place, besides caring for the numerous horseshoe wounds.

Approximately in these words, with Earny translating, Jim told of the cowboy, and he never varied from it: "Cowboy come to camp just after white medicine man leave. Him say he hungry. We feed cowboy. Him say he cowboy medicine man. Him set Albert's bones. Cowboy ride away north. 177 609

"Him look like all cowboys look. All cowboys look alike. All have mustache. All have big hat, high-heeled cowboy boots. All wear jeans pants and calico shirt. All have big gun in belt. All have good saddle. 829

"Horse him different. I tell about horse. Him sorrel so high," and Jim pointed to his chin. 000

"Horse come long way. Horse tired. Cowboy tired. Horse have white face. One white foot." And Jim made the necessary motions to help Earny finish the description of the horse: blaze face, left front foot white.

There was never one word as to how the long afternoon progressed, other than the use of the yellow soap. This was one of the few specific questions Jim seemed to understand. Like most Indians of his day, he found "No savvy" a convenient way to dodge any question he didn't care to answer.

Never a word as to how the women behaved. No word as to when Albert regained consciousness—whether it was during the ordeal of having his bones set or afterward. He was conscious when Dr. McLain drove his buckboard out, the afternoon of the second day, to dress the wounds. This seems to have been an instruction from the cowboy, to have the white doctor come out the second day.

192 distaste for the food when first encountered. —or it may simply memorialize a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

[831]

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.[31] Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

[31] See also Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54–5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

[p. 256-A]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

and broke its neck. They all stood around looking at it. Then one of my brothers spoke up for my nephew, 'Well!' he said to the husband, 'We intended to do right by you. Now there is nothing left but to offer to let you whip him.' 684 627x

"The boy took off his shirt to get ready.

"Then a man spoke up for the other side, and said, 'We see that your intentions are good. He's a young and fine man; we won't hurt him if he promises to be good in the future.

"The boy was glad to promise, and the case was settled right there."

Could anything bring out more strongly (a) the social approval behind the justified plaintiff; (b) the extent to which the aggrieved might want vindication rather than reward—and was under *pressure* to be magnanimous?

In a case of wife-stealing it was not incumbent upon the husband to seek damages. It was sufficient if he demanded the return of his wife, making the demand good. It also served if he slaughtered his wife for her act of desertion. Thus, in two of the twenty-two specific cases of wife-stealing of which we have record, the wife was slain outright by the husband without negotiation for her return or for damages. In slightly less than half of these cases the husband negotiated for the return of his wife and got her. In most of these instances no damages were paid. In an equal proportion of the absconding cases, the husband sued for damages, received a satisfactory settlement, and released his claim on his wife, thus permitting (or acknowledging) her change of marital status.

The unfaithful wife was in any event subject to severe chastisement, unless her husband feared her lover or absconder. Unless her lover's protection was adequate, her husband almost certainly whipped her, gashed the soles of her feet, or more commonly, cut off her nose. Though thus disfigured for life, there was no marked social stigma in noselessness. Pity, rather, was felt for the unfortunate woman, for the Comanches placed a high value on good looks. [832]

INTERMEDIARIES AND THE CHAMPION-AT-LAW

Women who were deserting their husbands rather consistently chose brave men as partners in absconding. Or, if the absconder was doubtful as to his own fighting ability, he placed himself and his runaway woman under the temporary protection of a war party leader. It is also said (no cases) that a would-be absconder sometimes induced a war party leader to steal the desired woman, then to release her for the lover after the settlement had been made. Consequently, the husband was more frequently than not the weaker party in the bargain situation. He was impelled to 627x 684

The Comanches

584 A youngster whose heart was too faint to approach a girl on his own account sought out an old and distantly related woman and put his plight to her. It was up to her secretly to arrange a tryst with the girl of his heart. Thomas Gladwin reports that this service was supplied by a boy's sister, but our informants specifically denied this possibility.[13] "It would make people too suspicious." Furthermore, it seems quite unlikely that a sister would be sent on a mission with sexual implications.

It was after they had got over the first pangs of adolescence that vain young men took to the *tuiβitsi* pattern of showing off. It was a show-off for the girls collectively, however, for no Comanche boy could decently reveal a public display of interest in one girl.

It was good tactics for a young man who had fallen in love with a maiden to seek the acquaintance and to cultivate the friendship of her brother, or some other near relative, or the person who controlled her marriage. If the suitor and the girl's brother were together on the warpath, the suitor might give the brother arrows or a horse and in various ways try to make things easy for him, addressing him as *nɜmisɜ*, "our children's uncle," i.e., the brother of my offspring's mother—a subtle hint of things he hoped to come.[14] This could lead the brother to speak a favorable word at home in behalf of his friend—of his bravery, his strength, his ability as a hunter or raider, and other commendable qualities. He might even extend an invitation to the friend to come to his family's lodge. The suitor was also likely to offer the girl gifts, including horses, in an effort to win her favor.

583 When a suitor had decided that he wanted a certain girl for a wife, he made a present to the girl's brother, her father, or her guardian. The most acceptable gift was a horse. In a few cases a boy was known to work (hunt or raid) for the family of the girl he wanted for a wife for as much as one, two, or three years.[15] In any event, sons-in-law were obligated to provide meat for their wives' parents. There was also love medicine known to certain practitioners who could be [832] induced to charm the girl on behalf of a petitioner so that she could not resist his suit.

[13] Thomas Gladwin, "Comanche Kin Behavior," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. L (1948), 73–94.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Informant: Kills Something; see also Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 183.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[5] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *nanewɔkə*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[5] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

fore the noise subsided, the drummers would strike up the next war song and the dancing would be resumed, shortly to be interrupted again. Dancing warriors might occasionally interrupt the dance to narrate exploits of their own. Finally, the leader spoke of the necessity of the war party and its aim, and ended by appealing to his followers to display their accustomed courage while on the raid, that their people might be proud of them and not consider them cowards. 726

Shortly afterwards, the leader silently and without ceremony left the dance. The dance continued for a time, but occasionally a warrior and a maiden quietly slipped away into the dark for a few minutes together before parting, for the Comanches enjoined no continence, although they must not be seen leaving together. There might be several parties going out under as many leaders. In such a case, instead of having so many War Dances going at once, each party might end its dance in a short time and make way for another leader and his party. The leader had previously designated a rendezvous outside the village, and after the dance, the warriors returned to their lodges to get their horses and equipment; then silently they stole off to the gathering place. The raid was under way. [834]

Under no circumstances could the War Dance or departure occur in daytime. That was bad medicine. On one occasion a group of warriors held their dance and left during the day. Not a single member of the party returned. The case was never forgotten nor repeated.[8]

Each man who gathered at the rendezvous had provided himself with arms, lasso, food, clothing, a robe if the weather was disagreeable, and horses. The food consisted of dried meat, in sheets or pounded fine, and mesquite meal. Both were very strengthening, packed well, and were convenient to carry. This food was taken only as emergency rations, for they were expected to subsist on the flesh of animals killed along the route. [724]

When the raiders planned a quick thrust at the enemy and a hurried get-away, they left their women, children, and lodges at the main camp and traveled as unencumbered as possible. The leader and men with sacred shields might each take along a woman to help with their equipment, but they seldom exercised the privilege. It was not uncommon, however, for some women to accompany them for the

[8] Informant: Yellowfish.

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of 584
an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

848 On the day he came back the little boy's mother wanted to come over to the warrior's tipi. She hesitated three times and couldn't get herself to go. But she came over at breakfast the next morning and called at the tipi. They invited her into the tipi and told her to sit down next to the boy. The girl told the grandmother that she had come to do dishes and clean up everything. She went over and sat down next to the grandmother.

"The people wondered: they asked her how it happened she was visiting them when she had no connection to them. Then she told her story. When she finished she begged to be allowed to stay in any capacity.

"The old man, the grandfather, said, 'Yes, it is good. It is up to the old woman, my wife.'

"The old woman, the grandmother, said, 'Yes, it is all right; it is up to the old man and my son.'

"Then the brave said, 'She will take care of him. It is good. She may stay here with us.'

"The child was named Covered With Sage; that is how they found him."

INCEST

835 626 Incest was forbidden. The tabu applied to parent-child (real and classificatory), brother-sister (real and classificatory) and uncle-niece, aunt-nephew relationships. There was no rationalization of the tabu. It was just there. As Bluefoot observes today, "They did not know about the harm in it. They just didn't want the people to make fun of them for marrying a relative."

"Making fun of them" and ostracism were the only controls used by the Comanches to reprove incest.

One whole band is damned in name because of their reputed incestuousness. Lots of Maggots on The Penis was this band's regular appellation. An alternative sobriquet was Something Together. It is declared that this band is now extinct because of its incestuousness. (This might vaguely imply a supernatural sanction, but more likely this is a reflection of attitudes derived from the whites.) Comanche attitudes towards incest are revealed in the following case.

835 588 *Case 34. Incest*
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"There was a family, father, mother, brother and sister. The children grew up. When the daughter was about twenty-five and very pretty, the family seemed to get separated from the rest of the band. They camped by themselves. It made the mother wonder why they had gotten away from the others. 'It is dangerous to live off by oneself; in case of attack there is no one to help us,' she complained.

"But the son said, 'Be quiet. It is not dangerous.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"One day the son left them to visit the main camp. On his return he brought with him a wife—a wife to do the cooking and work for them. His sister wanted to leave them to go live in the main camp where she could go to dances and have friends and meet the young men. But her brother forbade it. This brother was in love with her all the time even though he was married. In time, even though he had a wife, he had a child by his sister. 835 588

"Before it came, his sister had missed four periods, so her mother became suspicious. She waited until she was alone with her daughter to question her. The latter revealed to her, 'It is none other than your son. He came at night to the tipi and lifted it up. I thought it was someone else, until it was too late.' Then the family isolated itself even more and the sister had a baby boy born out on the prairie.

"When this happened the father said to his wife, 'What does this mean? What is it all about?'

"And the mother said, 'Come with me. Let us get wood.' When they were in the woods alone, she said to him, 'I did not want to get wood, I wanted to talk to you alone. Our son has begotten a child by our daughter!'

"Light dawned on the father. 'Now I understand,' he said. 'Now I can see why he has kept us away from the rest of the camp. When other men of my age could meet of an evening and smoke, I could not go. We had to be isolated so he could indulge in that insane thing.' It crushed him and he became ill.

"The son went everywhere looking for a medicine man to doctor his father. But the father merely said, 'There is no need for you to go looking. No doctor can cure me. You have killed me.'

"After he had died the mother said to her son, 'Now, my son, you have brought all this on us. You have committed unheard-of things. I, who have lived long, have never heard its equal. You have caused your father's death. Now you must take your own sister to yourself as wife. I am going back to my people.' She did not go back to her own family, but lived among friends in the main camp. When people asked her why she had come back alone, she only told them that her husband had died and that she had come back to her people. She was still mourning him, and so his relatives came to join her in her grievous wails.

"Three years passed. The brother and sister and his first wife came back to the main camp. The sister was the favorite wife and the other was the chore wife. His father's folks heard they had come back to the camp, so they went to call on them right away. They came to wail with them for the father's death which had occurred three years before. The child was now three years old. 'Whose child is that?' asked one of the aunts. 'Is it yours?' she questioned the chore wife.

" 'No, it is hers,' pointing to the sister.

" 'Is he—her brother—married to her?'

" 'Yes, he has taken her to wife.'

" 'This is unheard of,' the aunt cried. 'It is insane. Since he has taken his sister as wife, I suppose he will take me too. I am not coming to see you any more. You are living so disgracefully, I cannot come any more.' During this whole time the brother and sister said never a word.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

835 588 "They stayed right on in camp. The brother and sister and chore wife lived together and the child grew up. Some people called on them, but even though they lived in the main camp, they were isolated. People like myself, who knew what was right, thought the brother was crazy. Some men would smoke with him and try to tell him evil would come of it.

"Yet they lived through it all without mishaps and died a ripe, old age."

626 835 588 Here society was completely disarmed by a thick-skinned individual. The barbs of public and familial disapproval did not penetrate. There were no legal shafts to hurl—the deed was neither tort nor crime—he matched his indifference against society's impotence—and won.

There were other cases. Red Youth married his sister's daughter. Though he was much older than she, they were married and lived together for years. People called it ałakwɜ'ɜtɜn, niece-uncle marriage, in a sneering way.

In another marriage of this sort, Pointing To The Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet. His sister, Takes Two Scalps refused to call him "son-in-law." She always called him "elder brother": it was as though he were not married to her daughter. People always made it a point, however, to refer to him as her son-in-law. *They* were not going to let it pass.

In all these cases the male was the incestuous aggressor. Such men were referred to as crazy (po'sa). They did not care for the delicacies of convention.

835 There is a mythological tragedy, however, in which the sister was the aggressor. The boy reacted heroically. He is held up as the ideal to Comanche children: his sister is given them as the example of what comes of shamelessness.

This boy was old enough to have his separate tipi. His sister slept in the big tipi with the parents just as was usually done. One night a girl slipped into the tipi of the youth and lay with him. He did not know who it was in the dark. He was curious, so he marked her dress down the back with paint while they were together.

The next day he went over to where the women were playing shinny to look for his mark. His sister had the mark on her dress! The boy was ashamed; but he did not say anything. He just went away and cut a short double-pointed dogwood spear and took it with him to bed that night. Again his sister came and lay with him as before. Just as they pressed themselves together, he shoved the spear between their breasts. It pierced them both. In the morning the parents came to see why the boy did not come out. They found them dead. The mother was so angry with the shameless daughter that she cut and slashed the body of the girl all to pieces.

The Comanches

Many forms of social conduct which are considered Abnormal in
848 our own society were not considered criminal by the Comanches. Their attitudes toward illegitimacy, which seems to have been rare, show no vindictiveness, although the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father.

Premarital sex relations were common, but in case a child was born as a result, the father usually married the mother. The father could claim the child at any time.

●835 Incest, which consisted of sexual relations between two persons within three degrees of relationship, was tabu, but there was no legal control. The few men who were known to have committed incest were called *pɔsa,* "crazy." Beyond this, there was only informal ostracism—and more sneering references. Thus, when Pointing to the Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet, his own sister refused to address him as *monapɔ,* "son-in-law," which would have been the respectful and proper thing to do, had it been a proper marriage. The People did not let it pass, however; they made it a point always to refer to him, her elder brother, as her son-in-law.

The Comanches actually had strong feelings against incest—brother-sister avoidance was enjoined on this basis—but they felt no need to impose strong sanctions against it. Most men were too concerned with the maintenance of their personal prestige to mar it with such an act. And perhaps more important is the fact that Comanche supernaturals were in no sense projected images of a rewarding and punishing father. Incest was not a sin against the gods any more than it was a crime. There was no need to punish the offender in order to protect the community from supernatural wrath. The act remained an offense against good taste, nothing more.

839 Rape, except upon captives, occurred infrequently and was not part of the general pattern. Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. But before the advent of the white race's demoralizing influence, Comanche women rated high in chastity.

674 Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the
577 legal scheme. Consequently, it must fall into the vague class of unapproved, abnormal acts which were outside the scope of the law. Generosity was so highly valued that he who had need of something had only to indicate his desire, and he would receive it as a gift.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593
855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child
[595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry
[158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pu'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service,
[727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend-
[554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper
[835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks. 721 178 [181] 671 178

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms: 181

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women. 181

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men. 562

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers. 181

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother. [593]

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior. [839]

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male. [721]

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment. [776]

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities. 181

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable. 577

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities. 181 825

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants, 642 622 642

ABNORMAL CONDUCT

On a less-than-legal level there are forms of social conduct which are definitely in violation of social norms and yet not viewed in the eyes of a people as behavior that calls for explicit sanctions. Such acts, though disapproved, society is willing to leave to the implicit sanctions of public opinion and the desire of the individual to stand well. The off-the-norm behavior described in this section is of this order. 626

ILLEGITIMACY

Comanche attitudes towards illegitimacy show no vindictiveness, though the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father. Illegitimacy was declared by all informants to have been rare. Premarital sex relations were common enough, and abortion was not unusual, but in case of childbirth it is asserted that the father married the mother willingly. If the father did not come forth voluntarily and his identity was known, the parents of the girl are said to have gone to him with friendly talk to persuade him to marry the daughter. In cases of doubt (multiple possibilities), informants say paternity was determined on the basis of physical resemblance between child and supposed father: or if the child was old enough, it was determined by whom the child chose as its father. It is stated that if the father was not known, the girl was not usually married to another for a long time after the birth of her child, for the father could come and claim his child at any time. The problem-set was not to punish the mother, but to properly provide for the child. 848 [836] [847]

That's It gave a history which is typical of the Comanche attitudes.

Case 33. Illegitimacy
Informant: That's It

"An unmarried woman had a child. She said she would never be able to take care of that child, so she thought she would get rid of it. Accordingly, she took it to a grove and there washed it up and laid it on a bed of sage leaves. Pretty soon a young man came out to tend horses. He found the little baby lying there. He looked at it and picked it up and wrapped it in his blanket. He turned back home with it. Just as he stepped through the door of his tipi the baby cried. The brave's mother, who was there, looked up, 'Did I hear a baby?'

" 'Yes,' said the youth, 'here's my son.'

" 'What a burden!' the mother cried.

"But her son insisted on keeping it, so they took the child to a wet nurse. They gave her presents in payment for feeding the baby. Later on they bought corn meal from the Mexicans to feed it. When the boy was three years old, his father told his mother and father that he wanted to go on the war-path. He was gone for a year.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

RAPE

Rape was an act beyond the pale of normal conduct. It, too, was of infrequent occurrence and not part of the general pattern. Sex relations were so free that there seems to have been little cause for rape. 839

Case 35. Rape: Blow it Away
Informant: Holding Her Sunshade

"Blow It Away was a chronic offender. He was not favored by the women and was generally avoided by them. He made up for this by attempting surreptitious night unions with women in their tipis. He would sneak in and try to arouse them to desire. He never had much success. Then, too, he would attempt to rape such women as he found alone away from the camp. These attacks he would make in the daytime and in these he was usually successful. No one ever caught him attacking a married woman, so he was never called to account by a husband. But one night he tried his night-stealing on a large married woman and she broke him. 684

"The woman awoke to find Blow It Away feeling her. She struggled with him; then she got him down. Holding him to the ground, she ripped his breech clout from his loins and grabbed his penis. She was starting to drag him from the tipi when her son awoke and saw them. Her boy begged her not to do that to the man, but the mother was going to teach that nuisance a lesson. Holding him as she had him, she dragged Blow It Away through the door out into the open spaces between the tipis where all the people could see him.

"This was the first time anyone took action against him. It was the last time he tried to force himself on a woman."

This is shaming par excellence, plus a very painful conditioning.

Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. Thus, it was out of the category of abnormal conduct. 836

THEFT

Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently it must fall into the vague class of unapproved abnormal acts which were outside the scope of law. One informant after another avowed that it never happened within the tribe. No clear cut cases of theft under aboriginal conditions were recorded. 685

GRAVE ROBBERY

In recent years the Comanches have been considerably annoyed by ghouls. The ancient custom of burying a person's individual belongings with him and of throwing articles of value into the grave with the body persists today. Predatory whites have been given to exhuming bodies to strip them of whatever valuables might be found. The grave of the son of a certain rich

The Comanches

857 spent in gang play. When a new camp was set up, they set out to find a good water hole in the creek where they could play all day. Following and baiting small birds and large insects fascinated them. [411 224] Hummingbirds were shot with headless arrows having a vertically split foreshaft in which to catch the birds. Boys would spend all day chasing one bird, according to Skinny and Wrinkled, in a kind of concentration that boded well for the future hunter and tracker of men and beasts. Bull bats were shot with arrows having horizontally split foreshafts. Grasshoppers were shot with hummingbird arrows, and their hind legs were eaten for lunch.

The boys had great fun by tying two grasshoppers together with a short thread and then crowding about to watch them "wrestle." They would jump and jerk each other up short. The one that first fell on its back was the loser. They liked to catch "shit rollers," tie a piece of straw to a leg, and watch them fly, running fleetly after them as they followed their courses. They would stick a small straw up the anus of a horsefly and turn the insect loose—which perhaps showed how they felt about horseflies.

Small boys, who had no real arrows, made them of reed shafts with grasshopper legs for points and a ballast daub of mud stuck two inches from the point. They killed night hawks with slings and amused themselves playing with whirrers—two strings attached to a bone and pulled taut to make a whirring noise.

Although boys were by themselves most of the time, the younger ones now and then joined the little girls to play camp. On the sand by the creek they built small windbreaks and arbors. A play group leader was made "chief," and each boy chose a wife or wives. They all swam in the creek, gathered in ponies with the girls, and rode together. Some time was spent by the boys in hunting squirrels to bring into camp for their "wives" to cook, while the girls gathered berries, edible roots, and the eggs of turkeys, ducks, quail, and prairie chickens. All this swag made for good make-believe feasts.

[836] The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. "One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife," said Post Oak Jim.

857 526 When younger boys and girls played together (but not when they were playing camp), there were several forms of joint games.

From Cradle to Grave

In fact, girls were often married off to middle-aged men who could give a good bride-price. The average age at marriage for girls is said to have been sixteen, while for boys it was twenty-five to thirty. 582

Although youngsters were not subject to moral censure for sexual activity, it was not encouraged. Boys, during the period of their pre-adolescent gang life, ignored the girls to a great degree. At adolescence, when they got their own tipis, they became positively bashful. It was proper for girls and women to make sexual advances, but not for a well-mannered boy. "Boys seemed to stay pretty much to their tipis," said Post Oak Jim. "It was the girl's place to come to them." Bolder, unmarried older girls might crawl in a boy's tipi at night to initiate him in lovemaking. In the dark these girls commonly kept their identity anonymous, for it would not help their reputations to be known. 836

The Comanche pattern of social conduct, in theory, prohibited young couples from being seen together. In response to the query of what would have happened if they had been found together, informants replied, "It would have been too bad." In practice, however, they did find opportunity to be in each other's company. More romances probably began where the girls went for water and wood than any other place. When a young lover became fond of a girl, he waited near where she might pass. When she approached, he stepped toward her, watching for an encouraging sign that his attentions might be welcome. If she was not interested, the girl made the fact known through her actions, and he went away much mortified. If the girl were favorably inclined, they agreed by a sign, mutual understanding, or orally on a time and a meeting place. If no older people were near, they might spend a while together. Again, they might agree to meet after dark. Sometimes a girl allowed a boy to come to her tipi. The more bashful boys lay outside, whispering to the girls inside, but they might be bold enough to crawl under the tipi and lie with them. More often, however, the girl crawled out and went a short distance away with her suitor. Supposedly no one else knew, but informants felt that certainly the girl's mother must at times have been aware of what was taking place. Most courting was done when the girl slipped out of the tipi and met the boy at night.[12] 836 584

[12] Informants: Medicine Woman; See How Deep the Water Is. Statements by Marcy, Dodge, Parker, and others are substantially in agreement.

224 825 787 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusɛtemini,* "asking about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 796 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of respectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 796 171 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hundreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a [837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians,* 312.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

and Comanches, who really did not expect much in the way of [837] marital fidelity, the stunt seems to be a little meaningless. Among 224 the Cheyennes, however, who originally built up the Sun Dance 796 complex,[45] family virtue was actually adhered to, and every military 171 society had four virginal maidens as essential ritual assistants. As an adjunct of Comanche buffalo tongue banquets, ritual chastity had [522] no place, but as a chance for good-humored teasing it seems to have appealed to the Comanche sense of a good thing.

Had the Comanches and other Plains Indians been left undis- 175 turbed by intruders, the buffalo might have supplied their needs indefinitely. But the white man pushed ever relentlessly westward, and intruding Indian bands along the border of the Comanche country began to trespass upon the Comanche hunting grounds. The effects of these encroachments on the country soon began to be felt in a vital way—in the diminishing supply of buffalo. The period between 1830 and 1860 witnessed such destruction that the hunters found it increasingly difficult to sustain their families by hunting.

During the colonial period in Texas, buffalo were seen as far south as the vicinity of the present city of Houston. As early as 1833 explorers and adventurers in the region of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers had begun to observe that the eastern edge of the buffalo range was retreating westward rapidly. The Osage agent wrote in 1841 that his Indians had to extend their hunting operations each year farther and farther into the plains to obtain even a scant supply, and that it would soon be necessary for them to learn to farm.[46] In 1846 it was estimated that one hundred thousand buffalo cow hides annually reached the Canadian and American markets. The bull hides were then regarded as worthless for commercial purposes. At the same time Torrey's Trading House was getting three dollars each for ordinary, and eight dollars for choice, hides.[47] It is difficult to determine how extensively professional white hunters operated during the period be-

[45] L. Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XVI, Part 7 (1921).

[46] Agent Wm. Armstrong, *Annual Report*, 1841, 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Exec. Doc.* 2, No. 34, 316–17.

[47] C. C. Rister, "The Significance of the Destruction of the Buffalo in the Southwest," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (1929), 34–39. Torrey's was the official company of the Republic of Texas for trading with the Indians.

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *tɨ'rɨ?aiwapɨ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[595] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

and he may mutilate or beat her to the full extent of his capricious will. 593
In certain cases he is even permitted to take her life, without acknowledging responsibility to any one for his conduct. As among civilized people, 684
there are "common women of the tribe," outcasts from respectable Comanche society, just as there are outcasts from Christian society among the civilized people of Europe and America. These "Women" have no rights which Comanche ladies and gentlemen are bound to respect. The condition of slavery, which falls to the lot of all women of the tribe, is intensified in the case of the fallen. The others are slaves of one master only; these have many masters and many mistresses. According to our code of morals, the Comanche cyprian has been guilty of no crime, which all the females of the tribe who have arrived at the age of puberty have not committed. She has been unfaithful to the marriage contract, without consulting the wishes of her husband, and without bringing him any gain, and terribly is she made to suffer for it. She is beaten, with many stripes, [304]
and not infrequently suffers mutilation by having her nose cut off. This fixes the brand of her disgrace; and henceforth she becomes the slave of the tribe. There may always be seen a few of these miserable creatures about a Comanche camp. The women are especially cruel toward them, and take much apparent delight in beating them. And yet these same immaculate maidens and matrons have not once, but many times been made to endure the embrace of any purchaser at the behest of their husbands and fathers.

Custom has established laws among the Comanches as among more civil- 671
ized people. It is a law among them that a wife may be mutilated, or even 593
killed, for the crime of infidelity, and yet husband is not averse to select- 684
ing any number of lovers for her and compelling her to accept them, pro- 837
vided his worldly fortune is advanced thereby.

There is no prudish seclusion of Comanche maidens. They mingle with 834
great freedom among the people of their tribe. They may have their 584
beaux as well as their white sisters, and the gallants need have no fears of an over-prudent papa, or an irate "big brother." If there is a rough place in the course of the stream of affection, it is not the youth but the maiden that must suffer the castigation. A pony will suffice to satisfy the utmost requirements of the social law.

When a young Comanche gentleman takes it into his head to go a-wooing, 584
he decks himself with a profusion of paint, a gorgeous head-piece made 301
of feathers; dons his finest suit, puts on all the decorations of distinction 291
which he is entitled to wear, which usually consist of a necklace of wild- 237
cats' claws, coyotes' tails, the canine teeth of wolves, elks' teeth, and not

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

and actually in many, a girl had no formal voice in the choice of her husband. Her brothers gave her away in exchange for a consideration. The takers were usually older and established warriors and hunters who had the goods. In the Comanche ideal such arrangements made for the best marriages. But they were marriages in which the woman was at the mercy of her husband. Working against the stability of such marriages was a strong current of romantic idealism among the young. The ambition of the adolescent girl was to be a *naiβi*,[3] i.e., a beautiful maiden with lustrous, black hair hanging in long braids, and dressed in a fine fringed buckskin dress. The young bucks for their part strove to attract the attention of the girls by playing the role of *tuiβitsi*: "a handsome young man who looks good on a horse." Wife-absconding was really an escape in which a frustrated wife sought a more romantic match with a daring warrior.

Comanche elopements were invariably linked to a war party. The man in the case would be going on a raid with his friends, and he would make an assignation with the woman to go along. It was a way provided by custom to violate the marriage rights of the rightful husband as defined by custom and sustained by law! A nice example of internal inconsistency in the ways of a culture.

When a woman and her lover took off with a war party, two courses were open to the jilted husband. He could mount in hot pursuit in the hope that he could overtake them before they reached enemy territory. Or he could bide his time until they returned from the raid. In enemy country he could not press his suit; here all Comanches had to stand shoulder to shoulder. Aside from this, he could institute his action wherever he might be able to confront his tortfeasor. He might take along some compatriots—brothers, real or putative—to strengthen his courage and his arm, if need be. A real man, however, went alone. It was not necessary for him to gather witnesses, for a Comanche legal action was in no sense a trial. Questions of evidence rarely, if ever, entered. The wife-stealer, or even the adulterer, had no desire to conceal his deed; his aim was to flaunt his prestige in the face of the challenged husband.

If he followed the dictates of decorum, he politely addressed the defendant as "brother." The defendant replied in kind. Did not Comanche brothers share their wives? Syllogistically the reasoning runs:

> Men who share a wife are brothers.
> This man has assumed a share in my wife.
> Therefore, he is my brother.
> (But he is going to pay for the privilege!)

The immediate goal of the prosecuting husband was to get *namewoko*, restitutive damages. As an opening gambit he placed his demands high,

[3] Phonetic symbols are used as in the International Phonetics System.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

RAPE

Rape was an act beyond the pale of normal conduct. It, too, was of infrequent occurrence and not part of the general pattern. Sex relations were so free that there seems to have been little cause for rape. 839

Case 35. Rape: Blow it Away
Informant: Holding Her Sunshade

"Blow It Away was a chronic offender. He was not favored by the women and was generally avoided by them. He made up for this by attempting surreptitious night unions with women in their tipis. He would sneak in and try to arouse them to desire. He never had much success. Then, too, he would attempt to rape such women as he found alone away from the camp. These attacks he would make in the daytime and in these he was usually successful. No one ever caught him attacking a married woman, so he was never called to account by a husband. But one night he tried his night-stealing on a large married woman and she broke him. 684

"The woman awoke to find Blow It Away feeling her. She struggled with him; then she got him down. Holding him to the ground, she ripped his breech clout from his loins and grabbed his penis. She was starting to drag him from the tipi when her son awoke and saw them. Her boy begged her not to do that to the man, but the mother was going to teach that nuisance a lesson. Holding him as she had him, she dragged Blow It Away through the door out into the open spaces between the tipis where all the people could see him.

"This was the first time anyone took action against him. It was the last time he tried to force himself on a woman."

This is shaming par excellence, plus a very painful conditioning.

Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. Thus, it was out of the category of abnormal conduct. 836

THEFT

Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the legal scheme. Consequently it must fall into the vague class of unapproved abnormal acts which were outside the scope of law. One informant after another avowed that it never happened within the tribe. No clear cut cases of theft under aboriginal conditions were recorded. 685

GRAVE ROBBERY

In recent years the Comanches have been considerably annoyed by ghouls. The ancient custom of burying a person's individual belongings with him and of throwing articles of value into the grave with the body persists today. Predatory whites have been given to exhuming bodies to strip them of whatever valuables might be found. The grave of the son of a certain rich

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Many forms of social conduct which are considered abnormal in
848 our own society were not considered criminal by the Comanches. Their attitudes toward illegitimacy, which seems to have been rare, show no vindictiveness, although the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father.

Premarital sex relations were common, but in case a child was born as a result, the father usually married the mother. The father could claim the child at any time.

835 Incest, which consisted of sexual relations between two persons within three degrees of relationship, was tabu, but there was no legal control. The few men who were known to have committed incest were called *posa,* "crazy." Beyond this, there was only informal ostracism—and more sneering references. Thus, when Pointing to the Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet, his own sister refused to address him as *monapo,* "son-in-law," which would have been the respectful and proper thing to do, had it been a proper marriage. The People did not let it pass, however; they made it a point always to refer to him, her elder brother, as her son-in-law.

The Comanches actually had strong feelings against incest—brother-sister avoidance was enjoined on this basis—but they felt no need to impose strong sanctions against it. Most men were too concerned with the maintenance of their personal prestige to mar it with such an act. And perhaps more important is the fact that Comanche supernaturals were in no sense projected images of a rewarding and punishing father. Incest was not a sin against the gods any more than it was a crime. There was no need to punish the offender in order to protect the community from supernatural wrath. The act remained an offense against good taste, nothing more.

● 839 Rape, except upon captives, occurred infrequently and was not part of the general pattern. Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. But before the advent of the white race's demoralizing influence, Comanche women rated high in chastity.

674 Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the
577 legal scheme. Consequently, it must fall into the vague class of unapproved, abnormal acts which were outside the scope of the law. Generosity was so highly valued that he who had need of something had only to indicate his desire, and he would receive it as a gift.

The Comanches

727 When the raiding party returned with more horses, they all got ready to go back north. It was probably in September.

Each family camp left when it got ready, driving off its own bunch of horses. *Tɔyɔp*, my captor, had about thirty people in his camp. He was not satisfied with his horses; he wished to capture more; so his bunch stayed behind. Everybody had gone, but a man named *Wahaɔmɔ* came back to get something. As he rode by me, *Tɔyɔp* said to him, "We are going on another raid. This girl is in the way, so we are going to kill her."

Wahaɔmɔ felt sorry for me. He thought of his own children; his wife was dead. So he picked me up and put me on his mule. He gave *Tɔyɔp* a few arrows, and *Tɔyɔp* gave him three blankets, plus one for me to ride on.

[839] On the route we passed a girl lying in the road about to die; she had been raped. Later we passed a boy captive—dead.

Wahaɔmɔ told me no harm would come to me. "When you grow up, you'll be my wife," he said. His wife was dead and his niece was running his camp for him. He told his niece to be good to me (sometimes the women were very mean to captives); he told her to look after me so no men would harm me.

One night when we were camping and my captor was out looking after his horses, a young brave came along and pulled me out there [839] against my will. He lay down and exposed himself, and I saw he had a diseased scrotum. I didn't do anything. I just stood around.

Then my captor saw me and ran to me. He scolded that fellow and took me back to camp. After that he always took me along when he went places. I was tied on a horse, and he led me with him.

We were still traveling when we came to a camp of Kiowas. *Wahaɔmɔ* sent his niece and me to get some food; we were pretty short of it. He dressed me in a blanket and painted my face. We looked for the largest lodge and went there.

"Are you a warrior's wife?" they asked.

"No," I told them, "I'm only a captive."

Those Kiowas loaded us up with dried meat. They also told us there was a large Comanche camp not far away. When we got there, we found the fires still smoking at the old camp place, but they were gone.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

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Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physical but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[84]

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

The Comanches

845 The magical associations of buffalo hides with tails is not clear, but the effect of otter medicine is obvious. Otters like to slide down slippery mud banks. With similar ease the child will slide out. A conception of the birth lodge as a symbolic womb is also there. Just as the medicine man emerges through the door (vagina), so will the child.

846 When the baby was born, the doleful cries and monotonous songs of the attendants immediately changed to rejoicing. After the umbilical cord had been cut, the medicine woman wrapped it and hung it in a hackberry tree when one was convenient. If it was undisturbed before it rotted, the child was supposed to have a long and fortunate life. The medicine woman carried the afterbirth and threw it in a running stream (the purifier that nullifies power). The baby was bathed and wrapped in soft rabbit skins and placed in its cradle-board. The number of days the new mother remained in bed was set by the attending midwife. In recent times, ten days is considered the customary time needed for recovery, but there are cases on record where the woman had had serious difficulty and yet was on her feet going about her way before an attendant had washed and wrapped the baby. During the entire time of confinement no man except a doctor entered her tipi. The grandfather, however, always came right away to ask the sex of the child. He stood outside the lodge, and if it was a boy, the women within would call, "*εhaitsma*" ("It's your close friend"). If a girl, they simply say, "*ɜsamop'ma*" ("It's a girl"). The new mother was not allowed to eat a single bite of meat; "it makes blood and would cause hemorrhage." Each day sage was burned over the coals to purify the tipi. One of the first things the woman did when she got up from her bed was to bathe in running water. A proud father usually made it a point to give away something. Normally his generosity was limited to the first person who came to see the new baby. If it was a boy and the father well-to-do, the gift would be a horse.[23]

●841 During menstruation a woman went into confinement. If her husband had medicine (and what man did not?), she could not sleep

[23] This description of childbirth is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman, Kills Something, and Post Oak Jim; also, House, *op. cit.*, 59; W. T. Corlett, *The Medicine Man of the American Indians* (report of a frontier surgeon stationed at Fort Sill in 1869), 269.

in his tipi, for menstrual blood nullifies all power. If she had no tipi of her own, she moved in with her parents ("the medicine of old people was too weak to be harmed"). When an article in her tent was needed by someone, it was set or pitched out the door, and no one entered against the occupant's will. During the time, she ate no meat; it would make her sick at the stomach and cause her to flow more. She could not wash her face because that would make her get wrinkled before her time; nor could she touch or comb her hair because it would cause her to get gray young. At the end of her period she had to bathe in a running creek, no matter how cold, even if it was frozen over, before she could go back to her husband's tipi. No man could eat from the same dish or drink from the same cup as she until this had been done. An unmarried girl had to observe approximately the same restrictions. After menopause all female tabus were removed; the woman was now physiologically equal to man.

All societies recognize at least three age groupings, child, adult, and old person. The Comanches, for their part, recognized five age groups:

ona:—a baby	*ona:*—a baby
ʈuinəp'—a boy up to adolescence	*tuepət*—a girl up to adolescence
ʈuiβitsi—a young, unmarried brave	*naiβi*—an adolescent girl
ʈɛnap'—a grown man; also *muwə:* (a substitute term used by some people who had to observe the tabu on the use of the name of a dead relative when *ʈɛnap'* had been used as a personal name.	*həβi*—a grown woman
tsukup'—an old man; also, *naraβə*, a joking term of familiarity.	*pu'stə*—an old woman

The physical difference between child and adult is easily recognizable, and the passage from childhood to maturity is marked by physiological events which make it possible to date it, exactly for

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *po':int*") which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were
[844] broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
● [841] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[844] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all
276 Oklahoma tribes," and he also mentions (p. 163) obtaining a necklace
796 of mescal beans from the Iowa, but he does not connect either of these with the peyote ceremony. Schultes (21, p. 141) states that a
[789 Kiowa peyote leader wore mescal beans on the lower part of his
● 841] leggings "as a safeguard against stepping on menstrual blood," and La Barre (12, p. 45) observed mescal beans worn on Kiowa peyote moccasins for the same purpose. La Barre (12, p. 106) indicates an
[301] unpublished manuscript by Mooney as his source for the statement that the Comanche used to get mescal beans from near Fort Stanton (New Mexico), but apparently only for ornamental purposes.

783 Our informants stated that in ceremonies the leaves of the red
824 cedar or juniper (*Juniperus virginiana*) were placed on the fire and the smoke inhaled for purification. Throughout the Plains the red cedar is associated with ceremonies and particularly with purification. La Barre (12, pp. 45–53) mentions several instances of the participation of a "Cedar-man" in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote rites. The duties of this individual seem to be to sprinkle "dried and rubbed cedar" on the fire, and at certain stages the members purify themselves in the smoke from this incense. Schultes (21, p. 139) describes the typical manner of use of the cedar incense in peyote ceremonies.

824 The Comanche brought great quantities of wormwood or "sage"
352 (*Artemisia filifolia*) into the tipi for use as cushions. There is a
171 strong suggestion that they did this in the ceremonial tipi especially, where "sage" (*Artemisia spp.*) was commonly employed as floor covering and cushions. La Barre (12, p. 45) mentions the spreading of sagebrush in the tipi for seats in the Kiowa–Comanche type of peyote ceremony and the resting of the "father peyote" on sprigs of sage (pp. 46–47). Opler (18, pp. 277, 279) says that the Carrizo and the Lipan Apache also strewed it on the floor and describes the placing of the "chief peyote" on it, for the peyote is considered to be friendly to no plant but this. Schultes (21, pp. 139–140) describes approximately the same uses of sage (the species *Artemisia vulgaris*) in the tipi, mentions the chewing of a few leaves of it before eating peyote, and also its place in the sweat lodge.

824 Two other plants used by the Comanche in the sweat lodge are
343 the skunkbush (*Rhus trilobata*) and little bluestem grass (*Andropogon scoparius*). The bark of the former was placed in hot water and the

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 including beating, gashing with a knife, and even cutting off her nose. How-
684 ever, in the first years of marriage, at least, a girl's parents, or her brother, could take her back and break up the marriage, especially if they had been instrumental in arranging it in the first place. This might lead to a damage suit by the deprived husband, particularly if she were to marry another man fairly soon; he would often collect from both father and brother, thereby asserting his rights over the woman even if he had not treated her properly.

593 Men were not expected to be as faithful as their wives and there was not much that the latter could do about it. However, it is interesting to observe
586 that one of the reasons given for a man leaving his wife was in order to avoid a scene resulting from her jealousy. Other grounds for desertion were incompatibility, and the fact that a woman was a poor housekeeper, though this latter difficulty might be circumvented, if the woman was otherwise desirable, by taking on another, younger wife to do the work. It is significant, in connection with the comparative lack of regard for children mentioned above, that one informant questioned on the subject specifically denied that barrenness on the part of a wife was considered a valid excuse for leaving her. Marriage, on the whole, was a rather brittle relationship; divorces were strikingly frequent.

595 If there were several wives, one was usually considered the favorite, though this was not necessarily the one the man had married first. She did much less work, bossed the household, and was much more intimate with her husband.
[482] When traveling, it was she who always carried her husband's shield, while the others tended the pack animals that carried the greasy meat which would have impaired the husband's power. If she were menstruating, incidentally, he
[841] carried the shield himself. While the favorite wife occupied an obviously su-
[684] perior position, and was much less liable to be punished for any misdemeanors, it was in keeping with her position as a more primarily sexual partner that adulterous lapses on her part were much more severely punished, even to the point of death.

Polygynous households usually occupied at least two tipis. The secondary wives lived in one main tipi; the favorite wife might also live here, and visit her husband more frequently in his private tipi, or she might actually live separately with him, though the dwellings were, or course, adjacent to each other. The children lived in the main tipi with the wives; the favorite wife usually was permitted to have her mother living here too, even if the whole family were not already living with her parents. This allowed the wife more free time to be a companion to her husband. If a secondary wife had a different mother she might occasionally also get her in, but two grandmothers seem to have been the limit. The tipi usually contained only three beds, one of which (to the North—the door was to the East) was for the man of the family, and another might have to be vacated in favor of a visitor at any time, so the women could not afford to gather in too large numbers.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

● 841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is absent. If the family with whom she stays are under the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [60] retreat four days, during

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783]
[262]

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
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which time she takes no food, except a little broth 841
and some kind of vegetables; but on no account .262
will she taste of meat of any kind until her four
days are expired; after that, she bathes herself and
returns to her husband.

As to cleanliness in their persons, I think them 515
the most particular people I ever saw. They bathe
at all seasons of the year. I have frequently seen
them, both men and women, break the ice for this
purpose; and they are punctilious not to eat with- [264]
out washing. I never knew one of them to rise and
go abroad without washing. They are very par-
ticular in the above respect with regard to their
children; they are also far from being as indifferent
to the kind and preparation of their food, as
one might suppose. The men eat horse-flesh when 262
they can get nothing else; but their women, as a
general thing, will not taste of it, nor will they permit
it to come near their dwellings. They subsist
mostly upon buffalo meat, with some other game,
which they cook, in a cleanly manner, with various
kinds of vegetables, some of which possess somewhat
of the quality, and they have the faculty of
preparing it as a good substitute for bread.

In conclusion, perhaps I ought to say, that with 727
reference to a point, of all others of the most sacred
importance to a captive female, (with gratitude
to my Maker I record it.) my fears were in no part
realized.

Query. – Is it not strange, indeed, that a nation 000

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔïtanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahm-suapĬ *costume for Sun Dance* (*medicine clothes*); puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The [171] [183] Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo* (*feet dragging*) [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nïmïkuhcU]; tatê?cI[135] *spider* (*our brother-in-law*); pïhïre?cI *tarantula* (*hairy brother-in-law* [*spider*]); tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth* (*tooth dress*); tïvahpI *pinon nuts*; tïkehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover* (*back medicine*); kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavïhka?I *to be menstruating* (*to* [841] *become starved*) [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkO *bone breastplate*; so?me? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yĬ *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[136] huhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mï· *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; [262] mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite* (*to*

[135] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[136] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
756 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.
755

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
759

ekəpa

[177] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)
[137]

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring [84] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection [783] against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding.

kunənatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment [752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

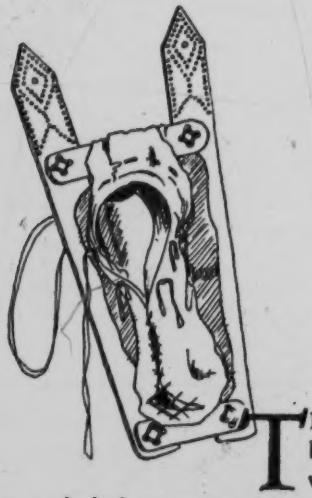
bakumaᵇ

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakumaᵇ is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



VI

From Cradle to Grave

THE Comanche infant was born into a world of adults who welcomed and cherished it. It was not looked upon as a nuisance or handicap, but rather as a valuable addition to the tribe. Girls were accepted, but boys were preferred. Some families made a practice of painting a black spot on the door of the tipi if a newborn child was a boy, as a means of informing the people that the tribe had been strengthened by the addition of another "brave." Although the motherly affection that was the child's due was bestowed upon both male and female, boys received greater care than girls from their mothers and more indulgence from both parents all along the line.

There is conflicting opinion about twins. The woman who bore twin boys might be honored; other parents might regard twins as unnatural. Sometimes the parents attempted to destroy one or both of them, particularly if one or both were girls, but the more common practice was to give one away if foster parents could be found. For fear her husband might destroy both, the mother would sometimes dispose of one and not inform her husband that she had given birth to twins. In the eighteen eighties Dr. George Holley discovered and saved an infant, which was one of twins, buried in sand by its mother. There is at least one other recorded instance of such a rescue.[1]

Infanticide also seems to have been practiced in case the infant was born deformed, diseased, or a weakling. The attending women

[1] Annie M. Barnes, *Matouchou: A Story of Indian Child Life*, 11.

595 on the march, unless menstruating, when he carried it himself. In fact, however, plural wives tended to reduce the domestic drudgery of all through a sharing of labor.

A man with only two or three wives and not too many children kept them all in one tipi. An important man's wives ordinarily lived apart, however, each woman having her own tent for herself and her children. Among the poorer families when wives were sisters, they sometimes used only the one tipi and possibly one bed for a time, but they always constructed separate tipis as soon as possible.[20] The opening of these tents was on the main tipi which was occupied by the husband. Long buckskin strings, attached to the buffalo mattress of each woman, were laid under the fold of the tent into the tipi of the husband so that he could instantly summon any one of his wives.

163 Comanche women were not very prolific, and death of the mother
842 at childbirth was not uncommon.[21] The average birth rate seems
847 scarcely to have exceeded two children to each woman, and it was a rare case when there were more than three or four born to one woman. Births were far apart, and the newborn were usually small. Many women were barren. Contraceptives were unknown to the Comanches, but abortions were practiced by beating the belly with stones. Hard physical work and constant horseback riding also apparently induced abortions so early in pregnancy that they went unnoticed.

844 Giving birth to a child was ordinarily a simple affair. Cases have been reported of women on the trail dropping behind the group, giving birth to their children, and then after a few hours rejoining the group on the march.[22] Under normal conditions, however, natal preparations were made. If a woman had her own tipi, she might use it; but if it was used by other members of the family, a separate lodge was constructed. In the summer it would be of brush about eight feet in diameter and six or seven feet high. Inside the lodge the earth

[20] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[21] R. N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society *Bulletin*, I (1929), 63.

[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291
"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842] ●
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than [757]
the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

11. W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

12. The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archivo General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger or prairie-dog hole. 778 492 224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry bivouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away. 778 726

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and congenial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover. 778 [595] [842]

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior-hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used. 553 778 701 [555]

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes. A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself. [171] [551] [881] [787]

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived. 553 701 551

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

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[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

was made soft. Two pits were dug in the ground, one for the after- 844
birth and the other for heating water and steaming. One or more stakes about four feet long were driven into the ground by the bed for the patient to grasp as an aid in delivery. A supply of sage was brought in and hot coals were prepared. A medicine woman, middle-aged or older, was in attendance. One or more additional women were likely to be on hand to give assistance. No men came near. The woman normally lay on the bed, but when the pain seemed unbearable she walked around or squatted over the hole to grasp a stake. An attendant might try to aid nature by grasping the patient around the abdomen and exerting pressure. Hot rocks were placed against her back, and she was required to drink hot water or hot soup.

When births were prolonged and stubborn, a medicine man was 845
called in to take over. We have accounts of the actions of two medicine men who were called in such cases; one had buffalo power; the other, otter. The husband of Holding Her Sunshade, when called, asked for a buffalo hide with the tail on it. He drew a white "path" down the center of it with his fingers and placed it as a door on the childbirth tipi. The mother and father also had to wear buffalo robes with tails and the hair on the outside. The doctor entered the tipi holding a buffalo tail. He waved the tail in the mother's face and then made a motion as if he were going to vomit. He was bringing up his power. Next he breathed his power into the patient's mouth and spit in the midwife's hands, had her rub them together and rub the patient's abdomen. His power was now on her and inside of her. His work was done, and he walked around the fire and out the door. "The child should be born when he puts his second foot outside the door. He was successful, and although the family was poor, they gave him their best horse."

The otter medicine man, known to Post Oak Jim, worked a little differently. He had a tabu against any other pregnant woman's being about. His method was to pull his otter skin through his teeth from left to right, after which he drew the skin down the front of the woman's body. He fanned down her whole body with an eagle feather. He then fanned her lightly above her head. A medicine song was sung, and he was ready to leave with a flying leap through the door. "When his feet hit the ground outside the tipi, the child will be born."

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 bers of the genus Ilex, which were similarly used. The well-known
262 "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians was prepared from *Ilex*
272 *vomitoria*, *Ilex cassine*, and perhaps from other species. However, although four species of Ilex are listed for Oklahoma (23, pp. 299–300), their range is given as in the southeastern part of the state, and they perhaps do not occur near the Comanche reservation.

000 Hoebel's notes on the Shoshone (10) contain an interesting item to which we know no parallel. He records the use of a plant (Shoshone: *pɔ'ːint*ᵊ) which is described as similar to the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum spp.*). The minute orange "seeds [sporangia?] in the leaves" were threshed by rubbing the leaves between the hands, and were then winnowed, ground, and boiled in water for soup.

824 A number of Comanche plant medicines were recorded, for a
278 rather wide variety of ailments. Most of these medicines seem to be in the nature of practical home remedies, and few have anything of magic or of ceremony about them. Chamberlain (6, p. 46) gives the Gosiute term for medicine as *na'-tsu*. It is interesting to note that a number of the Comanche names for important medicines have this ending.

The flowers of the sneezeweed (*Helenium microcephalum*) were
● [344] broken up and inhaled to induce sneezing as an aid in the expulsion of afterbirth. These flowers were similarly used in clearing the nasal passages. It seems likely that the plant would be effective for such purposes, as it secretes a resin which Stemen and Meyers (23, p. 599) say is poisonous to some people; it causes a skin condition similar to that produced by poison oak (poison ivy). This resin in contact with the nasal membranes would probably induce sneezing.

Two other plants were said to be employed in obstetrical cases.
[341] A tea made from the root of an unidentified plant (Comanche: *pehenatsu*) was drunk to check excessive menstrual discharge. The Arikara also use a root for this purpose, that of the mallow (*Malva coccinea*) triturated with the gum from the chokecherry and given as a drink (8, p. 74). After childbirth the Comanche woman was
[344] laid on a padding of plants of silvery wormwood (*Artemisia filifolia*) over hot coals. No explanation of this procedure was obtained; the plant was widely used, however, both medicinally and ceremonially, throughout the Plains region, and smoke from it was considered effective in purification.

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

in safety; that there is no cause for crying, and 765
exhorts them to refrain; when, by mutual consent, 152
they cease crying as easily as they commenced it, and go about their business. But if any of their friends have died in the fight, or otherwise, their grief appears deep and lasting. In this case, they immediately commence cutting and disfiguring themselves in a shocking manner, and with varied and unseemly gestures, accompanied with loud and tremendous yells, they seem to try to excel each other. They will ascend the loftiest peaks of the tallest mountains they can reach, and through the whole of the gloomiest night, send abroad through the surrounding forest their dismal wailings, in howls of horrid [59] accent. Nor are their signs of grief much less pungent when they lose their friends at home; but they hold all others 727.
enemies, and treat them accordingly, dead or alive. The reader has seen plenty of this in the preceding narrative; but I will here add, they fastened the scalps of our murdered friends to the bridles of their mules, so as to suspend them under the chin of the animals, and this was their constant practice while I was with them. When they encamped, they would fix them upon the top of long poles, and set them up by their tents, as I have seen flags upon garrisons, and elsewhere.

When a woman was to be confined, they removed 844
the grass and everything else from the surface of the ground, and in a convenient place in the tent

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

844 for her to lie down upon. They would be so particular as to sift the earth through the fingers, and detect and take out everything but the soft pulverized earth. Upon this spot she would pass her hour, when she would rise, take up her child, throw a blanket about her, and go to the nearest stream, bathe herself and child, and return to her business the same day, as though nothing had happened! – and it was the same thing whether she was at home, or pursuing a journey. Some of my readers may think the above too great a tax upon their credulity; but I can assure them, upon the veracity of one who has been a witness in several instances, that such is the fact.

841 In the case of catamenia, the woman instantly leaves her tent, and, as far as possible, seeks a place of concealment from her husband and family; she declines all company, especially of men, nor will she speak to one if she can avoid it. Should there be any article of her neighbor's within her tent at the time of her leaving it, it is thrown out upon the ground, and there it remains until they leave that place for some other, when the owner picks it up; but on no occasion will her family bring anything from abroad into her tent while she is
.426 absent. If the family with whom she stays are under
1883] the necessity of borrowing any article while she is with them, it is washed with the utmost care, when
[262] it is brought in, and when it is to be sent home. She remains in her [*60*] retreat four days, during

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 844 115 159 756

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic. [753]

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar. Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *təpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *təpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *təpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *təpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia [844] also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian [303] perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 561 754 561 554 558 578 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to continue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the postreservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

VI

From Cradle to Grave

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There is conflicting opinion about twins. The woman who bore twin boys might be honored; other parents might regard twins as unnatural. Sometimes the parents attempted to destroy one or both of them, particularly if one or both were girls, but the more common practice was to give one away if foster parents could be found. For fear her husband might destroy both, the mother would sometimes dispose of one and not inform her husband that she had given birth to twins. In the eighteen eighties Dr. George Holley discovered and saved an infant, which was one of twins, buried in sand by its mother. There is at least one other recorded instance of such a rescue.[1] 845 847

Infanticide also seems to have been practiced in case the infant was born deformed, diseased, or a weakling. The attending women 847

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3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

was made soft. Two pits were dug in the ground, one for the after- 844
birth and the other for heating water and steaming. One or more stakes about four feet long were driven into the ground by the bed for the patient to grasp as an aid in delivery. A supply of sage was brought in and hot coals were prepared. A medicine woman, middle-aged or older, was in attendance. One or more additional women were likely to be on hand to give assistance. No men came near. The woman normally lay on the bed, but when the pain seemed unbearable she walked around or squatted over the hole to grasp a stake. An attendant might try to aid nature by grasping the patient around the abdomen and exerting pressure. Hot rocks were placed against her back, and she was required to drink hot water or hot soup.

When births were prolonged and stubborn, a medicine man was 845
called in to take over. We have accounts of the actions of two medicine men who were called in such cases; one had buffalo power; the other, otter. The husband of Holding Her Sunshade, when called, asked for a buffalo hide with the tail on it. He drew a white "path" down the center of it with his fingers and placed it as a door on the childbirth tipi. The mother and father also had to wear buffalo robes with tails and the hair on the outside. The doctor entered the tipi holding a buffalo tail. He waved the tail in the mother's face and then made a motion as if he were going to vomit. He was bringing up his power. Next he breathed his power into the patient's mouth and spit in the midwife's hands, had her rub them together and rub the patient's abdomen. His power was now on her and inside of her. His work was done, and he walked around the fire and out the door. "The child should be born when he puts his second foot outside the door. He was successful, and although the family was poor, they gave him their best horse."

The otter medicine man, known to Post Oak Jim, worked a little differently. He had a tabu against any other pregnant woman's being about. His method was to pull his otter skin through his teeth from left to right, after which he drew the skin down the front of the woman's body. He fanned down her whole body with an eagle feather. He then fanned her lightly above her head. A medicine song was sung, and he was ready to leave with a flying leap through the door. "When his feet hit the ground outside the tipi, the child will be born."

The Comanches

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846 When the baby was born, the doleful cries and monotonous songs of the attendants immediately changed to rejoicing. After the umbilical cord had been cut, the medicine woman wrapped it and hung it in a hackberry tree when one was convenient. If it was undisturbed before it rotted, the child was supposed to have a long and fortunate life. The medicine woman carried the afterbirth and threw it in a running stream (the purifier that nullifies power). The baby was bathed and wrapped in soft rabbit skins and placed in its cradle-board. The number of days the new mother remained in bed was set by the attending midwife. In recent times, ten days is considered the customary time needed for recovery, but there are cases on record where the woman had had serious difficulty and yet was on her feet going about her way before an attendant had washed and wrapped the baby. During the entire time of confinement no man except a doctor entered her tipi. The grandfather, however, always came right away to ask the sex of the child. He stood outside the lodge, and if it was a boy, the women within would call, "*εhaitsma*" ("It's your close friend"). If a girl, they simply say, "*ɜsamop'ma*" ("It's a girl"). The new mother was not allowed to eat a single bite of meat; "it makes blood and would cause hemorrhage." Each day sage was burned over the coals to purify the tipi. One of the first things the woman did when she got up from her bed was to bathe in running water. A proud father usually made it a point to give away something. Normally his generosity was limited to the first person who came to see the new baby. If it was a boy and the father well-to-do, the gift would be a horse.[23]

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:tasas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

ABNORMAL CONDUCT

On a less-than-legal level there are forms of social conduct which are definitely in violation of social norms and yet not viewed in the eyes of a people as behavior that calls for explicit sanctions. Such acts, though disapproved, society is willing to leave to the implicit sanctions of public opinion and the desire of the individual to stand well. The off-the-norm behavior described in this section is of this order. 626

ILLEGITIMACY

Comanche attitudes towards illegitimacy show no vindictiveness, though the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father. Illegitimacy was declared by all informants to have been rare. Premarital sex relations were common enough, and abortion was not unusual, but in case of childbirth it is asserted that the father married the mother willingly. If the father did not come forth voluntarily and his identity was known, the parents of the girl are said to have gone to him with friendly talk to persuade him to marry the daughter. In cases of doubt (multiple possibilities), informants say paternity was determined on the basis of physical resemblance between child and supposed father: or if the child was old enough, it was determined by whom the child chose as its father. It is stated that if the father was not known, the girl was not usually married to another for a long time after the birth of her child, for the father could come and claim his child at any time. The problem-set was not to punish the mother, but to properly provide for the child. 848 [836] [847]

That's It gave a history which is typical of the Comanche attitudes.

Case 33. Illegitimacy
Informant: That's It

"An unmarried woman had a child. She said she would never be able to take care of that child, so she thought she would get rid of it. Accordingly, she took it to a grove and there washed it up and laid it on a bed of sage leaves. Pretty soon a young man came out to tend horses. He found the little baby lying there. He looked at it and picked it up and wrapped it in his blanket. He turned back home with it. Just as he stepped through the door of his tipi the baby cried. The brave's mother, who was there, looked up, 'Did I hear a baby?'

" 'Yes,' said the youth, 'here's my son.'

" 'What a burden!' the mother cried.

"But her son insisted on keeping it, so they took the child to a wet nurse. They gave her presents in payment for feeding the baby. Later on they bought corn meal from the Mexicans to feed it. When the boy was three years old, his father told his mother and father that he wanted to go on the war-path. He was gone for a year.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

VI

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There is conflicting opinion about twins. The woman who bore twin boys might be honored; other parents might regard twins as unnatural. Sometimes the parents attempted to destroy one or both of them, particularly if one or both were girls, but the more common practice was to give one away if foster parents could be found. For fear her husband might destroy both, the mother would sometimes dispose of one and not inform her husband that she had given birth to twins. In the eighteen eighties Dr. George Holley discovered and saved an infant, which was one of twins, buried in sand by its mother. There is at least one other recorded instance of such a rescue.[1]

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847 and the medicine woman made the decision. If it was determined that the child was unfit to live, it was left out on the plains. If the tribe was on the move, it was left near the camp site; otherwise, it was carried a distance from camp and left to die. Well-informed observers claim that they never saw an idiot or congenitally deformed 854 Comanche in the early days.[2]

During its first days the child lay swaddled in robes in its mother's lying-in hut where it received constant attention. Soon after the mother left the hut to resume her daily round of tasks, the baby was put in its day cradle, or "papoose board," so that it could be stood out of harm's way or, if the mother was out gathering seeds or roots or on the march with the camp, it could easily be carried along on her back.

The cradle-board was either a sort of basket made of rawhide fastened to a flat, angular board or a soft buckskin sheath that laced up the front and was anchored to a back board. In cold weather the baby was wrapped in his cradle in blankets with a small opening left for breathing and for the dark, gleaming eyes. Getting babies in and out of their tight cradles to keep them dry would have been a great nuisance. The Comanches met this problem by bringing the little boy's penis out through an opening in the lashings and by providing a draining tube between the legs for a girl. Soft, dry moss was used to catch their excrement. Even so, the babies got wet and messy, but it was their lot to put up with it until they were transferred to the night cradle. Then they were washed, greased, and powdered—the powder consisting of pulverized dry rot of cottonwood. This soothing operation was done tenderfully and carefully. Bodily physical contact was thus restricted during the early months of life, and muscular activity almost wholly so. Such restriction was on a twenty-four-hour basis at first, for at night the young infant was rolled up in a stiff rawhide tube so that it could sleep on the robe between its parents without danger of being smothered if its fat mother rolled over on it. In this setting it enjoyed a snug, if not luscious, protective intimacy with both parents that was generative of strong security feelings.

Nine or ten months passed before the child was allowed out of the

[2] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 167; Babb, *op. cit.*, 140, 142.

595 on the march, unless menstruating, when he carried it himself. In fact, however, plural wives tended to reduce the domestic drudgery of all through a sharing of labor.

A man with only two or three wives and not too many children kept them all in one tipi. An important man's wives ordinarily lived apart, however, each woman having her own tent for herself and her children. Among the poorer families when wives were sisters, they sometimes used only the one tipi and possibly one bed for a time, but they always constructed separate tipis as soon as possible.[20] The opening of these tents was on the main tipi which was occupied by the husband. Long buckskin strings, attached to the buffalo mattress of each woman, were laid under the fold of the tent into the tipi of the husband so that he could instantly summon any one of his wives.

163 Comanche women were not very prolific, and death of the mother
842 at childbirth was not uncommon.[21] The average birth rate seems
847 scarcely to have exceeded two children to each woman, and it was a rare case when there were more than three or four born to one woman. Births were far apart, and the newborn were usually small. Many women were barren. Contraceptives were unknown to the Comanches, but abortions were practiced by beating the belly with stones. Hard physical work and constant horseback riding also apparently induced abortions so early in pregnancy that they went unnoticed.

844 Giving birth to a child was ordinarily a simple affair. Cases have been reported of women on the trail dropping behind the group, giving birth to their children, and then after a few hours rejoining the group on the march.[22] Under normal conditions, however, natal preparations were made. If a woman had her own tipi, she might use it; but if it was used by other members of the family, a separate lodge was constructed. In the summer it would be of brush about eight feet in diameter and six or seven feet high. Inside the lodge the earth

[20] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[21] R. N. Richardson, "The Culture of the Comanche Indians," Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society *Bulletin*, 1 (1929), 63.

[22] Burnet, "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to Be Pursued Respecting Them," *loc. cit.*, 234; Humfreville, *Twenty Years among Our Hostile Indians*, 182.

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
175 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
178 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
224 supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[789] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[621] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease
[222] the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
175 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
178 and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[847] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[727] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[562] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[592] culture, came into practice.
[304]

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
175 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
178 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
771 ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[776] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[715] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[776] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[715] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[754] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[578] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[721] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their
[796] Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
175 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
171 Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[621] groups. Warrior societies a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
[575] Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[796] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills,
[291] and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
72 on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment
[22] their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

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On a less-than-legal level there are forms of social conduct which are definitely in violation of social norms and yet not viewed in the eyes of a people as behavior that calls for explicit sanctions. Such acts, though disapproved, society is willing to leave to the implicit sanctions of public opinion and the desire of the individual to stand well. The off-the-norm behavior described in this section is of this order. 626

ILLEGITIMACY

Comanche attitudes towards illegitimacy show no vindictiveness, though the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father. Illegitimacy was declared by all informants to have been rare. Premarital sex relations were common enough, and abortion was not unusual, but in case of childbirth it is asserted that the father married the mother willingly. If the father did not come forth voluntarily and his identity was known, the parents of the girl are said to have gone to him with friendly talk to persuade him to marry the daughter. In cases of doubt (multiple possibilities), informants say paternity was determined on the basis of physical resemblance between child and supposed father: or if the child was old enough, it was determined by whom the child chose as its father. It is stated that if the father was not known, the girl was not usually married to another for a long time after the birth of her child, for the father could come and claim his child at any time. The problem-set was not to punish the mother, but to properly provide for the child. 848 ● [336] [347]

That's It gave a history which is typical of the Comanche attitudes.

Case 33. Illegitimacy
Informant: That's It

"An unmarried woman had a child. She said she would never be able to take care of that child, so she thought she would get rid of it. Accordingly, she took it to a grove and there washed it up and laid it on a bed of sage leaves. Pretty soon a young man came out to tend horses. He found the little baby lying there. He looked at it and picked it up and wrapped it in his blanket. He turned back home with it. Just as he stepped through the door of his tipi the baby cried. The brave's mother, who was there, looked up, 'Did I hear a baby?'

" 'Yes,' said the youth, 'here's my son.'

" 'What a burden!' the mother cried.

"But her son insisted on keeping it, so they took the child to a wet nurse. They gave her presents in payment for feeding the baby. Later on they bought corn meal from the Mexicans to feed it. When the boy was three years old, his father told his mother and father that he wanted to go on the war-path. He was gone for a year.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

●848 On the day he came back the little boy's mother wanted to come over to the warrior's tipi. She hesitated three times and couldn't get herself to go. But she came over at breakfast the next morning and called at the tipi. They invited her into the tipi and told her to sit down next to the boy. The girl told the grandmother that she had come to do dishes and clean up everything. She went over and sat down next to the grandmother.

"The people wondered: they asked her how it happened she was visiting them when she had no connection to them. Then she told her story. When she finished she begged to be allowed to stay in any capacity.

"The old man, the grandfather, said, 'Yes, it is good. It is up to the old woman, my wife.'

"The old woman, the grandmother, said, 'Yes, it is all right; it is up to the old man and my son.'

"Then the brave said, 'She will take care of him. It is good. She may stay here with us.'

"The child was named Covered With Sage; that is how they found him."

INCEST

835 626 Incest was forbidden. The tabu applied to parent-child (real and classificatory), brother-sister (real and classificatory) and uncle-niece, aunt-nephew relationships. There was no rationalization of the tabu. It was just there. As Bluefoot observes today, "They did not know about the harm in it. They just didn't want the people to make fun of them for marrying a relative."

"Making fun of them" and ostracism were the only controls used by the Comanches to reprove incest.

One whole band is damned in name because of their reputed incestuousness. Lots of Maggots on The Penis was this band's regular appellation. An alternative sobriquet was Something Together. It is declared that this band is now extinct because of its incestuousness. (This might vaguely imply a supernatural sanction, but more likely this is a reflection of attitudes derived from the whites.) Comanche attitudes towards incest are revealed in the following case.

835 588 *Case 34. Incest*
Informant: Talker (Recorded by Jeannette Mirsky)

"There was a family, father, mother, brother and sister. The children grew up. When the daughter was about twenty-five and very pretty, the family seemed to get separated from the rest of the band. They camped by themselves. It made the mother wonder why they had gotten away from the others. 'It is dangerous to live off by oneself: in case of attack there is no one to help us,' she complained.

"But the son said, 'Be quiet. It is not dangerous.'

The Comanches

Many forms of social conduct which are considered Abnormal in
848 our own society were not considered criminal by the Comanches. Their attitudes toward illegitimacy, which seems to have been rare, show no vindictiveness, although the feeling prevailed that every child should have a recognized father.

Premarital sex relations were common, but in case a child was born as a result, the father usually married the mother. The father could claim the child at any time.

835 Incest, which consisted of sexual relations between two persons within three degrees of relationship, was tabu, but there was no legal control. The few men who were known to have committed incest were called *pɔsa*, "crazy." Beyond this, there was only informal ostracism—and more sneering references. Thus, when Pointing to the Rising Sun married his sister's beautiful daughter, Wide Feet, his own sister refused to address him as *monapɔ*, "son-in-law," which would have been the respectful and proper thing to do, had it been a proper marriage. The People did not let it pass, however; they made it a point always to refer to him, her elder brother, as her son-in-law.

The Comanches actually had strong feelings against incest—brother-sister avoidance was enjoined on this basis—but they felt no need to impose strong sanctions against it. Most men were too concerned with the maintenance of their personal prestige to mar it with such an act. And perhaps more important is the fact that Comanche supernaturals were in no sense projected images of a rewarding and punishing father. Incest was not a sin against the gods any more than it was a crime. There was no need to punish the offender in order to protect the community from supernatural wrath. The act remained an offense against good taste, nothing more.

839 Rape, except upon captives, occurred infrequently and was not part of the general pattern. Sleep-crawling by either boy or girl was legitimate if the recipient did not object to quiet night visits. But before the advent of the white race's demoralizing influence, Comanche women rated high in chastity.

674 Theft was so unusual that no provision was made for it in the
577 legal scheme. Consequently, it must fall into the vague class of unapproved, abnormal acts which were outside the scope of the law. Generosity was so highly valued that he who had need of something had only to indicate his desire, and he would receive it as a gift.

though this was not invariable. There was apparently no ceremony connected with adoption. 597

An illegitimate child was a great shame to all members of the family, and especially to the girl's brother, whose prestige was to some extent a reflection of that of his family. It was usually brought up by the girl's mother, whom it would call mother. Some pressure was put on the boy by the girl's parents to marry her, but he could not be forced to do so. The girl's family referred to him teknonymously, but his family apparently did not recognize the relationship at all. Her marriage possibilities were somewhat reduced by this unfortunate happening, and she might well become only a secondary wife of some older man. 848 [558] [551]

Twins were not wanted, and were generally considered a danger to the mother, as well as to all her blood kin to a lesser degree. This was especially true as they grew up, suggesting the effects of the gradual emergence of the child's personality discussed above. Some women, with the assistance of powerful names for the children, disregarded this belief and raised them together, but others disposed of the younger twin. If some woman did not come and offer to take one, it might be laid outside the tipi somewhere, where someone invariably came to get it. The mother attempted to forget it. If one twin died, all the clothing and other things which had been prepared for it were buried with it, and the mother or her sister made a round of the camp collecting what was offered in the way of other clothes. 845 [184] [847]

Among the parents' siblings, there is a definite emphasis on the mother's side. The mother's sisters were apt also to be married to one's father and, even if not, were usually around the family helping if possible. The mother's brother is also considered to be a source of guidance, assistance, and favors of fairly major proportions; it is significant that he, also, is permitted to give away a girl in marriage. As usual, behavior toward more distant parents, aunts and uncles depends on personality and propinquity; whether or not they have any children of their own is also often of importance. TY's father remained with her mother's family to marry two more sisters, so that she was brought up in the midst of a great number of maternal relatives. The members of this extended family were rather strikingly unprolific, so that she had very few even distant siblings; as a result she received a great deal of attention and an almost continuous stream of extremely valuable gifts from all her parents, aunts and uncles, even though related in very roundabout ways. Her younger brother, incidentally, became a favorite child according to the best institutionalized patterns. 604 593

Husband-Wife. Wives were very clearly dominated by their warrior-husbands, and acceded to their wishes in all matters, including the treatment of children. Men could, and often would, beat their wives on any pretext they chose, while a wife's infidelity frequently led to extremely harsh treatment, 593 684

551 fathers or grandfathers of those who bear these newly established surnames. In no case does a surname stem from farther back than the third generation. Occasionally the surname is taken from the maternal line, from an aunt in one instance, but this is not the rule except in cases of illegitimacy or divorce. The adoption of a person's own Comanche given name as a surname along with an American first name is quite common, e.g., Casper Tis so yo, in which tïsoyó·? *one who has confidence in someone else*, is the Comanche given name of this man of 69. Family names are usually kept in their full original form, but with the agency's rendition of them in English spelling appearing on the rolls; for example, Harry Tobits ser kumah, tïvicikuma? *real male, or husband*; Lena Suah rah o lah, suará?ura? *one who meets somebody intentionally*; Carmelïta Delphine Atetewuthtakewa, ?etiwïhtïkwa? *one who strikes with a bow*; Olive Chahtosiebitten, cahto?ivitïn, *one who pulls something out on his arrival*; and Cecil Ahtoowoosserahle, ?otïwïsará·ki? *brown ears pricking up*.

[848] [586]

Comanche names are only infrequently translated into English and these are for the most part medicine-animal names: Frank Redelk, Violet Yellowfish, Vincent Red Bird, Olive Black Otter, Lelia Yellowwolf, Thuma (from Therma) Chicken, and Philip

[p. 246-8]

32: Gilles O;X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the 252
native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, 356
were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and 412
there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade 264
was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from
the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire. 372

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were 342
pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for
them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when [178]
I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house,
supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion 123
have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the
division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I
never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband 462
kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for 593
him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any
of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation
of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually 462
corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of 593
the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparent- 492
ly the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware
of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reserva-
tion for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team 462
and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The 313
squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough
pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp.
In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who [848]
had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The dis- [563]
pleasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it 848
treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was in- 563
clined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was 595
necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the 462
women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than
I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of
these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

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Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

847 and the medicine woman made the decision. If it was determined that the child was unfit to live, it was left out on the plains. If the tribe was on the move, it was left near the camp site; otherwise, it was carried a distance from camp and left to die. Well-informed observers claim that they never saw an idiot or congenitally deformed
●854 Comanche in the early days.[2]

During its first days the child lay swaddled in robes in its mother's lying-in hut where it received constant attention. Soon after the mother left the hut to resume her daily round of tasks, the baby was put in its day cradle, or "papoose board," so that it could be stood out of harm's way or, if the mother was out gathering seeds or roots or on the march with the camp, it could easily be carried along on her back.

The cradle-board was either a sort of basket made of rawhide fastened to a flat, angular board or a soft buckskin sheath that laced up the front and was anchored to a back board. In cold weather the baby was wrapped in his cradle in blankets with a small opening left for breathing and for the dark, gleaming eyes. Getting babies in and out of their tight cradles to keep them dry would have been a great nuisance. The Comanches met this problem by bringing the little boy's penis out through an opening in the lashings and by providing a draining tube between the legs for a girl. Soft, dry moss was used to catch their excrement. Even so, the babies got wet and messy, but it was their lot to put up with it until they were transferred to the night cradle. Then they were washed, greased, and powdered—the powder consisting of pulverized dry rot of cottonwood. This soothing operation was done tenderfully and carefully. Bodily physical contact was thus restricted during the early months of life, and muscular activity almost wholly so. Such restriction was on a twenty-four-hour basis at first, for at night the young infant was rolled up in a stiff rawhide tube so that it could sleep on the robe between its parents without danger of being smothered if its fat mother rolled over on it. In this setting it enjoyed a snug, if not luscious, protective intimacy with both parents that was generative of strong security feelings.

Nine or ten months passed before the child was allowed out of the

[2] Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 167; Babb, *op. cit.*, 140, 142.

cradle for any length of time and could experience the exploratory pleasures of crawling about. From this time on, when the child was not on the board or scrambling about on the ground, it was carried on its mother's back. 854 [482]

A child on its mother's back seemed perfectly comfortable and at home. It ate when the mother passed food to it over her shoulder, surveyed the new, curious surroundings, or slept as its mother moved. When moving camp or when traveling, mothers carried the babies on their backs, or sometimes they hung the boards on saddles or travois poles. As a child became too large to be carried by an overworked woman, it was generally placed on travois poles pulled by a steady old pack horse. In this manner children were usually carried until they were old enough to ride upon a pack or a horse—lashed to the saddle or held in place before the mother.

The Comanches had no surnames. At first, children were likely to be called only by pet names. Formal or real names were always bestowed, but there was no set time for doing so. Personal names were not distinctive of sex. The father might name his child, but more commonly he invited a person of distinction to do so. A child named by a medicine man or a medicine woman was supposed to have a longer and more useful life. The naming took place in a public ceremony, which was considered better performed inside a tipi. The medicine man lighted his pipe with a coal from the fire, and blowing puffs of smoke to heaven, earth, and the four directions, offered a prayer for the welfare of the child. When the prayer was finished, he lifted the child aloft to symbolize the wish that it would grow up, and addressing the parents and others present, said, "His [her] name is going to be ———." It was customary to lift the child four times, a little higher each time. The godfather was either compensated on the spot or told that the child would give him something later. If the child proved sickly, it would usually be given a new name, for the Comanches believed that names were closely associated with individual constitutions and that a sickly or puny child could be made strong with a strong name memorializing the great deed of a brave warrior. He Runs Directly Against The Enemy was a sickly infant who was taken to a famous warrior for a new name. It cured him, according to Greyfoot. A name commemorating a false deed was 553 [551] 753 551

the father. It might be named after its grandfather, uncle, or some other near relative. The person for whom the child, boy or girl, was named was expected to contribute a gift to his or her namesake. A good name was always chosen, though the child might be called by a nickname in common parlance. 551

Nicknames were obtained in the most haphazard way and might change at the will of associates. Greyfoot was called so because a woman got her feet covered with gray clay while crossing a creek. Even the most noted warriors were sometimes unable to control the disposition to nickname. Any unusual physical aspect or peculiar trait of character was almost certain to be seized upon. Thus Face Wrinkles Like an Old Man is an appropriate appellation for one informant. Frequently a nickname was given not because of the prospective bearer's idiosyncrasies, but after the behavior of his parental kinfolk. Such a name a boy retained until he had made a successful journey to war, a plundering expedition, or a hunt, when he received another name selected by himself or by a close friend as evidence of his newly won status as a man. Girls, however, did not regularly change their names at puberty.

Girls were unlikely to be named after the relatives of the mother, but rather after a relative of the father. Names thus remained in the family. The mother generally selected the name, which might be in commemoration of something she thought worthy. Girls, like boys, were called by nicknames. Married women did not take the names of their husbands, nor was there any equivalent of "Miss" or "Mrs." to indicate whether a woman was married or single. The name of a dead person was avoided and was not spoken in the presence of relatives for a long time, usually several years, other words conveying the same idea being substituted.

The training of children consisted almost entirely of precept, advice, and counsel. A baby soon learned that he would not have his whims gratified by crying. He was told to do, or warned to refrain from doing, certain things, not because they were right or wrong, but because they were to his advantage or disadvantage. He was taught that he would benefit by acting in a certain way. His pride and ambition were appealed to, and worthy examples among living men in the tribe were pointed out for emulation. Of abstract principles of 854

The Comanches

854 right or wrong, as we understand them, the Comanches knew little or nothing. The approach to life was pragmatic. The child was not coaxed toward good with the hope of Heaven as a reward or frightened from evil by the fear of Hell as a punishment. Instead, he was shown by word and example that the respect and approbation of his fellow tribesmen were to be desired, and their condemnation and contempt were to be dreaded and avoided. He saw that the men who were brave and generous were applauded and respected. In Comanche 854 society it was impossible to live a secluded life. The members were 626 aware of the conduct of each person. Each was eager for the approval of his fellows and greedy for their praise, and public opinion promised the reward he hoped for and threatened the punishment he feared—lack of esteem among The People. This was their method of control.

861 The Comanches did not whip or otherwise bodily punish their children but directed them by persuasion and object lessons. However, they were, at times, frightened by threats. Breaks Something, when a small boy, annoyed his mother by whining for some mush she was making. She called in an elder classificatory sister, who simply dragged him into the tipi with a rawhide strap around his neck and threatened to hang him to the top of the tipi if he was not good. "I was really scared."

Discipline within the family usually devolved on an older sister—real or, preferably, putative—and youngsters really resented their bossiness. The Comanches knew nothing about Freud and his theory of the Oedipus complex, but they did know that parental dominance breeds resentment, and so, like most American Indians, when forceful discipline was called for, they turned the job over to a relative outside of the immediate conjugal family or to an imaginary bogeyman.

Old people covered their heads with a sheet to give a ghost scare to bad little boys and girls, and all youngsters had the fear put into them of *piamɜmpits,* Big Cannibal Owl, the mythological creature who lived in a cave on the south side of the Wichita Mountains and ate bad children at night.

857 As soon as she was large enough to walk, the girl followed her mother everywhere about the camp. She imitated her in all things,

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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Sanapia's mother, 1909.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunbip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated. 756 775 755 756 754 755 [128]

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared. 754 854 164

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children. 754 854 164 152

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of 754 854 164 756

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

754 854 164 756 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia cannot alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 775 164 755 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sickness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 775 154 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts. She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

756 177 775 164

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

754 756 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to *a* Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 756 828 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *pubakut* would resort to witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puha* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the [854] [164] blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no communications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Geronimo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases. 882 593 [605]

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[19] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely. 593

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on. 593 861 858

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga- 593 855

[19] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

593 855 tion for the parents to make a munificent return gift, preferably with a horse, and for the child to give away the original gifts to less fortunate children. This child wore especially fine clothes, rarely had any work to do, was spoiled by everyone, could order his or her siblings and even parents around at will, was never forced into marriage, and was generally cock o' the walk. Such a child [595] was usually the offspring of the father's favorite wife (a wealthy man nearly always had several wives), so that jealousy usually was present among the other wives too, and they would neglect and annoy the favorite child whenever they thought they could get away with it. However, if the child were a boy, he would fairly soon start going off on war-parties, while a girl, not having her marriage arranged for the convenience of the parents, would probably marry [158] a man of some means and reputation, and move away also. It should be noted that favorite children never became *pû'ku'ci?*,[11] according to our informants.

Girls who were not favorites frequently had their marriages arranged for them by their fathers. While the girl was anxious to marry a glamorous warrior, the father preferred a poor but industrious man who would stay around the home and tend his stock for him, perhaps for two or three years or, with the inducement of additional daughters as rewards for good and continued service, [727] almost indefinitely. A captive (especially a Mexican) made the most depend- [554] ent, and hence reliable, son-in-law of all, though the lowered prestige of the resultant half-Comanche grandchildren was a deterrent to this practice.

597 Adoption of children was fairly common, especially for boys into families without any; in this case, they might become "favorite children." Proper [835] relationship terms for a son or daughter were applied; rigorous incest regulations did not hold with adopted children, but there was strong disapproval of marriage of adoptive siblings if they had been brought up together for a number of years. Close friends of sons might also be adopted when comparatively mature; marriage with them does not seem to have been so clearly outlawed though no cases are recorded. In connection with the early maturity and independence of boys, it is interesting to note that this type of adoption was considered to be solely a matter to be arranged between the boy and his prospective new family—his parents had no influence in the arrangements. There is some evidence that fairly immediate descendants of adopted children were, if possible, married to bona fide members of the family in order to get them more firmly grafted onto the family tree. While the fact that the child was not a blood relative was never forgotten, it appears that a person adopted into a family became practically as much a member of it as one born within it, and generally ceased using the old terms of relationship toward his original family,

[11] *pu'ku'ci?* were adults following institutionalized patterns of "silly" behavior. This behavior readily lends itself to at least superficial interpretation as an escape mechanism for maladjusted people. This term was also applied to "difficult" children, a separated usage, though of course related.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

2

Sanapia, 1895–1968

Early Childhood

SANAPIA WAS BORN at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in the spring of 1895 in a tepee encampment of *yapai* Comanches who had traveled to Fort Sill for rations from the vicinity of Medicine Park, Oklahoma. As with most Comanche women her age, Sanapia only knows that she was born in the spring and has therefore arbitrarily set her birth date at May twentieth. 115 159

Her father was Comanche and her mother Comanche-Arapaho. Sanapia was the sixth in a family of eleven siblings, having five older brothers, three younger brothers, and two younger sisters. As is still the custom among the more traditionally oriented Comanches, the maternal grandmother is very instrumental in rearing her daughter's children. Both Sanapia's mother and her mother's older brother were eagle doctors. 603 855 756

> Yeah, my mother doctored . . . she could do anything. One time it was her playmate one time they were playing and she died. They put her buckskin dress on her, and you know in them days when anybody died they put red paint all over their face and their arms and their feet and then they put them away. They fix her up like that. My mother was playing with the rest of the kids. She was just a little bitty girl. She said, "I'm going to my tent and go to sleep. After awhile I play some more." Later these kids came to her and said, "They want you over there. Go to doctor." And she was just about ten years old that time. She went down there and she said, "No, no, she not going to go. I don't want her to die. I'll fix her up." She told all those people that, "You all get out. I'll fix her up." And she was sitting in that tent making all kinds of racket and pretty soon that little girl get up. She came back to life and lived many years. My mother died before her. 764

Sanapia's maternal uncle was also very active among Comanche peyotists, leading peyote meetings throughout southern Oklahoma. Sanapia also counts among her relatives a paternal grandfather who was an important *yapai* leader in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby towns and act as interpreter. 115 159 177 593 191

Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . . speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet. My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman. 115 159 177 593

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remembering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or journal of her life. 115 159 603 177

My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that. She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing, until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white [342] 115 159 603 855 [252] [415]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 159 603 855 [765]

people like now. I remember that when I was small I watched long bunch of white peoples come in here and up to today that's almost all there is around here. In them days, no fences and no white people. And my grandmother knew that before it happened. She know lot of things like that too. And when what she says happens I was sure surprised, but it made me believe her better. She had a big hunk out of her ear. She cut her ear up when her brother died in the war . . . to show how sorry she was, but I didn't know that and I would joke her and tell her, "What's the matter with your ear? Did a mule bite it off?" She would tell me what happened to it. I would ask her all sorts of things and she would always tell me something on it. She's the one who told me to take my mother's doctoring-way when I was getting older. I didn't want it because I thought it was silly or nasty, but my grandmother said that soon in the future there wouldn't be hardly any Indian doctors left and she sure was right on that. I really cried when she pass on, because she had been so good to me, bringing me along like she did. So now, up to today, my daughters got kids and my son. I try to be like my grandma. I tell them old ways that I can remember, but, you know, they don't hardly care for it. They getting to be more like white peoples every year that pass. My grandmother told me all this would happen too.

115 159 604 756 755

Sanapia's maternal uncle, an eagle doctor like her mother, was very active among peyotists in southern Oklahoma. Her first recollections of peyote meetings were those which were directed by her uncle, and it was through him that Sanapia later learned the manifold uses of peyote as a medicine. Her mother also utilized peyote as a medicine, though not to the extent to which her uncle employed it. Sanapia's paternal grandfather was also a "strong peyote man." Thus early in life Sanapia was impressed with the importance of peyote by two very influential family members.

Religious Influences

115 159 771

Sanapia was reared in an atmosphere colored by three basic approaches to supernaturalistic realms—the Christianity of her father, the peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the more customary Plains pattern of vision quests and guardian spirits as embodied by her mother, the eagle doctor. Through this liberal education she learned the basic tenets of each and managed to syncretically combine elements of all three into the validating and supportive unity by which she now lives and finds the rationalization for her own supernatural prerogative as a Medicine woman.

She quite naturally deemphasizes the differences and emphasizes the similarities in these three supernaturalistic systems. She is very fond of making comments like the following:

115 159 771 755

You know, the bible says that when Jesus was on earth he would heal people. His disciples had that same power as Him, and I know I'm just like them. I got power in my hands to heal peoples too. You can read the bible to find out that Jesus gives those people power to help people that got sickness, and it's just like that with me. When I pray, I feel just like, well, the Lord says, "You go heal that person. I give you power to do that and give you a good mind . . . put power in your hands. When you touch anybody like that, you'll get them well." That's what I always thought, you know. Use the bible like that.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

595 one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

595 I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of 855 another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living 657 strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had [423] fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using [417] four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had [342] also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

342 Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, [592] and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, [352] from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on [513] forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

252 The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start. 443

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs. 122 124

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group. 432 [436] 432 595

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases. [855] [858]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
stand, at about one year according to inform-
856 ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data
124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI ʔ *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[122] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

The Comanches

854 right or wrong, as we understand them, the Comanches knew little or nothing. The approach to life was pragmatic. The child was not coaxed toward good with the hope of Heaven as a reward or frightened from evil by the fear of Hell as a punishment. Instead, he was shown by word and example that the respect and approbation of his fellow tribesmen were to be desired, and their condemnation and contempt were to be dreaded and avoided. He saw that the men who were brave and generous were applauded and respected. In Comanche
854 society it was impossible to live a secluded life. The members were
626 aware of the conduct of each person. Each was eager for the approval of his fellows and greedy for their praise, and public opinion promised the reward he hoped for and threatened the punishment he feared—lack of esteem among The People. This was their method of control.

861 The Comanches did not whip or otherwise bodily punish their children but directed them by persuasion and object lessons. However, they were, at times, frightened by threats. Breaks Something, when a small boy, annoyed his mother by whining for some mush she was making. She called in an elder classificatory sister, who simply dragged him into the tipi with a rawhide strap around his neck and threatened to hang him to the top of the tipi if he was not good. "I was really scared."

Discipline within the family usually devolved on an older sister—real or, preferably, putative—and youngsters really resented their bossiness. The Comanches knew nothing about Freud and his theory of the Oedipus complex, but they did know that parental dominance breeds resentment, and so, like most American Indians, when forceful discipline was called for, they turned the job over to a relative outside of the immediate conjugal family or to an imaginary bogeyman.

Old people covered their heads with a sheet to give a ghost scare to bad little boys and girls, and all youngsters had the fear put into them of *piam3mpits,* Big Cannibal Owl, the mythological creature who lived in a cave on the south side of the Wichita Mountains and ate bad children at night.

● 857 As soon as she was large enough to walk, the girl followed her mother everywhere about the camp. She imitated her in all things,

playing at the tasks which her mother performed. She was given a doll, dressed usually in deer skin, which she took everywhere with her. She might be lucky enough to have a toy cradle and carry her doll on her back in the fashion of her mother. As she grew older, she learned to dress and undress her doll and to make for it the necessary articles of clothing. Little girls learned to ride almost by the time they were able to sit astride a horse and hold the reins. Although they never spent as much time as the boys in practice, they became good horsewomen, so proficient that often the white campaigner was unable in the midst of battle to distinguish men from women. 857

There was a very close relationship between a girl and her mother's sisters. They were not called aunt, but *pia,* "mother," and the relationship was that of a mother to her daughter. A woman called her sister's child her own and aided in its instruction. There was even less formality between a girl and her mother's sister than between the girl and her mother. It was the grandparents who spoiled the child. The maternal grandmother was the girl's favorite. She was called *kaku* and she in reciprocity called her daughter's children *kaku,* too. Their social positions were theoretically equivalent. The *kaku* was likely to be congenial and indulgent with the child, and the relationship was much more intimate than between mother and daughter.[4] 604 603

As a girl grew older, she was given small tasks. She was first required to carry water and, when still older, she began to go for wood. Parties of girls, sometimes accompanied by a few women, went out from camp to bring in the wood. They also went with the women to gather wild fruits, roots, and nuts. At about twelve years of age, the girl began to learn to cut out moccasins, to cook, to dress hides, to make and set up a tipi—all the things essential for becoming the wife of a warrior. 857 868

The passage of a girl from childhood to young womanhood was an important occasion in her life, and was hardly less so to her family and the tribe. But since there was little anxiety about becoming a woman and a girl was already well-prepared for womanhood, and since the Comanches were a work-a-day, unceremonious people, there were no puberty rites. Among well-to-do families the event was the 881

[4] For a detailed analysis of Comanche kinship relations and terminology see, Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *loc. cit.,* 440–57.

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *ɔk*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ata*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ata* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ata's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ata's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ata*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

He learned to approach game with patience, caution, and quietness; learned to take advantage of vegetation, of physical features, and of the wind; learned how to make a surround—lessons which would be valuable in real hunts when he grew up. He came to understand the signs of the prairie, how to observe the habits of wild animals, to know where they might be found, and how they reacted under different conditions.

A boy was allowed much liberty, and although his parents were firm, he was seldom scolded or punished. He was not expected to perform any menial labor about the camp and was always treated with great consideration, for "he is going to be a warrior and he may die young in battle." 858

The Comanche boy in his daily life was learning to be self-reliant, but at the same time his play habits were fostering manly comradery. Most of the daytime hours of the pre-adolescent boys were 857

[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

The Comanches

857 spent in gang play. When a new camp was set up, they set out to find a good water hole in the creek where they could play all day. Following and baiting small birds and large insects fascinated them. [411 224] Hummingbirds were shot with headless arrows having a vertically split foreshaft in which to catch the birds. Boys would spend all day chasing one bird, according to Skinny and Wrinkled, in a kind of concentration that boded well for the future hunter and tracker of men and beasts. Bull bats were shot with arrows having horizontally split foreshafts. Grasshoppers were shot with hummingbird arrows, and their hind legs were eaten for lunch.

The boys had great fun by tying two grasshoppers together with a short thread and then crowding about to watch them "wrestle." They would jump and jerk each other up short. The one that first fell on its back was the loser. They liked to catch "shit rollers," tie a piece of straw to a leg, and watch them fly, running fleetly after them as they followed their courses. They would stick a small straw up the anus of a horsefly and turn the insect loose—which perhaps showed how they felt about horseflies.

Small boys, who had no real arrows, made them of reed shafts with grasshopper legs for points and a ballast daub of mud stuck two inches from the point. They killed night hawks with slings and amused themselves playing with whirrers—two strings attached to a bone and pulled taut to make a whirring noise.

Although boys were by themselves most of the time, the younger ones now and then joined the little girls to play camp. On the sand by the creek they built small windbreaks and arbors. A play group leader was made "chief," and each boy chose a wife or wives. They all swam in the creek, gathered in ponies with the girls, and rode together. Some time was spent by the boys in hunting squirrels to bring into camp for their "wives" to cook, while the girls gathered berries, edible roots, and the eggs of turkeys, ducks, quail, and prairie chickens. All this swag made for good make-believe feasts.

[836] The more precocious dallied in sexual experimentation. "One day we played at being married. I did my best to make a baby with my wife," said Post Oak Jim.

857 526 When younger boys and girls played together (but not when they were playing camp), there were several forms of joint games.

From Cradle to Grave

A hilarious favorite was "grizzly bear." For this, a mound of sand, called the "sugar," was fashioned. Then one child was dragged around by his heels to smooth a circle around the "sugar." Outside the circle all the children formed a queue, holding to each others' waists and facing the mound. The leader was the "mother" protecting her young from the "grizzly," who was played by a child inside the circle. His part was to reach out of the circle and seize a child, but the mother protected the children by swinging the line back and forth. At last one child was caught and subjected to the penalty of being tickled ("eaten") by the bear in the circle. After that, players would break out of the line and try to dash in to steal some "sugar" from the grizzly's store and get out without his catching them. As each was caught, he was tickled, and the game went on until the "sugar" was all stolen or all the children were captured. 857 526

In another group game the children all sat in a row with their feet straight out in front of them. An old man had to join them in the fun. He would advance with closed eyes and feel up and down the row until he decided to choose one child. This one he picked up by the feet, head hanging down over his back, and carried him around in a circle back to the row. The other children asked the "It" many questions: "Do you have a horse, a saddle, a belt, etc?" The given answer was always "Yes." At last they rushed forward and took their playmate off the old man's back, crying that they were going to eat the old man. So they tickled the old fellow with joyous cries.

Other times they took pieces of old hide to the tops of hills. While some of the children rode on the hides, the others pulled them bouncing down with ropes. "Guess over the hill" (*nanip'ka*) was another favorite. Two older boys would organize the game. The boy who was "It" went over the hill; another stood guard at the top to make sure he did not spy while the other children hid under robes or blankets. When called by the guard, "It" came and tried to guess the names of the hiders.[6] 857

On rainy days all was still; the children lay quietly at home in their family tipis, for they were superstitiously afraid of thunder and lightning. Winter was the time for the telling of stories; not summer. [82] [538]

[6] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ī'rī?aiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

These young Indians had
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nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [492]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. 342
Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen [657]
by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accom- [595]
modate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the [343]
camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to 464
take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many mer- 461
chants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians
with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break 492
their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he [464]
was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been 000
pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to re- 462
quire no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be 857
warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to 231
work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an
expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were inter- 492
ested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 [296] [124] During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bottom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 609 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw

516 [352] their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *tok*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ara*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ara* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ara's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ara's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ara*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

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[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases. 882 593 [605]

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[19] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely. 593

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on. 593 861 858

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga- 593 855

[19] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. [858] [171] This seems true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940). [113]

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilisation, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction. [113]

[p. 14-B]

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John, maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K [178] young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who
C keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
K by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
[428] after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
756 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.
755

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day fasting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bokwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 491
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na*.

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start. 413

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs. 122 124

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group. 432 436 432 595

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases. 855 858

The Comanches

854 right or wrong, as we understand them, the Comanches knew little or nothing. The approach to life was pragmatic. The child was not coaxed toward good with the hope of Heaven as a reward or frightened from evil by the fear of Hell as a punishment. Instead, he was shown by word and example that the respect and approbation of his fellow tribesmen were to be desired, and their condemnation and contempt were to be dreaded and avoided. He saw that the men who were brave and generous were applauded and respected. In Comanche 854 society it was impossible to live a secluded life. The members were 626 aware of the conduct of each person. Each was eager for the approval of his fellows and greedy for their praise, and public opinion promised the reward he hoped for and threatened the punishment he feared—lack of esteem among The People. This was their method of control.

●861 The Comanches did not whip or otherwise bodily punish their children but directed them by persuasion and object lessons. However, they were, at times, frightened by threats. Breaks Something, when a small boy, annoyed his mother by whining for some mush she was making. She called in an elder classificatory sister, who simply dragged him into the tipi with a rawhide strap around his neck and threatened to hang him to the top of the tipi if he was not good. "I was really scared."

Discipline within the family usually devolved on an older sister—real or, preferably, putative—and youngsters really resented their bossiness. The Comanches knew nothing about Freud and his theory of the Oedipus complex, but they did know that parental dominance breeds resentment, and so, like most American Indians, when forceful discipline was called for, they turned the job over to a relative outside of the immediate conjugal family or to an imaginary bogeyman.

Old people covered their heads with a sheet to give a ghost scare to bad little boys and girls, and all youngsters had the fear put into them of *piam3mpits,* Big Cannibal Owl, the mythological creature who lived in a cave on the south side of the Wichita Mountains and ate bad children at night.

857 As soon as she was large enough to walk, the girl followed her mother everywhere about the camp. She imitated her in all things,

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases.

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely.

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on.

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga-

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

261
853
155
181
106
862
863

Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

155
863
181

Comanche NO6
Hopi NT9
Navaho NT13
Kwoma OJ13
Alor OF5
Wogeo OJ27
Woleai OR21
Aymara SF5

[For comparative information on the relationship between toilet training and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 422.]

|2| As the growth of speech facility parallels to a marked degree the maturation of the child's intellectual capacities, one might ask how comparative speech phenomena reflect this. Does it take longer for a primitive child who has to learn a highly complex language, such as many North American Indian languages, to gain control of his language than, say, a Chinese or American child?[6] At what age is the primitive child capable of making the subtle analogical formations[7] that many primitive languages require?

Some knowledge of children's speech development and baby words seems essential for the anthropologist or psychologist interested in problems of personality development and character structure. From the vocabulary itself one can form some idea of the child's world in a given culture; what objects and affects impinge upon it. Discipline and attitudes are reflected, as in Comanche where [863]

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, who has made extensive observations on Navaho children, feels that the Navaho child, as compared with the English-speaking child of the same age, is somewhat retarded in acquiring equal facility with his extremely difficult language.

[7] See Leonard Bloomfield, Language, pp. 275 ff. (1933), and Chapter X of Edgar H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (1947). [113]

[p. 14-A]

121 [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times [113] results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 (1940).

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, [113] London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, has made an admirable start in this direction.

[p. 14-B]

	Comanche NO6
	Navaho NT13
261	Hopi NT9
853	Kwoma OJ13
155	Woleai OR21
181	Wogeo OJ27
106	Samoa OU8
862	Tikopia OT11
863	Bali OF7
	Buka ON6
	New Ireland OM10
	Southeast Salish NR19
	Alor OF5
	Aymara SF5
	Chagga FN4
	Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

492 manche was mounted that he exhibited himself to best advantage. "Here he is at home and his skill . . . is truly astonishing."[29]

492 726 868 One of the first things a Comanche child learned was to ride. He started riding in a pack on his mother's back long before he could walk. Next he was strapped to her saddle on a gentle mare. By the time he was four or five he was off on a pony of his own. Both boys and girls were taught to ride with or without a saddle. Girls were taught to ride astride and became almost as much at home on horseback as boys. But it was not enough for the Comanche boy merely to learn to ride. He had to be a trick rider. Day after day, month after month, he practiced in drill. He learned to pick up objects from the ground while his mount was traveling at full speed. At first, small and light objects were selected, but as the boy grew older and more proficient, heavier and more bulky objects were exchanged for the lighter ones, until at last, unassisted and at full speed, he might be able to pick up from the ground and swing across his horse the body of the heaviest man. To rescue a fallen comrade was the highest obligation of any Comanche warrior. To leave a comrade on the field to be stripped, mutilated, and scalped by desecrating enemies was a disgrace to The People. Every man was expected to be able to meet the challenge when the need arose—and he had to be able to do it alone. Generally, however, rescues were made by two men working togther. Rushing neck by neck on either side of the prostrate person, both riders stooped at the same instant and swung the body in front of one of the riders. This stunt was practiced over and over on all kinds of ground until riders and ponies could do it without a hitch.

491 726 In attack, the Comanche, like other horse Indians, made his mount a mobile shield between himself and his enemy. How many a trooper or pioneer within his defensive corral of wagons has cursed at the scudding Indian whirling about him, loosing arrows from beneath his horse's neck, with nothing showing but a leg hooked over the horse's backbone! The key to this fancy trick was a loop of rope attached to the cantle or, if the rider was bareback, plaited into his steed's mane. With the loop slipped over his head and under his outside arm, a trained rider (and what Comanche was not?) clung to

[29] R. B. Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the Year 1852*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc. 54*, 103.

playing at the tasks which her mother performed. She was given a doll, dressed usually in deer skin, which she took everywhere with her. She might be lucky enough to have a toy cradle and carry her doll on her back in the fashion of her mother. As she grew older, she learned to dress and undress her doll and to make for it the necessary articles of clothing. Little girls learned to ride almost by the time they were able to sit astride a horse and hold the reins. Although they never spent as much time as the boys in practice, they became good horsewomen, so proficient that often the white campaigner was unable in the midst of battle to distinguish men from women. 857

There was a very close relationship between a girl and her mother's sisters. They were not called aunt, but *pia*, "mother," and the relationship was that of a mother to her daughter. A woman called her sister's child her own and aided in its instruction. There was even less formality between a girl and her mother's sister than between the girl and her mother. It was the grandparents who spoiled the child. The maternal grandmother was the girl's favorite. She was called *kaku* and she in reciprocity called her daughter's children *kaku*, too. Their social positions were theoretically equivalent. The *kaku* was likely to be congenial and indulgent with the child, and the relationship was much more intimate than between mother and daughter.[4] 604 603

As a girl grew older, she was given small tasks. She was first required to carry water and, when still older, she began to go for wood. Parties of girls, sometimes accompanied by a few women, went out from camp to bring in the wood. They also went with the women to gather wild fruits, roots, and nuts. At about twelve years of age, the girl began to learn to cut out moccasins, to cook, to dress hides, to make and set up a tipi—all the things essential for becoming the wife of a warrior. 857 [868]

The passage of a girl from childhood to young womanhood was an important occasion in her life, and was hardly less so to her family and the tribe. But since there was little anxiety about becoming a woman and a girl was already well-prepared for womanhood, and since the Comanches were a work-a-day, unceremonious people, there were no puberty rites. Among well-to-do families the event was the 881

[4] For a detailed analysis of Comanche kinship relations and terminology see, Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *loc. cit.*, 440–57.

881 occasion for ceremonial feasting and celebration, and a daughter who was a favorite child in a well-off family might run over the prairie hanging to the tail of a fast pony so that she would be agile and active. This was the only magical activity associated with puberty. She was then ready to marry and become the mother of children and thus to contribute her part toward adding to the number and, therefore, the [582] strength of the tribe. By the time she was sixteen the chances are her marriage had been consummated.

●868 A boy learned to ride almost as soon as he learned to walk. From earliest babyhood he was familiar with horses and their motions, riding behind his mother, clinging to her or to the horse's mane, or strapped to her saddle. He thus gained confidence, learned balance, and, by practice, learned to ride an old gentle pack horse; by the time he was four or five years old, he was expected to be able to manage a pony of his own; and by the time he was six, he was riding young colts bareback. Sometimes while learning to ride, he was bound on the pony by a rawhide lariat while another boy held the pony by another lariat and circled the pony about until the boy literally became a part of the animal. He received the criticisms of companions, father, mother, and other relatives and onlookers. If he fell, he was laughed at by the girls and others, but he did not become angry with his critics. Soon afterwards he had to help herd the ponies. He early became expert in the use of the rope for catching horses and henceforth spent much of his outdoor time on horseback.

603 By the time the boy was five or six years of age, he was given a
868 bow and some blunt arrows and taught to shoot, usually by his grandfather. This was natural enough since the father was still engaged in war and hunting, while the older man had probably passed the period of active life and thus had the leisure to make bows and arrows and to devote a good deal of his time to the education of his grandson. Consequently, there developed between the two an intimate relationship whose pattern was one of indulgence and congeniality linked with the less severe forms of authority-obedience. The grandfather taught the grandson to ride, to shoot, to make bows and arrows, and the secrets of the hunt and the trail. He told him stories of his boyhood and early manhood, instructed him in the tribal history and traditions, legends and religion, and many other things

that the boy would need to know. The maternal grandparent was the boy's favorite, and each called the other *ɔk*. 868 603

After the grandfather, those next most likely to manifest interest in instructing the boy were his father, elder brother, and father's brothers, who were called "father," *ap'*. With the mother's brother, who was called *ara*, "uncle," less formal respect was customary, for the *ara* and the boy were on a footing of easygoing comradeship. A boy could borrow his *ara's* goods without asking, and he could count on his *ara's* aid if he got into a scrape. The uncle, also, in reciprocity, addressed his sister's son as *ara*. A man called a brother's child his own[5] and addressed it as "son" or "daughter." 868 604

After the boy had received his bow and had been instructed in its use, he spent much time in practice. As he improved in skill, he hunted small birds with other little fellows of his age; and as he grew older, he ranged farther and farther from camp in search of larger game. He learned that hunting was not merely for pleasure but was serious work, that his ability as a hunter might mean the difference between food, shelter, and clothing and starvation and exposure. He was encouraged to become a good hunter, and when successful, he received the coveted praise. His first great kill was celebrated as an important event in his life. 868

He learned to approach game with patience, caution, and quietness; learned to take advantage of vegetation, of physical features, and of the wind; learned how to make a surround—lessons which would be valuable in real hunts when he grew up. He came to understand the signs of the prairie, how to observe the habits of wild animals, to know where they might be found, and how they reacted under different conditions.

A boy was allowed much liberty, and although his parents were firm, he was seldom scolded or punished. He was not expected to perform any menial labor about the camp and was always treated with great consideration, for "he is going to be a warrior and he may die young in battle." 858

The Comanche boy in his daily life was learning to be self-reliant, but at the same time his play habits were fostering manly comradery. Most of the daytime hours of the pre-adolescent boys were 857

[5] Informant: Medicine Woman.

17: Casagrande E.L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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195 The Comanche language[1] reveals an un-
868 usually rich and formalised vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teach-
195 ing the child to speak. Their use began
868 when the child was old enough to under-
856 stand, at about one year according to inform-
ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish
195 ways. Today English holds sway and these
178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowl-
124 edge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight
[124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty;*
192 *feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a
[122] field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiaboma, Oklaboma during the summer of 1940.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer:
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

be able to give her full attention to learning the skills of the eagle doctor. Much of this dissuasive effort was also aimed at Sanapia's older brother since it was the brother who had the prerogative of giving his sister away in marriage. However, after her training both the mother and the older brother immediately joined in a combined effort to find Sanapia a good husband. 115 159 756 868 582

142 115 159 291 302

Sanapia, age 16 (left) and her young sister (right). Taken in Lawton, Oklahoma, 1912.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

vegetables, and seventy-five cents for smoking tobacco and sweets 511 262 435
for the children.

Most Indian families lived in meager comfort if the head of the 511
household neither drank nor gambled. Of course, Indians who were 525
compulsive gamblers lowered their families' standard of living also [273]
The gambler's family had a feast-or-famine existence at best.

There is this to be said for gambling money—much of it stayed in the tribe, while money spent for liquor was gone forever. It is easy to understand why decent people deplored the selling of whiskey to these wards of the government.

One recurring incident of Comanche drinking, however, became an 273
amusing interlude to people living close to our store. It occurred in the little inland town of Faxon, Oklahoma Territory, and began immediately after the opening of Comanche land for homesteading in 1901.

The old couple involved in the incident have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living. Let's call the father of the family Old Warrior. He was one of the better-to-do Indians in worldly goods. He had quite a few horses, a few beef cattle, a good hack, a nearly-new small lumber wagon, and good harness, and the family as a whole owned several stock saddles.

But when Old Warrior and his woman came to town for whiskey they never drove. They would ride double on a little, fat, gentle 492
mare, the kind of mount the Indians termed a squaw horse—meaning a safe horse for anyone to ride. It was on such a mount the little folks [868]
learned to ride solo. Instead of a saddle, Mr. and Mrs. Old Warrior rode on a blanket, folded so both could sit on it.

Of course the mount was a dead giveaway, as they only used the 273
little mare when they came for whiskey. Another giveaway was that they would arrive in town near dusk, long past the time they would start for home when driving. The first year or two, when not drinking, they would take a roundabout road home. But on whiskey nights, their errand accomplished, they rode straight for home, point to point across the prairie.

Ordinarily they were a friendly family, and once their other er- 609
rands were attended to, they made our store their stopping place. 273
They always tied their horses to our hitchrack, if there was room. But when on a whiskey trip, they left their friendliness at home and never came to our store. Nor did they enter any other place of business.

For some time there was a vacant store building just to the east 273

The Comanches

517 quite simple. Visiting, feasting, the dance, story-telling, and competitive games constituted their principal means of recreation and amusement. The Comanches were very sociable and spent much time visiting. Visiting and feasts furnished opportunity for the discussion of news and tribal welfare. The religious ceremonies were regarded by many as less an occasion for worship than an exciting and interesting social gathering.

Social gatherings in the evenings were filled with mirth, revelry, and enjoyment. Before the arrival of the white trader, the Comanches were noted for their abstinence from intoxicating drink. Most evenings were devoted to singing and storytelling, which was not only entertainment but education. By frequent repetition of stories, the [869] tribal history, traditions, legends, and ideals were perpetuated for the young. Older people seldom grew weary of repeating the stories or of listening to them.

517 On other evenings young men and women gathered around a fire which had been kindled in the village, and while it reflected its 535 dancing shadows against the yellow lodge-skins, they danced and chanted their songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beat of the drum. Those who did not participate in the dance sat on the ground in a circle, facing the musicians who sat in the center beating their small drums. Men and women dancers stood a short distance apart facing each other. When the music began, a man would select a dancing partner by placing his hands round her waist, while she clasped him in similar fashion. The affair lasted an hour or more. The Indian, who had been taught to dance almost from the time he had been able to lift his feet, danced with rhythm and freedom, and every movement was vivid and natural.

526 Competitive games continued from childhood to middle life, and when a person became too old to participate, he still enjoyed watching them.

When food was plentiful and no necessary jobs were pressing, a Comanche really liked to settle down for some good fun. Men and women alike were great sports; gambling was a passion. Their horse racing has already been described, but it was not their only athletic sport. The women liked to play double ball or shinny, a strenuous pastime, to say the least. They set up arrow-shooting contests to test

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

* * * *

Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873, 220.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 28-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 186.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

657 to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend
871 school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort
[186] Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily
[874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocaticnal courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort
657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government
871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm
874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill
242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38] 657 871 874 242

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year. 797 871 [657] [657]

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 18, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 353; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 85, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year
[874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94
657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 851, and 1908, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 58.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS. Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 604. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.58; St. Patrick's, $1.54; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa chil- 871
dren have attended public schools. The long range policy 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public
schools as the principal educational agency. It was gen- [177]
erally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap be-
tween the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 19; Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.

47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The government provided the stim-
797 ulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting
871 with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian
[657] children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics op-
797 erated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

797 For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not
178 interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional
[756] life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions.
[191] Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gasso-
797 way was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

797 It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian
178 missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, op. cit., 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 157 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 {648} At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

[113] 22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1858, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

[113] 24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
141 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- 657 er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence 155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [134]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [134]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for *"to-o-pac."* (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been *"pina"* for "sugar four bits," *"hocoon"* for "matches five cents," *"mo-be-po-dra"* for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, *"Heepet?"* or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw. A1

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject. 657 871

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?" 657 871 171

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old—a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong—neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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657 871 171 men but had never spoken to one. I had a great fear of them. They kept us in a circle, with our parents on the outside, and we couldn't run to them for comfort. As I sobbed and cried, I became aware that someone was talking to me—calling me by name—talking loud in our tongue.

"I began looking around, and it was my grandfather. He was a very old man, and he stood back away from the circle of white men and didn't look toward us children. He didn't want the white men to know he was talking to one of us, and neither our white guards nor the Indian ones knew our tribal language.

"He talked loud, so I would hear him above the screaming and crying of the other children. 'Daughter, the white man is all-powerful' he shouted. 'There is nothing we can do to help you. They are going to take you away and put you in school. They won't really harm you. They want to teach you the white man's way. Should you run away, they will catch you, bring you back, and punish you.

" 'There is a way you can defeat the white man. Learn everything well he tries to teach you. Learn everything about the white man's way. Learn to speak his language. Then you will have defeated the white man. You will be as wise as he in the white man's way; and he won't like it because you will know also the Indian's way.'

"I stopped my sobbing. I stood as straight as my old, old grandfather, and I did as he told me. I learned to speak the white man's language without accent, and I have had a better education than most white people. I mastered every course they offered me. I was always properly behaved and they treated me well. I was able to help many Indian children adjust to the white man's school. But never have I forgiven the white man for the brutal way they rounded up us children and separated us from our parents.

"They had not let our parents know they were coming for us. Had our parents known, they said they would have taken us to the mountains, where no one would ever find us."

657 871 Similar roundups must have taken place among the Comanches in the early Reservation period—the late seventies, the early eighties, maybe into the nineties. They could even have used the army. It was handy, there at Fort Sill. It was Indian Bureau policy—an unfortunate policy forced upon a people with thousands of generations of freedom and independence behind them.

In my time there were older brothers and sisters who had traveled

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the school trail and who softened the emotional jolt on the little ones. 657
But it must still have been a terrible shock for any young child to be 871
taken from his camp home and hauled by hack and train to faraway places, there to be tossed neck and heels into the white man's way of life and forced to eat his food . . . sleep alone in bed . . . and learn life from his books.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of 648
mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, 726
would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is defi- 657
nitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, con- 871
cerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade terri- 191
tory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English 871
and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in- 657
law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister 657
and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I be- 871
lieve, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by
593 Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain
[657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later,
[871] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from
[136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women
[562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the
[701] battles.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, [657] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he [541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest [302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully [291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached [302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- [291] ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162 Population:

Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300

162 464 Labor Force:

Total:	551
Unemployed:	125
Unemployment rate:	23%

871 Education:

(tribal estimates)

Average grade level achieved:	9th
Number graduated from college in 1972:	11

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

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I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
[212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully com-
[871] pleted her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those rang-
571 ing in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians--apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
609 the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer--the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

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Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935, 14-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 224.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N(Comanche NO6

657 871 [186] to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily [874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocational courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort 657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government 871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm 874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill 242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 264; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38] 657 871 874 242

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year. 797 871 [657] [657]

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 13, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 353; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 85, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities
871 for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year [874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 For a few years the government increased annually the
871 subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94
657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res-
658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1898 (MS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1908, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 88.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1899, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS. Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.55; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainy Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.48.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

But the movement to the public schools required time. Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the following years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and undesirables in the government schools, the agency removed the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fifteen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of the same age group under similar circumstances. Children in the public schools do not get as much vocational training nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between the restricted government schools and the public

46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 19; Burtis, op. cit., sec. III, 11.

47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1948.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

756 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grand-
773 son wanted some. The woman said, "No, i can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get tha. feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four
159 individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal
756 grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before
875 Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group
115 welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to
159 be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *pubakut*
756 can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By
875 a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a
778 training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *pubakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving
159 her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing
756
603

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians (Boston, 1875), 28-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 78, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 128.

playing at the tasks which her mother performed. She was given a doll, dressed usually in deer skin, which she took everywhere with her. She might be lucky enough to have a toy cradle and carry her doll on her back in the fashion of her mother. As she grew older, she learned to dress and undress her doll and to make for it the necessary articles of clothing. Little girls learned to ride almost by the time they were able to sit astride a horse and hold the reins. Although they never spent as much time as the boys in practice, they became good horsewomen, so proficient that often the white campaigner was unable in the midst of battle to distinguish men from women. 857

There was a very close relationship between a girl and her mother's sisters. They were not called aunt, but *pia,* "mother," and the relationship was that of a mother to her daughter. A woman called her sister's child her own and aided in its instruction. There was even less formality between a girl and her mother's sister than between the girl and her mother. It was the grandparents who spoiled the child. The maternal grandmother was the girl's favorite. She was called *kaku* and she in reciprocity called her daughter's children *kaku,* too. Their social positions were theoretically equivalent. The *kaku* was likely to be congenial and indulgent with the child, and the relationship was much more intimate than between mother and daughter.[4] 604 603

As a girl grew older, she was given small tasks. She was first required to carry water and, when still older, she began to go for wood. Parties of girls, sometimes accompanied by a few women, went out from camp to bring in the wood. They also went with the women to gather wild fruits, roots, and nuts. At about twelve years of age, the girl began to learn to cut out moccasins, to cook, to dress hides, to make and set up a tipi—all the things essential for becoming the wife of a warrior. 857 [868]

The passage of a girl from childhood to young womanhood was an important occasion in her life, and was hardly less so to her family and the tribe. But since there was little anxiety about becoming a woman and a girl was already well-prepared for womanhood, and since the Comanches were a work-a-day, unceremonious people, there were no puberty rites. Among well-to-do families the event was the 881

[4] For a detailed analysis of Comanche kinship relations and terminology see, Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *loc. cit.,* 440–57.

881 occasion for ceremonial feasting and celebration, and a daughter who was a favorite child in a well-off family might run over the prairie hanging to the tail of a fast pony so that she would be agile and active. This was the only magical activity associated with puberty. She was then ready to marry and become the mother of children and thus to contribute her part toward adding to the number and, therefore, the [582] strength of the tribe. By the time she was sixteen the chances are her marriage had been consummated.

868 A boy learned to ride almost as soon as he learned to walk. From earliest babyhood he was familiar with horses and their motions, riding behind his mother, clinging to her or to the horse's mane, or strapped to her saddle. He thus gained confidence, learned balance, and, by practice, learned to ride an old gentle pack horse; by the time he was four or five years old, he was expected to be able to manage a pony of his own; and by the time he was six, he was riding young colts bareback. Sometimes while learning to ride, he was bound on the pony by a rawhide lariat while another boy held the pony by another lariat and circled the pony about until the boy literally became a part of the animal. He received the criticisms of companions, father, mother, and other relatives and onlookers. If he fell, he was laughed at by the girls and others, but he did not become angry with his critics. Soon afterwards he had to help herd the ponies. He early became expert in the use of the rope for catching horses and henceforth spent much of his outdoor time on horseback.

603 868 By the time the boy was five or six years of age, he was given a bow and some blunt arrows and taught to shoot, usually by his grandfather. This was natural enough since the father was still engaged in war and hunting, while the older man had probably passed the period of active life and thus had the leisure to make bows and arrows and to devote a good deal of his time to the education of his grandson. Consequently, there developed between the two an intimate relationship whose pattern was one of indulgence and congeniality linked with the less severe forms of authority-obedience. The grandfather taught the grandson to ride, to shoot, to make bows and arrows, and the secrets of the hunt and the trail. He told him stories of his boyhood and early manhood, instructed him in the tribal history and traditions, legends and religion, and many other things

The Comanches

883 As boys began to approach adolescence, there were a couple of years when they drew away from girls and ceased to play their childish games with them. They ran loose in gangs, racing, hunting, wrestling, and swimming. As their fathers stole stock, they rustled food from the camp. At night they liked to go armed with ropes and cut out riding horses from the herd to joyride on the prairie. If anyone discovered them, all they had to do was to get off and scatter. They were not encouraged by adults in these escapades; neither were they scolded. Their high spirits were tolerated, for that is as a Comanche should be, and marauding youngsters at night were a useful guard against enemy raiders.

593 As the boy grew into adolescence, the normal Comanche pattern demanded extreme brother-sister avoidance, even to the extent of isolating the unmarried adolescent boy in a separate tipi set up behind his parents' lodge. Here he prepared to receive power away from the contaminating grease of cooking utensils, while he was also isolated from incestuous temptation. The brother and sister could never sit close to or touch each other.[7] This social tabu was elaborated to the point where a young man might kill his sister without suffering any social disgrace or punishment if she insisted on violating it.[8]

882 If an older boy became unruly, disrespectful, or insolent, some of the older men made him the subject of cutting sarcasm. It usually was on such an occasion that the youth could not withdraw or save his face. This form of punishment was successful in most cases. Eventually, the youth learned to conduct himself with dignity and in accordance with the social norm set by his elders. Occasionally there was a wrangle between children, but they were allowed to fight it out to the amusement of the onlookers.

● 881 About the time a boy retired to his own tipi, he went out on his first real buffalo hunt, and should success crown his first effort, it might be an occasion for some kind of celebration. Usually a boy learned to hunt buffalo before going on the warpath. When he had shown his ability as a hunter, he was ready and eager to go on the warpath, for most boys wished to be brave and to win war honors.

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[8] Informant: Kills Something. Kill Something's brother-in-law shot his sister for entering his room after he had warned her not to enter.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

But he must first make his medicine or obtain supernatural power through a vision visitation. When the moment came to fight, a boy was given every opportunity to distinguish himself. His first expedition normally occurred about the age of fifteen or sixteen. He told his father or older brother that he wanted to accompany the fighters on a raid. They were pleased, but if they thought he was not ripe and gave him a rebuff, he went sulking to his bed where he lay, head covered with his robe, refusing to eat, until his father said, "All right." His father gave him a good horse to ride only when he went into battle and another to ride while upon the trail. If he proved himself a distinguished warrior, he was likely to become a war leader, and if his success continued, he might be made a war chief by his fellow braves.

After the boy had made a success, the Give Away Dance might be held in his honor, when the father gave out presents, usually one or more horses, in honor of the occasion.[9] The dance was announced several days ahead. At the appointed time the drummers took their position facing east in the center of the circle of spectators. The honoree was certain to dance, and other young men who wished might do so. The father, mother, other relatives, or anyone else who wanted to honor the young brave pitched presents at his feet during the dance or led up horses. Blankets and horses appear to have been the most appropriate gifts. Sticks were used to represent horses. Anyone of either sex who wished could grab the gift, and it belonged to him who first snatched it. A man with power was unlikely to grab. To do so revealed to the spectators that he had lost faith in his power or had given way to greed. No man would ever desire the people to think either of him. Sometimes the host announced the name of a recipient of a gift without giving the others a chance. It was not uncommon for a family to give away until it was poverty stricken. It enhanced social prestige and indicated a belief that the giver had strong power. Consequently, he was more likely to have a stronger following on the next raiding or war party. In 1945, when the veterans returned from World War II, Comanches put on Give Away Dances for their returned heroes, just as they did of old.[10]

[9] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 26–28.

[10] Informant: Kills Something.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry biv-
ouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 778
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without 726
waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and con- 778
genial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his [595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was
justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about,
and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors
often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion
of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inade-
quate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to
the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zare-
path, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes.
A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster,
or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed
to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first
name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the
vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another
chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given
this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold."
He became a legend while yet he lived.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed 591 rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent with- 882 in the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a [611] result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of 591 residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. 166 With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were fre- 157 quent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility even provided a way of avoiding the legal consequen- [696] ces of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

621 What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

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[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

across the face with his quirt. He'd never been whipped. He got to thinking about it, so he got out his gun and shot himself. The people didn't know why he did it, and suggested things out of the way. Sometimes when Indians go on a raid they catch a disease and commit suicide because they don't want to go back that way. This man was a brave warrior; he had killed lots of enemies; he had power." 762

Among the Comanches a sense of the injustice of a formally justifiable act at times took the form of a protest-suicide. Or perhaps it might be released in some retaliatory act, such as killing a favorite horse or mutilating the good-looking sister of the man who had pushed the law too far. A boyhood prank of Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man produced these double repercussions of incensed reactions to an over-strict legal settlement. 681 762

Case 37. Adultery and Retaliations
Informant: Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man 684 882 689

"I was down by the creek one day with a friend when a woman came down for water. She was the sister of my friend's step-mother. I proposed that we seek intercourse with her. My friend agreed. So I went over to make the proposition to the woman. She was quite willing, provided that we would wait until she had taken the bucket of water back to camp. On her return I met her first, as I had demanded the first chance. While we were together there, her sister (my friend's step-mother) saw us, but she slipped quietly into the brush and said nothing. When my friend had his turn, his step-mother again spied and saw them together. She went right away to her sister's husband and informed him of his wife's doings with us.

"The man came to my father's tipi. He told him what had happened. 'What do you intend to do about it?' he asked my father.

"We were called in and he blamed us both with adultery. I denied any contact with the wife, but when my friend was charged he boasted, 'Sure I did it. It's an honor to be able to do such a thing as that.' The husband demanded damages, and when he received two good horses from my father, he departed satisfied.

"Then my elder brother came home from a raid and heard that two horses had been given because of our activity. He was angry. He took his bow and arrow and shot two horses dead in the herd of the woman's husband.

"Nothing further happened at that time. But then the younger brother of the husband came back from a raid and heard the story. He was angry that the two horses had been shot. Thinking that his older brother had been ill-treated all around, he went over and cut off the nose of my friend's beautiful sister.'

The whole difficulty generated from the fact that the wrong-doers were youths. Adultery does give cause for suit for damages, but boys were always in a favored position and indulgence should have been shown them.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

684 Gets To Be A Middle-Aged Man denied his guilt and nothing happened.
●882 The other boy boasted, aggravating the situation. The elder brother, how-
689 ever, would not be imposed upon. To him it was lack of good taste and fairness for the old man to take two horses; hence his summary retaliation. The collaterals to the other party reacted in turn to this action as indecently harsh. They retaliated with mutilation of the sister. This last retaliation should not be confused with the principle of group liability (i.e., that the sister paid because she shared the responsibility). It was rather that the sister belonged to the brother and, as a good-looking girl, had value to him. Spoiling her visage was like mutilating his horse (possibly more so).

689 So too in the murder case (pp. 66–67 above) in which a war leader was slain for killing the two fat horses which had been offered him in compensation for one fat horse of his which had been eaten without his permission. The horses were his by acknowledged agreement. But that the chief should so scornfully kill them was too much for the other party. It was an insult to a man who had sought to do right. Though the killing was undertaken by one man and his captive, yet the entire group acquiesced, making no effort to dissuade him. Their inaction showed at least passive approval.

It appears that one should not press his bald legal rights too far. Too much pressure under the wrong circumstances generated the same type of back-fire which in recent decades has troubled modern Continental lawyers with the concept of "abuse of rights."

689 The sharpest back-fire in such situations was in protest-suicide. Witness
762 the action of a disowned mother, who was rightfully denied by the son she had deserted.

Case 38. Suicide
Informant: That's It

"This woman was widowed with her four-year-old son. The band was moving camp and she had her boy tied in his little saddle on a pony. They were straggling along so much that they dropped behind the other people. A young man dropped back and proposed to the mother that they run off and marry. She agreed to that. But they did not want to be bothered with the child, so they tied his horse to a tree in the midst of a grove and left him there to starve.

"Later on some hunters, who were out after a bob-cat, came to the grove. One hunter said to the others, 'There's a horse standing over there.' The group went into the grove and saw the boy sleeping. They watched him. Some said they should wake him up. They woke him up and asked about his mother. He didn't know, but he told them the direction she had gone. The hunters followed the trail and came up to the main band. The mother was not there, so the boy was taken by his grandfather and raised to manhood, and got married.

The Comanches

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The Comanches

593 While a boy was growing up, a very close comradeship was likely to develop between him and a brother. The relationship between brothers became one of mutual helpfulness. It was based on mutual affection and interdependence in play, work, and war. There was no formality between them. An older brother gave the younger much helpful advice, and when they went on the warpath together, the older brother was likely to keep a watchful eye on a younger brother until he had become an experienced warrior. Even afterwards they remained closely associated and rendered mutual assistance. This relationship was carried to the point where they lent each other their wives; especially would an elderly married brother accommodate his younger unmarried brothers. However, he could expect reciprocity when the younger brother married. "He would never feel the same about his younger brother, if he refused to make it even."[11] This 572 close relationship was sometimes instituted between two friends, perhaps being more common where there was no real brother. In such a case the friend took the status of a "brother" in the relationship system of his comrade's family, assuming all the privileges and restrictions which went with the new status. Then the two friends ("brothers") were likely to marry sisters and thus become brothers-in-law, or *haints,* which is the same word as "friend."

●882 A boy's education by advice and admonition was considered to have ended with his first journey to war. He was supposed to know by this time that to gain the approbation and respect of his people he must be brave and courageous in war, wise in council, cool and fearless in the midst of danger, ardent in his friendship, charitable to the less fortunate of his community, hospitable to strangers, and enthusiastic in his patriotism and devotion to the welfare of his tribe. 582 He was likely at that time to turn part of his attention to love and courtship and marriage. It was not uncommon for the male to marry at an early age. On the other hand, he was somewhat restrained by the desire to improve his social prestige by developing a reputation as a warrior, raider, or hunter. Also, he needed horses or other plunder to secure a wife. He might, of course, persuade his father to furnish the necessary horses, but it was far more respectable for a young man to acquire his own, so Comanche boys married at later age than girls.

[11] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ɨ̃'rɨ̃ʔaiwapɪ*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was 593 therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

had the right to give his sister, often against her will, to any acquaintance who gave him presents of arrows or a horse or two. A male cousin also seems to have had this right in some cases. 882 593 [605]

After the age of ten or so, brothers and sisters were supposed to avoid each other's company to a certain extent, especially if they should be left alone, and could never undress in each other's company, even if they lived in the same tipi. At the age of fifteen, boys might have a separate hut of hide-covered branches or even their own tipi in which to sleep and entertain any lady-friends they might have.[10] Brothers and sisters should not joke with each other, nor mention anything to do with relations between the sexes.

Behavior between more distantly related siblings seems to depend on how well they know and like each other and, of course, on how much they see of one another. As noted before, however, the brother-sister restrictions seem to remain in force almost indefinitely. 593

Parent-Child. Parents do not seem to have been unusually fond of children, especially in the old days when they were a considerable nuisance to be transported about, and guarded from danger. Discipline was largely in the hands of older siblings, as noted above, when there were any. Instruction of the girls was often taken on by the maternal grandmother, who frequently lived with the family, and the maternal uncle and older brothers taught the boys. Their father was apt to be out on the warpath, especially when they were young, and their mother was busy with the housework—cooking, making clothes, and so on. 593 861 858

As the children grew up, there seems to have been a gradual change in the attitude of the parents toward them. Younger children in a family, or of several families living nearby, formed a somewhat undifferentiated group; they were not mistreated, nor even seriously neglected by their parents, but were only rarely singled out for personal attention. Then, when they achieved the age of ten or so, they began to emerge as definite personalities impinging on the adult world; the father would begin to coach his son in the art of war, and the girl's mother would initiate her daughter more seriously in the housework.

Each parent usually had a favorite among the children, frequently the oldest, though a woman might spoil her youngest daughter if she realized she was to be her last. This child would receive more attention, presents, etc., than the others, who were often quite jealous. However the hostility they could express was limited, because the parent would usually side with the favorite if any squabbles occurred. Somewhat distinct from this is the quite institutionalized favorite-child pattern, found commonly in Plains societies; the Comanche themselves seem to recognize the distinction. In wealthy families, small gifts given by poorer people to the favorite child carried with them an obliga- 593 855

[10] This was done primarily to avoid harming the boys' power through contamination from the family cooking and food. Linton, personal communication.

The Comanches

883 As boys began to approach adolescence, there were a couple of years when they drew away from girls and ceased to play their childish games with them. They ran loose in gangs, racing, hunting, wrestling, and swimming. As their fathers stole stock, they rustled food from the camp. At night they liked to go armed with ropes and cut out riding horses from the herd to joyride on the prairie. If anyone discovered them, all they had to do was to get off and scatter. They were not encouraged by adults in these escapades; neither were they scolded. Their high spirits were tolerated, for that is as a Comanche should be, and marauding youngsters at night were a useful guard against enemy raiders.

593 As the boy grew into adolescence, the normal Comanche pattern demanded extreme brother-sister avoidance, even to the extent of isolating the unmarried adolescent boy in a separate tipi set up behind his parents' lodge. Here he prepared to receive power away from the contaminating grease of cooking utensils, while he was also isolated from incestuous temptation. The brother and sister could never sit close to or touch each other.[7] This social tabu was elaborated to the point where a young man might kill his sister without suffering any social disgrace or punishment if she insisted on violating it.[8]

882 If an older boy became unruly, disrespectful, or insolent, some of the older men made him the subject of cutting sarcasm. It usually was on such an occasion that the youth could not withdraw or save his face. This form of punishment was successful in most cases. Eventually, the youth learned to conduct himself with dignity and in accordance with the social norm set by his elders. Occasionally there was a wrangle between children, but they were allowed to fight it out to the amusement of the onlookers.

881 About the time a boy retired to his own tipi, he went out on his first real buffalo hunt, and should success crown his first effort, it might be an occasion for some kind of celebration. Usually a boy learned to hunt buffalo before going on the warpath. When he had shown his ability as a hunter, he was ready and eager to go on the warpath, for most boys wished to be brave and to win war honors.

[7] Informant: See How Deep the Water Is.

[8] Informant: Kills Something. Kill Something's brother-in-law shot his sister for entering his room after he had warned her not to enter.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over 492
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the
bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On
a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let
the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger
boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican
saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle.
Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broad-
er. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin,
broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops
of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store
items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their
children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 491
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with
matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be
wearing a *pit-si-qui-na*.

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gille: O.X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

By the time the town started holding races the following summer, Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, painted and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by youiself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *pubakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[888] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their
115 midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
159 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
756 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
755 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

756 lar formula formed separate societies. Possibly there were others, but they were not discovered by us. The members of a society carried shields each painted with an identical pattern and all followed the same medicine prescription and possessed the power in common.

The membership of a society was limited—in one case to six, in another to twelve members. Perhaps it was felt that the inclusion of more persons diffused the power so as to weaken its efficiency, or perhaps the six and double-six had peculiar meaning; no society numbered more than that.

As special interest groups we must suspect that they had their ways of exerting social pressure. But in a culture which is now so much a thing of the past, the medicine societies being limited in size and apparently having no governmental import, they have left no clue as to what subversive or other means they might have evoked to satisfy their own particular personal, group, or political ambitions.

THE SMOKE LODGE OR OLD MEN'S SOCIETY

575 887 Old men who no longer went on the warpath had a special tipi wherein they foregathered at the ending of the day to smoke and talk small talk. This was the Smoke Lodge. It was thoroughly a men's club, an old men's club; no boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members; when one became old and venerable enough to be satisfied with mellow, reminiscent talk, he just started going to the meetings and was free to come and go as he wished. We have no record of invitation or of rebuff to a new arrival.

When the band was stopping for only a short time at a camp site, the old men did not raise their tipi but were content with simply pressing down a circular spot in the weeds apart from the camp for their Smoke Circle. [361] When the village was more permanently located, if the camp plan was in the crescent form, the Smoke Lodge was raised near the middle; if the tipis were laid out in a row, the Smoke Lodge was said to have been set up to the south and east of the line.

575 887 782 276 Though the group was informally organized, each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of its leader.[8] While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. Next to the tipi door, to the right as one entered, sat the fire-tender, a captive Mexican. Opposite the door, in the usual place of a head-man, was the lodge leader with the

[8] We were unable to determine how the leader obtained his pipe, whether it was a special pipe which gave with it the leadership, or whether the leader emerged in the manner of peace chiefs and supplied his personal pipe for the usage.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

pipe. When the time for smoking had arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. In the light of its blaze he filled the pipe. The next step was invocation. Holding the pipe to the sky, offering was made to the Sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground—an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of this process the silence was broken, it was necessary to make a fresh start by dumping all the tobacco from the pipe out on the ground and starting anew. Informants did not know of any consequences being visited upon the breaker of the tabu. When finally the pipe was prepared, the fire-tender crossed directly over to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the old men could lapse into their round of conversation. The pipe was passed among them and carefully smoked until it was burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they broke up for the night. The fire-tender made first exit through the door. The others followed after in procession, all treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make non-ceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The talk turned on matters both amusing and serious; the old men were eclectic in their interests. On occasion they made an amusing turn on such coup-counting bouts as Grinnell reports for the Cheyenne.

> . . . the two bands were ranged on opposite sides of the lodge, facing each other . . . When all were ready to begin, he (the umpire) passed a counter to the man sitting at one end of the line. The counter passed from hand to hand until it reached one who had done this thing, when he narrated the circumstances, perhaps mentioning the name of some witness to the deed. . . .
>
> . . . When the coup had been related, the stick which had been passed for it was returned to the umpire, who thrust it in the ground with his right or left hand, according as the winning was by the party to his right or left. . . . Whichever side had the most sticks received a feast the next day from the losing side.[9]

The old Comanches, too, held meetings to decide supremacy among them. A handful of straws served for tally. Straw by straw, the old stags put in the evening asking each other questions of dishonorable or evil-scented nature. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the war path without meeting the enemy?" was another favorite. Or, "How many times did you take a woman on a war party?" And so on into the night. This interesting game is unquestionably a travesty on coup-counting bouts of the Plains Warrior Societies. The

[9] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, vol. 1, pp. 78–79.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger
887 men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance
521 competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for
887 gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old
626 New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt
887 of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

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[754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The first escapade of these young hoodlums was to back a colt half way through the door of the Smoke Lodge while the pipe-lighting ceremony was in progress. The old men did not utter a sound of protest—the tabu enjoined silence! Not content with this, the boys tickled the pony with a stick and caused him to kick wildly, upsetting the old men within. "He tore things up pretty badly." First mention of this stunt was made by Post Oak Jim. The boys were sons of his uncle and so his classificatory "brothers"; he thought they were very funny indeed. He shook with reminiscent chuckles in recounting the story. That's It remembers the incident too, and also considers it a fine joke. 575 887 522

But the old men, says That's It, were "awful sore." They began heatedly to discuss what should be done to the young men when they caught them. They were trying to figure out "what law they should give them." Here was an unprecedented situation—an undoubted grievance. A demand had arisen for a decision of policy. A social rule forced to consciousness by its breach, an explicit sanction was in the making—perhaps even a law. And the outcome? In the midst of the argument one old man spoke up.

"Now you old fellows," he addressed them. "You, too, were boys once. When the sun was shining in the sky, you were mighty nice. When the sun went down and the darkness came, you were devils. Don't you remember how *you* were? Boys will be boys."

They listened. They all thought about how they had behaved. When they thought about it, they all laughed—and let the matter drop. Even when they themselves were the aggrieved, the old men could serve as peace-preservers.

That's It, in thinking it over, did not know what kind of punishment they would have given the boys if they had gone on in the matter. That was a point that the old men had not decided. That's It had no precedent by which to predict their probable action. One step he was sure of. The old men would have gone to talk to the boys' parents. [689]

If the remainder of Post Oak's story is true (it was not checked with other informants), the failure of the old men to take action against the boys on that first occasion marked the end of their venerable comfort. Subsequent misdeeds perpetrated upon their old heads included the throwing in of a skunk during the pipe-lighting ceremony, with the result that the smokers were driven from the lodge. On another occasion the jokesters slashed the robes which the members had left outside the tipi. They smeared soft feces on the gound by the doorway and covered the mess with a little dirt. The members, who had to remove their moccasins before entering, stepped into it barefoot. These and other indignities they heaped on the

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

522 heads of the forebearing elders. Indeed, boys will be boys. And peace-mak-
575 ing may on occasion father trouble.
887

One is forced to wonder if youth would have dared such action before the
575 days of white contact. Was this a sign of cultural disintegration? One
887 suspects so. One cannot give a definite answer, but against the generous
182 indulgence always shown to boys by the Comanche elders, there is to be put the fact that the Smoke Lodge was one of the first Comanche practices to go after white contact. Old men died off. The rising generation did not carry on the practice. The effrontery of the boys may have been a sign of its weakening hold. And in any going culture one may expect the normal human reaction: that what on one occasion may be a joke, an escapade, or a licensed blowing off of steam, will on sufficient repetition become a nuisance or an outrage and be dealt with as such.

565 In this survey of associations we have observed that the division of Comanche society into compartmental groupings had not gone very far. Age classes were lacking. The old men in the Comanche Smoke Lodge formed a sort of Council of Elders, but they were not taken too seriously, nor their opinions held to be law. Military groupings were too embryonic to have left their mark; medicine societies were largely lacking in demonstrated legal significance. Where groups did enter into the legal complex we shall see that they were formed about the kinship and friendship bond.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627 595

Comparison at this point with a reference to Comanche law from the literature will indicate how much more deeply the stream runs than appears from the surface, and why special study with reference to legal behavior is fruitful. "Polygamy is practised to a great extent—some chiefs having more than ten wives, but inconstancy is the natural result of it, which is frequently punished by cutting off the nose of the transgressor, and sometimes even death; but more frequently the woman escapes unpunished and the seducer is deprived of all his available property, which is yielded to the injured party, by custom, without resistance."[10]

In those unfortunate cases in which the defendant was so poverty-stricken as to be unable to pay any damages whatsoever, his opponent had legal recourse to thrashing him on the bare back with a horse whip.

Case 10. Adultery: Buffalo Robe vs. Cliff
Informant: That's It

Buffalo Robe found Cliff lying with his wife. Since the husband knew that Cliff was too poor to pay him any damages. He took his quirt and started to whip the fellow. The culprit had to stand still and say nothing until Buffalo Robe was finished. Then he went home, his back raw and bleeding.

In later years Cliff used to boast about how he had lain with Buffalo Robe's wife and what a beating he took for it.

887 558

It is not that Cliff had become case-hardened: it is the satisfaction an old man derives from re-living and re-telling the pranks of his youth, as did the old men in the Smoke Lodge. As a youth, however, Cliff was horribly disgraced by the whipping. He had been physically and socially debased before the entire tribe. Only great war honors could have reestablished a position for him.

x627 684

Case 11. Adultery: Whipping waived by Warrior
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"A bunch of Comanches were out raiding one time when some American soldiers caught them off guard. The soldiers got away with most of our horses. My nephew saved just one white horse from the soldiers. It was the only horse left in his band.

"Just after that bad luck, he got caught in adultery with another man's wife. He spoke right up and told the husband he would settle for it, for he admitted he was in the wrong and was willing to make it good. He offered his white horse to the husband—it was the only horse left. The husband was willing to settle it at that, since there were no more horses available. That was a lively horse and very skittish. Catching it was always hard work. This time, all the friends and my relatives joined in chasing the horse to bridle it. One of them finally captured it, but it fell

[10] Neighbors, *The Comanches* (Schoolcraft, *Indians*, vol. 2), pp. 131–132.

561 girls and less definitely for boys. However, the physical passage from childhood to maturity does not necessarily coincide with the social transfer of the individual from one status to the other. Although the actual transition was made more quickly in Comanche society than in our own, where both men and woman remain legally children until long after they are physically mature, clear-cut lines of division between the various groupings were lacking. Age classes were lacking. In the change from boyhood to manhood, for instance, the real test was whether the boy was able to follow the strenuous life of a warrior.

888 The tendency for societies to emphasize the individual's first change in age status and largely ignore the change from adult to old age is due in part to the difficulty of determining the onset of old age. But in certain societies the change from the adult to the old status is made more difficult for the individual by the fact that the patterns for the new status require a different personality. This was true in Comanche society. Although society provided for old people fairly well and treated them with respect, there is abundant evidence that the transition was a difficult one for most individuals. "A brave man," said the Comanches, "dies young."

Women were able to make the change with less difficulty than men, and the line was more clearly discernible. During and before the menopause there were a number of social tabus or restrictions. They could not remain in the same room with a medicine man. Afterwards they were released from restrictions pertaining to the supernatural, and henceforth could handle sacred objects, obtain power through dreams, and practice as shamans.[24]

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[24] Informant: Medicine Woman; see also Linton, *The Study of Man*, 119.

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Old men who were no longer able to go on the warpath had a special tipi, called the Smoke Lodge, wherein they gathered at the end of the day to smoke and talk. No boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members, and apparently no invitations were sent to prospective members. When one became old enough to be interested primarily in the past, he merely started going to the meetings. The men were free to come and go as they liked. If the camp was not permanently located, the men merely gathered at a convenient place and sat in a circle smoking and talking like a bunch of old gaffers about the cracker barrel. In permanent camps they had a lodge. 887 [345]

Each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of the leader. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, no word could be uttered. Absolute silence prevailed. The leader sat opposite the door. The firetender, a captive, sat next to the door, to the right as one entered. The leader lighted the pipe, and then offered invocation. He held the pipe up and prayed to the sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground as an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of the process the silence was broken, it was necessary to start anew. When the pipe was prepared, the firetender crossed directly to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the men could

[25] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 118–21.

●887 lapse into conversation. The pipe was passed among them and smoked until it burned out. Then after a bit, the refilling and lighting ceremony was again solemnly performed and they were ready for another round of talk. Four times they filled and smoked the pipe out; then they dispersed for the night. The fire-tender left first; the others followed in procession, treading around the tipi to the north. But during the course of the evening a man could make nonceremonial exit from either side of the door.

The conversation dealt with matters both trivial and serious. The men exchanged ideas and related the latest camp gossip. They narrated deeds which they had performed in their younger days and stories which they had heard. They engaged in coup-counting games by forming sides and each relating a coup which he had gained. The losing side might have to furnish a feast the next day. At other times they spent the evening asking each other dishonorable and embarrassing questions. "How many times have you been divorced?" "How many times did you turn back from the warpath without meeting the enemy?" They were beyond struggling for prestige, and they made light of the prime-of-lifers to whom prestige meant so much. And although they discussed tribal matters of moment, they had no authority.

887 In earlier times the Old Men's Smoke Lodge was respectfully treated, but in later days they received some rough handling by
522 practical jokers among the boys. The most common prank was to close the smoke flaps of their lodge and smoke them out. Once their old war robes with painted coup pictures were slashed by boys. Another time pranksters put excrement in the doorway and covered it with dirt, knowing that the old men always took off their moccasins to enter their sacred lodge. Yet another time, boys stood outside the door and smeared foul stuff in their hair as they came out. And once, as the old men were going through the pipe-lighting ritual and could not holler out, they backed a colt through the door and made it kick and buck. "It tore things up and the old men were awful sore. They began to talk about what they should do to the young men when they caught them, what law they should give them, but one old man spoke up.

"'Now you old fellows,' he told them, 'you were boys once.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun 887
went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? 522
Boys will be boys.' "[26]

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments 164
were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed.

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was 763
usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and 888
friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After [762]
making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely.

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, 764
burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before

[26] Informant: That's It.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

Men, whose furrowed [ca.1818]
cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

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[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824]

192

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

578 754 561 754 561 554 558 578 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to continue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

123 must stay completely apart from the Comanche women and girls." He
609 explained it this way. Comanche women are supposed to have no com-
562 munications, other than the most necessary, with menfolks other than their own, and this applied with extra force to white men. Comanche men held their women to strict account as to their conduct, and a white man could cause a Comanche woman serious trouble, unawares, should he try to be friendly. I lived up to this rule in every respect. Then, in addition, I naturally extended to all Indian women and girls every courtesy I had been taught to extend to women of my own race. This, too, could have had some bearing.

837 I could not help but notice Mo-cho-rook. He was a standout in every way. To start with, he was obviously the oldest of the old Indians. He was noticeably smaller than any of the other Indian men. And what was even more obvious, he had at this time only one wife. And of all the old fellows, he had by far the youngest wife and the youngest child. He was completely antisocial. I not only never gleaned
157 [125] a smile, but I never even drew a grunt from him, in the five plus years that I knew him.

On the top of all this, he had about the meanest look, and the cruelest eyes, I have ever seen on a human. I was later to know Geronimo, who was being held as a prisoner of war at Fort Sill. If anyone could have run Mo-cho-rook even a close second for looking mean and cruel, it would have been Gerommo.

The only time he ever came inside the store was when he needed smoking tobacco. He would have his nickel ready in his hand, would point to the Bull Durham, and when I handed him the tobacco, he would hand me the nickel. My fattest smile never brought a change in his expression. Once he had his tobacco, he would return outside. I never knew him to stay in out of even the most inclement weather.

142 I soon sorted out his wife. She was a young, large-limbed girl, with the true Comanche copper color. She had a baby boy, around a year
854 old. He was old enough to be out of the cradle board, but that first summer he was not walking as yet. He was a healthy-looking little
595 chap and, like all Indian babies, well behaved. I was later to learn that this child was the only one ever born to Mo-cho-rook by any of the numerous wives he had had. His squaw nearly always stayed in our store until they were ready to go home, and she bought all their
452 supplies. He was one of the few Indians who never found it necessary to run an account until Grass Money time.

The Comanches

561 girls and less definitely for boys. However, the physical passage from childhood to maturity does not necessarily coincide with the social transfer of the individual from one status to the other. Although the actual transition was made more quickly in Comanche society than in our own, where both men and woman remain legally children until long after they are physically mature, clear-cut lines of division between the various groupings were lacking. Age classes were lacking. In the change from boyhood to manhood, for instance, the real test was whether the boy was able to follow the strenuous life of a warrior.

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[24] Informant: Medicine Woman; see also Linton, *The Study of Man*, 119.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

enemies. Young men strove for war and honor; old men for peace and tranquility. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it better to be killed in action than to adjust themselves to the status ascribed for old age and to eventual death on the sick bed. When waning physical powers forced them to assume a new role, many did so grudgingly, and those who were able to keep strong medicine attempted to hold the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their career, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The old men could and did kill young men by malevolent magic. "It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old."[25] 887 888●

Old men who were no longer able to go on the warpath had a special tipi, called the Smoke Lodge, wherein they gathered at the end of the day to smoke and talk. No boys or women were allowed to enter. Initiatory rites were not held for new members, and apparently no invitations were sent to prospective members. When one became old enough to be interested primarily in the past, he merely started going to the meetings. The men were free to come and go as they liked. If the camp was not permanently located, the men merely gathered at a convenient place and sat in a circle smoking and talking like a bunch of old gaffers about the cracker barrel. In permanent camps they had a lodge. 887 [345]

Each evening's session was opened with a ritual. The lodge possessed a large common pipe which was in the care of the leader. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, no word could be uttered. Absolute silence prevailed. The leader sat opposite the door. The firetender, a captive, sat next to the door, to the right as one entered. The leader lighted the pipe, and then offered invocation. He held the pipe up and prayed to the sun. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon the ground as an offering to the Earth. If at any stage of the process the silence was broken, it was necessary to start anew. When the pipe was prepared, the firetender crossed directly to the leader and tendered a live coal. With the issuance of smoke the ceremony was done and the men could

[25] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 118-21.

From Cradle to Grave

When the sun was shining you were mighty nice. When the sun went down you were devils. Don't you remember how you were? Boys will be boys.' "[26] 887 522

They all laughed and let the matter drop. After all they were old men—peaceable, and not warriors jealous of their dignity.

Although they were a strong physical race of people, the Comanches were troubled with a number of diseases. Many of their ailments were due to their unbalanced diet, to exposure, and to the vigorous life they led. Among their more serious ailments were pneumonia, colds, rheumatism, wounds, broken bones, intestinal diseases, rattlesnake bites, smallpox, and cholera. The number with weak eyes, partially or completely blind, was appalling. Fevers often resulted from their trips to the east and south. The white intruders brought cholera, smallpox, and syphilis, which swept away many of the people. Epidemics of smallpox took heavy tolls in 1816, in 1839–40, and in the winter of 1861–62. The cholera epidemic of 1849, brought from the East by immigrants on the road to California, possibly resulted in more fatalities than the smallpox plague. In any event, whether from violence, disease, or old age, the end came inevitably to every Comanche as to every man—and the cycle was closed. 164

When the condition of an elderly person became hopeless, he was usually "thrown away" by all except his most faithful relatives and friends; and sometimes even they would desert him. This was not due so much to lack of affection and sympathy as from fear of the evil spirits and his ghost, which were believed to have taken possession of his body. When he felt death drawing near, he made disposition of all his property and retired to a quiet spot to die. After making medicine in preparation, an old man might take his own life, and at least one case is known where a man took the life of his wife by cutting her throat because she was hopelessly ill and lonely. 763 888 [762]

There was not a long delay between death and burial. If possible, burial took place the same day. The body was prepared with great care by anyone who would undertake the job, usually near relatives assisted by a comrade or close friend of the deceased. A woman attended to the body of a woman; a man attended to a man's. When a small child died, it was buried still lashed to its cradle-board. Before 764

[26] Informant: That's It.

The Comanches

701 888 « « « This *pukutsi* was going through the camp, singing as usual.

An old woman stopped him and said, "*Pukutsi,* I want you to kill me a buffalo. I need the hide to use for my saddle; I have no boys to get one for me."

He went and was gone from the camp for a long time. Finally he came back at night with the whole skin of a Pawnee, even with hands and feet still on it, and he hung it up like a man standing there against her arbor.

Some man saw it there and called in to her in her lodge, "That *pukutsi* is back. Your hide is out here on the arbor."

Early in the morning she got up and went out to get it. That human skin frightened her. Then that man came by and told her she should not have asked a *pukutsi* to do such a job. "He is afraid of nothing."

"Well, I didn't ask him to bring me an enemy," she complained. But that's the way it is with *pukutsi.* You ask them to do one thing and they do just the opposite.

When she got over her first scare, the old woman jumped up and down and sang. She had an enemy scalp, which she kept. » » »

728 648 The waging of war was a matter of individual initiative, but the making of peace was a matter for the chiefs. A war leader on a raid could make peace in behalf of his own party on his own authority, but such a peace was not binding upon other members of the band or upon the tribe. Band peace was made only upon consent of the war leaders, the council of elders, and the head chief. Tribal peace could be attained only when agreed upon and recognized by all the bands.

For all their devotion to war, the Comanches accepted the fact that a people cannot fight everybody on all fronts at once. The home base had to afford some measure of security for hunting and everyday living. Thus the Comanches worked out a sort of national policy of defensive alliances with their more powerful neighbors to their north, keeping their southern, western, and eastern frontiers open for far-ranging aggressive action.

Peace with the Kiowas was cemented in 1790 through the good offices of a mutual Spanish friend.[29] No details of this step are known,

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

578 754 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche cul-
561 ture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were
at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the
754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were
561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con-
554 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the
558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an
578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone,
this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted
178 by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-
reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain eco-
561 nomic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the
556 same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to
578 prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and
social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position
rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits
of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and
with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps
born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older
and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a
younger woman for available males.

754 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a
178 woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a
561 moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward
844 an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of
578 her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche inform-
ants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and
her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose
children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree
of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the
act of witchcraft.

754 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Co-
178 manche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within
571 the same band became more isolated and thus any possibility of an act which
361 could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that
band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the
reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family
178 units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of
887 the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had
888 to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

492 lose his balance, but the larger Indian boys, and some of the younger
571 Indian men, began to give him a bad time.

It was as though they had been waiting for him to make a mistake. [888] They were telling him he was too old even to get on a horse, let alone ride one. Some of the remarks were much less polite and even ribald. The old Indian turned his angry gaze on them and spat out an invective that tended to silence them. What he said was not in my vocabulary, and I never learned what he called them.

492 Then he turned back to his horse, shortened up his hold on the reins, and vaulted completely over the stallion, landing lightly on his feet, and then vaulted onto the horse's back. Then he proceeded to the starting line and won himself a horse race.

I have stood near this horse's shoulders, and his withers were higher than my eyes—possibly as high as the top of my head, five feet ten and a half inches. In other words, this horse stood seventeen to eighteen hands high.

554 The old fellow was almost too fabulous to be believed in. As nearly as I was able to discern, he was already a Comanche legend, though he still lived. Mostly he was held in awe by the other Indians, especially by the younger ones. Maybe he was the bogeyman the elders threat-
571 ened the children with. This one time was the only time I ever saw anyone try to take liberties with him. I doubt that those young Indians would have done so then but for the presence of many white people, U.S. marshals, and Indian police.

000 Almost any version of the story of the one-eyed man at the three-ringed circus could have been applied to me when I hit the Comanche country in the early days of March, 1902. I had had my fourteenth birthday in January. Everything was new. Everything was wonderful. I would not have changed a single thing.

Since I am Scotch, the love of the land is as much a part of me as the color of my skin or my hair. I am not trying to sound poetic when I say that the sweep of the grass-covered Comanche prairies was soul-satisfying. West Cache Creek, then the most beautiful of prairie streams, furnished the finest fishing and swimming that I have ever enjoyed, anywhere, any time.

136 There were wild ducks most months of the year, snipe, kildee, plover, doves, curlew, and some bobwhite for my gun. The young of a small variety of cottontail rabbits that lived in the prairie dog towns and were called prairie dog rabbits fell to my rifle. They were superior